

SWP, 544-CIO DEFENDANTS ARRAIGNED

One Year Passes...

Trotskyism Leads Workers' Anti-War Fight

One year ago, on August 21, 1940, Leon Trotsky fell, a victim of the pickaxe blows of a GPU assassin. The capitalist world could scarcely conceal its exultation at the invaluable service Stalin had rendered to it. The murder of Trotsky, they thought, meant the end of Trotskyism.

But Trotsky was a mason who built on firm foundations for the future. His power sprang from the power of his ideas, and in the year since Trotsky's death, these imperishable ideas have reached broader circles of the oppressed in many lands. Our party, founded upon Trotsky's teachings, thrives amidst adversity and brings Trotsky's program of revolutionary struggle to wider sections of the American working class.

Both by words and by deeds do the chief political representatives of American imperialism give testimony to the living power of Trotskyism. Last week Senator Barkley, Roosevelt's Democratic Majority Leader in the Senate, explained to his less enlightened colleagues why the capitalist masters of the world can place confidence in Stalinism but can never make their peace with the uncompromising Trotskyist revolutionists.

Speaking in defense of Stalin as a trustworthy ally of American imperialism, Barclay declared:

"When they (the Russian people after the revolution of 1917) started out, they had a vague, fantastic notion that they could socialize or communize the world; and the fundamental difference between Stalin and Trotsky was over that question. Trotsky, as I understand the matter, was a world revolutionist, while Stalin took the position that the Russian Government owed its first duty to the Russian people... the fight between Trotsky and Stalin revolved around the question whether they should undertake to revolutionize the world or should concentrate on Russia. Stalin won, and Trotsky had to leave the country." (Congressional Record, Aug. 5, 1941, P. 6908)

The political heads of the War Party appraise Stalinism and Trotskyism very soberly amongst themselves. They understand the main difference between them very well. Stalin's program is quite congenial to them. This renegade, they assert, has abandoned the "vague, fantastic notion" that other peoples than the Russian should overthrow their capitalist oppressors; and, in accordance with this policy, Stalin is easy to deal with. Barkley may confuse Stalin's concern for his bureaucratic regime with a sense of "duty to the Russian people," but he knows full well that Stalin is ready to barter away the independence and interests of the working class upon the demand of his imperialist allies.

It is quite otherwise with the Trotskyists. We stand forth, today as always, irreconcilable enemies of imperialism and its wars. Our program for defending the Soviet Union calls upon the workers in all capitalist countries to continue their struggle for workers' power.

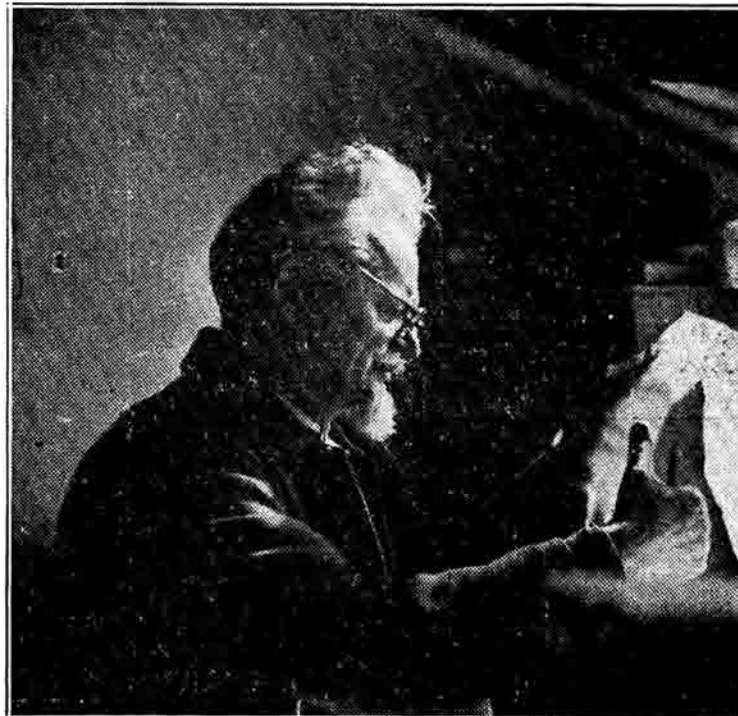
On Monday in St. Paul, Minnesota, the leaders of our party were arraigned, together with members of Motor Transport and Allied Workers Union, Local 544-CIO, before a Federal court on charges of "conspiracy to overthrow the Government." Our party is persecuted and its leaders arrested on trumped-up charges for our uncompromising fight against Wall Street's war. The militant leaders of Local 544-CIO are there beside them because they could not surrender to Dictator Tobin, the independence, democratic rights and militant policies of the Minneapolis teamsters' movement.

By this outrageous prosecution, Barkley's boss, Franklin D. Roosevelt, recognizes in his own reactionary way the living force of Trotskyism. In hounding the Trotskyists, Roosevelt follows in the footsteps of Stalin, Hitler, Mussolini, Petain and all the other autocrats who seek to suppress revolutionary socialism. The watchdogs of American imperialism pay involuntary tribute to our party as the only irreconcilable opponent of the moneybags, their system of exploitation, and their war.

The indictment charges the Socialist Workers Party with advocating the principles of Lenin and Trotsky and with holding up the October revolution, led by Lenin and Trotsky, as a model for the workers of the world to follow. To this "charge," we proudly plead guilty.

We are Trotsky's disciples, as Trotsky was a disciple of Marx and Lenin. Trotsky's heroic life, his undeviating devotion to the workers and their cause, his unyielding stand before ceaseless persecution, his contempt for his persecutors, his measureless confidence in the ultimate victory of world socialism inspires the ranks of our party. We honor Trotsky by remaining true to his teachings and by imitating his example. As soldiers of the proletarian revolution, we remain at our posts under fire and will not cease our struggle until the cause of world socialism is won.

Leon Trotsky, Nov. 7, 1879-Aug. 21, 1940



(Above) Lenin and Trotsky, co-leaders and organizers of the October Revolution of 1917, shown reviewing a Red Army parade during the early days of the Soviet Union when Trotsky, as head of the Soviet Army, led it to victory.

(Left) Trotsky, working on the manuscript of his book on Stalin, finished shortly before his death on August 21, 1940, at the hands of a GPU assassin.

Auto Convention Groups Line Up Around North American Issue

Delegates Reject Hillmanite Report; But Addes Compromises With Frankenstein

BUFFALO, August 12—The character of the two main contending groups among the leadership of the United Automobile Workers (CIO), the Addes-Lewis and the Reuther-Hillman forces, was clearly outlined this week as the auto workers' convention here fought out the issue of the North American Aviation strike on the west coast.

By an unprincipled deal with Richard Frankenstein, the strikebreaking director of the aviation section of the union, who dictatorially jerked the charter of the North American Local 683, and welcomed the troops which broke the picket lines, the Addes caucus basic issues, and sown confusion and not a little disgust among the ranks of the militant delegates

who hoped to rally behind Addes against the pro-Hillman, pro-OPM Reuther.

Addes, who had spoken before of a "basic fight against the OPM and for the principles of a union which will fight for the interests of the workers independently of OPM control" has now adjusted his line to his bloc with Frankenstein and watered down his program.

The North American case was brought on the convention floor by the Grievance Committee. The committee was divided into three groups. The majority report, reflecting Reuther's group, demanded that Lew Michener, California Regional Director and International Board member of the UAW, be barred from holding any office, elective or appointive, for one year, and that the Executive Board of the International supervise the affairs of California Region 6.

"SUPER-MINORITY" REPORT
A minority report, reflecting the extreme right wing, demanded that Michener be expelled from the International, and that all union representatives who defied Frankenstein be barred from elective or appointive office for five years.

A "super-minority" report projected by one member of the grievance committee asked that Michener be deprived of the right to run for the International Board for one year, but be allowed to hold appointive posts.

The super-minority report was supported by the Addes caucus.

None of the reports supported the North American workers who went out on a perfectly justified strike. None of the reports exposed the strike-breaking role of Frankenstein. The Addes caucus, having made a deal with Frankenstein, could not attack him by telling the truth about the North American strike.

RANK AND FILE BRINGS OUT REAL ISSUES

But more than one rank-and-file delegate insisted on bringing out the real issues. Everett (Continued on page 2)

Cannon-for-Mayor Petition Drive Wins Anti-War Workers' Support

The campaign to place the name of James P. Cannon, National Secretary of the Socialist Workers Party, on the ballot as the Trotskyist Anti-War candidate for Mayor of New York City is moving at blitzkrieg pace.

Less than two weeks after the start of the campaign, the members and sympathizers of the New York Local of our party have secured over 40 per cent of the required minimum of 7,500 signatures.

The campaign committee has called for an extra effort in order to get 7,500 signatures by August 21, the first anniversary of the death of Leon Trotsky.

The total quota set by the Local is 15,000 signatures, double the required amount. This is to allow for signatures which may be disqualified.

Our candidate, J. P. Cannon, is one of the 29 defendants now under federal indictment on a framed-up charge of "planning to overthrow the government by force and violence." The campaign to place him on the ballot for mayor of the largest city in the country is our party's answer to the vicious attempt of Roosevelt and his War Party to stifle the voice of the militant anti-war forces in America.

Each day brings in encouraging reports of the tremendous anti-war sentiment in this city and of the wide-spread sympathy and response to our program. In all five boroughs, and among all nationalities and races, workers are signing the Cannon petitions eagerly.

Many workers in the garment area are taking the MILITANT and listening to our canvassers. One truck-boy, who wheels little hand-trucks loaded with goods through the heavy traffic all day, signed the petition and spoke up: "We know what it's all about. We sweat and slave for peanuts and they sit in their swivel chairs and drink all day. We got to have

called and it looks as if this will be my last chance to express my opposition to the war. I have faced a lot of discrimination here, but from what I've heard, the Army is going to be a lot worse."

Friends and sympathizers of the party, who want to help our anti-war fight, are urged to come to the Cannon-for-Mayor campaign headquarters at 116 University Place, secure petition blanks, and start work to place the name of James P. Cannon on the ballot.

Navy May 'Seize' Kearny Shipyard

KEARNY, New Jersey, August 11—Acting at the wired request of L. H. Korndorff, president of the Federal Shipbuilding and Drydock Company, the Navy Department has indicated that it will take over the company's huge plant here "within the next 48 hours" in an effort to resume production on \$500,000,000 of war orders tied up by the strike of 16,000 workers. The strike was called at midnight August 6 by Local 16, Industrial Union of Marine and Shipbuilding Workers (CIO).

This move of the company, undoubtedly initiated after an understanding with the Navy Department, is intended to halt the strike and forestall the signing of a union contract on terms recommended by the National Mediation Board and accepted by the union.

Korndorff's telegram to Secretary of the Navy Knox—who had already indicated that preparations to "seize" the plant were virtually completed—"of-

fered our shipyard" to the government for "immediate possession and operation."

The telegram declared that the company would rather "give" the plant to the government than yield to a strike which "involves no issue but the maintenance of the open shop."

This refers to the modified union-shop clause which the union demands in its contract. This clause would require that workers who have joined or will join the union continue in good standing in the union or face dismissal. The National Mediation Board, in its recommendations following weeks of negotiations in Washington, agreed to the inclusion of this clause in the contract.

The company turned down not only the union's original demands but the Board's watered-down proposals, and thus precipitated the strike. Although the old contract expired June 24, the union first submitted its case to the NDMB, and even cut down its

original demands to avoid a strike.

It is clear that the company stands to gain by the Navy Department taking over the plant, since the owners are assured by law of "just compensation" and the Navy Department follows a strict policy of granting no union contracts and upholds the open-shop in all plants and shipyards under its management.

The union made a serious mistake in asking the government to take over the plant shortly after the strike was under way. The idea that the government, which broke the North American Aviation plant strike with regular army troops, would "seize" the plant in the interests of the workers is completely false. The only way in which such "seizure" could operate to the workers' benefit would be if the plant were placed under the control and management of the workers themselves. The Navy Department will, in effect, "seize" the plant here for the identical purpose of the North American plant "seizure"—to break the strike.

The government will attempt to avoid the onus of strikebreaking by pointing to the request of the union and claiming that it is doing what the union itself asked.

A statement of Peter Flynn, vice president of Local 16, that the union "welcomed" the plant "seizure" but that "we want, however, guarantees that our collective bargaining rights will not be impaired by the transition," is undoubtedly the real sentiment of the strikers. Such guarantees, however, are unlikely to be observed by the notoriously open-shop Navy Department.

The actions of the company demonstrate once again what the owning class means by "national defense." The company prefers to have production tied up or even to give up nominal control of its plants to the government, rather than accept a union contract or yield an inch on its open shop principles. "National defense" to the bosses means the

right of unlimited exploitation of labor.

Behind the company's refusal to come to an agreement with the union, is the attempt of the East and Gulf Coast shipyard owners to evade the provisions of the government-sponsored general "stabilization" agreement recently signed with the IUMSWA-CIO. The Federal Shipbuilding and Drydock Company, a U. S. Steel subsidiary, has fired the opening gun in a drive of the National Council of Shipbuilders to abrogate this "stabilization" agreement and impose the unconditional open shop throughout the industry.

The strike has been militantly conducted on the picket lines. The plant has been shut down. Tight and mass picket lines have been continuously maintained at all plant entrances. Several hundred AFL construction workers, who had respected the CIO picket lines from the start, returned to work yesterday by agreement with the striking union.

Early Trial Is Being Demanded By Government

Prosecution Insists On Rushing Trial Date To Railroad Anti-War Fighters; Seeks To Deny Defendants Time To Prepare Case

— BULLETIN —

MINNEAPOLIS, August 11—Tonight, eleven hours after the leaders of Local 544-CIO were arraigned on the charge of "conspiracy to overthrow the government," the unholy alliance of Tobin-Roosevelt-bosses got a plain answer from the truck-drivers of Minneapolis to the government's attempt to intimidate them by hounding their leaders. The answer was the regular monthly membership meeting of the union.

The union hall was packed with over 1,000 members. After sixty days of Blitzkrieg by government and Tobin's thugs, despite all the enormous pressure put on them, these men came out and showed where they stood.

That's only half the story. The other half is that at the same hour the Tobin AFL "union" was also meeting. Including Tobin's thugs, all the noses you could count in Tobin's hall amounted to 56.

Count them: 1,000 for the CIO against 56 for the AFL.

There's the answer to Tobin and the Department of Justice!

MINNEAPOLIS, August 11—The 29 defendants in the U. S. Department of Justice's "seditious conspiracy" case against the Socialist Workers Party and Local 544-CIO were arraigned here today before U. S. District Court Judge Robert C. Bell, and pleaded not guilty.

"The government insists that this trial be the first on the docket when court convenes on September 23rd," said U. S. District Attorney Victor Anderson, as he interposed objections to the request of the defendants' attorneys for adequate time to prepare oral argument on motions seeking dismissal of the indictment.

The defense had asked for ninety days in which to prepare for argument of the motions. Judge Bell gave the defense three weeks—up to Sept. 1—in which to file its motions in written form, and the date for oral argument will be set by Judge M. M. Joyce, who will be sitting here during September. Federal Prosecutor Anderson indicated he

will get in touch with Judge Joyce even before the latter arrives here, Sept. 8, and seek an immediate date for the oral argument. After hearing the argument, if the judge upholds any part of either count of the indictment — there are two counts — he will then set the date of trial.

Prosecutor Anderson's insistence upon rushing the trial indicates the determination of the U. S. Department of Justice to railroad to prison at the earliest possible moment the indicted anti-war fighters and

militant unionists.

Gilbert E. Carlson and D. J. Shama, counsel for the 16 defendants who are members of Local 544-CIO, pointed out to Judge Bell that the 90-day period requested was necessitated by the struggle between the CIO and AFL out of which this case arose.

The CIO union — which disaffiliated from Tobin's AFL Teamsters and accepted a CIO charter on June 9 — is occupied with numerous hearings before the state labor board, in which it is demanding that elections be

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Auto Convention Groups Are Lining Up

Grouping Around Issue of the North American Strike

(Continued from page 1)
Francis, a delegate from Fisher Body Local 581, of Flint, said:
"I am not so sure the California boys were wrong or made a mistake. They went out on a justified strike. You talk about unauthorized strikes. Why wasn't it authorized? In Flint in 1937 we built this union with unauthorized strikes. The Ford workers went out on an unauthorized strike; that's how they built their union."

REUTHER POSITION IS VOTED DOWN

As a result of the pounding given the Reuther position by militant delegates, the convention finally voted by a slim margin of 97 votes to support the "super-minority" report which laid the least severe penalty on Michener. The Addes caucus looks upon it as a great victory. But many militant delegates bitterly complained at having to vote on a report which admitted that the North American strike was a mistake. They felt that the strike was fully justified, and that the International Board had made a costly mistake when it failed to authorize it, and when it allowed Frankenstein to break it.

The vote, however, proved the fluidity of the convention. The Addes group picked up about 200 more votes on the North American issue over what it had mustered on the question of seating ten delegates from Allis-Chalmers. On this point the Addes group was defeated by the Reuther group, which won by a vote of 1700 to 1200 against seating the delegates.

Hundreds of delegates are not committed either to the Reuther or the Addes caucus. They vote their convictions. With the basic issues now buried in a quagmire of blocs and combinations, these delegates sense the purely opportunistic character of the fight on top, and must dig and search for the key issues, which are hidden and camouflaged by the leaders.

To the more informed delegates, however, the leading groups have now been exposed for their true worth. Frankenstein's almost comic flip-flop from the Reuther group into the arms of Addes has clearly exposed him. He knows no principles, even reactionary principles. His whole career has been one of a cynical combina-

tion artist, playing his "big" politics in search of a good job and a sure hold on the International Board. It is a weird scene to watch Frankenstein, the man who said he would bring strikebreakers and scabs to the West Coast to break the North American strike, get up and try to pay off Addes for his bloc by asking for mercy for Michener, preaching about "man's inhumanity to man" and self-righteously condemning Reuther for playing politics.

This unsavory politician, Frankenstein, has fully revealed himself for what he is at this convention, and as a result of his super-clever and super-shrewd maneuvering, has succeeded in discrediting himself with hundreds of delegates. The left wing delegates had no use for him before and still despise him. The Reuther caucus hates him as a renegade.

Reuther with his hard and firm caucus of conservatives has for the most part kept the offensive. He represents that section which seeks to harness the labor movement to the Wall Street war chariot. The North American issue saw him lose support among the wavering elements, but his main bloc is firm on its pro-Hillman stand.

MIDDLE-MAN THOMAS

R. J. Thomas, blustering president of the UAW, is trying to play a role similar to that of Philip Murray in the CIO, namely, that of the impartial arbitrator between the warring groups. But Thomas is having dubious success. On the floor he performs as the unbiased and independent representative of the union as a whole. Behind the scenes, however, under a buffeting from both sides, he staggers from camp to camp, depending upon which side puts the most pressure upon him. Thus far his sole contribution has been oratory in the Baptist minister tones of William Green.

The Addes group, which all along has reflected John L. Lewis's policy in half tones, is an unorganized, confused outfit without a basic program, and is now hopelessly compromised by its unprincipled deal with Frankenstein. Although, in their desire to struggle against the Reuther program and to defend the independence and militancy of the union, the most progressive elements are to be found in the Addes group, their desire to fight along basic lines has been frustrated by their leadership.

Typical of the politics of the

UAW's leading bodies, the Addes group is whitewashing Frankenstein, burying the North American issue, beclouding the decisive questions, and has left the rank and file without a real choice between the groups. All this has come about because the whole leadership is concerned mainly with personal power and not with the basic issues which will decide the fate of the union.

But the militant delegates have demonstrated in this convention that they are eager for a fighting leadership which is hostile to the OPM school of unionism, which will struggle against all attempts to house-break the UAW and which will battle against all attempts of those who, like Reuther, are trying to sap the vital militant independence of the UAWA.

This is clearly shown by the enthusiastic acclaim given to all resolutions calling for the organization of the unorganized aircraft workers in the face of government opposition. It is shown by the militant speeches against the OPM and against the freezing of wages such as provided for in Hillman's coastwise shipyard contract.

RANK AND FILE READY FOR REAL FIGHT

On every concrete union the militant delegates have proved their readiness for a fighting independent program, and their distrust of the whole leadership. When a committee, sent by the convention to Milwaukee to hold another election of Allis-Chalmers delegates, returned with a report that an election could not be held, the convention repudiated the report of its own committee, enlarged it with rank and file members, and sent it back again to hold a democratic election.

When the whole top leadership of the UAW proposed and supported a proposition to discontinue yearly conventions and to hold them biannually, the rank and file, suspecting an attempt to bureaucratize the union, turned this proposal down overwhelmingly.

When the leadership proposed to raise the dues, the convention overwhelmingly defeated the proposal, after militant delegates flatly stated that the union heads wouldn't know what to do with the money when they got it.

In general, all attempts to push the UAW along the line of "respectability" and the

Largest Union Convention



A general view of the 1,000 delegates at the Sixth Annual Convention of the United Automobile, Aircraft and Agricultural Implement Workers Union (CIO), which began in Buffalo, New York, August 4. This is probably the largest convention of an international union ever held in this country. The UAW-CIO has doubled its membership in the past year and is the third largest union in the country.

Wages, Not Profits Were Frozen in 1917

By MICHAEL CORT

Recently Roosevelt engaged in one of his periodic and vague fulminations against war profiteering. By now we know that such noises always serve to smoke screen the real action—a move against the workers' wage scales.

No curtailment of profits has ever been seriously envisaged by the administration for the simple reason that it does not have the power to enforce such limitations. The government is an agent of the bosses—not their master. Does anyone seriously expect the industrialists to voluntarily reduce their incomes? Moreover, while capitalist wars are fought to insure future profits, doubts this has but to turn to the record of World War No. 1.

By comparing the profits of the peace year of 1914 with those of the war year of 1918, one can obtain an accurate idea of the war profits:

DuPont (gross revenues):
1914—25 millions
1918—300 millions
Standard Oil of N. J. (net profits):
1914—7 millions
1918—45 millions
United States Steel (net profits):
1914—23 millions
1918—137 millions
Anaconda Copper (net profits):
1914—9 millions
1918—40 millions

From 1914 to 1918 President Wilson talked continually of limiting prices and profits. But he only succeeded in limiting wages.

All the time the industrialists were making these huge profits, the government itself was going further and further in debt. The national debt in 1914 was \$9.88 per person; in 1918 it was \$228 per person. Why was this? Because of the war effort, of course but, more precisely, because of a fancy system of bookkeeping the bosses used to saddle the war costs on the small shopkeepers and workers. Here is how it worked:

In 1914-18 J. P. Morgan and Company were the war financiers. That is, they had a monopoly on private financial dealings for Britain and the allies. From the moment the war started, Morgan supplied money to Britain and France. This money belonged to American bosses. Thus it was partly to secure the recovery of this money that the bosses and Morgan later demanded our entry into the war. Only an Allied victory would assure them they would get it back.

Once America officially entered the war, the government itself took up the job of loaning money to its European allies. Liberty Loans, largely squeezed from the workers, financed the war from this point on. And out of the proceeds of the very first Liberty Loan, \$400,000,000 was paid to J. P. Morgan in satisfaction of the debts owed him by Great Britain. In other words, the boss investment in the war was liquidated (at a profit) and the workers were forced to take up the burden—at a loss.

Today's situation is like that of World War I. Again the government talks of controlling prices and profits but really aims against wages, against the workers are paying the cost of the war, and again the bosses are making a profit out of the whole thing.

The net profits (1940) of a few war industries are:

General Motors — 195 millions.
A. T. & T. — 188 millions.
U. S. Steel — 102 millions.
Du Pont — 86 millions.

Roosevelt has no illusions about his ability to control profits. He could only do so if the bosses allowed him to. To expect the bosses to voluntarily reduce their profits is as sensible as to expect a thief to return part of his swag on the theory that maybe after all his victim needs it.

AFL type of business-agent unionism, met with defeat.

The same delegates who, in the confusion had voted with Reuther to unseat the ten Allis-Chalmers delegates, later supported the Allis-Chalmers people and the Addes group after Harold Christoffel made the class struggle issues clear in a fighting speech.

STALINISTS MUDDLED

That the Communist Party cannot provide this new leadership is clearly shown by this convention. In the debate on the North American issue, the Stalinist hacks, John Anderson of Local 155 and Nat Ganley, did not open their mouths in defense of the North American workers and their strike. They accepted the deal whereby the Stalinist regional director, Michener, would be punished for a "mistake" by being deprived of the right to run for the board at this convention.

The Stalinists have come into this convention under the burden of a new and drastic change in line. The international alignment between Stalin and the capitalist democracies means that the Communist Party is now in full support of Roosevelt, his war machine, and his lackey Hillman.

However, in the union itself, the Communist Party, with its members confused and disoriented, cannot make the turn quickly and clearly without entirely undermining its base in the labor movement. The Stalinists are more than willing to crawl into Reuther's camp. But Reuther, in order to exist himself, continues to lay down his ruthless barrage against them. The Stalinists are forced reluctantly to try somehow to work with the Addes group.

CP IS WASHED UP

The contradictions between the Stalinists' militancy of the recent past and their present war-mongering program has resulted in complete confusion as to just where they stand. On the one hand, Harold Christoffel gave a militant defense of the Allis-Chalmers strike when science meant that Communist Party influence in that local would be cut to pieces. In the North American case, on the other hand, delegate Jack Montgomery, a well known Stalinist, got up and said with tears in his voice: "All right, we made a mistake. But by God, boys, give us a break." Michener was willingly thrown to the dogs by the CP as part of Addes's deal with Frankenstein, but the old Stalinist wheelhorse, Mortimer,

was trotted out onto the floor to appease the wrath of the West Coast militants by his defense of the strike and attack on Frankenstein.

As a result of their confusion and their abrupt change of line, the Stalinists have washed themselves up in the Auto Union as a leading force.

NEW LEADERSHIP FORMING

But a new leadership, representing a new type of unionism, is in the making in the auto union. There has been evident in this convention a great potential power among the militant delegates, who are now disillusioned with the Stalinists and, at the same time, are searching for an honest fighting program.

Whether the militants will be able to convert the Addes group, or whether they will find it necessary to build an independent force against the whole top leadership, the indications are that the next period will see the growth of a new type of leadership, based on a program of uncompromising struggle to defend the gains and the independence of the union.

Still to come before the convention are many important issues. The anti-red resolution of Reuther and Frankenstein will undoubtedly provoke considerable discussion. Resolutions aimed against Hillman will also come before the convention. The scramble for posts will get a preview when a constitutional provision for a new vice-presidential set-up supported by Addes in agreement with Frankenstein, comes on the floor.

Something new!

No more scavenger hunts!
HARLEM announces!

NEW YORK'S first! PETITION PARTY!

Put Cannon on the ballot FOR MAYOR!
A Free Drink for every 20 names,
A Grand Prize for the most!

Saturday Night, Aug. 16
HARLEM HEADQUARTERS
72 West 125th St.
Dancing and drinks
Admission 25c

War Chest Hits 85% Only One Week To Go

This week the branches of the Socialist Workers Party had achieved 85% of their quota in the \$10,000 War Chest Drive.

Rochester fulfilled its quota this week, and additional contributions lifted Boston and Chicago above the 100% category. This means that now twenty-three branches have achieved or more than achieved their pledge fulfillment.

It must be recorded, however, that the total sum received this week was lower than that of any previous week in the drive.

So far as we can make out, there are two reasons for this:

The first is that as more and more branches achieve their quota, the total amount yet to be sent, and therefore the weekly amounts, naturally grow smaller.

The second is that from all indications the branches are getting ready for a last minute spurt to take them over the line this week, and getting up energy for it.

At any rate, the still delinquent branches have only one week more to reach their quota by the deadline August 21, the first anniversary of Comrade Trotsky's death.

We hope that this week was the lull before the storm that will wind us up 100% by next week.

Contributions This Week

Branch	Amount
Los Angeles	\$41.50
Boston	50.00
Chicago	28.00
South Chicago	35.00
San Francisco	25.00
New York City	73.00
New Haven	3.00
Rochester	3.75
TOTAL	\$259.25

\$10,000 War Chest SCOREBOARD

Branch	Quota	Amt. Pd.	%
BUFFALO	\$ 60.00	\$ 100.00	167
READING	25.00	38.30	153
CLEVELAND	150.00	186.50	124
BALTIMORE	10.00	12.00	120
AKRON	50.00	60.00	120
BOSTON	350.00	403.75	115
ST. PAUL	300.00	325.80	108
ALBANY	25.00	27.00	108
YOUNGSTOWN	150.00	160.00	107
SEATTLE	25.00	26.00	104
FLINT	200.00	207.00	103
CHICAGO	1200.00	1238.12	103
San Diego	100.00	100.00	100
Portland	30.00	30.00	100
St. Louis	25.00	25.00	100
Quakertown	25.00	25.00	100
Toledo	10.00	10.00	100
Detroit	500.00	500.00	100
Louisiana	25.00	25.00	100
Newark	500.00	500.25	100
Philadelphia	125.00	125.00	100
Pittsburgh	40.00	40.00	100
Rochester	50.00	50.00	100
New Haven	50.00	45.00	90
Milwaukee	55.00	46.00	84
San Francisco Bay Area	1100.00	908.83	83
Los Angeles	500.00	386.50	78
South Chicago	125.00	90.00	72
New York City	2500.00	1799.28	72
Texas	20.00	10.00	50
Minneapolis	1200.00	516.54	43
Fresno	30.00	0.00	00
Members-at-Large	475.00	511.30	108
TOTALS	\$10,000.00	\$8528.17	85%



The work of our movement goes on in a slow, steady grind. It is carried on through the years, here and there, quietly and persistently. Those who carry it on work steadily and quietly, sometimes alone, sometimes with help, always with a degree of self-sacrifice which makes those outside wonder.

The reward for that persistent effort comes once in a while when some event tests the depth to which the ideas of the movement have penetrated into the working class. When that test shows growth and increased understanding, every Jimmy Higgins in every part of the country is gratified and his spirit is reinforced for further work.

Such a test came last week when our papers were distributed to the historic Automobile Workers convention in Buffalo. Here is our report:

"Two issues of our paper were distributed to the delegates and received very well. Tens upon tens of the delegates were acquainted with the MILITANT. We could tell by their comments when they took it.

"This is a concrete answer and a reward to those patient Jimmy Higgins of our movement who over a period of months have faithfully and loyally covered the auto and accessory plants in Detroit, Flint, Cleveland, Toledo, etc."

"The MILITANT was taken into the convention hall and read with interest by hundreds of delegates. Evidently what we had to say about the situation was of value to them.

"Some of the comments were as follows: 'Well, you people here, too?' 'What does the MILITANT have to say about the convention?' 'It's the MILITANT. Give me one, too!'

"One delegate told me upon taking the paper, 'You guys tell the truth, at least, although I disagree with your ideas!' A Fisher Body delegate from Cleveland was so gleeful at getting the MILITANT that when he saw one of our friends in the hall, he waved the paper above his head and shouted, 'We got it!'

"It sure does make a comrade feel proud of our party and its paper when he goes through such an experience. Also, let me state that such an experience only confirms once more that THE FUTURE BELONGS TO OUR PARTY!"

SWP, 544 DEFENDANTS ARRAIGNED

Early Trial Is Being Demanded By Government

(Continued from page 1)

held in the various sections of the trucking industry to establish which union the men wish to belong to. CIO requests for similar hearings for elections are now pending before the National Labor Relations Board.

The CIO union and its attorneys are also occupied in fighting a series of cases in which they are defending the right of the union to keep its own treasury, against AFL teamsters' chief Tobin's claim that, upon disaffiliation from the AFL, the Minneapolis truckdrivers' union should have surrendered its treasury to Tobin. In addition to civil suits, Tobin has instigated several "embezzlement" and "grand larceny" indictments on this issue against Miles B. Dunne, President of Local 544-CIO and Kelly Postal, the union's secretary-treasurer. Trial on these indictments is scheduled to begin on August 20.

In view of all these hearings and cases, Local 544-CIO's leaders and attorneys were entitled to the 90-day period to prepare for oral argument in this case, said the union's attorney.

But it is scarcely the government's strategy to give Local 544-CIO more time!

On the contrary, this "seditious conspiracy" case is being pushed so hard precisely in order to aid AFL chieftain Tobin in his desperate attempt to crush Local 544-CIO. This case is the Roosevelt administration's brazen method of helping Tobin, Roosevelt's closest labor lieutenant, against a union which has not only opposed Tobin's rotten union policies but has also opposed Roosevelt's war-mongering.

Albert Goldman, one of the Socialist Workers Party leaders indicted, speaking as attorney for the 13 defendants who are not

members of Local 544-CIO, pointed out to the judge that time is needed to study the indictment because the two statutes under which they are brought have never before been used.

One of these statutes was adopted in 1861, designed for use against the Confederacy. No case has ever been brought in this country under the section of this statute referring to "conspiracy to overthrow the government by force and violence," which now appears in the federal indictment of the Socialist Workers Party.

The other statute is the Smith Act, adopted only a year ago, and whose constitutionality — it violates the free speech provision of the Bill of Rights of the constitution — has been challenged by the American Civil Liberties Union and other organizations.

These constitutional questions must be thoroughly gone into, declared Goldman, before argument can be had on the motions. Opposing the granting of more time, Prosecutor Anderson said the gov-

ernment "had spent a long time" preparing its case and was ready to defend its indictments at any time.

After the defense attorneys had pleaded for more time, they were supported in this request by Vincent Johnson, Minneapolis attorney for the American Civil Liberties Union, who informed Judge Bell that his organization was also studying the constitutional question involved, and would present a brief as "friend of the court," attacking the constitutionality of the indictment. The American Civil Liberties Union felt that the time requested by defendants' attorneys was necessary for adequate preparation.

Judge Bell's decision on this point, apart from fixing August 1 as the date for filing written motions, leaves it up to Judge Joyce to decide how much time the defense and the American Civil Liberties Union will have to prepare to show that the indictment should be dismissed.

August 'Fourth Int'l' Trotsky Memorial Issue

The August issue of **FOURTH INTERNATIONAL**, appearing this week, commemorates the first anniversary of the death of the great proletarian revolutionary, Leon Trotsky.

Outstanding among the articles in this issue is one by Trotsky's widow, Natalia Sedov, entitled **Father and Son**. It discusses the revolutionary activities and personalities of Leon Trotsky and his son, Leon Sedov and includes some reminiscences of Lenin.

An article by Trotsky deals with the armed assault upon his home and the attempt upon his life perpetrated by the GPU in

Coyoacan, Mexico on May 23, 1940.

One of Trotsky's closest collaborators during the years of his exile contributes a personal portrait of the Old Man.

The rich content of this issue is completed by an article on the Soviet Union at war, written by John G. Wright, and two pieces on the Federal prosecution of the Socialist Workers Party in St. Paul, Minnesota.

The magazine sells at 20c and is available at headquarters of locals of the Socialist Workers Party or at the publication offices, 116 University Place, New York City.

How Leon Trotsky Organized The Red Army

He Forged An Invincible Military Force In The Face Of Tremendous Odds

By JOHN G. WRIGHT

The name of Leon Trotsky is inseparably bound up with the formation, life and victories of the Red Army. In addition to all his other gifts and achievements, Leon Trotsky established himself as one of the outstanding military leaders and strategists in history. No one will succeed in obscuring the connection between his role in organizing and building the Red Army and its successes, including the present heroic resistance of the Red soldiers against the Nazi onslaught.

No army was ever organized under such obstacles as confronted Lenin, Trotsky and the Bolsheviks in the organization of the first victorious army of the proletarian revolution.

When the workers seized power in Russia, in October 1917, the country's economy verged on complete chaos as a result of the three years of imperialist world slaughter. Industry and trade were disrupted. The transportation system had collapsed; the system of communications existed in name only. There were no supplies for troops. The deposed landlords and capitalists did everything in their power to sabotage and undermine all constructive work. At the same time, the forces of the counter-revolution, supported by the imperialist world, threw army after army against the encircled revolution.

The Difficulties of Creating the Red Army

But even this did not exhaust the difficulties. In his report on the First Anniversary of the foundation of the Red Army, in February 1919, Trotsky analyzed the conditions at the time as follows:

"Disintegration of industry is of course an unfavorable condition for the creation of an army. But this was not all. The collapse of the old army left in its wake a bitter hatred of everything connected with militarism. The old army had exacted unbelievably heavy sacrifices; it had known only defeats, degradations, retreats, millions of corpses, millions of cripples, and billions in expenditures. It is hardly surprising that this war left in the minds of the popular masses a terrible revulsion to military life and everything connected with the old military clique. And it was under such conditions, Comrades, that we began building the army. Had we been compelled to begin on virgin soil, then we would have had from the outset greater hopes and greater prospects. But no, the army had to be built on a soil of impoverishment and exhaustion, under circumstances when hatred of war and things military seized millions upon millions of workers and peasants. That is why a great many people, not only our enemies but also our friends, stated at the time that in the next few years nothing would come of our attempts to build an army in Russia."

Still more: every other new regime in history immediately drew upon the old army organization for its own military work. For example, the armies of the Great French Revolution came into being as a result of the fusion of feudal regiments with the newly-formed national militia. No similar fusion was possible in the case of the Red Army. The corroded Czarist army not only fell apart but remained a source of infection and demoralization. This terrible obstacle had to be destroyed root and branch. The army of the revolution had to be built up brick by brick. Everything—discipline, fighting tradition, military authority, centralized organization, unified command, and so on—had to be built on new foundations, under fire, and against insuperable odds.

How the Army Was Built

An attempt was first made to form a volunteer army. The decree issued on February 23, 1918 supplied a few volunteer regiments of irregulars. On May 23, 1918 conscription was instituted. But no real army was in the field when Trotsky was placed in charge. There was only its human raw material comprising of: 1) bands of irregulars; 2) refugees escaping from the White Guards; 3) peasants mobilized on the neighboring districts; 4) detachments of workers sent by industrial centers; 5) groups of trade unionists and communists. These had to be forged into a new army, with a correct military organization, on the basis of new ideas, new discipline and new methods, under the direction of qualified commanders. Under whose leadership was this accomplished?

Here is how Lenin depicted the situation in relation to the Red Army on March 15, 1920:

"After all, what did we begin with? Before Trotsky we had Krylenko, Dybenko, Podvoisky and we were left with this collegium. Kolchak and Denikin pasted the daylight out of us. Why? Because there were seven of us sitting together, and we had first to learn things for a space of two years and only then did we accept (the principle of) unified authority." (Lenin's Collected Works, Third Russian Edition, vol. XXV, pp 84-85).

In Lenin's opinion, before Trotsky took charge of the Red Army, there was no leadership, only "a collegium." But Lenin affirmed a great deal more. In 1920, i.e., the critical year of the Civil War, he recognized that Trotsky had had to fight for two years for his basic political-strategic ideas in building the Red Army. This struggle had to be conducted not only against rank-and-file party opposition, but also against opponents in the Central Committee, and the Politbureau, who on several important occasions obtained a majority. This struggle, sometimes extremely sharp and bitter, concluded with the rout of the opposition and with the unreserved acceptance of those ideas, methods and principles which were first elaborated and applied by the Chairman of the Revolutionary Military Council, and which were later adhered to by the Soviet General Staff.

Of the five major political-strategic conflicts which arose in connection with the creation of the Red Army, we shall deal briefly only with the crucial struggle against the so-called "Military Opposition."

In essence this was a struggle against alien class tendencies which manifested themselves in the military sphere by the advocacy of the ideas and methods of guerrilla warfare. Had the champions of guerrillaism prevailed, the doom of the first workers' state would have been sealed on the battlefields of the Civil War.

The Basis of the "Military Opposition"

The chaos of guerrilla warfare, as Trotsky pointed out, expressed the peasant element that lay beneath the revolution, whereas the struggle against it was likewise a struggle in favor of the proletarian state organization as opposed to the elemental, petty bourgeois anarchy that was undermining it.

The majority of the army recruits were peasants. The country itself was a sea of insurgent peasantry to whom this type of warfare is not only traditional but instinctive. The Bolsheviks were likened by Lenin to a drop in these vast waters.

Against this background the methods and ways of guerrilla (or "irregular") fighting found a response in the ranks of the party, a response reflecting the pressure—intensified by the crisis—of the peasantry. This tendency was so strong as to exert a temporary influence upon Lenin. Zinoviev, who together with

Kamenev was the least military-minded of the Bolsheviks, flirted for a time with the "Military Opposition." But its real inspirer and behind-the-scenes organizer was none other than Stalin.

Political struggles over new ideas and new problems almost invariably assume at the beginning the form of a struggle around organizational issues. This was the case with the struggle for the correct political-strategic foundations for the Red Army. The Stalin-led "Military Opposition" stood for ideas which made impossible a correct military organization. Their ideas were in reality the ideas of vulgar petty bourgeois "democrats" translated into military terms. They favored the electoral method of choosing commanders; they opposed the enlistment of military experts, the introduction of military discipline on a proletarian basis; the centralization of the army; unified command, and so on. The dispute centered round the utilization of former Czarist officers. The champions of guerrillaism seized on it because it provided them with the best cover for their false line.

Polemics against Stalin-Voroshilov and Co., at the time, Trotsky wrote: "We should indeed have a low opinion of ourselves and our party, of the moral force of our ideas, of the attractive power of our revolutionary morale, if we thought ourselves incapable of winning over thousands upon thousands of 'specialists' including military ones." The opposition to military specialists in reality reflected an exaggerated estimate of the powers of the bourgeoisie and a contempt for the power of the masses which is so typical of petty-bourgeois outlook. Stalin-Voroshilov and Co. feared the "specialists" because they themselves lacked the necessary knowledge, ability and confidence.

In 1920, Lenin summed up the experience as follows:

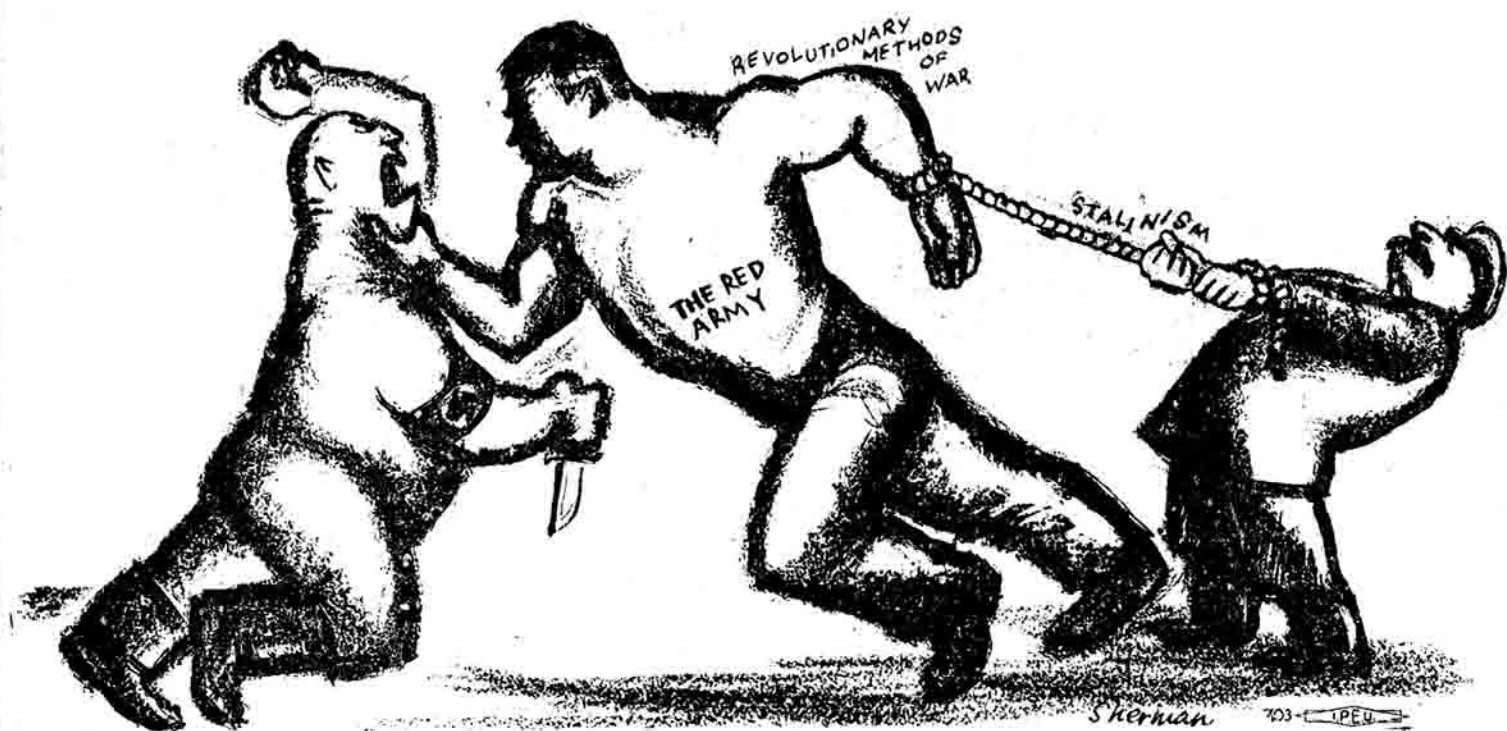
"Thousands of former officers, generals and colonels of the Czarist army betrayed us... you know this, but tens of thousands continue to serve us, while still remaining partisans of the bourgeoisie, and WITHOUT THEM WE WOULD NOT HAVE HAD A RED ARMY. And all of you know that when we tried to create a Red Army without them two years ago, what we got was GUERRILLAISM, CONFUSION. This is what we got: we had 10 to 12 million bayonets, but not a single division; we did not have a single division good enough for the front, and we were unable to fight with millions of bayonets against the insignificant regular army of the White Guards."

Trotsky's Achievements Remained After Him

Out of this "guerrillaism" and "confusion" a mighty army was forged which proved victorious on 22 fronts. Were such an army organized in Russia in the space of less than three years in peace-time and under normal conditions it would have constituted an extraordinary military achievement. When and where and by whom was another army built under such adverse conditions? The revolution was saved because Trotsky's line on the military arena carried with Lenin's aid against Stalin and all his Voroshilovs. Trotsky's success also secured the subsequent development of the Red Army. At the end of the Civil War, the Red Army numbered five million men, most of whom are still alive and many of whom are now fighting on the old battlefields of 1918-1921.

But Trotsky's work in the army did not stop with the termination of the civil war. It was continued for five more years. History knows of many military leaders who succeeded in creating extraordinary commanding staffs; but few of them created staffs that did not fall apart after their departure. The commanding staff of the Red Army—likewise forged on the anvil of the revolution—was one of the great conquests of the October revolution. The Red Army as it exists today is primarily the handiwork of Trotsky and his General Staff. These men, the legendary heroes of the Civil War, advanced to leading positions under

Holding Back The Knockout Punch



Trotsky and met with unbridled opposition at the hands of the "Military Opposition," above all, Stalin.

We cite only the case of Tukhachevsky, universally recognized as one of the ablest Soviet military leaders and strategists. Toward the end of 1919, Tukhachevsky found himself unceremoniously shoved aside. He appealed to Trotsky, whom he telegraphed from Kursk on January 19, 1920 as follows:

"I turn to you with an urgent request to free me from unemployment. I have been aimlessly sitting on the Staff of the South-West Front for almost three weeks, and have been completely without work for about three months. I have been unable to obtain any explanations either for the delay or for failure to get another assignment. If I have rendered any service after almost two years of command of various armies, then I ask to be given the opportunity to use my abilities in some active work..."

Tukhachevsky's term of "unemployment" coincided with Stalin's brief sojourn during that period at the Southern front. Stalin utilized this occasion to deal an underhand blow to the Red Army command. If Stalin had the final say, Tukhachevsky—whom he dubbed Marshal in 1935 and murdered in 1937—would have languished in oblivion and inactivity. But Stalin had very little to say or to do with the constructive work of the Red Army in 1918-1921. Most of that period he spent in civilian pursuits. The few months he did pass at the front were devoted more to political intrigue in favor of the "Military Opposition" than to the military struggle. Suffice it to point out that although formally a member of the Revolutionary Military Council, he never took part in any of its sessions. That is one of the reasons why the minutes of this body remain unpublished to this day.

Stalin's Crimes Against the Red Army

Stalin's direct intervention in military affairs from 1921 to the end of 1937 comes down to the following three political maneuvers: 1) the removal of Trotsky in 1925 from the post of Commissar of War (achieved by Stalin with the aid of Zinoviev and Kamenev); 2) the appointment of Frunze to this post, and Frunze's mysterious death in November, 1926; 3) the appoint-

ment of Voroshilov—then a follower of Bukharin-Rykov—in Frunze's place.

Long after Stalin concentrated political power in his own hands, he had to leave the command of the Army in the hands of those who commanded it under Trotsky.

Throughout his term as Commissar of War, Voroshilov remained a mere figurehead. The work of the Red Army in all its fields was from 1925 to 1937 under the direction of the eight generals and other members of Trotsky's General Staff, whom Stalin murdered in 1937-1938 as "enemies of the people." It was they who continued to build the Red Army on the foundations laid down by Trotsky. They modernized and mechanized it. They planned and constructed the fortifications in the West (the so-called Stalin line) as well as in Siberia. They drafted the mobilization plans. They prepared the strategic plans for meeting future attacks.

The internal logic of Stalin's Moscow frameups drove him in 1937-1938 to extend his purge to the Red Army. The Red Generals, who had submitted to Stalin politically, resisted the weakening of the armed forces. They paid with their lives. To extend his personal sway to the armed forces, Stalin had first to destroy the flower of the command of the Red Army, Navy and Airforce.

The heroic resistance of the Red Army to the Nazi onslaught now presents the whole world with additional factual evidence of Stalin's infamous frame-ups of Tukhachevsky, Yakir, Ubovich, Alksnis and others. If, as the Stalinists lie, they were Hitler's agents, the German High Command would have been adequately informed concerning the defenses of the USSR, its fortifications, mobilization plans and other military secrets. Why then have the Nazi armies been caught by surprise?

The quality of the Red Army's resistance is proof of how ably and loyally these men had fulfilled their tasks prior to Stalin's savage blows to the fighting power of the Soviet army. All of Stalin's crimes against the Red Army since 1937-1938 have not been able to undo the work initiated by Trotsky in August 1918, and carried on for the next 20 years by the men who served under him. It is the Army of the October Revolution and the Civil War—Trotsky's Red Army—that is now fighting so heroically.

Natalia Trotsky Exposes New Plot To Free Jacson

Bares GPU Attempts To Construct "Self-Defense" Motive As Alibi

(The following declaration by Natalia Trotsky concerning the GPU's secret moves to liberate Leon Trotsky's assassin has been published in the entire Mexican press.)

The GPU plans to provide in Jacson, the assassin of Trotsky, an even more striking instance than the case of Siqueiros, of the immunity it can bestow upon its agents. Trotsky's assassin is a constant danger to Stalin so long as he remains in prison. In despair he might one day decide to talk. This is why the GPU finds itself obliged to treat him with the greatest solicitude, lining his pockets constantly with money, paying handsomely for a lawyer who is cousin to the President of the Superior Court of the Federal District, and spreading a new net of falsifications and bribes to keep up the assassin's hope of early freedom. True enough, this seems fantastic; but its monstrous "lack of evidence" which freed Siqueiros seem less fantastic? After that instance, anything is possible!

From the latest moves of the defense, the authorities are aware that the GPU is preparing a plot to liberate its assassin. Public opinion should also become aware of it. Is everything possible for Stalin's mercenary criminals?

The logic of the facts, the facts themselves and the shady maneuvers are so obvious, so cynically organized, that it seems inconceivable that the GPU agents who prepare them remain judicially secret. The person who appears as the exponent of these sophistries and the author of the maneuvers is, naturally, the criminal's lawyer, Mr. Medellin Ostos.

The most casual reader will begin by asking himself: "How is it possible for Jacson to retain an expensive lawyer when he totally lacks funds for the trial, personal connections of any kind, friends and known family?" The assassin not only has a high priced lawyer, but he also commands enough money (Is there anyone who does not know that the money comes from the GPU?) to treat himself to the best of everything and to pay for the pleasures well-known to those familiar with the internal functioning of the penitentiary.

Where is the GPU heading with its dubious maneuvers? On March 28th the assassin, obligingly questioned by Mr. Medellin Ostos, established the basis of the maneuver for which the gangster is paying the lawyer so well. The assassin now says: "... Colonel Salazar became irritated and said, 'I am easygoing, but I also know how to employ other means...' having left and a short time later returned with a doctor...; having given him (Jacson) an injection that made him lose consciousness immediately;... afterwards... they gave him another injection in the hip which made him go completely mad..."

Later statements indicate that the defense is trying to throw out all of the principal part of the assassin's earlier statements, including the letter that the GPU put in his pocket. The defense is trying to begin the trial all over again in order to direct it... where? It cannot yet be said with certainty. By some of the questions that the defense has successively put to various witnesses one can deduce, however, that the GPU is probing for an opening, is endeavoring artificially to stir up confusion and create contradictions, with one single end in view: to present, although without the least legal support, a new theory: Jacson killed... in legitimate self-defense.

If there had not existed judges

to maintain that Siqueiros assaulted our house only to steal two automobiles which he abandoned a few hundred yards away, and papers that he tried to set afire together with the house and its occupants; if there had not existed judges who maintained that the gangsters of the GPU were "co-religionists" and that the shots fired over our bed were only for "psychological effects;" we would say in advance: the GPU will fail in its attempt. But Siqueiros, assassin, potential assassin, incendiary and accessory to murder, was also in the service of the GPU and went free. Why not Jacson?

It is true that seven months intervened between the date on which the assassin was supposedly injected and that in which he pretends, for the first time, to have talked and signed without knowing what he was doing. It is true that between these two dates, long after the injections, the assassin confirmed his statement. It is true that the murder weapon has been recognized as Jacson's by his friend J. Antonio Patino, by Sylvia Ageloff, and by the assassin himself. It is true that Colonel Sanchez Salazar interrogated him in Spanish which the assassin pretends not to understand. It is true that the English police gave sufficient data to identify the assassin as an agent of the GPU. It is true that everyone knows that Jacson is an agent of the GPU. But there were similar proofs against Siqueiros, and Siqueiros is traveling through South America under the protection of Ambassador Reyes Spinola.

Jacson was unaware of his pretended unconsciousness until after having been advised by his lawyer, Mr. Medellin Ostos. His disturbances and reactions originate rather in the latter's advice than in injections. And even so, three months elapsed between the date in which Mr. Medellin Ostos took over the assassin's defense

and that on which his client first spoke of injections and disturbances; that goes to show that there could not have been a "revelation" by Jacson to his lawyer but rather that the latter put the lie in the mouth of his client.

The doctors who attended the assassin in the Cruz Verde hospital have certified that the substances injected into him were all completely harmless. Colonel Sanchez Salazar, to whom they attribute a falsification, is not a Trotskyist, nor are the doctors; and Jacson, himself, would not be worth such machinations. Then why? By whom? And the statements Jacson made after being injected? All reveal a sustained, logical, stubborn determination not to reveal names of collaborators, nor of friends, nor of relatives, nor of his employer, nor of any source of funds. In all this there is complete concordance with the letter written before the assassination. The nonsensical, absurd and maddening part of all this is that it merits attention only because it originates in the GPU and there is the precedent of Siqueiros.

Only the GPU — we will repeat this until doomsday — defends Jacson. We should have said — nothing less than the GPU. It paid for the crime, it will rescue the criminal. Mr. Medellin Ostos necessarily works in close collaboration with agents or sub-agents of the GPU; it pays. Fortunately for him, professional secrecy permits him to hide much important data which would serve to clarify the crime and its motives. We cannot expect any trace of honor in Mr. Ostos that would compel him to tell who pays him and why they pay him. Through him passes the line of communication between Jacson and the GPU — a fundamental point in the trial. With that convenient professional secrecy, there are lawyers who might otherwise become defendants.

NATALIA SEDOVA TROTSKY
August 6, 1941 Coyoacan, D.F.

Charge That Assassin's Lawyer Is GPU Accomplice Goes Unanswered

By WALTER ROURKE

MEXICO, D. F. August 10, 1941—As the first year following Leon Trotsky's murder nears completion, the G.P.U. is gradually arriving at a plan to free Jacson, the assassin. Little by little, the foundation for the projected "alibi" is being laid. In a statement which was published in all the dailies of Mexico City, Natalia Trotsky denounced this plot in the strongest of terms.

The murderer's lawyer, Medellin Ostos, has followed the policy of seizing upon every occasion to protest against the judge's "partiality." He demands the right to ask questions of witnesses that have nothing to do with the case; he demands the testimony of people when such testimony can do nothing but clutter up the court records. Each time the judge refuses such a request, he protests the decision and the judge's "partiality."

On the other hand, it is possible to discern a line of development in the midst of much irrelevant material. He has asked certain questions of every policeman who was a member of the former guard posted outside the house on the day of the murder: Was Trotsky strong or weak? Was he agile and quick in his movements or slow? Where was the police guard posted to watch the office in which the fatal blow was struck? How does the police in charge know that only government officials entered the house on the night of the 20th of August?

"SELF-DEFENSE" THEORY

Such questions following Jacson's statement last March that he had been injected with a "strange liquid" before making his most complete and damning statements, makes it clear that the G.P.U. is constructing the story designed to free its agent. This story may well be: "Trotsky became violently angry during an argument with Jacson and attacked him physically, forcing Jacson to kill in legitimate self-defense! Tell-tale evidence was removed from the office in the first night after the murder." To forewarn of such a story, Natalia Trotsky issued her statement to the press. The repercussions to this state-

ment were immediate. The following day, Ostos sent a note to the press "in answer" to the charge leveled against him. Gallantly assuming the pose of a gentleman, he said he wanted to be "not only tolerant but also benevolent" with the aggrieved widow, and therefore... did not answer one of the charges in a statement accusing him of being the go-between and therefore the accomplice of the G.P.U. He added that in regard to "the Messrs advisors" of Comrade Natalia, he promised them to continue to the end the defense of the G.P.U. assassin. His justification is that of all gangster's lawyers — he is only pursuing his profession. His "profession" apparently obligated him to become an accomplice in his client's crimes!

Trotsky's Last Work
MANIFESTO OF THE
FOURTH INTERNATIONAL
on the
IMPERIALIST WAR
and the
PROLETARIAN REVOLUTION

48 pages 5 cents per copy

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Trotsky Showed How To Fight War and Fascism And The Only Way To Defend The Soviet Union

We Cannot Wipe Out War And Fascism Until Capitalism Is Destroyed

Trotsky, the great warrior against capitalism, taught the workers how to fight against the two most malignant evils of capitalism, war and fascism.

He taught that fascism is not something unaccountable. It is not the result of the wicked will of certain men or certain governments. Rather, it is the result of conditions that arise out of the decay of capitalism in the period of imperialism.

Political democracy of the kind known to the world in the last hundred years or so was itself an outgrowth of the rise of capitalism. The bosses found from experience that such a political system was suitable for their purposes: industrialization, development of production, exploitation of "free labor" in new and rich countries. It was adopted both because of pressure from the masses and because it helped promote capitalist production.

The decay of capitalism, however, produces a crisis in all capitalist institutions. The political regime of bourgeois democracy also undergoes a crisis.

Under these conditions bourgeois democracy cannot go on as before, because its material foundations have been washed away and the capitalists can no longer afford it.

This crisis makes it imperative that the workers take power to preserve and extend democracy. If they fail in this, the capitalists will use fascist movements to erase its last remnants.

HOW TO FIGHT FASCISM

To fight fascism, Trotsky taught, it is necessary for the workers and farmers to carry on an uncompromising revolutionary struggle against the capitalist system directed toward the seizure of power.

For the successful prosecution of this struggle joint action of the workers' organizations through the united front is essential.

When Hitler was becoming a threat in Germany in the early 30's, Trotsky worked ceaselessly for the formation of such a united front to coordinate the struggles of the 13,000,000 workers who voted for the Communist and Socialist Parties.

themselves and fought the fascists in the only language they understand. Workers' committees took over the factories, peasants took the land, and the masses were on the way to destroying fascism and its breeder, capitalism, as well.

Again the People's Front prevented the definitive defeat of fascism. If you seize the factories and the land, Stalinists, Socialists and Anarchists all lectured you will antagonize the Spanish capitalists and landlords who are willing to fight with us against Franco; you will also repel the British and French governments, who will help us if we protect bourgeois democracy — and capitalist property. Where lecturing did not do the job, they did not hesitate to jail and murder revolutionary workers.

But the foreign "democracies" did not do what the People's Fronters promised they would, even though the revolution was suppressed. Instead, they followed the policy of "non-intervention," which effectively blocked off all material aid to the Loyalists while it covered the aid given by Hitler and Mussolini.

WHAT AMERICAN WORKERS CAN DO

The workers in the United States have an instinctive hatred of fascism and an understanding of what it means if it were established here. In addition, the workers in this country have a powerful labor movement which has demonstrated its strength as a fighting force on a thousand picket lines.

To these weapons of the anti-fascist fight must now be added a thorough understanding of the German, Spanish and French lessons. American workers must hitch their militancy to a program that can insure victory. The program of Trotskyism stands for class unity and independence, and the spirit of bold revolutionary struggle which strikes at the roots of fascism as well as at the fascists.

The workers cannot rely upon anyone but themselves and their own fighting forces to defeat fascism of native or foreign origin — that is the essence of Trotsky's teachings.

War, like fascism, is inseparable

from capitalism in its death agonies. Trotsky taught us that capitalism in its present stage means the permanent reaction, regardless of the wishes of individual capitalists. As long as capitalism rules wars are inevitable. Only the creation of a world federation of socialist republics will usher in an era of lasting peace.

All attempts to combat the symptoms of capitalist decay without combatting its fundamental cause are doomed to failure. The pacifists, the liberals, the "men of good will," who claim to explain war, only confuse the question, because their answers are based on the idea that war can be "outlawed" while the political and economic power of the capitalists to wage war remains untouched.

THE SLOGANS OF FUTILITY AND BETRAYAL

Disarmament? But who will disarm whom? Trotsky asked. The only effective disarmament is the disarmament of the bosses by the workers. And to disarm the bosses, the workers must themselves take power.

Pacifism? But the bosses are not pacifists, and they are the ones who profit from war, not the workers. The bosses will not become pacifists until their power is taken away from them. Since the pacifists cannot show us how to do this but preach submission to capitalism, they hinder the real struggle against war.

National defense? The defense

of democracy against fascism? By this the bosses mean defense of their profits and plunder. The workers will defend the nation when it belongs to them, when it is not controlled by a tiny minority of exploiters. They have first to defend democracy against the government that is attacking it here. When they have real democracy under a workers' and farmers' government, no one will have to plead with or put pressure on the workers to defend it.

These are the answers Trotsky gave to the slogans of the confusionists and betrayers.

TROTSKY'S MILITARY POLICY

In the last months of his life Trotsky fused the struggle against war and fascism into one single program, outlining a proletarian military policy.

Trotsky recognized that the democratic bosses are not fighting a war to defeat fascism, and that the workers can smash fascism only by a force. His program to meet both these problems was the demand for military training under trade union control to educate workers to be soldiers and officers. Thus would be created an armed force that would be serious about defeating fascism, of both native and foreign varieties, and that would be responsible to the workers and responsive to their interests.

Extension Of The October Revolution To Other Lands Alone Can Save the USSR

"Workers of the World Unite!" This slogan from the Communist Manifesto was the guiding line of Trotsky's revolutionary policies, including his policy for the defense of the Soviet Union.

Together with the other great Marxist leaders, Trotsky taught that the struggle of the workers and oppressed peoples for emancipation from capitalism could be waged and won only on a world scale. The action of any single national section of the working class must harmonize with the interests of the workers elsewhere. If opportunist leaders set the workers in one country against those of other countries, the interests of all are bound to suffer.

This revolutionary internationalist outlook applies with particular force to the burning problem of defending the Soviet Union today. Stalin's regime seeks to defend the Soviet Union (in reality, to protect its own position and privileges within it) by the most conservative nationalist methods. Instead of appealing to the Bolshevik traditions of the Red Army which brought victory under Trotsky, the Stalinists invoke the departed spirits of the feudal military regime of Suvorov and the Russian Knights of the 12th Century. Stalin dares not revive the crusading spirit of the October revolution.

The bulk of Hitler's army consists of workers, many of whom remain true to the ideas of working class solidarity. How can these workers within Hitler's army and factories be induced to turn against the war, rise up and join in common struggle with the Red soldiers against their fascist slave-masters? How can the resistance of the subjugated European peoples be raised to the heights of revolt?

The revolutionary methods of war pursued by Trotsky's Red Army in 1918-1921 demonstrated how this can be done. Call upon the German workers and soldiers to overthrow Hitler and the capitalist regime he serves and to set up their own Soviet Republic. Appeal to the workers and peasants in the conquered countries to act along the same lines. Combine all these separate national revolutionary struggles by giving them a

single goal: the Socialist United States of Europe.

Such was the program advocated by the Bolsheviks under Lenin and Trotsky. Defend the isolated workers' state by extending the revolution and creating new workers' republics!

But Stalin has no confidence in the independent power of the international proletarian revolution. He fears, almost as much as Hitler and Churchill, that the revolutionary fire of the European proletariat will consume him in its sweep. Now he stakes his bets upon the alliance with the Anglo-American imperialists, who are as unreliable as his fascist partners of yesterday. In line with this treacherous policy, Moscow has discarded the slogan: "Workers of the World Unite!" for the imperialist lie of the Holy Crusade of the "democracies" against fascism. Instead of driving a wedge between Hitler and the German workers, this kind of reactionary propaganda serves to bind them closer together, for the German people fear above all a second Versailles dictated by England and the United States.

Trotsky taught that, regardless of the temporary alliances and agreements entered into by the Soviet state, the workers in capitalist countries should not support their capitalist governments. In war as in peace, they must continue their struggle for improved conditions and enhanced power. The stronger the labor movement in every country, the more militant and revolutionary its character, the more the ranks of labor could aid the Soviet Union in its hour of danger.

The Stalinist parties in the U.S. and Great Britain pursue an altogether different policy. They follow the policy of the Social Democrats in the last war. They have abandoned all pretense of opposition to the imperialist war, all resistance to attacks upon the workers. The net result of such subservience to the capitalists and their governments is to weaken the power and self-confidence of the working class, as they were crippled in France during the days of the Stalin-Laval Pact.

The Stalinists justify their collaboration with the capitalists by the necessity of obtaining aid for the Soviet Union. But the stronger and more militant the working class movement becomes, the more likely the government is to give arms and material aid to the Soviet Union, and the better the workers' position to frustrate any secret designs the imperialists may have in sabotaging its defense.

Now, more than imperialist arms and ammunition, the Soviet Union needs for its defense the revival of Soviet democracy at home and a return to the revolutionary internationalism of Trotsky and Lenin on the world front.

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DEFEND CIVIL LIBERTIES! PROTEST FBI PERSECUTION OF SWP!

Members of the Socialist Workers Party and the leaders of Motor Transport and Allied Workers Union, Local 544-CIO—a total of twenty-nine defendants—have just been indicted in Minnesota on charges of "conspiracy to overthrow the Government." Not since the infamous Palmer cases following the last war has the Federal Government conducted such a persecution against members of a working class party for their opinions or trade unionists because of their activities in the labor movement.

The defendants urgently need funds to defray the heavy costs of fighting this case. DO YOUR SHARE!

THE AMERICAN CIVIL LIBERTIES UNION

"The American Civil Liberties Union went on record in opposition to the Smith Act when it was introduced in Congress and after its passage in 1940 the Union announced its intention to test the constitutionality when and if the occasion arose. Such an occasion, we believe, is at hand now, in these first cases under the law.

THE NATION

"For the first time in peace since the Alien and Sedition Laws of John Adams a mere expression of opinion is made a federal crime. Under these provisions a man might be sent to jail for ten years because he circulated such un-American documents as the Declaration of Independence and Lincoln's Second Inaugural, for both 'advocate, abet, advise, or teach the duty, necessity, desirability, or propriety of overthrowing or destroying any government' by force... If the leaders of Local 544 can be convicted for their opinions, so can others."

SEND YOUR CONTRIBUTIONS TO

THE CIVIL RIGHTS DEFENSE COMMITTEE

Organized on Behalf of the Defendants in the Federal Prosecution of the Socialist Workers Party

GEORGE E. NOVACK, Secretary-Treasurer
Room 809, 160 Fifth Avenue, New York City.

I enclose \$..... for your Defense Fund.

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THE C.I.O.

"It is deplorable that the functions of the U.S. Department of Justice have been perverted in this reprehensible manner... The National C.I.O. will not be deterred by the indictments but will continue to carry forward with all the resources at its command the campaign to organize the Motor Transport and Allied Workers in Minneapolis and the nation."

THE NEW REPUBLIC

"This is one of the most serious issues involving civil liberties to arise in the United States in many years... That the Minneapolis case is tremendously important goes without saying. President Roosevelt and Acting Attorney General Francis Biddle have repeatedly promised that there would be no such violations of civil liberties as stained the honor of America in the last war. For a country preparing to fight for the principles of democracy, now to violate those principles... would be unforgivable; it would be worth ten divisions to Hitler."

Fill Out
This Coupon
As Your Protest
Against
The Indictments

Trotsky wrote in his uncompleted article:

"In the eyes of the bureaucracy of the trade union movement the chief task lies in 'freeing' the state from the embrace of capitalism, in weakening its dependence on trusts, in pulling it over to their side. This position is in complete harmony with the social position of the labor aristocracy and the labor bureaucracy, who fight for a crumb in the share of the super-profits of imperialist capitalism. The labor bureaucrats do their level best in words and deeds to demonstrate to the 'democratic' state how reliable and indispensable they are in peace-time and especially in time of war."

This role of the trade union bureaucracy, as predicted by Trotsky becomes clearer each day, as the American ruling class hastens to complete its preparations for war.

The AFL leadership, representing the most privileged layers of American labor, has long since given its unqualified assurances to the Roosevelt administration that it is prepared to sacrifice every interest of American labor as a token of "how reliable and indispensable they are" to American imperialism. These leaders do not wait for no-strike governmental decrees, but declare in their own name a no-strike decree within the union of the AFL. They leap to the aid of government strikebreaking at every opportunity, maintain a treacherous silence, or at most whimper a feeble protest, in the face of attempts to enact anti-labor legislation, and plead for the opportunity to sit on government boards together with the Wall Street dollar-a-year men.

As Trotsky pointed out, the subservience of the trade union bureaucracy to the bosses is most openly expressed during war:

Trotsky Told Workers How To Save The Unions

No small part of the political genius of Leon Trotsky was his ability to apply his theoretical ideas to the concrete developments within the labor movement of any country. His grasp of Marxist theory enabled him to analyze the trends and movements of the working class, to foresee the direction in which these movements would travel under the impact of the imperialist war, and to pose the essential and practical program for the organizations of the working class to pursue in this period.

Trotsky left in manuscript form the rough notes of an article, "Trade Unions in the Epoch of Imperialist Decay" (FOURTH INTERNATIONAL, February 1941), which contain the basic ideas he intended to develop in a more finished form.

Trotsky showed how in every capitalist democracy the trade union leadership in times of peace attempts to adapt the unions to a policy of collaboration with the capitalist government; and in times of war to fuse the unions with the machinery of the imperialist state.

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peralist state. The struggle among the tops between the old federation and the new is reducible in large measure to the struggle for the sympathy and support of Roosevelt and his cabinet."

Hence, as Trotsky indicated, the CIO top leadership, in the period of war, would be under pressure to place the CIO unions under the thumb of the capitalist government. One sector of the CIO leadership, represented by Sidney Hillman, has already gone down the line completely with the government in its strikebreaking and anti-labor policies.

But the CIO cannot be tamed easily. Its millions of members within the mass production industries feel most immediately the impact of the war and its demands upon labor. These workers have gone through tremendous struggles of the most militant kind and today threaten "a stormy movement... to create difficulties for national imperialism." The workers of the CIO continue to strike and continue to resist the shackles of government control in opposition, in many instances, to their own leadership.

This tremendous pressure from the ranks is reflected in the position of CIO leaders like Philip Murray and John L. Lewis. Lewis and Murray are more subject to the pressure of the ranks than William Green, and are impelled, thereby, to take a more positive stand in opposition to the brazenly anti-labor acts of the government.

It is precisely in those unions where the traditions of militancy and democratic practice are most alive, that the conflict Trotsky visualized is most apparent. That

is the essence of the fight now raging at the convention of the UAW-CIO.

The conflict in the UAW, as in every other trade union, is fundamentally over the basic question of the unions' survival in wartime: Shall the unions continue as independent instruments of workers' struggles, or will they be transformed into mere agencies of the capitalist government for the conduct of the imperialist war?

An outcome favorable to the workers in this fundamental struggle, according to Trotsky, is possible only if the fight is based on these two major points:

"The primary slogan for this struggle is: complete and unconditional independence of the trade unions in relation to the capitalist state. This means a struggle to turn the trade unions into the organs of the broad exploited masses and not the organs of a labor aristocracy."

"The second slogan is: trade union democracy. This second slogan flows directly from the first and presupposes for its realization the complete freedom of the trade unions from the imperialist or colonial state."

It is precisely around these two slogans, formulated by Trotsky prior to his death, that the rank-and-file of the trade union movement in America is beginning to rally in defense of its organized existence against the totalitarian demands of the capitalist war machine.

If the Greens and Hillmans have their way, American imperialism will completely wipe out the independence of the union movement by converting it into a mere appendage of the capitalist state.

If the program of Leon Trotsky prevails, the workers of America will control their own trade-union organizations and operate them in a free, democratic, and militant manner for the promotion of their own class interests.

TROTSKY MEMORIAL MEETINGS

IN NEWARK
Speaker: William F. Warde
Editor, "Fourth International"
Time:
Friday, August 22, at 8:30 p.m.
Place:
Krueger's Auditorium, 25 Belmont Ave.

IN YOUNGSTOWN
Speaker: George Schraum
Cleveland Organizer SWP
Time:
Friday, August 22, at 8 p.m.
Place:
Ukrainian Hall, 525 W. Rayen Ave.

IN PHILADELPHIA
Speaker: John G. Wright
Translator of Trotsky's Works
Time:
Sunday, August 24, at 8 p.m.
Place:
431 Pine Street

The Negro Struggle

By ALBERT PARKER

The Army and Segregations

A United Press dispatch from Fort Bragg, N. C., last week told of another of the tragic outbreaks between white and Negro soldiers that result from the Army-enforced system of segregation of all Negroes in the armed forces.

Like most of the other cases reported, this one came about when a southern white M. P. decided for some reason to arrest a Negro private.

So far the only version of the story that has appeared has come from Army officials. According to them, Sergeant E. L. Hargraves attempted to arrest Private Ned Turman, a Negro soldier on a bus containing over a score of other Negroes. The Army does not mention why the arrest was being made.

Then, suddenly, if you can believe the story, Turman grabbed Hargraves' gun and shot him to death. Other M. P.'s opened up and apparently shot at every one in the bus. Turman was killed, another Negro seriously wounded, and six others suffered "minor wounds."

One does not have to know any more to understand what is really responsible for this tragedy, which is so like the hundreds of other cases in other camps.

By order from the White House, Negroes are separated from contact with white soldiers in every sphere of military life. White soldiers who do not already have it are thus inculcated with the theory of "white supremacy" and "Negro inferiority." The situation is further aggravated by the inferior accommodations for the Negroes (in recreational facilities, etc.) and the lack of Negro officers and military police.

Thus, racial outbreaks are directly caused and indirectly encouraged by the Roosevelt system of Negro segregation.

An ironic twist ends the story. The Army officials decided that it was a bad situation, and that there might be further trouble. So:

All of the 4,000 Negroes in the camp were taken out and sent to another camp nine miles away.

The headline on the U. P. dispatch reads, "Negroes Segregated After M. P. Is Slain."

The Army solves a problem by its own segregation policies by deciding to segregate the segregated!

What Will the USO Do?

Since the Communist Party has decided that the boss government will defend the Soviet Union, it has also decided that the bosses will solve other problems as well.

In the August 7 issue of the *Daily Worker* was an account of the Jim Crow treatment of Negro soldiers in army recreational life. A few months ago the Stalinists said that only the united, militant action of Negro and white workers could end this and all other forms of discrimination. Now however they say of the problem: "Here is a task for the United Service Organizations."

If this is a task for the USO, then the workers don't have to worry about it anymore.

The Stalinists are deliberately confusing the issue. They know as well as anyone else that the USO is not going to do any more about Jim Crowism than the YMCA and similar bodies did in World War I. They know that all the USO can do or will do for Negroes is establish a few segregated recreational centers for them.

All the USO intends to do is make the Army system of segregation and discrimination a little more acceptable to the Negro soldiers.

And with this the Stalinists would now be satisfied. They too know that the bosses and their organizations will not end Jim Crowism. With their present bootlicking support of the government, they themselves do not dare to conduct a fight against it. And so if the USO would make army Jim Crowism a little less harsh, they could go to the Negroes, hail this as a victory and use it to justify Negro support of the war.

A Correction by Pickens

William Pickens, now working for the U. S. Treasury, complained this week that "so many misstatements have been made about my position" that he has to explain what it really is.

The misstatements he refers to are the attacks launched against him from many sources for taking a \$6,000 a year job with the Treasury to sell "defense" bonds and support of the war to the impoverished Negro people who want no part of the war.

"I am 'selling bonds' and am not a salesman of any kind," he says, "unless we use a figure of speech and call it 'selling ideas'."

So print the correction: Pickens is not selling bonds, he is just selling out.

Trotsky Fought Unceasingly Against Life-Long Persecution

Stalinist Hounding Was Powerless To Interrupt His Work

By JOSEPH HANSEN

When Stalin's assassin drove his pickaxe into the skull of Leon Trotsky, he brought to its culmination a vendetta unparalleled in history for its ferocious hounding of a single individual.

During the first World War, Kerensky threw Trotsky in Kresty prison on the slanderous charge that the Bolsheviks were "German spies." This imprisonment of Trotsky by the "democratic" Russian bourgeois government climaxed the incarcerations, exiles, expulsions, and internment he had already suffered at the hands of the Czarist, French, and British governments prior to the revolution. But Kerensky merely projected the outlines of the monstrous lies, vilifications, tortures, and killings which Stalin visited upon Trotsky and his followers for more than a decade and a half following upon the recession of the great post-war revolutionary wave.

The roots of Stalin's vendetta against Trotsky reach back as early as 1918.

After Lenin's death Stalin sealed an unprincipled alliance with Zinoviev and Kamenev against Trotsky who remained true to the banner of Lenin. The "Troika" launched a tremendous campaign of slander against Trotsky. Out-lived polemics between Trotsky and Lenin were dug up to be grossly distorted. Followers of Trotsky were beaten, barred from the platform, deprived of a livelihood, framed-up. The press was filled with a virulent barrage so intensive and so brazen that it stunned the entire populace.

Trotsky felt this campaign, together with his wife, Natalia, "as keenly as if we had been suffering from the most malignant disease." Nevertheless, Trotsky marshaled his forces and proceeded with the task of organizing and steeling the opposition movement to the Stalinist bureaucracy. He understood perfectly that a long fight was ahead. Who could say how deep the reaction would go or how long it would last?

PERSECUTIONS OF THE SECRETARIAT

Now began that tragic series of deaths of those intimately associated with Trotsky. Glazman, his personal secretary through the years of the revolution, was driven in 1924 to commit suicide. Glazman was the first of the members of Trotsky's famous secretariat to perish. Poznansky who had borne great responsibilities during the revolution, and Syermuks, who served with Glazman as stenographer in the military train, were condemned by Stalin to the wilds of Siberia for attempting to follow Trotsky into exile at Alma Ata. Their final fate is unknown.

Trotsky's secretariat was a special object of Stalin's vengeance. Erwin Wolfe was murdered by the GPU in Spain. Rudolph Klement was murdered in Paris, and Robert Sheldon Harte in Mexico. The enforced suicide of A. A. Joffe and the crushing of Christian Rakovsky, Trotsky's bosom friends and outstanding leaders of the revolution, were typical of Stalin's bloody reprisals against the Left Opposition. Thousands of other intimates of Lenin and Trotsky perished in the mass purges.

TROTSKY'S FAMILY HOUNDED TOO

Trotsky's immediate family was cut down one by one at the hands of the Kremlin butcher. Shortly after he had been forcibly exiled to Alma Ata, Trotsky was informed of the death of his younger daughter, Nina. At the time of her death on June 9, 1928, she was only 23 years old. She had taken active part in the struggle of the Opposition against Stalin, ardently espousing the cause of "Trotskyism," and for this she was

In Exile



A posed portrait of Leon Trotsky taken in Coyoacan, Mexico, shortly before his death at the hands of Stalin's GPU.

denied the medical care that might have saved her. The letter she wrote her father just before her death took 73 days to travel from Moscow through the hands of the GPU to Alma Ata.

Nina's husband, also a supporter of the Opposition, had been arrested shortly before Trotsky's exile. Nothing more is known of his fate except that eight years later he was still in prison.

Zina, Trotsky's older daughter, received special permission to visit Trotsky in January 1931 after his forcible deportation to Prinkipo. Her husband and a daughter remained behind in Russia. In 1932 when she went to Germany for medical treatment she and her son Seva were deprived of Soviet citizenship and refused permission to return to the USSR. Her husband and her daughter were seized by the GPU and have not since been heard from. Trotsky's first wife, Alexandra Lvovna Sokolovskaya, who had been taking care of Zina's daughter, was condemned to exile where she too disappeared. When Beria ordered Zina to be deported from Germany, she had no place to go. Despairing of ever again seeing her husband, seared by the calumnies and slanders leveled against her father, on January 5, 1933 she committed suicide.

Leon Sedov, Trotsky's older son, followed his father into exile at Alma Ata and then into deportation at Prinkipo. He left a wife and child behind in Moscow. Their fate is unknown.

Sergei, Trotsky's younger son, stayed behind in Moscow. He did not take part in the Opposition work but remained neutral in politics, devoting himself to his work as an engineer and teacher. He was arrested with his wife in 1934, and later charged with preparing a "premeditated mass poisoning of workers." Their fate is not known to this day.

On November 7, 1927, during a demonstration on the streets of Moscow a policeman fired at Trotsky's automobile. This was precisely the time when Stalin was

weighing in his mind extreme measures against Trotsky. Zinoviev and Kamenev warned Trotsky that assassination was not beyond the usurper in the Kremlin.

Stalin more than once declared that the most serious error he ever made was expelling Trotsky from the Soviet Union. But Stalin organized all the resources of the government of the USSR, the most powerful spy system in the world, the GPU, and all the resources and connections of the degenerated Third International to "rectify" this error.

THE DEATH OF LEON SEDOV

A most bitter personal blow suffered by Trotsky and Natalia was the death of Leon Sedov, their oldest boy. Sedov had been a conscious revolutionary since the days of the revolution — before the age of 12. Too young to serve in the Red Army, he nevertheless advanced his age by a year and joined the Communist Youth. He struck out for himself, in distinction to the majority of the sons of the Soviet officials, choosing to live in a workers' student dormitory rather than with his parents in the Kremlin. He went with his father in the military train on several occasions, "absorbing its stark impressions, and firmly understanding why this bloody struggle was being waged." He took an active part in the organization of the Left Opposition. He went with his parents to Alma Ata and then to Prinkipo, in both places playing an invaluable role. In Berlin and later, after the rise of Hitler, in Paris, he edited the Russian Bulletin. He did work of first importance in exposing the Moscow frame-ups and analyzing the Stakhanovist movement. Trotsky considered him co-author of all his works subsequent to 1928. Agents of the GPU dogged his heels, rented apartments next to his, made at least one unsuccessful attempt to kill him. In February of 1938 Sedov was stricken with appendicitis and taken to a hospital. On February 16 he died under mysterious circumstances, which French diplomacy, in view of its pact with Stalin, did not care to unveil.

Those sentences in which Trotsky speaks of the influence upon Sedov of the years of Stalin's persecution reflect too the effect this persecution had upon Trotsky himself: "This young and profoundly sensitive and tender being had had far too much to bear. The long years of the campaign of lies against his father and the best of the older comrades, whom Leon from his childhood had become accustomed to revere and love, had already deeply shaken his moral organism. . . . Material difficulties and privations Leon bore lightly, jokingly, like a true proletarian; but of course they too left their mark. Infinitely more harrowing were the effects of subsequent moral tortures. . . . no 'Stalinism' was for Leon not an abstract political concept but an endless series of moral blows and spiritual wounds."

Many times in writing his biography of Stalin, Trotsky found the facts of Stalin's career so revolting he became nauseated. Dealing with the machinations of the GPU was as repugnant to Trotsky as digging into a clogged sewer. Yet the last three months of his life were spent on nothing but this reeking miasma of the GPU! — exposing its organization, exposing beyond all doubt Stalin's guilt for the May 24 assault, proving that Stalin would strike again. No, "Stalinism" was not for him an abstract political concept. . . . Trotsky's world outlook — the

unified outlook of Marxism — enabled him to view the great march of humanity as a whole, from the first dim gropings in the utilization of tools to that genuine civilization of the future when the earth will be shaped according to the conscious will of man. This outlook, together with the profound understanding which Marxism gave him of contemporary history, enabled Trotsky not only to survive Stalin's persecution where other heroes of the revolution crumbled but even to convert it into a source of strength. He remarked more than once that the cadres of the Fourth International were being steeled in a harder school than that of any previous revolutionary generation — all the blows of world reaction were concentrated upon the Fourth International. Trotsky himself could not help being affected, particularly after the death of Sedov. Trotsky's secretaries felt a quality in their teacher they had not been aware of to such a degree before. He was not less energetic, not less compromising, not less keen-minded, not less dynamic or less capable of white heats of indignation, but he seemed to have become more melowed, as if the tragedy had steeped him with a still deeper consciousness of the individual's place on the historic scale.

After the death of Sedov, the Stalinist press issued call after call in the most venomous language upon the Mexican workers and peasants to drive Trotsky "out of Mexico." The official organ of the Mexican Communist Party a short time before the May 24 assault called for "Death to Trotsky."

With only limited resources and manpower, Trotsky organized the defense at his command. A guard system was set up, the walls around the house heightened, electric alarms installed.

THE MURDER OF SHELDON HARTE

But Stalin resorted to an old stratagem of the Czarist police. A skilled agent of the GPU married one of the followers of Trotsky and utilized her as an entry card to penetrate the household. This agent, who traveled on a forged passport bearing the name "Jackson" which had been taken by the GPU from a dead Loyalist veteran in the Spanish civil war, made acquaintance with the Trotskyists' movement in Paris. He probably had a hand in the deaths of Sedov and of Rudolf Klement whose body was found floating in the Seine with head, arms, and legs amputated. In Mexico, "Jackson" approached the house with utmost caution, taking as his first project merely the task of gaining the confidence of Trotsky's guards.

In the mountains near Mexico City, the GPU rented a cabin and dug in the floor of its kitchen a pit which they lined with lime. This pit was intended for Leon and Natalia Trotsky.

Just before dawn on May 24, 1940, under the leadership of David Alfaro Siqueiros, a gang raided the Coyoacan residence of Trotsky and filled his bedroom with a crossfire of machine gun slugs. One of the gang penetrated the bedroom and fired directly into the beds of the old revolutionary couple. They escaped only by great good fortune and the presence of mind which led them to throw themselves in a corner of the bedroom and to lie perfectly still. Seva, Trotsky's grandson, received a wound in his foot.

Upon leaving, the gang hurled incendiary bombs and kidnapped the guard on duty, Robert Sheldon Harte. A month later the body of Harte was found in the pit ori-

ginally intended for Natalia and Leon Trotsky.

JACSON RECTIFIES STALIN'S "ERROR"

On August 20, Jackson succeeded in carrying out his assignment. Late in the afternoon he entered the house with a revolver, a dagger, and a pickaxe hidden in his clothing. Which weapon he would use depended upon the circumstances. He brought an article dealing with France. When Trotsky sat down to read this article, Jackson, standing behind him, raised his pickaxe. In the next moment Stalin's "greatest error" had been "rectified."

But even in the last few mo-

Red Army Leader



TROTSKY, WAR MINISTER, 1923

A newspaper shot of Leon Trotsky taken after he had led the Red Army to smashing victory against interventionist, counter-revolutionary forces on twenty-two fronts.

ments of his life, when he collapsed on the floor and knew that he was dying, Trotsky towered like a mountain peak above ordinary men. There was no fear of death. He seized the short time for what political tasks he could accomplish. He pressed goodbye to Natalia. Those moments when the Old Man lay dying were choked with anguish. Why couldn't it have been us instead of the Old Man? Why couldn't he have been spared this? Poor Natalia. Tears rolled down her cheeks as she fondled the Old Man's hand. Despite everything, hope flared up its flames licking at the chill of conviction. Maybe it isn't fatal after all. Maybe the Old Man will recover. We did not yet know the blow had pierced his skull. Only the Old Man refused to admit the illusions of hope. He was sure that this time they had succeeded. Yet when Trotsky spoke to me, when his hand gripped mine, I received an intense physical impression from him, especially from his eyes, of a profound triumph as if he were already gazing upon the final victory over all that dead past which reaches out to strike down the living.

Progress In India Hindered By British Exploiters

By JACK WEBER

Churchill orates time and again concerning the complete mobilization of the resources of the entire British Empire for the purpose of defeating Hitler. But not for one moment does he forget the need of British imperialism to maintain the colonies in their slave status as sources of raw materials and markets for commodities.

The population of India today is not definitely known, but it gets closer and closer to the 400 million mark. Of this vast population, only one and three quarter millions work in factories. This is an index of the industrialization that the Hindus have been permitted to carry out under the "guidance" of Britain. Even if we included the small handicraftsmen carrying on their ancient trades, there would be only 21 million, including the factory workers. That is, only one-half of one percent are actually factory workers; only five percent are handicraftsmen or factory workers.

Since India has vast mineral resources, including iron ore, and plenty of laborers, one might suppose that England would try to build up Indian economy as fast as possible to meet all emergencies. But that would place the Empire in a serious dilemma. The colonial status of India would then tend to disappear at the expense of industrial capitalist England. War or no war, India's position in the empire must not be disturbed.

The compradore capitalists of India thought that they might be able to profit greatly by the desperate situation of England in the war. These native bourgeois elements did their best to come to terms with Britain for the sole purpose of expanding their industries and their profits. The virtual refusal of the British Raj to come to terms with the Hindu capitalists is proof that England will never voluntarily permit industrial expansion.

Some Interesting Figures on India

We are now offered statistical proof of this fact. The Indian firm of Premchand, Roychand and Sons, a firm of Bombay bankers, issues each year an "Annual Market Review" which gives a picture of the state of Hindu economy. India is the largest unit in the British Empire. Despite the vast resources of minerals and manpower, India remains mostly a supplier of unprocessed raw materials. The British manipulate finances and taxes so as to maintain this condition and to discourage industrialization. A so-called excess-profits tax of 50 per cent was recently boosted to 66 2/3 per cent to place a heavy burden on industry. In addition a 25 per cent surcharge tax was added to all income taxes. Just as in the last war, India is being made to carry an enormous share of the war expenses. After April 1, 1941 the surcharge tax was raised to 33 1/3 per cent.

But as though this state of affairs were not bad enough, England has limited the possible export markets to which India can ship her products. The exports have naturally increased by some 16 per cent in volume—but most of this has gone to England or the Empire—and the prices have been set so that the Indian farmers actually receive less than before. Agricultural products form an important part of the country's price structure. With farm products selling for less or for no more than before, imported manufactures and locally manufactured non-agricultural products have risen in price. Thus for the largest part of the Indian population the cost of living has gone up while prices received for the farm produce have gone down.

Hitler Cannot Teach Churchill

Hitler has nothing to contribute to Churchill in the ruthless treatment of a conquered people. There is nothing that Hitler has done in Europe in the way of looting the conquered nations that cannot be duplicated by the treatment accorded the Indian peoples by England. All that can be said is that Hitler is trying to reduce nations that had advanced far beyond India in the scale of civilization, to the status of India. Churchill carries on the policy of keeping the colonies in their backwardness for the purposes of imperialist exploitation. Hitler carries imperialist policy one step further by attempting to destroy the industrialization already achieved after centuries of effort by the European nations in order to reduce all Europe to the slave status for exploitation by German imperialism.

Just as the further advance of European civilization depends on the defeat of Hitler and the ending of capitalism all over Europe, so the further advance of India and all the colonies depends on the defeat of Churchill and the ending of world capitalism.

Addressing the Comintern



Leon Trotsky addressing the Third Congress of the Comintern—another of the surviving portrayals of Trotsky as honored leader of the Revolution and the Soviet State.

Trotsky, Lenin and Kamenev



One of the rare portraits showing Lenin and Trotsky together, which has survived Stalin's ruthless editing of the records of the glorious October Revolution.

TROTSKY MEMORIAL MEETINGS

IN MINNEAPOLIS:

Speaker: FARRELL DOBBS

National Labor Secretary,
Socialist Workers Party

Time:

Thursday, August 21, at 8 p.m.

Place:

Socialist Workers Party Hall
919 Marquette Ave.

IN CHICAGO:

Speaker: GRACE CARLSON

Former Senatorial Candidate of
Trotskyist Anti-War Party

Time:

Friday, August 22, at 8 p.m.

Place:

Hamilton Hotel, American Room
20 S. Dearborn St.

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March 3, 1879."

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

—LEON TROTSKY

JOIN US IN FIGHTING FOR:

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

'Russia As An Ally'

In its leading editorial of August 6th, "Russia as an Ally," the authoritative New York Times badly expresses the real policy of Washington and Wall Street toward the Soviet Union.

Roosevelt has praised the resistance of the Russians. In pledge of his sincerity, Stalin has offered up the Communist Party of the United States to the service of the imperialist war-mongers. Acting Secretary Welles and Ambassador Oumansky have discussed ways and means of sending more supplies to the Soviet Union.

The Stalinists have hailed these assurances and this trickle of material aid as evidences of the beginning of a beautiful friendship. But the Times punctures this illusion: "We have an interest in Russian resistance" it writes—but only for the time being. "It is Hitler and not Russia that constitutes the immediate threat to us. But at the same time, it must be clear that our primary interest is not in 'helping Russia' but in 'stopping Hitler'."

The Times proposes that, instead of sending aid to the Soviet Union, Washington redouble its help to Great Britain and China. In effect, the Times is opposed to giving any substantial support to the Soviet Union in its fight against the fascist invaders.

This semi-official spokesman for Wall St. and Washington is undoubtedly expressing the real calculations hidden behind the smoke-screen of diplomatic professions of amity and aid for the USSR. Bluntly and brutally the Times is saying: "We, American imperialists, are not in the least concerned about defending the Soviet Union; we would prefer to see it wiped off the face of the earth. But, since that would strengthen our immediate imperialist rival, we must take care of first things first. We'll go after the Soviet Union next."

When will the workers follow out their own class interests in so clear and conscious a fashion as their imperialist masters?

The workers will never clarify their own class position so long as they listen to the American agents of Stalin. In replying to the Times editorial, the Daily Worker seeks to persuade the American imperialists that they have a great stake in defending the Soviet Union; that, in the words of Oumansky, there is a "community of interest" . . . between all "freedom-loving nations," which includes the British oppressors of India and the

American oppressors of Porto Rico and the Philippines.

The Daily Worker asserts in a whining tone: "you can trust the Soviet Union." But the American imperialists know how little moral abstractions and mutual pledges matter. Class interests determine all fundamental policies, and a great victory for the Soviet Union is inimical to the class interests of all the imperialists.

We say to the American workers: It is necessary to defend the Soviet Union. But place no trust in your capitalist government to do this.

Learn from the conduct of your class enemy. Do not be misled by the deceitful propaganda of the Stalinists. Do not give up your struggle against the capitalist bosses at home. Your slavery will not help the workers and peasants of the Soviet Union to defend their freedom. Your strength will add to their strength, the best aid you can give the Soviet Union is to struggle for workers' power in the United States.

Meet Rising Prices By Raising Wages

Camden Local 1 of the Industrial Union of Marine and Shipbuilding Workers of America, CIO, took a long step forward this week in the fight against mounting prices and the rising cost of living.

Realizing that the only way to answer this problem is by raising wages when prices go up, the union wrote into the closed shop contract with the New York Shipbuilding Company it ratified last Sunday, a "cost of living" provision which calls for automatic wage increases in accordance with the index of the United States Department of Labor.

Under this provision, if the Department of Labor index shows a 5% increase at the end of six months, wages will be raised 1% for each point of increase in the index. Additional adjustments will be made every six months, but there shall be no decreases even if the cost of living drops.

While one might object to the six month period of waiting before wages are adjusted, or the provision that wages will not be adjusted unless a 5% increase in living costs takes place during the six month period, there can be no argument whatever about the basic principle involved.

Local 1 has made a beginning that means more to the workers than all the speeches of Henderson and the legislation of Roosevelt on the price problem.

It is now up to the other unions to take up and extend the proposal for a rising scale of wages to meet the rising cost of living by writing it into every contract negotiated from now on.

Paying For The War

Roosevelt's Secretary of the Treasury Morgenthau on August 8 put forth before the Senate Finance Committee the Administration's latest plan to place the burden of war costs on the backs of the workers and low-income earners.

The plan calls for a broadening of the present income tax base to tax incomes of as low as \$750 a year, and to raise substantially the taxes on incomes in the lower brackets ranging from \$800 to \$2500 annually. This would place a direct income tax on single individuals who earn less than \$15 weekly.

Exemptions for married persons, under the Administration's scheme, would be reduced from the present \$2,000 minimum to \$1,500. Thus virtually the entire working population, which already carries the major burden through indirect taxes, would suffer further slices in their meagre incomes in the face of soaring prices.

The Administration is playing a sly cat-and-mouse game with the American people on the matter of war taxes. Several weeks ago Roosevelt proposed to the House Ways and Means Committee that the new tax bill include a measure to slightly increase taxes on excess war profits. The Committee flatly rejected this proposal, because under the present law, by virtue of a trick method of computing the tax base, the corporations which profit most from war orders escape virtually all taxes on excess profits.

Having made a demagogic gesture in the direction of "taking the profits out of war" and taxing "where it hurts least," the Administration is now driving for its real tax program—in the words of Morgenthau, "all-out" taxation on the workers for "all-out" defense.

The war tax bill already includes steep increases in excises on consumers' goods and services. Through this one measure alone, the workers will be made to pay, in indirect levies, more than one-third of the new federal tax load.

A hint of what lies in store for the American workers, as the war progresses, was given last Tuesday by the American Investment Bankers Association, which proposed that the federal government impose a drastic "excess profits tax"—on wages!—and a "purchase tax,"—that is, a general sales tax.

It is clear that the War Administration intends to bleed the workers white to pay for the war, while the giant trusts and monopolies are free to double and redouble their profits from year to year.

But there is no reason why the private profiteers of industry, who add nothing to production, should get a single dime out of the blood and labors of the workers. In reality, the problem of production for war purposes is one of increasing production beyond consumers' needs. Such an increase is impossible so long as the war profiteers control production and limit it for their own selfish ends.

There is but one answer to this "all-out" tax robbery of the workers for the benefit of the ruling capitalist class: Expropriate the war industries and operate them under the direct control and management of the workers!

Churchill Sought The Overthrow of the USSR

As Secretary Of State For War He Aided The White Armies And Asked For A United Imperialist Attack On The Soviet Union

"I entered the War Office as Secretary of State on January 14, 1919," says Winston Churchill in the volume of his book, "The World Crisis," which deals with the 1918-1928 period, "and became an heir to the pledges and tragedies of this situation . . ."

The "tragedies" were the unsuccessful attempts at intervention against the Soviet Union; the "pledges" were those made, in accordance with the "big intervention" policy which Churchill had been advocating all along, to intervene on a scale sufficient to destroy the Workers' Government.

The policy toward the Soviet Union which Churchill in his new post advised "and, so far as we had the power, pursued to the end, had at any rate the merit of simplicity. Our armies were melting fast. The British people would not supply the men or the money for any large military establishment elsewhere than on the Rhine. It was highly questionable whether any troops raised under compulsion for the war against Germany would consent to fight anybody else in any circumstances, or even to remain long in occupation of conquered territory."

The "simple" policy, briefly put by Churchill, was as follows:

"Discharge our pledges faithfully and fully by arming and equipping the anti-Bolshevik forces from our own immense supply of munitions, and help them with expert officers and instructors to train efficient armies of their own. Naturally it followed that we should try to combine all the border states hostile to the Bolsheviks into one system of war and diplomacy and get everyone else to do as much as possible. Such was the policy we consistently pursued—and such were its limitations."

WHY CHURCHILL COULD NOT CARRY OUT HIS POLICY

But Prime Minister Lloyd George and the other Allied leaders would not at first give full agreement to Churchill's policy. Their main enemy, the workers and the colonial masses, were in the full tide of the post-war revolutionary wave.

Trying to get his policy formally adopted, Churchill appeared before the Allied Peace Conference in Paris in February, 1919, with the request for the establishment of an authoritative "Allied Council for Russian Affairs with political, economic and military sections, and with executive power within the limits defined for it by the Allied Governments; and that the military inquiry into what resources were available and how they could best be co-ordinated should proceed forthwith."

Lloyd George, not present at that session of the Conference, hastened to send a telegram to Paris, insisting on caution. He knew Churchill and he knew that he was set on completing "the unfinished task" of the war, the destruction of the Soviet Union. Lloyd George's telegram not only throws light on Churchill's stand on the question, but also shows that George's own position differed from Churchill's only in a tactical way.

LLOYD GEORGE'S OBJECTIONS TO CHURCHILL'S POLICY

"I trust," wired George, "that he (Churchill) will not commit us to any costly operations which would involve any large contribution either of men or money. The

form of his cable to me looks rather too much like this. I had understood from his conversation with me that all he had in mind was to send expert details who would volunteer to go to Russia with any equipment we can spare. I also understand our volunteer army has not to be drawn upon for that purpose and that effort made to secure volunteers would not be on such a scale as to arouse vehement opposition in this country . . . and interfere with growth of our own volunteer army."

"All these things ought to be made clear to all the other Powers before an agreement is arrived at, otherwise they might either depend too much on us or subsequently upbraid us with having failed in our promises. The main idea ought to be to enable (White) Russia to save herself if she desires to do so; and if she does not take advantage of opportunity, then it means either that she does not wish to be saved or that she is past saving. There is only one justification for interfering in Russia — that Russia wants it."

The imperialist statesmen chose the George rather than the Churchill formula. Instead of setting up the council he proposed, they contented themselves with the following:

"That the military authorities might be allowed to talk together and, instead of presenting a report to the Conference as a whole, might individually hand to their respective representatives on the Conference a copy of the results of their informal and unofficial conversations."

CHURCHILL STILL THINKS HIS POLICY WAS RIGHT

Churchill felt that it was "useless" under these circumstances and among a bunch of such hypocrites to remain in Paris, so he returned to London. He still thinks:

"I am sure the procedure I proposed was reasonable and practical. The one chance of success and safety for the National Russians lay in the united countenance of the Allies, and the proper concerting of any action they could take. The Allies had not much to give them, but they might at least have given it in a manner likely to be useful."

Evidently Churchill's War Office did not even keep George informed as to the extent of British aid to the counter-revolution. It was only when George sent him a complaint about this that Churchill sent him "a statement of British assistance to Russia, which, as you will see, is considerable."

Churchill explained in this statement that he did not feel this "considerable" assistance was too much. Instead he used the occa-

sion to lash out again at the prevailing Allied policy:

"The criticism that may be passed is that it (the assistance) is related to no concerted policy, and that while it constitutes a serious drain on our resources it is not backed with sufficient vigor to lead to any definite result. There is no 'will to win' behind any of these ventures. At every point we fall short of what is necessary to obtain real success. The lack of any 'will to win' communicates itself to our troops and affects their morale; it communicates itself to our Russian allies and retards their organization, and to our enemies and encourages their efforts . . ."

CHURCHILL SUCCEEDED IN AIDING KOLCHAK

Finally, pressure of this sort by Churchill got the Allies to make a definite commitment in June, 1919 to extend support to "Admiral Kolchak and his Associates."

Looking back at this, years later, Churchill is still angry that it took them so long to make up their minds:

"If this far-reaching and openly proclaimed decision was wise now in June, would it not have been wiser in January? No argument existed in June not obvious in January: and half the power available in January was gone in June. Six months of degeneration and uncertainty had chilled the Siberian Armies and wasted the slender authority of the Omsk Government. It had given the Bolsheviks the opportunity of raising armies, of consolidating their power and of identifying themselves to some extent with Russia . . . The moment chosen by the Supreme Council for their declaration was almost exactly the moment when that declaration was certainly too late."

It is obvious that Churchill was the most far-sighted enemy of the Soviet Union from the beginning. He had nothing but contempt for the hypocritical, vacillating policies of George, Wilson and the others. As a realistic defender of imperialism, he wanted from the beginning to seize the Russian sixth of the world from the workers' revolution and restore it to capitalist exploitation.

He always sneered at any fooling around with this question. Speaking of the official Allied leaders, he said:

"Were they at war with Soviet Russia? Certainly not; but they shot Soviet Russians at sight. They stood as invaders on Russian soil. They armed the enemies of the Soviet government. They blockaded its ports, and sank its battleships. They earnestly desired and schemed its downfall. But war — shocking! Interference — shame! It was, they repeated, a matter of indifference to them how Russians settled their own internal affairs. They were impartial—Bang! And then at the same time—parley and try to trade."

(A third, and concluding article on Churchill and the Soviet Union will appear next week).

Where We Stand

By Albert Goldman

Why Stalin Murdered Trotsky

One point concerning the connection between Stalin's murder of Trotsky and the war situation has not been sufficiently stressed. It was easy to see that Stalin hoped to minimize the publicity the murder would receive by the attention which the press was devoting to the war. It was in all probability no accident that the murder occurred in the midst of the Battle of Britain when the whole world was reading news about Hitler's desperate attempt to achieve air superiority over England. But I think the more important factor which made Stalin determined to get rid of Trotsky was his fear that the great leader of the Red Army would be alive at the time when the Soviet Union would be involved in the war.

Everything that Stalin did indicated his anxiety to avoid involvement in the war. But he understood well enough that Hitler could not be trusted. And he understood also that a war would set into motion forces that would shake his regime and that, with Trotsky alive, the hopes of millions of Soviet workers would be concentrated on Lenin's closest collaborator.

Millions of workers are alive in the Soviet Union who remember from their own experiences the role played by Trotsky in the October Revolution and the Civil War. All the fifth, all the monstrous lies that Stalin had his henchmen write about the organizer of the Red Army could not and did not deceive the countless number of workers who lived in the stirring and heroic days when Lenin and Trotsky led the Soviet Union. It is doubtful that Stalin's propaganda machine succeeded in deceiving even the generation which was old enough to understand what was going on at the time when Trotsky was exiled.

Stalin knew that during a war the thoughts of these millions of Soviet workers and peasants would turn to their leader of old. If by chance the Red Army were defeated, Stalin feared a tremendous mass movement demanding the return of the man who did so much to assure the victory of the Revolution. And if the Red Army were victorious, Stalin feared that the workers and peasants, flushed with victory, would no longer tolerate the arbitrary and oppressive rule of the bureaucracy. In either case, the figure and the personality of Trotsky would naturally become the center of a great mass movement.

A major conflict and a living Trotsky during such a conflict were the two great fears haunting Stalin. By cunning and perseverance he could and did succeed in having one of his GPU men thrust a pickaxe into the brain of Trotsky. He got rid of Trotsky but he could not get rid of war. At this time, when the Soviet Union is at war, it can be readily seen how anxious and determined Stalin was to do away with Trotsky and thus avoid the great danger of a mass movement centering around the demand for the return of Trotsky to help defend the Soviet Union.

Trotsky's Death a Blow to the USSR

It did not matter to Stalin that by murdering Trotsky he struck a damaging blow at the Soviet Union. The Stalinist bureaucracy is interested in saving the Soviet Union only in such a way as to preserve the bureaucracy's own existence.

It would be idle to deny that Stalin strengthened his own position through the murder of Trotsky. The working masses of the Soviet Union have lost a great leader around whom they could rally. But it would be just as foolish to conclude that, with the murder of Trotsky, Stalin has removed the danger of being overthrown by the Soviet masses. At best he can gain time by destroying the leaders of the revolutionary opposition.

Stalin cannot destroy the program of Trotsky, because that program springs out of the conditions that prevail within the Soviet Union and throughout the whole world. How well acquainted even the politically conscious Soviet workers are with the specific aspects of the Trotsky program, is difficult to say. They have not been permitted to read a word of Trotsky's writings. But it is possible and probable that through word of mouth some of Trotsky's ideas have found their way into the minds and hearts of the best and most conscious of the Soviet workers.

The important fact is that the Soviet workers are even now following the program of Trotsky—at least one part of it. Their magnificent resistance to the army of German imperialism is a clear indication that they have undertaken to defend the Soviet Union to the last drop of their blood. Nothing that Stalin did in the last eighteen years, no crime that he committed, has been great enough to make the Soviet workers defeatist. Even if they did not read the works of Trotsky, the advanced Soviet workers know that he was for the unconditional defense of the Soviet Union when he was exiled, and knowing Trotsky they must have concluded that he never changed his position. They know what the basis of Trotsky's position is — the existence of nationalized property, the foundation of Socialism erected by the October Revolution.

The Soviet Workers Understand

The Soviet workers are far more astute politically than those sophistates who try to prove that there is no difference between fascist Germany and the Soviet Union and that the Soviet Union is waging an imperialist war. On the basis of the terrible hardships that the Soviet working masses had to endure in the last decade; the tyranny and oppression they were subjected to by the arrogant Stalinist bureaucracy, there are "Marxists" who see no difference between the Soviet Union and fascist Germany. But they can have no explanation for the fierce resistance of the Soviet masses against the Nazi invasion. That resistance can be explained only on the basic assumption that the Soviet workers, without having read our program, still follow it because it represents the living reality understood by the workers.

And just as the Russian workers are following the aspect of the Trotskyist program in standing for the unconditional defense of the Soviet Union, so will conditions impel them eventually to follow all the other major aspects of the Trotskyist program. They will rid themselves of the Stalinist bureaucracy; they will re-establish complete Soviet democracy; they will tie their fate to the world revolution.

Stalin cannot kill the Trotskyist program for it is a product of actual conditions. Ultimately that program will destroy Stalin, Hitler and all those who stand in the way of world socialism.

In New York

Trotsky Memorial Meeting

FRIDAY, AUGUST 22, 8:30 P. M.

Manhattan Plaza, 66 E. 4th St., N. Y.

(Air-conditioned hall)

Speakers:

JAMES P. CANNON

National Secretary of the Socialist Workers Party

JOSEPH HANSEN

Former Secretary to Leon Trotsky

Chairman: Lydia Beidel

MUSIC