

ON THE TWENTY-FOURTH ANNIVERSARY OF THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTION

An Editorial

Twenty-four years ago, on November 7, 1917, the Russian workers and peasants, led by the Bolshevik party of Lenin and Trotsky, seized the state power in the territories of the Czar.

Their titanic revolution established the first workers state, the embodiment of workers power. It swept away the parasitic rule of Czars, capitalists and landlords. It freed the Russian masses from the shambles of the first imperialist World War. And it inspired a tidal wave of proletarian revolts that cracked the military fronts in Europe and halted the most catastrophic war which had ravaged society up to that time.

In one of the most backward nations on earth, amid the famine, chaos and destruction that was their inheritance from Czarist and bourgeois rule, surrounded on all sides by imperialist foes, the Soviet masses began to build the foundations for a new, a socialist order of society.

But world capitalism, with the aid of the treacherous Social-Democratic leaders, finally thrust back the tide of working-class revolutions outside the Soviet Union and re-asserted bourgeois class domination through a series of counter-revolutions.

Thus, the Soviet Union was condemned to isolation, cut off from the economic resources of the world, separated from the organized aid of its class allies in other countries.

As a result of this initial backwardness and isolation, a monstrous bureaucracy grew up within the Soviet Union. This bureaucracy, taking advantage of the weariness of the Soviet masses after their years of exhausting struggle, and basing itself on the most conservative elements, flourished under the regime of Stalin and gradually usurped the leadership of the Soviet Union.

That Stalinist bureaucracy, seeking only its own preservation and renouncing the international perspective of the Bolshevik founders of the USSR, destroyed one by one the inner defenses of the workers state. Along with this, Stalin's clique strangled proletarian revolutions in country after country. China, Germany, Spain, France — in each of these countries the Kremlin betrayed and strangled revolutionary struggles for power.

Despite all the abominations of Stalinism, the first workers state has stood before the workers of the world as living proof of the ability of the workers to gain and hold state power, to plan and order the productive forces of society and to utilize those forces on a scale which capitalism can never hope to achieve.

Today, that workers state totters on the brink of the abyss. How can it be saved?

The methods, program and forces which can still turn defeat into victory are the same ones that brought the Soviet Union into being and enabled the Soviet masses to retain state power against the combined assault of world imperialism during the Civil War of 1918-20.

The Bolsheviks triumphed in 1917 only through the methods and program of Marxism, the revolutionary theory of international proletarian class struggle. The Russian workers and peasants, guided by the principles of Marxism, refused to fight in the armies of Russian imperialism against their class brothers in other lands. They turned against their own imperialist masters, seized the power from them, and ended the war.

Then, during the darkest hours of the early Soviet State, in the Civil War of 1918-20, when the USSR faced the combined assault of world imperialism, Lenin, Trotsky and the Bolshevik party turned to the workers of Europe and called for their revolutionary support. That support came, and the Soviet Union was saved.

For Lenin and Trotsky and the Soviet masses, the defense of the USSR meant the continuation, intensification and extension of the October revolution beyond the Soviet boundaries.

The fate of the USSR, Lenin and Trotsky pointed out time and again, is inextricably bound up with the fate of the world proletariat.

Thus, it is to the international working class, to the masses of Germany and the occupied countries, that the Soviet soldiers, workers and peasants now must turn. It is the international revolutionary class struggle alone which still can save the USSR from catastrophe.

This was and is the essence of Bolshevism. It is the essence of the program of the October Revolution, the program which our party upholds today.

The bourgeoisie fully recognize this fact. Their front line of assault throughout the world is against Bolshevism which can save the USSR by extending the October Revolution.

That is why the Roosevelt administration, in the 25th year of the Russian Revolution, now aims its most vicious blows at our party.

That is why the government includes in the Minneapolis "seditious conspiracy" indictment of the Socialist Workers Party and the Minneapolis drivers Local 544-CIO, the charge that the 28 defendants accepted "as the ideal formula for carrying out their said objectives the Russian Revolution of 1917..." and the principles of the leaders of that revolution, chiefly V. I. Lenin and Leon Trotsky.

Unnervingly American imperialism singles out the one party which embodies the program that can save the USSR, smash capitalist reaction throughout Europe and the world, and thus extend the October Revolution into the triumph of world socialism.

A real defense of the Soviet Union is taking place today in the Minneapolis federal courtroom. It is our party's defense of the program of Bolshevism, of the revolutionary methods of Lenin and Trotsky. These are the program and methods that gave birth to the October Revolution and the first workers state, and which are destined to lead the world proletariat to power.

Labor dare not take Roosevelt's threat lying down. Roosevelt means business. The ruling class demands a servile labor movement to support its war. It demands defenseless workers who can be squeezed dry to pay for the stupendous costs of the war. Roosevelt is preparing to enforce this demand with the full repressive power of the government.

Labor must act with all its energy and power, and act now. It must meet Roosevelt's challenge. The right to strike — the life of unionism itself — must be defended by every means of struggle that organized labor can command.

THE MILITANT

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TRIAL OF 28 OPENS WITH ATTACK ON SWP PROGRAM

No Imperialist 'Western Front' Will Save USSR

Trotsky's Policies Alone Can Bring Soviet Victory In Present Grave Crisis

At a time when the fate of the Soviet Union hangs in the balance, and when the only thing that can save it is a militant, working class policy, the Kremlin and its hirelings abroad are pleading with the "democratic" imperialists to open a "western front" as the only salvation for the USSR.

Workers everywhere are asking themselves: Will this save the Soviet Union? For the answer to this question they must first understand what lies behind the plea by the Stalinists.

The fascist armies keep advancing deeper into Soviet territory. Moscow is in a state of siege. Leningrad is encircled and cut off. Rostov is surrounded. Kharkov is the scene of a desperate struggle, the southern front has been shattered, most of the Donetz Basin has been lost. Territory inhabited by almost half the population of the USSR is in fascist hands, and more than three-quarters of the productive capacity of Soviet industry has either been taken or crippled.

The Red Army, which was unable to halt the German forces when it had all of Soviet industry and agriculture to draw from, will find it even harder to withstand the onslaughts of the enemy now that it is deprived of these sources of supply.

Stalin himself has had to admit the worthlessness of these puppets. At the very outset of the war he removed his own appointees in the Leningrad, Moscow and Kiev districts. Only a few days ago he reshuffled the high command for the second time in less than 5 months.

Because no real attempts have been made to disintegrate Hitler's army from the rear and from

CIO Officials Endorse '28' Defense Committee

Workers Defense League Says Prosecution Endangers "People's Freedom to Organize"

NEW YORK, Oct. 28, 1941. — Tucker P. Smith, Michigan Director of the United Retail and Wholesale Employees of America, CIO, this week expressed the deep concern of the labor movement about the prosecution of the 28 indicted leaders of Local 544-CIO and the Socialist Workers Party, in a statement endorsing the work of the Civil Rights Defense Committee, organized to rally support to the 28 defendants in the "Seditious Conspiracy" trial now going on in Minneapolis.

His letter read as follows: Civil Rights Defense Committee, 160 5th Avenue, New York City.

Dear Mr. Farrell: Our people who are informed on the current prosecution of the leaders of the CIO Local 544 in Minneapolis, Minnesota, are deeply concerned over this governmental interference with labor's rights. We have studied the proceedings and are convinced that the prosecutions are being conducted on a "political basis". We cannot find in the records of the situation any evidence to warrant the Federal Government "making an example" of these brothers.

We feel that all CIO members should support Local 544 in demanding that the cases be dropped. If truck drivers in Minneapolis prefer the CIO to the AFL, then AFL "big wigs" should not be allowed to use governmental machinery to persecute the leaders of the CIO local union in an effort to force these people back into the AFL. We cannot believe that anyone seriously believes

that these local union leaders are a "menace" to the United States.

Fraternally yours, TUCKER P. SMITH, Michigan Director

W.D.L. HITS TRIAL

The National Executive Board of the Workers Defense League sent a sharp letter to Attorney General Biddle stating that, "The Workers Defense League considers the present Federal prosecution of Minneapolis teamsters and others to be unreasonable and unjustified." The statement also warned that the "people's freedom to organize is in serious danger if such actions can be distorted into a conspiracy to overthrow the government."

As the work of organizing the raising of funds proceeded, the Buffalo branch of the Civil Rights Defense Committee reported that several CIO locals in that city had rallied to the defense of the 28 by giving substantial donations. Two locals of the Steel Workers Organizing Committee, and the Ford local of the UAW, heard a speaker from the Committee and voted contributions.

NEW MEMBERS OF COMMITTEE

Dorothy Norman, editor of the magazine TWICE A YEAR, a publication devoted to the arts and civil liberties; Mark DeWolfe Howe, Dean of the School of Law, University of Buffalo; A. J. Muste, Secretary of the Fellowship of Reconciliation; and Morris Reiger, International Representative, Paper, Novelty and Toy workers International, CIO, are among those who joined the committee last week.

FOR MAYOR



JAMES P. CANNON
National Sec'y, SWP

within by a revolutionary appeal to the masses of Germany and Europe to rise up against their oppressors and fight for the Socialist United States of Europe.

WHY NO APPEAL TO EUROPEAN MASSES

Stalin's whole program of "socialism in one country" on the basis of which he first opposed, and then strangled, all attempts to bring socialism to any other country, prevents him from issuing a revolutionary appeal to the masses of Germany and Europe. To do it, would be to admit that the European workers can be mobilized for the world revolution, would be to confess the bankruptcy and treachery of the whole policy he has pursued in the last 15 years, in the interests of which he sacrificed the world revolution, and led the working class movements of Germany, Spain and France to destruction.

Furthermore, Stalin fears the extension of the revolution to other countries because it would give the Soviet masses new confidence and inspire them to rid themselves of their parasitic bureaucracy, which has been able to remain in power only because the Soviet masses felt isolated and alone.

Stalinism is incapable of mobilizing the European masses for the revolution: it has betrayed the only real allies it had in Europe, the working class of Germany, France and other countries; that is why it is forced to depend on and grasp at the straws of "collaboration" and "support" from the "democratic" imperialists who really desire the destruction of the Soviet Union's nationalized economy so that the vast territories and wealth of the USSR can be opened up to their capitalist exploitation.

WHY THE PLEA FOR THE WESTERN FRONT

Why then, if it fails to solve the crucial problem of competent military leadership of the armed forces and of the mobilization of the European masses on behalf of defense of the USSR, do the Stalinists put forward the cry for the "western front" as the only salvation for the workers state?

Because it diverts attention away from the bankruptcy of Stalinism and its responsibility for the defeat suffered by the Soviet Union. Because it can be used as a panacea and to calm and soothe

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Cannon N.Y.'s Candidate Against War

Running for Mayor On Trotsky Program Against War, Fascism

Only one political party now remains on the ballot in the New York City mayoralty election in genuine opposition to imperialist war — that is the TROTSKYIST ANTI-WAR PARTY (ballot name of the Socialist Workers Party). The Republican party and the Democratic party are indistinguishable as instruments of Wall Street. The only quarrel between O'Dwyer and LaGuardia is which can best demonstrate his support of Wall Street's imperialist war aims and thus gain the coveted plums of office.

Other stories on the New York Election Campaign, LaGuardia, O'Dwyer, etc., will be found on pages 4 and 5 of this issue.

Both the American Labor Party and the Communist Party have added another betrayal of the working class to their already long list by supporting Wall Street's candidate, LaGuardia. The other groups who claim to have a "socialist" program represent nothing but different eddies of the politically bankrupt petty-bourgeoisie, one pacifist, the other anti-Soviet.

The campaign of the TROTSKYIST ANTI-WAR PARTY has been conducted under the greatest difficulties. Besides the limitations imposed by the small size of the party and its treasury, the party suffered the absence of its candidate, JAMES P. CANNON, who has had to go on trial in Minneapolis to face the government's "seditious conspiracy" charges along with 27 other leaders of the Socialist

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Planning in Buffalo

BUFFALO — A typical example of capitalist post-war planning is being exhibited here.

This city is booming because of the war program. Thousands of workers have been enticed here 'to do their bit' in the aircraft, steel, arms, etc., industries that are expanding at a tremendous pace — at government expense, of course.

Just as a lot of workers are worrying about what is going to happen "after it's over" so are the local bloodhounds in the form of landlords, department store owners, etc., and the industrialists who are riding high and handsome at present. As yet the workers are not taking any steps to meet the problem, but the profit-makers are.

The Buffalo Board of Supervisors, who have charge of the relief work here, are sponsoring a bill in the New York Legislature to make it impossible to receive aid in New York State unless a worker has 5 years of residence in it. This means that when the boom is over, thousands of workers will be unable to obtain relief here.

Who says the boss class can't look ahead?

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Defense Asserts Legal Right To Advocate Ideas

Will Give Complete Picture of Principles And Activities of Socialist Workers Party In Answer to Charge of 'Conspiracy'

MINNEAPOLIS, Minn., Oct. 28 (By Wire). — Albert Goldman, defense counsel and defendant, began the opening statement of the defense late this afternoon, the second day of the federal government's 'seditious conspiracy' case against 28 members of the Socialist Workers Party and Motor Transport and Allied Workers Industrial Union, Local 544-CIO.

Following immediately after the two-hour opening statement for the prosecution by United States District Attorney Victor E. Anderson, Goldman's address to jury was a masterful answer to the government's attempted frame-up.

To the prosecution's attempt to paint the program, structure and activities of the Socialist Workers Party as a "conspiracy", Goldman replied by promising the jury that before the trial is over, the jurors will get a complete picture of the philosophy and activities of the revolutionary anti-war party.

With grim humor, Goldman contrasted the comic-opera "conspiracy" picture presented by the prosecution with the actual situation, in which the Socialist

Workers Party is daily engaged in reaching and trying to convince as many people as possible with the party's program and trying to recruit as many workers as possible into the organization.

"Far from denying the revolutionary nature of our views," Goldman assured the jury, "we are going to explain those views to you and our right to propagate those views under the Bill of Rights."

Goldman had spoken less than an hour when court was adjourned. He will continue with the statement for the defense tomorrow morning.

The government's case is in reality an attack against a century of socialist ideas.

That was made plain this afternoon when District Attorney Anderson made his opening statement of the government's case, immediately after selection of the jury had been completed.

THE GOVERNMENT'S CASE

Anderson's speech was a brazenly frank statement that the government is prosecuting not "overt acts", but the program of the Socialist Workers Party and the ideas of Marx, Lenin and Trotsky.

Previously, Attorney-General Anthony Biddle had claimed, in reply to a protest by the American Civil Liberties against the prosecution, that the trial would not be directed against the ideas of the defendants but against "overt acts" which the government would disclose during the trial.

"The very program of the Socialist Workers Party is a violation of the statutes," said Anderson, making it clear that the prosecution was discarding the mask it had used to ward off criticism prior to the trial.

Anderson began by asserting that the government did not feel that proof of overt acts was necessary for conviction.

"It is the position of the government in this case," said Anderson, "that proof of overt acts is not required and that the conspiracy in itself is unlawful."

The "conspiracy", it turned out, consisted of organized propagation of the ideas of the Socialist Workers Party. Anderson spent

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Trial Of The 28 Opens

Defense Asserts Legal Rights to Advocate Ideas

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most of his two hours in describing in distorted terms the program and structure of the party.

MARX, ENGELS, LENIN AND TROTSKY ON TRIAL TOO

He summed up that program as "doing in America what was done by Lenin and Trotsky in Russia in October, 1917."

Before he was through, Anderson had added to the defendants not only Lenin and Trotsky, but also Marx and Engels.

"I mentioned to you Lenin and Trotsky," Anderson declared. "But this philosophy and theology (sic) of the Socialist Workers Party also has a further foundation. That was the writings and teachings of Karl Marx. It is going to be the plan of the government in this case to show that Lenin and Trotsky based their philosophy on the Marxist philosophy. Not only were these defendants Trotskyites, but their basic belief is based on Marx, so they are Marxists."

"This party," said Anderson, "is like the Bolshevik party in Russia in 1917."

At one point Anderson made an amusing slip of the tongue, referring to "the defendant, Leon Trotsky." In his own mind he had Trotsky, Lenin, Marx and Engels up before the Judge's bench.

DRAGS IN ALL OF PARTY'S ACTIVITIES

There was scarcely a single aspect of the party's activities which Anderson did not bring into the trial as a "crime": the party's class struggle trade union policy which urges reliance on mass action rather than on arbitration; the attempts of the party to save Leon Trotsky from being assassinated; the party's agreement with the ideas and principles of the Fourth International; the party's advocacy of military training for workers under control of the trade unions and financed by the government; the party's policy of

defense of the Soviet Union against imperialist attack, etc.

GOVERNMENT'S STRATEGY

Summed up, Anderson's opening statement reveals the government's strategy in this case:

1. The socialist philosophy and principles of the party are being prosecuted, not alleged "overt acts."

2. The predictions of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Trotsky — fulfilled in the Russian Revolution, in Spain, etc. — that the capitalist minority will use violence against the revolutionary majority of the people is being perverted by the government into a doctrine of advocacy of violence by a minority against a majority.

3. The term "conspiracy" turns out to be merely a frightening word used by the government to describe the banding together of workers in the Socialist Workers Party to propagate their revolutionary ideas to the working class and the public.

In short, the Roosevelt administration is in this case making a frontal attack upon the Bill of Rights. It is attempting to outlaw free speech, free press and free assembly for all advocates of socialism and the class struggle and all opponents of the imperialist war.

NO TRADE UNIONIST CALLED IN JURY PANEL

Selection of the jury was completed this morning. In the whole panel of 35 examined, not a single person turned up who is or ever was a member of a trade union.

After selection of the jury had been completed, Judge Matthew M. Joyce ruled that the length of the trial necessitated two alternate jurors and they were chosen.

The jury chosen consists of a bank executive; a grain elevator owner; a lumber company sales manager; the owner of a weekly newspaper; a housewife; a small town plumber; a hardware clerk; a general store owner; a general store clerk; a farmer; a farm laborer; and a former garage owner. Alternates are a registered nurse and an advertising woman.

MINNEAPOLIS, Oct. 27. — Before this, the first day, of the famous Minneapolis "sedition" trial was over, it was clear to any honest observer in the courtroom that the scales of the blind goddess Justice were weighted heavily against the 28 defendants.

Great issues were at stake in the little federal courtroom crowded with the 28 defendants and prospective jurors. The federal government's attempt to railroad to long prison terms the leaders of the Socialist Workers Party and Local 544-CIO is an attack on the fundamental rights of the entire labor movement.

And before the first day was over it was painfully apparent that these great issues were not going to be decided fairly. The ultra-reactionary method of selecting the panel of prospective jurors, the ban on permitting defense counsel to examine prospective jurors, the judge's refusal to put to these candidates many questions which defense counsel wished to have them answer, and, last but not least, the judiciary's method of examining prospective jurors — these were the glaringly unfair procedures which gave the Department of Justice a big head start against the labor defendants.

NO UNION MAN IN PANEL

The whole business can be

summed up in the fact that at the end of the day 29 prospective jurors had been examined, and NOT ONE OF THEM IS OR HAS EVER BEEN A MEMBER OF A TRADE UNION!

Yet out of them the bulk of the jury is already chosen

To understand the full meaning of this stark fact, one must also realize that this trial is taking place in Minneapolis, one of the best-organized cities in the country. Its twin city, St. Paul, is also well-organized. There are hundreds of thousands of trade unionists in the federal district from which the panel for the jury was drawn with ostensible impartiality. Not one of these trade unionists found his way into the



Felix Morrow

group of prospective jurors who were examined today.

This reactionary situation was guaranteed in advance by the method of selecting the jury panel. This panel is not chosen at random, but is hand-picked by friends and acquaintances of the jury commissioner and the court clerk, who are entitled to write to anyone they please asking for names of people they know whom they think should be on the jury panel! (The method of selecting the jury panel is described in detail on this page of this issue).

To pick a jury from that kind of a jury panel would be bad enough for the defendants. But that, the defendants and their attorneys discovered in the courtroom today, is only the beginning of a system which weighs the scales heavily in favor of the prosecution.

When Federal Judge Matthew M. Joyce had completed his questioning of the first twelve prospective jurors whom he accepted,

defense attorney Albert Goldman arose to ask them questions on behalf of the defense. He was stopped by Judge Joyce who stated:

"That is not the practice in this federal district."

Defense counsel were thus left with one method of attempting to have the jurors questioned further — submitting questions to the judge, to whom is reserved the right to decide which of such questions he would or would not put to the prospective jurors. Most of the questions which the defense wanted to ask of jurors, the judge refused to ask.

(A list of some of these questions rejected by the judge appears on page 3 of this issue).

One would have had to be in the courtroom today to realize to the full the handicap to the defense of the method of limiting to the judge alone the questioning of prospective jurors. Probing questions by defense counsel can often bring to the open the hidden but fixed prejudices of a prospective juror against the labor movement. But with the judge alone asking the questions, it is a foregone conclusion that the prospective juror will give perfunctory answers.

The judge says to a prospective juror: "You will give these defendants a fair trial despite your disagreement with their views?" What does not appear in the written record is that under this system of questioning by the judge alone his position of authority tends to make the prospective juror feel that an affirmative answer is expected of him.

ALLOWED ONLY TEN

Typical of what happens under this system of judicial procedure is the example of the man, now city councilman in a Minnesota city and, according to his testi-



Grace Carlson

mony, previously for six years a deputy sheriff and cop. Scarcely one to serve on a jury trying militant trade union leaders who had led picket lines in battles to defend themselves against sheriffs and cops!

Yet he answered all the formal questions about possible prejudice on his part to the satisfaction of the judge, who accepted the ex-cop as a juror.

The defense counsel could get that ex-cop off the jury only by exercising one of its ten peremptory challenges. As one would expect under such a system, the ten peremptory challenges of the defense were exhausted long before the jury was completed. From then on the defense was compelled to accept all other jurors whom the judge would not dismiss for cause.

From this system of judicial

Trial Sidelights

The First Day In The Court Room

MINNEAPOLIS, Oct. 27. — You can't say the bosses don't try.

Robert L. Nash, investment broker and scion of a wealthy Minneapolis family made a valiant attempt to win a place for himself on the jury.

He was quick to tell the court that he wasn't at all prejudiced and would be sure to deliver a fair verdict. Only after a long series of questions did he make the admissions that he had served as a special fink deputy during the 1934 drivers strike and that he had "always thought of the leaders of 544 as advocates of communism."

Nash also coyly admitted that he was an officer of the Nash-Finch Co., a national firm of

questioning there developed one particularly crass absurdity. The judge questioned each defendant:

Q: Are you opposed to communism?

A: Yes.

Q: Do you know anything about the principles of communism?

A: No.

Only one prospective juror said: "I am opposed to communism so far as I understand it." All the rest, led along this line of questioning, were in the position of being opposed to something they said they knew nothing about!

By the end of the day most of the jury had been chosen. Judge Joyce sped the task along, keeping court in session well beyond the usual four-hours per day. The morning session lasted from 10 to 12:30, the afternoon session from 2 to 5, making a total of five and a half hours for the very first day of this trial.

wholesale grocers who have fought the union movement throughout the northwest.

Nash was excused but only after he finally blurted out, "I doubt it," to a question about whether or not he could be absolutely impartial.

Of the 29 talesmen called up so far as prospective jurors, there wasn't a single industrial worker and of course, no trade unionists at all. And this in a city which is the industrial heart of the northwest.

Only 7 of the first day's talesmen came from the Twin Cities. The rest all were from the rural sections of the state.

To make up for that, there were two bankers, one investment broker, eight merchants and business men, one newspaper publisher, two executives of large Minnesota corporations, a draft board official, a justice of the peace and a former deputy sheriff.

The case of the draft board official was enlightening. This impartial gentleman is the Chief Clerk of his county's Selective Service Board, serving at full-time salary. Prior to that appointment, he had served for 12 years as the county Treasurer and before that, as the deputy Treasurer for eight years.

It took a motion by the defense to eliminate him as a juror, since the Draft Board official saw no reason why he couldn't be impartial.

Some official made a slip somewhere and the name of a former "hard rock" miner, Jacob B. Vollbrecht, was included in the panel. Judge Joyce excused Mr. Voll-

brecht from service because of the great amount of work he had to do at home.

Some of the defendants have sat through another trial in the same courtroom and with the same judge. That was the famous WPA trial, in which the government succeeded in convicting the leaders of the militant strike which took place here in the summer of 1939.

The veterans of the WPA trial recalled the remark of one of the women involved in that trial, who pointed out that even the flag in the courtroom was framed.

The government has made many changes since then. One of them was to cart away the framed flag and to replace it with one suspended from a pole.

In response to a request by Albert Goldman, defense attorney, Judge Joyce asked the prospective jurors to what political parties they were affiliated. Six said they were Republicans, two were Democrats and two did not have any affiliations.

For the information of our readers, this trial is not taking place in Vermont, but in Minnesota, where for many years, at least 50% of the voters have been Farmer-Laborites and Democrats.

The Minneapolis newspapers spoke of the "sober faced defendants."

It was our impression that the defendants showed a lot more life and spirit than did the glum looking government prosecutors.

A typical case illustrating the control exerted over the jury by the government prosecution is that of Basil E. Bryant of Buffalo, Wright County.

Mr. Bryant is an electrician's helper who formerly was a mechanic and butter maker. He does not take the daily newspaper, "heard something about the case on a news broadcast," helped an officer to make an arrest once, and wishes the Draft Law had been passed earlier. Certainly one would expect him to be a good government juror. But no, they take no risks. Mr. Bryant ONCE JOINED A UNION WHICH WAS ORGANIZED IN AN ATTEMPT TO GET LICENSING OF ELECTRICAL WORK! The prosecution peremptorily struck his name from the list!

How The Jury Panel Was Selected Or "How They Kept Unionists Off The Minneapolis Jury"

MINNEAPOLIS — The method of drawing the panel from which the trial jury is finally selected is of the greatest importance in determining the composition of the twelve persons who will decide the question of the guilt or innocence of the defendants. The names of some sixty or seventy persons have been drawn out of a box and these

How to Become A Fine Gentleman

An Oct. 23 Associated Press dispatch from Washington on developments in the moves to pass the "arm the ships" legislation, told how.

"Senator Connally," it said, "referred to Senator White, Republican, of Maine, one of the uncommitted members of the Foreign Relations group (Senate Committee), as a 'fine gentleman.' Although he refused to elaborate, the reference was generally interpreted as meaning that Senator White would support an amendment broadening the armed ship legislation. If he did, the minimum committee vote for the proposal would be 12 to 11."

whether they have ever been convicted of a crime, etc. These questionnaires and answers are then filed away for use during forthcoming terms of court.

In September of this year the court ordered that a panel of one hundred and fifty names be drawn from the second and fourth divisions of Minnesota for use at this term of court at which the Minneapolis "sedition" case was to be tried. The judge has the power to fix the territory from which the panel shall be drawn.

The fourth division of Minnesota includes the City of Minneapolis. Upon receiving the judge's request, the clerk — and presumably the jury commissioner did the same — went through the questionnaires for each of the 33 counties comprising the second and fourth division and selected four persons from each county whom he considered a representative cross section of the population. These were generally a couple of merchants, a banker, a salesman or broker and occasionally a farmer or mechanic. Then he threw in eighteen more names of people residing in Hennepin County, using the same kind of "cross section" of the population

as in the case of the first 132 names selected.

In this manner the three hundred or more names placed in the box by the clerk and jury commissioner were determined and out of these were drawn the names of persons summoned for jury service in this case.

The real meaning of this manner of drawing the jury panel

can only be appreciated by seeing the parade of jurors through the jury box: wife of a court house janitor, garage owner, merchant banker, clerk, purchasing agent, salesman, hardware store owner, general merchandise store owner, clerk of selective service bureau, farmer, store owner, insurance broker, sales manager, banker, retail store owner, etc., etc. Everything — except members of trade unions!

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CAMPAIGN USES OF THE MILITANT

Local New York, which has succeeded in having the name of Comrade Cannon placed on the ballot by petition in the present mayoralty elections, has planned a special election edition of the paper. 20,000 copies of THE MILITANT will be circulated among the workers of New York in the

few days remaining before polling day.

Here is an excellent way of doing two important jobs at once: acquainting the workers of the city with the program and platform of the party and at the same time introducing them to the party press. In such ways does our press begin to realize its function as mass agitator and organizer for the movement.

The issuance of THE MILITANT campaign issue will climax the splendid work the New York Local has done in circulating the city with campaign materials in the last few weeks. In all, more than 100,000 pieces of printed propaganda have found their way into the hands of people interested in political matters and aroused by the local campaign.

RESULTS OF THE CHICAGO CONFERENCE

It is gratifying to notice how many of the branches proceeded, after the return of their delegates from the Chicago conference, to discuss seriously within their executive committees and with their membership the matter of extending the influence of the party press.

Minneapolis, for instance, discussed the handling of literature in detail and directed a special sub-committee to take up specific phases of the problem.

In Minneapolis, as almost everywhere, the main problem seems to be the involving of constantly larger numbers of the members in this important party work. It may be Jimmie Higgins work, but it's Jimmie Higgins work that really makes the party.

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For Every Class-Conscious Worker:

IN DEFENSE OF THE SOVIET UNION

(A Compilation — 1927-1937)

By LEON TROTSKY

40 page pamphlet 10c

WHY WE DEFEND THE SOVIET UNION

By ALBERT GOLDMAN

32 page pamphlet 5c

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Defending Leningrad



Soviet workers, like these Leningrad metal workers shown drilling for armed defense of the Soviet Union, are forbidden to discuss the problems of the war by the Kremlin bureaucracy, which fears, above all, that they may talk about Stalin's responsibility for the Soviet defeats.

Rejected Questions Of Defense To Jury

Queries That Would Have Ferreted Out Political Prejudices Of Jurors Were Ruled Out by Judge Joyce As Trial Opened

MINNEAPOLIS, Oct. 27. — Here are some of the questions which defense counsel in the Minneapolis sedition trial asked Federal Judge Matthew M. Joyce to put to prospective jurors — and which the judge refused to ask of these men and women who will have it in their power to convict the labor defendants and render them liable to sentences of up to sixteen years each:

1. If the evidence should show that some of the defendants favored the idea that compulsory military training of trade union members should be under the control of the trade unions, would that in any way prejudice you against them?

2. If the evidence should show that some of the defendants expressed the idea that the majority of the officers of the army are hostile to the trade union movement and act in an autocratic and abusive manner to the soldiers, would that in any way prejudice you against the defendants?

3. If the evidence should further show that some of the defendants expressed the view that the higher officers of the French army, closely connected with the wealthier classes, betrayed the interests of the soldiers, would that in any way prejudice you against them?

4. If the evidence should show that the defendants expressed the belief that the officers of the American army were also connected with the wealthier class of this country and in a similar situation would act as the French officers did, would that prejudice you against them?

5. If the evidence should show that the defendants favor the idea of training officers under trade union control in order to obtain such officers as would be sympathetic to the interests of organized labor and to the masses of the American people, would that prejudice you against them?

6. If the evidence should show that some of the defendants are of the opinion and make the prediction that if the majority of the people of this country will want a change in the social system the minority led by big financiers and industrialists will resist the majority with violence to prevent such a change from coming about, would that prejudice you against the defendants?

7. If the evidence should further show that some of the defendants, although expressing the hope and desire that the majority of the people will be permitted to bring about a peaceful change in the social system are, nevertheless, of the opinion that the minority organized by bankers and big industrialists will not permit such a peaceful change and that therefore some violence might follow, would that prejudice you against them?

8. Have you ever read anything concerning Leon Trotsky?

9. If the evidence should show that some of the defendants believed in some of the ideas expressed by Leon Trotsky, would that in any way prejudice you against them?

10. If the evidence should show that some of the defendants visited Leon Trotsky in Mexico, would that prejudice you against them?

11. If the evidence should show that the defendants approved of the Russian Revolution of November, 1917 and considered it to be of great benefit to the Russian people, would that prejudice you against them?

12. Would the fact that the evidence may show that the defendants are opposed to Stalin's dictatorship in the Soviet Union affect your judgment in this case?

13. And if the evidence should further show that in spite of their opposition to Stalin's regime the defendants believe in supporting the Soviet Union in the war against Hitler, would that prejudice you against them?

14. If the evidence will show

IN LOS ANGELES

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James P. Cannon

that some of the defendants participated in the organization of the Union Defense Guard, the

purpose of which was to defend the union against any attack by any fascist organization or any anti-labor organization, would that affect your judgment in this case?

15. Do you believe in the right of members of a union to organize and train themselves for the purpose of defending the union hall, the union property and union meetings, against possible physical attack by forces hostile to unionism, would that affect your judgment?

16. If the evidence should show that in connection with the Union Defense Guard a few single-shot .22 calibre target rifles and a few target pistols were purchased by some members of the Union Defense Guard for target practice in order to be able to defend the union hall, property and meetings, against physical attack by anti-labor groups, would that in any way prejudice you against the defendants?

No Imperialist 'Western Front' Will Save The Soviet Union

(Continued from page 1)

and confuse the masses who are beginning to understand from the bitter reality of events that Stalinism is responsible for bringing the Soviet Union to the brink of catastrophe and that it is the main internal obstacle to the successful defense of the workers state.

Because it lays the basis for a capitulation to Hitler when a "western front" by the imperialists does not materialize, or, if it does materialize, has no appreciable effect on the struggle in Soviet territory. Because it will enable Stalin to say that the failure of the "democratic" imperialists to save the Soviet Union made necessary a deal with the fascist imperialists.

ADMISSION OF BANKRUPTCY

But while the Stalinist plea for a "western front" as the only hope for the Soviet Union is intended to cover up the bankruptcy and treachery of the Kremlin's policies leading up to the war and in the whole conduct of the war, it is at the same time a refutation and an indictment of those policies.

For since the Stalinist bureaucracy came into power on the program of "socialism in one country," it has justified its opposition to the extension of the world revolution on the ground that it could build and was building a "self-sufficient" order. The Stalinists boasted about the "invincibility" of the Red Army at the same time that the monstrous purges they carried out in the interests of perpetuating their own rule, belated and weakened the Red Army.

Now, in the hour of greatest crisis for the workers state, and in the face of irrefutable facts, their justifications and their boasts are proven to be lies which only lulled the masses into accepting their false policies and criminal leadership.

Now, when it is almost too late, the Stalinists admit that the So-

IN MEMORIAM

News has reached us of the untimely death on October 21 of William H. Murray, militant trade unionist and organizer for the United Construction Workers Organizing Committee, CIO, in Seattle.

His death occurred in the line of duty. The rowboat in which he was approaching a barge which had gotten thru an aquatic picket line on Lake Union, overturned in the fog-bound water. Police and union officials pronounced his death accidental.

Militant unionists who knew of his devotion to the interests of the working class and unemployed workers acquainted with his activities in the Unemployed Citizens League during the depression, will mourn his death as a genuine loss for the whole labor movement.

viet Union will be crushed unless aid comes from the outside.

And to whom do they turn for this aid to save the Soviet Union? Not to the masses of Europe and the world. Not to the revolutionary strength of the international working class. Not to the hundreds of thousands of pro-Soviet prisoners in Siberian concentration camps, experienced revolutionary leaders of the Red Army, Soviet industry and agriculture whose only "crime" was that they criticized or objected to the reactionary policies of the Kremlin. No, they fear to issue a revolutionary appeal to the masses because they do not wish to "alienate" their military allies, the "democratic" imperialists who demand as the price of their "aid" that the Stalinists assist them in suppressing any independent working class action.

Instead they appeal to the "democratic" imperialists to save the Soviet Union.

Stalin's crime does not consist merely in raising the demand for a "western front." As long as the Soviet Union is surrounded by imperialism, workers cannot deny it the right to engage in alliances with one set of imperialists against another, nor in asking for military supplies or any other kind of military aid from one set of imperialists to be used for the defense of the USSR against another.

STALIN'S REAL CRIME

Stalin's crime lies in this, that he presents the "western front" by the imperialists as the only means of saving the USSR; that he refuses to call for independent workers action in Germany and Europe and to appeal for the only kind of aid that can really defend the USSR, the extension of the October revolution; that he supports and urges the masses of Great Britain and the United States to support the war for imperialist profit as a "means of defending the USSR"; that he lies to the masses inside and outside the Soviet Union and tries to tie their hands in the genuine struggle against world imperialism.

It is a fatal illusion to believe that the imperialists have any interest in saving the first workers state. They may open a "western front," and they may not — but whatever action they take will be dictated by their own imperialist aims and needs, and not by the interests of the workers state. What they want is the exhaustion, simultaneous, if possible, of both the Soviet Union and Germany, and all the steps they take and all the "aid" they give is aimed at securing a situation where the democratic imperialists will be able to conquer Germany, and step in and take over the Soviet Union also.

But in spite of the defeats, in spite of the betrayals by the Kremlin, the Soviet Union can still be saved. But first it must be understood that the policies of Stalin, continued to their conclusion can only bring crushing de-

Albert Goldman: Defendant And Counsel For Defense

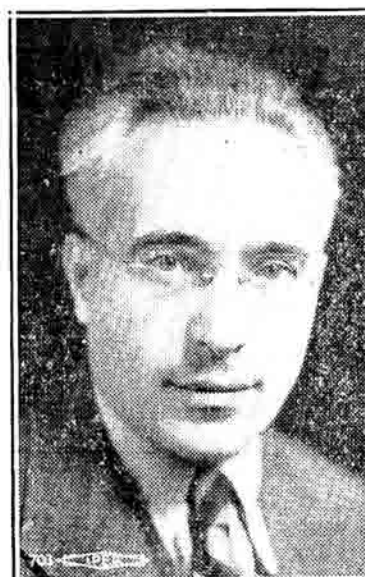
MINNEAPOLIS, Oct. 27. — A unique feature of this Minneapolis "sedition" trial is the role of Albert Goldman.

His scholarly face is at the head of the table of defense counsel, and he often steps up to the judge's bench, side by side with Special Assistant U. S. Attorney General Henry A. Schweinhaut, to argue some point or agree on some procedure.

But Albert Goldman also, at the beginning of the trial, answered the roll call of the 28 defendants. He is one of the leaders of the Socialist Workers Party who, together with the leaders of Local 544-CIO, were indicted in this case.

No court attendant here could recall a federal case in which a man was both a member of defense counsel and a defendant. Labor historians do not remember a similar situation in any of the previous American labor trials.

Counsel for defense, in addi-



Albert Goldman

tion to Goldman, are: M. J. Meyer of Chicago; former Judge Arthur LeSeuer, Gilbert E. Carlson, David J. Shama and Sam Dolf of Minneapolis.

Records Of 28 Show Long Service To Labor

A Few Pertinent Details About Defendants Roosevelt Seeks to Jail for Opposition to War and Union Loyalty

The twenty-eight men and women who went on trial in Minneapolis last week to face the federal government's charges of "seditious conspiracy" have long and honorable records in the American labor movement.

THE MILITANT will soon begin a series of biographical sketches of the 28 defendants, telling in detail of their activities in the working class movement.

Meanwhile, we print below a list and a few pertinent details about each of the defendants whom the Roosevelt administration wants to send to jail for their opposition to the war and the attempts to destroy the militancy and independence of the union movement.

JAMES P. CANNON (New York) — In his 30 years of active service in the labor movement, he has become nationally known as a labor, strike and defense movement leader. One of labor's great orators. Founder of the American Trotskyist movement, National Secretary of the Socialist Workers Party, and today Trotskyist Anti-War candidate for mayor of New York.

GRACE CARLSON (St. Paul) — Received more than 8,000 votes last year as Trotskyist candidate for U. S. Senator from Minnesota. Author of many articles on workers' health problems. Active member of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and the Workers Defense League. Now Minnesota organizer of the Socialist Workers Party.

JAKE COOPER (Minneapolis) — Militant driver, member of Local 544-CIO.

OSCAR COOVER (Minneapolis) — For 30 years a member of organized labor, Minneapolis secretary of the Socialist Workers Party.

HARRY DEBOER (Minneapolis) — One of the leaders of the Strike Committee of 100 in the great 1934 drivers' strike. Active in organizing over-the-road drivers throughout the Middle West. Organizer for 544-CIO.

FARRELL DOBBS (Minneapolis) — A leader of the 1934 Strike Committee of 100. Former secretary-treasurer of Local 544. Former international representative of the AFL Teamsters. Chief negotiator of the Area Committee which organized and improved the wages and conditions of over 100,000 over-the-road drivers. National Labor Secretary of the S. W. P.

MILES B. DUNNE (Minneapolis) — World War veteran. Pioneer organizer of Local 574 and editor of its first paper. Imprisoned by the National Guards in the 1934 strike. Former secretary-treasurer of the Minneapolis Teamsters Joint Council, and now President of 544-CIO.

VINCENT R. DUNNE (Minneapolis) — Nationally recognized for his 30 years of service in the labor movement and one of the best known and respected militants in the Middle West. Strike leader in the two 1934 drivers' strikes. Has won the gratitude of workers in many industries by his aid in their strikes. Led the WPA Defense Committee in WPA strike trial two years ago. Led defense of Local 544 against the fink suit. Organizer of 544-CIO.

GEORGE FROSIG (Minneapolis) — Has played an active and leading role in the Minneapolis drivers' movement for 20 years. Vice-president of 544-CIO.

MAX GELDMAN (Minneapolis) — Active in the leadership



Farrell Dobbs

of the Federal Workers Section unemployed movement. Served 8 months in prison for leadership of 1939 WPA strike.

ALBERT GOLDMAN (Chicago) — Attorney for Local 574 in the 1934 strikes. Active for many years in labor defense work. Was attorney for Leon Trotsky. Attorney for the Socialist Workers Party.

WALTER HAGSTROM (Minneapolis) — Active for 20 years in the Minneapolis labor movement, Machinists Union, Cab Drivers Union, Local 544. Representative of 544 to the Federal Workers Section. Organizer for 544-CIO.

CLARENCE HAMEL (Minneapolis) — For years a leading steward for Local 544. Organizer for 544-CIO.

EMIL HANSEN (Minneapolis) — One of the builders of Local 544. Trustee and organizer of 544-CIO.

CARLOS HUDSON (Minneapolis) — Labor writer and speaker. Author of "Dere Emily" column in 1934 daily strike bulletin, of pamphlet "Behind the Fink Suit." Managing editor of the Industrial Organizer.

CARL KUEHN (Minneapolis) — Active for 10 years on behalf of the unemployed. Secretary, Federal Workers Section, Local 544-CIO.

FELIX MORROW (New York) — Editor of THE MILITANT

and FOURTH INTERNATIONAL, publications of the S.W.P. Assistant editor of Northwest Organizer, 1937-38.

ROY ORGON (Minneapolis) — Long time member of Local 544. A leader of the Federal Workers Section, 544-CIO.

EDWARD PALMQUIST (Minneapolis) — Chairman, Federal Workers Section, 544-CIO. A WPA strike trial defendant in 1939, he served 8 months in prison for that strike.

KELLY POSTAL (Minneapolis) — World War veteran, leading member of 1934 Strike Committee of 100. Secretary-treasurer of 544-CIO.

RAY RAINBOLT (Minneapolis) — War veteran, leading member of Strike Committee of 100. Former head of Cab Drivers Union, Ice Drivers Union. Recording secretary, 544-CIO.

ALFRED RUSSELL (Minneapolis) — Former organizer, Teamsters Local 554, Omaha. Active in organizing over-the-road drivers. Served prison term for aiding Strutwear strikers.

OSCAR SCHOENFELD (New York) — WPA strike trial defendant in Minneapolis, 1939. Active in union movement and organization of unemployed youth.

DOROTHY SCHULTZ (St. Paul) — Twin City secretary, Workers Defense League. Active for years in labor defense work.

ROSE SELER (Minneapolis) — Former business agent, Minneapolis Office Workers Union. Active in Federal Workers Section, 544-CIO.

CARL SKOGLUND (Minneapolis) — Thirty years' activity in labor movement. Pioneer organizer of Local 574. Former president of Local 544. Organizer, 544-CIO.

HAROLD SWANSON (Minneapolis) — Active in Federal



Vincent R. Dunne

Workers Section, in union movement.

NICK WAGNER (Minneapolis) — Active for many years as union organizer in drivers' movement in Illinois and Minneapolis. Organizer, 544-CIO.

New Pamphlet Just Off The Press!

WITCH HUNT IN MINNESOTA

The Federal Prosecution of the Socialist Workers Party and Local 544-CIO

by

GEORGE E. NOVACK

foreword by

JAMES T. FARRELL

Author of "Studs Lonigan", etc.

- is it treasonable to oppose the war?
- has the Bill of Rights been abolished?
- what was the Minneapolis Union Defense Guard?
- how does the Administration fight the C. I. O.?
- how does the Justice Department serve Daniel J. Tobin?
- have workers the right to choose their own union?

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Breitman SWP Candidate In New Jersey

(Continued from page 1)

to the Roosevelt-Biddle-FBI prosecution of the 28 defendants in the Minneapolis trial opening this week. Explaining that the government persecutes the S. W. P. because of its working class opposition to the war, and for that reason "every worker who opposes the war must rally to the support of the Socialist Workers Party," the party's election literature concludes:

"Support the party that fights against the war!

"Fight against Roosevelt's witch hunt prosecution of the Socialist Workers Party! Defend the democratic rights of labor!

"Join the struggle for a Workers and Farmers Government that will destroy the cause of war and war itself!

"Vote for the Anti-War Party's candidate in the November 4 elections in Essex County — George Breitman for General Assembly."

Breitman is well known in Newark labor circles as a leader of the New Jersey unemployed movement, and the author of many pamphlets on the problems of employed and jobless workers. Negro and white.

He was one of the leading figures in the 1936 "Trenton Siege," during which the unemployed occupied and held for nine days the meeting place of the state General Assembly, the same body for which he is now a candidate.

Vote Against War! Vote for J. P. Cannon!

LaGuardia Is A Faithful Servant--Of Wall Street

His Record Is a History of Devotion to the Interests of the Ruling Class, Covered Up for the Public With "Liberal" Talk

By JOSEPH HANSEN

Few men who have bartered their souls to Wall Street in exchange for the spoils of public office have enjoyed a greater reputation for "liberalism" than Fiorello H. LaGuardia. Yet this reputation is a sham.

LaGuardia's real record since the very beginning of his career exposes him as the tool of America's ruling 60 Families. Under the skillfully manufactured mask of "liberalism", exists the real LaGuardia — a bitter and dangerous enemy of the people.

LaGuardia first came to the favorable attention of Wall Street during World War I. As one of the most blatant supporters of "America First" meetings, he whipped up sentiment for plunging this country into the blood bath under the lying slogan that World War I was a holy war to "end all wars." As Congressman he speeded up the passage of anti-labor legislation which Wall Street required in its drive to throttle opposition to the war. His securing a leave of absence from Congress in order to accept a Commission in the Italian air force demonstrated to Wall Street that he was an exceptionally clever demagogue who could be of great use as political representative of their interests.

LA GUARDIA HOUNDS WAR OPPONENTS

Consequently in 1918, in recognition of his services as a war-monger and as a further step in shaping this willing tool into a prominent public figure, LaGuardia was renominated for Congress on the Republican ticket and at the same time stamped with the approval of the corrupt Tammany machine. LaGuardia in return denounced the socialists as "agents of the Kaiser" because they opposed the war and because they warned the people that it was Wall Street's war, not theirs.

LaGuardia's reputation as a liberal mushroomed when he opposed expelling five socialist members from the New York State legislature. It was a clever move; but the spurious nature of his "liberalism" is indicated by the fact that William Randolph Hearst, such-reactionary hater of labor, campaigned in 1922 to make LaGuardia governor of New York.

During the Sacco-Vanzetti case, LaGuardia visited these two opponents of war who had been framed up by the government and who had become symbols to the workers of the entire world as victims of the injustice of the capitalist class. LaGuardia helped send them to the electric chair by declaring that Vanzetti was "demented."

LA GUARDIA ADMIRES TAMMANY

Over the years, LaGuardia carefully steered down the "liberal" channel of politics — a course designed to popularize him in preparation for the eventual day when the Tammany machine became so thoroughly exposed as Wall Street's political instrument that the people would demand a reform. LaGuardia's real attitude toward Tammany, however, is revealed by the following remark made by him on the floor of Con-

gress on March 7, 1926: "Tammany has done more for the welfare institutions of New York in one year than any private foundation with its theories and statistics can do from now until the end of time."

This background enables us to better understand LaGuardia's anti-labor record during his incumbency as mayor of New York City. It enables us to understand why this "liberal" was capable on Sept. 25, 1937 of endorsing such a demagogue as George U. Harvey, the Queens fascist who has openly praised Mussolini and Hitler and who favors the Ku Klux Klan. It enables us to understand why LaGuardia boasts of civic "improvements" while he suppresses factual reports on the high rents, over-crowding, and unsanitary conditions which plague the Negro people in Harlem.

LA GUARDIA CUTS RELIEF

LaGuardia slashed relief to the bone during his term of office. He explained one cut of ten percent which he made on March 26, 1938 as due to his desire to "dramatize Lehman's tax grab."

Lehman had taken over some taxes from New York City. The unemployed know, however, that it was LaGuardia's deliberate poli-



F. H. LA GUARDIA

cy to chisel them out of relief by heaping up the red tape and chopping down the appropriations.

As for solving New York's desperate housing problem — LaGuardia well understands how landlords butter their bread by artificially maintaining high rents through maintenance of congested fire-traps. Although an election referendum endorsed \$300,000,000 for housing, LaGuardia in his budget "forgot" to ask for more than \$90,000,000!

SELLS CITY ITS OWN SUBWAYS

One of the most outrageous swindles ever perpetrated against

the people of New York City was LaGuardia's deal of 1939 whereby Wall Street sold the city of New York its own subways. Protest on the part of the populace was so widespread that even prominent daily newspapers of the capitalist press were forced to give lip service in opposition to the swindle.

Although the B.M.T. and I.R.T. systems have been owned by the city since they were first constructed, both of them were "leased" in a crooked 1894 deal to Wall Street sharks who were then guaranteed a minimum profit of \$10,000,000 a year for operating them. By 1939 this amounted to \$450,000,000, but actual profits were far in excess. The city on the other hand during this same period sustained a loss of \$325,000,000 in order to pay out this profit to Wall Street. By 1939 the lines were in such run-down condition that only another large investment could keep them operating on a safety basis. Wall Street felt that it could get a bigger return on such an outlay of cash in other fields of investment.

So LaGuardia agreed to pay Wall Street a minimum of \$326,000,000 for the crooked 1894 "lease", an amount equal to the city's original investment in the lines!

TRIES TO SMASH TRANSPORT UNION

LaGuardia followed up this swindle with a vicious anti-union drive against the employees of the subways who were organized in the Transport Workers Union. LaGuardia refused to recognize the right of these workers to a signed contract with the city such as they had succeeded in winning from the Wall Street leaders of the city's lines, and has hailed them into the courts in an attempt to break the contract that was established. At the same time he has covered them with abuse and attempted to whip up public sentiment against them in order to smash the Transport Workers Union.

LA GUARDIA CODDLES FASCISM

LaGuardia claims to oppose Hitlerism, but his real attitude was demonstrated to the hilt by the tender and solicitous manner in which he protected the Coughlinites, Bundists, and Christian Fronters just before the outbreak of World War II.

LaGuardia's police on one hand arrested anti-fascists in wholesale lots for distributing leaflets and pamphlets warning of the growing fascist danger to America; on the other hand they furnished a personal guard for Fritz Kuhn of the German-American Bund — Hitler's representative in this country!

LaGuardia's concern for these budding fascists who were beating and stabbing anti-fascists and raiding the headquarters of labor organizations in New York and elsewhere culminated at the Madison Square Garden demonstration of February 20, 1939. The

Vote This Row

ROW H



JAMES P. CANNON
Trotsky Anti-War

The 30 Year Labor Record Of Cannon, SWP Candidate

National Secretary of SWP Served Labor Consistently As a Leader Since 1911

Since he joined the I. W. W. thirty years ago in 1911, James P. Cannon has stood in the forefront of the struggle for socialism that will end the capitalist epoch of unemployment, hunger, wars, and fascism.

Because of his militant opposition to the first imperialist world war, Cannon was among those persecuted by the Wilson administration. When the October revolution flamed up out of the blood-drenched battlefields, disclosing the path to the socialist society, Cannon became an ardent advocate of Bolshevism in America.

James P. Cannon was one of the founders of the American section of the Communist International. During the hard years of the notorious Palmer raids he was an outstanding spokesman of the Communist Party and remained so until the Stalinist degeneration brought that party to an impasse.

In 1928 Cannon was expelled by the Stalinist bureaucracy for espousing Trotsky's struggle to return the Communist International to Lenin's program of

world revolution. Since then he has led the battle for establishment of a revolutionary political party of the American working class under the banner of Trotskyism.

Throughout his career as a revolutionist, James P. Cannon has been recognized as one of the most militant of all fighters in the labor movement for workers' rights, for civil liberties, for the economic and social equality of Negroes and all other oppressed minority groups.

He stood at the head of the International Labor Defense when that organization conducted its famous world-wide struggle for the liberation of Sacco and Vanzetti.

The war-mongering administration of Roosevelt has recognized James P. Cannon and the Trotskyist movement he heads as the only serious opposition in the United States to its plan of plunging this country into World War II.

That is why they are trying to railroad him and 27 other Trotskyist leaders and members of Local 544-CIO to prison.

Coughlinites and Bundists held a rally in the Garden at which they spewed race hatred against the Jews and Negroes in approved Hitlerite fashion.

More than 50,000 anti-fascists gathered in indignant protest around the Garden under the leadership of the Trotskyists. LaGuardia's police charged their horses repeatedly into this crowd. On the roofs of the buildings surrounding the Garden, LaGuardia's police trained machine guns and tear gas guns on the people.

Inside the meeting, the largest round of applause from the storm troopers went to a resolution proposed by Fritz Kuhn, thanking "New York's finest, the police department, for the splendid protection it has given."

LaGuardia is thus seen as opposed to Hitlerism only in so far as it crosses the greeds of Wall Street. LaGuardia has proved by his actions that he is sympathetic to its cause when Hitlerism attacks the labor movement.

LA GUARDIA SUPPORTS WALL STREET'S WAR

Now LaGuardia is running for reelection on the same program that first brought him into Wall Street's favor: support of Wall Street's imperialist war aims. That is why Roosevelt has endorsed his candidacy. During the past two years, while the cost of living has shot up to new and outrageous levels, LaGuardia has shuttled about the nation on war-mongering assignments. Rents, food costs, power and gas rates, etc., of New York are among the highest of the nation, but LaGuardia is not concerned with alleviating the needs of the people.

LaGuardia is one of Wall Street's top lieutenants. He has been assigned the job of lining up the masses of New York City in support of Wall Street's imperialist interests in World War II. In this respect LaGuardia and O'Dwyer are only Judas goats with different ear tags.

A vote cast against LaGuardia and O'Dwyer is a vote cast against Wall Street's war.

A vote cast for James P. Cannon of the Trotskyist Anti-War Party is a vote cast for a Workers and Farmers Government that will forever end fascism and war.

Cannon N.Y.'s Candidate Against War

(Continued from page 1)

Workers Party and Local 544 of the CIO Motor Transport and Allied Workers Industrial Union. On the one hand Roosevelt endorses Wall Street's candidate, LaGuardia, on the other he tries to imprison the genuine opponents of imperialist war.

ENCOURAGING RESPONSE

Despite these difficulties, the party has been able to conduct a militant campaign. From the court room, where he is accused of advocating overthrow of the capitalist government, James P. Cannon has conducted an unrelenting struggle against the reactionary ideas represented by LaGuardia and O'Dwyer. Through the distribution of leaflets and THE MILITANT, and through street meetings, the program on which he stands has reached hundreds of thousands of workers in New York City.

The response to our campaign literature has been most encouraging. Invariably readers of our leaflets fold them and put them into a pocket or purse. Roosevelt's FBI persecutions of the Trotskyists has impressed on a wide section of militant workers one fact — if Wall Street takes the Trotskyist program seriously, then the Trotskyists must be genuine opponents of Wall Street's imperialist war aims. In Harlem especially the Negro people have received our campaign literature with the greatest interest and in many ways indicated that they understand James P. Cannon is on trial not only for his opposition to war but for his militant fight against racial bigotry and Jim Crowism.

WHAT A VOTE FOR CANNON SIGNIFIES

Wall Street does not believe for

Wm. O'Dwyer Tammany Choice

Backed by Citadel of Corruption, Democratic Candidate Tries to Pose As "Independent"

William O'Dwyer, Democratic candidate in the New York mayoralty election, is nothing but a puppet dangling from the claws of the Tammany Tiger. Part of his campaign is to deny any connection with this corrupt and decayed political machine, but the denial itself bears the unmistakable tones of the Tammany tiger purring gently to the voter at election time.

O'Dwyer's campaign directors are Flynn, Kelly, and Sullivan, well-known Tammany ward-heels.

One moment that James P. Cannon will be swept into office. But they will count the votes cast for James P. Cannon with far more anxiety than they count the votes cast for O'Dwyer and LaGuardia. In their eyes each vote cast for Cannon will outweigh a thousand votes cast for either of the capitalist candidates. And in his question Wall Street is right, for tomorrow the program of Trotskyism on which Cannon stands can sweep the nation like a wildfire. That is why Wall Street has ordered that Cannon be placed behind bars. They don't want to take any chances.

But nothing Wall Street can do will succeed in the long run in preventing the program of Trotskyism from becoming victorious. It expresses the genuine interests of the masses. Beginning with irreconcilable opposition to imperialist war, the election platform of James P. Cannon explains that the Second World War is a continuation of World War I on a grander scale. It is not a war for "democracy" but a bloody struggle between contending camps of imperialist bandits for profits, for the redivision of colonies and markets, which will bring the masses only misery and degradation.

FOR DEFENSE OF THE SOVIET UNION

Cannon's platform next calls for working class defense of the Soviet Union as the only country in the world which is waging a progressive war. Our support of the Soviet Union is based on the fact that industries and wealth of Russia, taken away from the capitalists and landlords in November, 1917, have not gone back to private ownership. At the same time the platform calls for an end of Stalinism which has brought the Soviet Union only defeats and now the danger of complete catastrophe.

The third main plank of the election platform is for the genuine struggle against fascism. As the first big step in this struggle, we advocate military training of workers, financed by the government but under control of the trade unions; and the establishment of officers' training camps, financed by the government but controlled by the trade unions, to train workers to become officers. The remaining planks of the

ers, 29 of O'Dwyer's 33 aides in his Brooklyn District Attorney's office are Kelly henchmen.

It is quite understandable why O'Dwyer tries to deny his connection with Tammany and sneak into office by agreeing with the basic issue of LaGuardia's platform — support of Wall Street's war — and by depending on the Tammany machine vote for the rest.

Merely reminding the workers of Tammany's record is enough to finish O'Dwyer as an attraction to them in the election.

The famous Seabury investigation of 1931 which lifted the lid slightly from the Tammany sewer, and which made it possible for LaGuardia to ride into office as a knight in shining reform armor, revealed that Mayor Walker had received with Russell T. Sherwood \$48,000 from taxi owners for favorable legislation. This is a typical case of Tammany government.

The workers have learned that Tammany graft has forced them to live in long-ago-condemned slums that are nothing but tinderboxes ready to go up in flame at any moment. They have learned that Tammany graft has corrupted and smashed the trade union movement repeated times. They have learned that Tammany graft has burdened them with taxes and helped lift the cost of living. Tammany — tool of Wall Street — must be considered largely responsible for the fact that to this day, rent, food costs, power and gas rates in New York City are among the highest in the nation.

Tammany still tries to put its creatures into office. But its first rule in running them is to deny that they have anything to do with Tammany.

On election day the class-conscious workers must pass up O'Dwyer's name and that of LaGuardia, an old admirer of Tammany, and turn down the lever at column "H" where the name of James P. Cannon, candidate of the Trotskyist Workers Party, is listed.

Platform are:

- Defend the trade unions!
- For Civil Liberties!
- Against Racial and Religious Discrimination!
- Fight the high cost of living!
- For the continuation of the relief program!
- For a Workers' and Farmers' Government!
- For socialism!

Join the Socialist Workers Party

Fifth Annual Series of the Twin City Sunday Forum

presents on

Sunday, November 2nd, at 3 P. M.

One of the 28 on trial

DOROTHY SCHULTZ

speaking on

'SHOWDOWN IN THE PACIFIC'

at

919 MARQUETTE AVENUE, MINNEAPOLIS, MINN.

Admission 10c

Mass Meeting

TWENTY-FOURTH ANNIVERSARY OF THE OCTOBER REVOLUTION

Sunday, November 9th, at 8 P. M.

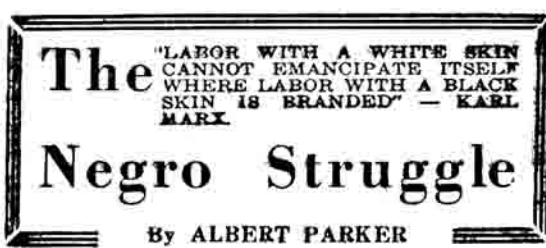
Irving Plaza Irving Place and 15th St., New York City

Victoria Hall

Speakers:

JOHN G. WRIGHT
Translator of Trotsky's Works

LYDIA BEIDEL
Manager, The Militant



The Elections On November 4

Negro workers in the metropolitan area will have a chance on Tuesday, November 4, to express their views on the most important questions of the day. On election day in New York City and in Essex County, New Jersey, they will be able by the votes they cast to show where they stand on the vital questions of war, fascism, Jim Crowism, jobs and equal rights for the Negro people, attacks on civil liberties and militant unionism.

What do the Democratic and Republican parties stand for today? Every Negro worker has had the opportunity from his own experience and observation to learn the answer to this question. Not from the answers the Democratic and Republican politicians give to this question around election time, for then they are all honey and sweetness, full of fine promises, ready to give away cigars and hot dogs and beer and to pat babies on the head. I once saw a white wardheeler who despised Negroes pick up a little colored baby and kiss her — ten days before the voting took place.

I mean what do these boss parties really stand for?

Where do they stand on Negro rights? On paper, they say they stand for "fair play" and "equal treatment" and so on. But when it comes to action, these promises are shown to be very hollow indeed.

Take the Anti-Lynch bills, for example. When the Republican Party had a majority in both houses of Congress, it failed to pass this legislation. When the Democratic Party got a majority, it too refused to pass it. And these bills of theirs are very weak and inadequate as it is. When they refuse to pass them, they reveal more about their true attitude toward the Negro people than all the talk and words in the world.

The same thing with the Anti-Poll Tax bills. The same thing with legislation to stop the bosses from barring Negroes from industry. Talk is cheap, but action is what counts.

Of course, there are some politicians who are more dependent on Negro votes than others, and they are more careful in how they act. LaGuardia is a good example. But when it comes to something important, men like LaGuardia only use their reputations as "friends of the Negroes" to hinder and prevent the real struggle against Jim Crowism. Last June, when thousands of Negroes were getting ready for their March on Washington for jobs and equality, LaGuardia used all his influence to prevent them from going through with their militant action which would have accomplished a million times more than all his promises and appointments.

Workers must stop making the mistake of saying, "The boss parties are no good, we know that, but Jones and Smith are good men belonging to those parties, and so we will vote for them." Politicians must be judged primarily on the basis of the party they belong to, and the program and record of the party they belong to. Candidates of the boss parties must accept the responsibility not only for what they do themselves, but for what their party does.

Vote for the Program You Support

Workers must also learn to resist the old argument that it is no use voting for the candidate of a fighting workers party, "because he can't get elected anyhow, and it would only be wasting your vote to support him."

If you really want to waste your vote, cast it for the candidates who are opposed to labor's best interests. What good does it do workers to help elect people who are going to oppose labor's needs?

What does a vote for the Republican or Democratic party mean? It means a vote in favor of the war and the war program that the masses will have to pay for. It means a vote of approval for their refusal to pass the Anti-Lynch Bill, the Anti-Poll Tax Bill, for their refusal to put any teeth into the order to abolish discrimination in industry. It means a vote of approval of the refusal of both parties to do anything about the vicious Jim Crow system in the Army and Navy.

And what will you be voting for when you support the Socialist Workers Party? First of all, you will be saying that you are opposed to this fake "war for democracy". Secondly, you will be saying that you are opposed to fascism both at home and abroad, and you recognize that the workers themselves, independently of the bosses, must organize their forces to defeat fascism and destroy its roots.

You will be saying that you are opposed to Jim Crowism in any form and in any place. You will be saying that you are ready to fight for full social, economic and political equality for the Negro people. You will be saying that you are opposed to the capitalist system that breeds racial prejudices to keep the workers divided so that the bosses can exploit them more easily, and that you want to replace it with a system where discrimination will be forever abolished, where all workers will have security and freedom.

In New York our candidate for mayor is James P. Cannon. In Essex County our candidate for General Assembly is George Breitman. They merit the support of every Negro and white worker not only because of the struggles they have led and participated in, but primarily because the program they represent is the only answer to the problems of the working class.

Why The Prosecution?

To Aid Tobin, Attack War Opposition, Set Anti-Labor Precedent

Government Masks These Real Reasons Behind 'Seditious Conspiracy' Charge

By ART PREIS

According to the official federal indictment and recent statements by the prosecution, the Roosevelt administration is trying to convict and imprison the 28 defendants in the Minneapolis "sedition" trial because they "did feloniously conspire . . . to destroy by force the Government of the United States of America."

But all the evidence of the public record and the circumstances and statements leading up to the opening of the trial indicate that this was not the reason for this indictment being handed down at this time.

Rather, the evidence shows that the government was trying to achieve three ends by the indictment and the prosecution:

1. To aid Daniel J. Tobin, AFL teamster chief, in his fight to prevent the members of Local 544 from exercising their democratic right to belong to the union of their own choice, and to strike a blow at the leaders of this union who were noted for their opposition to all moves to stifle the militancy of the labor movement in the name of "national defense";

2. To terrorize, isolate and, if possible, suppress the party which proclaimed its irreconcilable opposition to the war and the warmongers;

3. And to establish a precedent which will be used against all working class opponents of the war in the future.

The government comes into this trial "with unclean hands" because in its haste to achieve these ends, and especially the first, its true intentions were made manifest by the statements issued by the prosecution and Tobin, statements which are a matter of public record.

BACKGROUND OF TRIAL

The immediate circumstance which inspired the administration to undertake this prosecution when it did was the conflict between the Minneapolis truck drivers union, Local 544, and Tobin, climaxed on June 9 when over 4,000 Local 544 members voted to disaffiliate from the AFL and join the CIO.

Tobin, a staunch supporter of the Roosevelt administration, had declared himself unconditionally pledged to the war aims and policies of the government. Furthermore, he had publicly declared that adherence to his pro-war policies were a condition for continued membership in the AFL Teamsters, and that the members of the union must be prepared to make "sacrifices" in the interests of the war program.

The leaders of Local 544, several of whom had been known for years to Tobin and the labor movement at large as members of the Socialist Workers Party or sympathetic to its ideas, had condemned the war as a war for bosses' profits and had advocated that the unions maintain a militant policy in defense of the workers interests despite war.

When these leaders refused to abide by Tobin's ultimatum that they renounce their anti-war convictions, and his further edict that they agree to the establishment of a Tobin receivership over their local, Tobin sought to oust them. This move was frustrated when the local's members voted to join the CIO.

ROOSEVELT INTERVENES

Four days later, Tobin addressed a direct telegraphic appeal to Roosevelt, urgently requesting his aid against the dissident local. He declared in part:

"The withdrawal from the International Union by the truck-drivers union, Local 544 and one other small union in Minneapolis, and their affiliation with the CIO is indeed a regrettable and dangerous condition. The officers of this local union . . . were requested to disassociate themselves from the radical Trotsky organization . . . we feel that while our country is in a dangerous position, those disturbers who believe in the policies of foreign, radical governments must be in some way prevented from pursuing this dangerous course. . . (New York Times, June 14, 1941).

On the very same day that he received Tobin's appeal, Roosevelt acted. Through his secretary, Stephen Early, Roosevelt issued a statement to the White House press conference, which acknowledged Tobin's telegram and recognized Tobin's claim that the Teamsters' international leadership was being fought "by all

have to cover up its real motives.

SECOND MAIN REASON

The second reason for the prosecution was purely political and stemmed from the administration's decision to use this case for an attack on the Socialist Workers Party because of its outspoken opposition to the imperialist war.

This was explicitly admitted by Biddle who stated: "The principal basis for the prosecution is found in the Declaration of Principles adopted by the Socialist Workers Party in January, 1938." (Minneapolis Tribune, June 28).

Biddle then made specific reference to those sections of the Declaration which read:

"If, in spite of the efforts of the revolutionists and the militant workers, the U. S. government enters a new war, the SWP will not, under any circumstances, support that war but will, on the contrary, fight against it."

There was nothing secret or "conspiratorial" about this Declaration. It was made public three and a half years before the indictment was drawn. It is the expression of political opinions and, as such, the SWP and the defendants had, and have, the constitutional right to express them.

But the indictment itself, handed down two weeks later, had nothing whatever to say about "the principal basis for the prosecution." As a matter of fact it does not even contain the word war.

The prosecution acted hastily in its eagerness to help Tobin before it was too late to help him effectively, and it blurted out some truths. Afterwards, they realized that it would not be very easy under the circumstances to get convictions on the basis of the defendants' anti-war policies, for millions of others share their opposition to the war and would rally to their defense on this basis.

Unable to tell the truth about

THE FBI ACTS

Within a few days these "departments and agencies" did act. On June 27, FBI agents raided the headquarters of the SWP in Minneapolis and St. Paul, seizing copies of works by Marx, Lenin and Trotsky and various publications of the party, all of which are on public sale everywhere.

Announcement was then made that these publicly available books and publications would be used as "evidence" in a federal prosecution against members of the Socialist Workers Party.

Attorney General Biddle, who was subsequently to brazenly deny that the prosecution had any connection with the fight between Tobin and Local 544, declared on the day of the FBI raids that "the principal Socialist Workers Party leaders against whom prosecution is being brought, are also leaders of Local 544-CIO in Minneapolis. . . and have gained control of a legitimate labor union to use it for illegitimate purposes." (Minneapolis Star-Journal, June 28).

The St. Paul Dispatch, a representative organ of the conservative business interests in the Twin Cities, announced that an indictment was being prepared against the Socialist Workers Party, with the revealing headline: "U. S. TO PROSECUTE 544."

But Biddle hastened to lie: "The prosecution is not in any sense an attack on organized labor, nor is it an effort to interfere in a dispute between labor organizations."

However, in reporting this very statement of Biddle's, the Minneapolis Star-Journal, June 28, added that the federal officials themselves had admitted that "the criminal proceedings were stimulated by the bolt of former leaders of General Drivers' Union 544 from AFL to CIO."

FIRST MAIN REASON FOR THE PROSECUTION

The facts are iron-clad. The initial purpose of the prosecution was to aid in the crushing of an influential and powerful sector of the trade union movement because of its opposition to the Tobin dictatorship on the question of labor's policies in the war.

There was, it is then apparent, no question of "seditious conspiracy" involved in the events leading up to the opening of the prosecution by the Roosevelt administration. That came later when the prosecution said that it would

why he was prosecuting the Socialist Workers Party and trying to divert attention away from the obvious fact that the fight between Tobin and 544 had been the initial impulse for the action by the FBI and the Department of Justice. Biddle had to cook up the "seditious conspiracy" charge.

To find a legal basis for such a charge, the Department of Justice had to disinter two federal statutes which had never previously been used and which are in clear violation of the guarantees of free speech and free press contained in the Bill of Rights of the United States Constitution.

One of these statutes is the Smith Act of 1940, which makes the mere expression of revolutionary ideas a felony; and the other is a similar statute enacted in 1861 for use against the Southern Confederacy during an actual armed rebellion.

The American Civil Liberties Union, which is actively supporting the defendants in this case, addressed a letter on August 20 to Biddle, which said:

"In our judgment both these statutes violate the First Amendment of the Constitution; and even if upheld could not be applied to this set of facts under the 'clear and present' danger rule."

THIRD REASON FOR THE PROSECUTIONS

But the government wants to get a conviction precisely on the basis of these unconstitutional statutes, because it wants a legal precedent for the future prosecution of any individuals or groups whose opinions the administration deems hostile to its war program.

That this was one of the major reasons for the prosecution was indicated by Biddle himself, who was quoted in the St. Paul Pioneer Press, June 28, as stating that this prosecution was to be the first step in a nation-wide drive against "dangerous radi-

cals." "It is a fair inference," said Department of Justice officials, according to the Pioneer Press, "that the St. Paul prosecutions may be followed by others in other parts of the country."

And Assistant Attorney General Schweinhaut, one of the government prosecutors who signed the indictment, said: "We cracked down here first. Mr. Biddle has said this is only a start. So you can expect other actions to follow shortly." (St. Paul Dispatch, June 28).

There are those in "liberal" circles who say that the Minneapolis case is not important, that the government is not "serious" in its prosecution, that little or nothing will come of it.

But they are refuting the facts leading up to the indictment, by the desperate lengths to which Biddle and the prosecution have gone in attempting to hide their real reactionary motives, by the obvious contradictions in the statements explaining the reasons for the trial, by the glaring inconsistencies between these statements and the indictment.

No administration would go to such lengths or place itself in such a compromising position unless it was in deadly seriousness, determined to go through with the case and secure convictions, if only to take the curse off what it has already done and "justify" its course up to now.

Most decisive of all is the fact that the Roosevelt administration is serious about the war, and it is serious, therefore, about getting a conviction in this case as an important part of its war preparations.

Let there be no mistake about it. The government is in deadly earnest about railroadng the 28 defendants to prison. Progressive workers must mobilize all their forces to help the fight against a conviction in this case, a conviction which will jeopardize their rights and liberties in the war days ahead.

LaGuardia No Friend Of Negroes Of Harlem

His Record of Discrimination and of Brutal Neglect Not Wiped Out by Rare Appointments of Negroes to Office

By MYRA WARD

In Harlem there are few illusions about the great "liberal", LaGuardia. For everyone who defends him, there are a hundred others who point to his broken promises, his system of discrimination, his brutal police force. To the masses of Negro people, he is no different from any other boss politician, — full of campaign speeches and benevolence, but unwilling to lift a finger in real aid.

Fiorello LaGuardia has always posed as a great friend of the Negroes. He never hesitates to ask for votes because of the appointment of some Negroes

during his administration. But what does the record reveal? On one hand he made a lavish display of placing Commissioner Battle on the parole board. But it was with much less publicity that he had Ewart Guinier, militant trade union leader of the CIO State, County and Municipal Workers of America, fired on framed-up charges. LaGuardia is willing to appoint a few Negroes who will carry out his orders, but he attacks them viciously if they try to defend their rights.

LaGuardia noisily insists that he has championed Negro rights. But behind the scenes, he has acted as all Negro and labor hating politicians.

What has he done in Harlem about unemployment and discrimination in defense industries? About old houses, many of them fire hazards, and exorbitant rents? About the problems of relief, health, and education?

In 1935 he appointed a commission to investigate conditions. This was not prompted by any desire to help the Negro people. But a tinder box of race riots had been set off by several mass incidents. In a short time the entire populace of Harlem had become thoroughly aroused in protest against discrimination, injustice, and intolerable living conditions. Even the police with all their force and brutality could not cope with the situation. So Mayor LaGuardia promised that his commission would investigate conditions.

What did the commission find?

desire to help them. But what did he do? He suppressed the report! He does not dare to expose such conditions for fear of the indignation and united action of black and white workers against the landlords, profiteers, etc., and the politicians who protect them.

Thus LaGuardia has done practically nothing to help the Negro people. Instead he maintains a large police force in Harlem, at full liberty to beat up and arrest pickets who are trying to secure better working conditions, or militants who protest against the injustices and Jim-Crow practices. They are allowed to break into and search homes without even the formality of a warrant. They have frequently been known to interfere between colored and white people who meet together. LaGuardia hopes, by the appointment of a few colored policemen, to hide the real situation.

We in Harlem have learned that no Democratic or Republican candidate, no matter how liberal he pretends to be, can solve our problems. Both these parties represent the rich and the powerful, the people who own and control the wealth, the industries, the newspapers, etc. They have no interest in the problems of the Negroes, nor of the working class throughout the world.

What we need is a party composed of the working class, whose interests lie solely with all sections of the workers. A party whose basic program includes full economic, social, and political rights for the Negro people. A party which is not afraid to expose this war for what it is, — an imperialist struggle for profits, markets, and control, and to conduct agitation which will once and for all explode this myth of democracy.

There is only one such party, — the Socialist Workers Party. James P. Cannon is its candidate for mayor in the Nov. 4 election.

Post-War Crisis Will Grip All Capitalist Lands

By JACK WEBER

The Crisis After the War

Just in case the admirers of fascist economy failed to note it, we call their attention to an article in the New York Times of October 22 concerning that economy. It quotes the president of the Adam Opel Co. (the General Motors of Germany), Dr. Carl Luer, in an address made by him to the Frankfurt-on-the-Main Chamber of Commerce, dealing with the tasks that would face German industry after the war.

The importance of the article lies not in its confirmation of what we have previously pointed out concerning the effect of the war in distorting German economy. It is not German economy alone that is being systematically undermined by the war, but all capitalist economy in all countries. The war is consuming so tremendous a portion of the wealth of society that the ordinary forces of production are depleted and must be allowed to run down. Dr. Luer estimates (it is by far too conservative an estimate) that the accumulated value of replacements and repairs to machinery and other industrial equipment that must be postponed till after the war amounts to five billion marks a year. The Nazi leader adds soberly that this yearly sum has a tendency to rise in a geometrical progression as more of the machinery of production wears out.

This will be the first task of the German industrialists after the war — the rebuilding of the industrial apparatus. But Luer does not tell us where the wealth will come from that is necessary to this process of rebuilding. Naturally the German capitalists rely on Hitler to loot all of Europe and all of the colonies he can seize from the other imperialists for the purpose. Meantime the German masses, who have learned to do without so many things in their daily lives, will have to continue doing without for a number of years even after the war. For priority will have to be given to the industrial apparatus before any attention is given to consumers' goods. In short, the masses will have to pay for the war long after in a terribly lowered standard of living.

Marxist Analysis Confirmed

This item of news thereby confirms completely what Marxists have been repeating for many years. Far from solving any problems of society, the war merely drags civilization further towards the abyss. The same thing that is happening in Germany is taking place in England and in the United States.

The war is storing up a tremendous crisis, more terrible even than any previous one. Ironically enough, the war creates a situation where in some sectors of economy unmanageable surpluses come into existence already. This is particularly true of those countries that produce agricultural products for export. Thus by 1942 there will be a surplus of a billion and a half bushels of wheat in the four great wheat countries (United States, Canada, Argentine and Australia). This is a full year's crop, and a bumper one at that. Similarly with cotton, sugar and coffee. Brazil, "normally" burning more than a third of its coffee production, will be forced to burn even more each year. The disturbance in international trade due to war conditions, makes for an immediate crisis the moment the war stops.

The stored-up agricultural surpluses will be face to face with a prostrate international market. This market will not contain sufficient industrial goods to exchange for the foods needed by the manufacturing countries. On top of all this there will be piled the monetary crisis, with currencies inflated and undermined. The Nazis, who were credited by some with the magical power to control economy and avoid serious inflation, show the greatest fear of the inflation that already exists. They are completely unable to control the "free" market that exists behind the "legal" one. The shortage of goods and the existence of unsatisfied buying power cannot be controlled indefinitely, even during war-time. The end of the war will bring with it the bursting of the dam of inflation.

Economic Crisis for Imperialists

Need we add anything concerning the immediate unemployment due to the stoppage of the war industries boom? Capitalism is totally incapable of regulating its dislocations. It cannot plan any gradual correction of war industry to peace-time production. The demobilization of the vast armed forces will in and of itself bring on a crisis of the economy. To keep these armed forces in being, even for the victor (the vanquished will be forced to demobilize at once), will mean further tremendous outlays of money and wealth. But demobilization with some sort of dole for the period of rehabilitation will also mean a great drain on the national treasury.

The national debt will not cease mounting after the war. That debt will represent the wealth not merely of many individuals who hold public bonds and securities, but also the wealth of all the large banks and corporations forced to subscribe during the war to protect their system of exploitation. In Germany every corporation has large sums invested in the government loans and securities. It is obvious that these can never be fully repaid, if they can be repaid at all. National bankruptcy must inevitably add to the process of inflation.

It is an illusion to think that the victorious imperialist camp can escape this whole crisis by unloading it on the backs of the defeated enemy. Germany is already finding it difficult to squeeze more loot out of the occupied countries. Her demands have been so urgent that she has impoverished the whole of Europe. There is no more loot to be had in the same quantities as when Germany seized Holland, Belgium, Denmark, Norway, France, etc. The economic crisis will affect both the winners and the losers of the war. That is the dark picture that faces the masses — if capitalism continues to rule after the war.

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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.

Roosevelt's Threat To Labor's Rights

Roosevelt's blunt threat of repressive governmental action, including passage of anti-strike legislation, to drive the 53,000 striking workers of the steel corporations' "captive" coal mines back to work, is more than a gun pointed at the individual, John L. Lewis, President of the United Mine Workers (CIO).

It is a gun cocked, primed and aimed at the head of every worker in the United States.

Roosevelt's demand for the strikers' return to work is no mere appeal to "reason" or patriotism. It is an open notice, backed up by threat of all the repressive power of the capitalist state, that workers cannot strike.

Roosevelt is telling the American workers flatly that he is not interested in the merits of their demands, the justice of their cause, the intolerable level of their conditions. He is interested in one thing only: There shall be no strikes.

This is tantamount to telling American labor that henceforth they must submit unconditionally to the dictates of the capitalist class. The workers must meekly accept the increasing blows being rained on them by the corporations.

"If you do not strike," Roosevelt, in effect, tells labor, "then I will permit you to retain the legal fiction of the 'right' to strike." This is blackmail.

"If you do strike, then I will take that right away." This is a raised club.

In short, Roosevelt has decreed that the workers have the 'right' to strike only if they do not exercise that 'right'.

For whose benefit, the workers or the bosses, does Roosevelt ask the miners to surrender their right to strike? His second letter to Lewis, sent last Sunday, states:

"In this crisis of our national life there must be uninterrupted production of coal for making steel, that basic material of our national defense. That is essential to the preservation of our freedoms, yours and mine; those freedoms upon which the very existence of the United Mine Workers of America depends."

Roosevelt's strikebreaking threat, it would seem, has nothing to do with helping the steel barons, with aiding them in their fight to smash organized labor. Oh, no! Roosevelt is doing all this for the miners' own good!

But what more precious freedom do the miners

have than the freedom to strike?

The existence of the United Mine Workers of America, and of every other labor union, has not depended primarily on those abstract "freedoms" Roosevelt proclaims.

Without the strike weapon, the workers would stand helpless before the onslaughts of the employers. Deprived of their only effective means of protest and struggle, the workers would have no freedom at all.

J. P. Morgan's Man

Roosevelt's pious claim that his strikebreaking ultimatum against the miners is in their interests is a lie. He really speaks for the steel barons, who with club and gun have fought unionism in the steel plants and "captive" mines for fifty years and more.

John L. Lewis declared in his letter of October 27 to Roosevelt:

"For four months the steel companies have been whetting their knives and preparing for this struggle. . . If you would use the power of the state to restrain me, as an agent of labor, then, sir, I submit that you should use that same power to restrain my adversary in this issue, who is an agent of capital. My adversary is a rich man named J. P. Morgan. . ."

Why, indeed, if Roosevelt is interested solely in "national defense," does he not use the "same power to restrain" J. P. Morgan as he uses against Lewis and the miners?

If "national defense" is above all other interests, that of capital as well as labor, as Roosevelt claims, why does he not move to end the coal strike by using the power of the state to compel Morgan and the steel barons to agree to the union shop, the central issue of the strike. This is no unreasonable demand of the miners. All their decades of experience with the steel corporations tell them that without some form of union shop they have no real protection.

Roosevelt does not move against J. P. Morgan because he is the agent of Morgan; he is the governmental voice of the whole parasitic capitalist plunderbund which under the pretext of "national defense" is intensifying the efforts it has always made to shackle labor.

Preserving 'Freedom'

Consider the entire background of the "captive" mine controversy.

The miners were reasonable and patient. For months the steel corporations had balked at an agreement which had been accepted by commercial mine operators employing over 400,000 soft-coal miners in eastern United States.

On September 14, the miners went on strike. On September 19, they went back to work again under the terms of a 30-days truce, pending the outcome of mediation. After stalling for weeks, the National Defense Mediation Board on October 24 announced that it had "no recommendation" to make on the disputed issue.

What was the difficulty? Why did the Board find it so hard to come to a decision? It had previously found, not the union-shop, but the closed-shop itself acceptable in the contracts of the commercial mines.

The answer to these questions was given by the New York Times, October 27, which reported:

"This decision (no recommendation) was prompted partly by the fact that the closed shop is an issue in current negotiations between the CIO and 'Little Steel' and would, if granted in the captive mines, influence these parleys as well as the current contracts between the CIO's Steel Workers Organization Committee and other steel corporations, principally the United States Steel Corporation. . ."

There's no ambiguity to that. The powerful barons don't want the union shop for 53,000 mine workers because it would establish a precedent for 600,000 steel workers. Therefore, the NDMB obliges Morgan and Co., stalls off a strike, evades a decision, tosses the controversy into the lap of Roosevelt, who, in turn, pronounces in the interests of "national defense" that the mine workers must surrender to the anti-labor open-shop steel corporations.

After all this, Roosevelt has the cold brass to state that his strikebreaking threat is for the "preservation. . . of those freedoms upon which the very existence of the United Mine Workers of America depends."

The fraud of Roosevelt's "freedoms" is revealed by his threats and strikebreaking actions in this struggle. They show the real character of the war he is preparing to wage in the interests of American imperialism. Here is the "democracy" for which he wants the workers to fight.

The "freedoms" Roosevelt defends are the "freedoms" of the open-shop, compulsory arbitration, government-controlled "unions," work at the bayonet's point.

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'Western Front' Latest Stalin Soviet Betrayal

Kremlin Bureaucrat Tries to Salvage Lost Prestige by Vain Appeal to 'Allies'

Stalin is playing his last cards in his betrayal of the Soviet Union. As the moment approaches when he must make a full accounting for the catastrophe to which his leadership and policies have brought the USSR, the Kremlin bureaucrat tries to salvage his lost prestige by sowing the illusion that the Soviet Union will yet be saved if only the Allied imperialists can be persuaded to open a "western front," and thereby draw off the strength of Hitler's invading armies.

In recent weeks the Stalinist press in England and America has been saying, by order of the Kremlin, that only the creation of a Western Front can save off annihilation for the USSR.

Thus on Oct. 19, the Sunday Worker declared:

"Today this Hitler monster, backed by a conquered and looted Europe, attacks Moscow. All-out aid has been promised by powerful countries, Britain and the United States. This aid, and the opening of a second war front somewhere in Western Europe, must be given now. Moscow's danger is grave."

To make its plea more emphatic, the Sunday Worker, in the same issue, flatly admitted:

"But the Red Army, well-equipped and well-led though it be, cannot alone defeat Hitler with his resources drawn from an entire continent. The defeat of Hitler requires the opening up of a second front in Western Europe by Great Britain, with the full military support of the United States."

In the opinion of the Stalinists, therefore, the only thing which can now save the Soviet Union is a full-scale military offensive by the Allied armies against Hitler's armies "somewhere" in western Europe.

WHAT STALIN DEPENDS ON

This is nothing less than a confession by Stalin that the Soviet Union lacks the internal resources, in the Red Army and in the masses of the Soviet workers and peasants, to resist any further Hitler's imperialist aggression. It is an unconditional admission that the salvation of the USSR lies exclusively with forces outside the remaining boundaries of the first workers state in history.

But what are these forces to which Stalin turns? On what does he want to stake the very existence of the USSR? On the bayonets and guns of the Allied imperialist armies?

From the first, Stalin has linked the fate of the Soviet Union with the imperialist aims of British and American capitalism. Now, he proclaims that the Soviet Union must appeal to the military forces of these same imperialists to save itself. These Allied armies, whose sole purpose is to carry out a program of imperialist conquest and plunder, are, for Stalin, the only hope of salvation of the USSR.

Stalin is in effect asking the world workingclass and the Soviet masses to pin their hopes on an

illusion which can only lead to a debacle.

Churchill and Roosevelt do not want to save the Soviet Union. They wish, in fact, its ultimate destruction. They pursue only their own imperialist ends, which include the ultimate annihilation on the USSR. What criminal folly it is to delude workers with the idea that British and American imperialism will sacrifice even one soldier to hold the first workers state back from the edge of the abyss.

THE EXTENT OF IMPERIALIST AID

What has happened to that previous panacea projected by Stalin but a few days ago: that the Allies were going to give the Soviet Union a flood of material aid? What has happened to all the grandiose promises of Churchill and Roosevelt?

The Stalinists themselves are forced to admit now, that these promises remain largely on paper, and that all evidence indicates that they will stay there.

The Daily Worker, October 23, editorially complains:

"We are puzzled . . . to read that Mr. Jesse Jones has, since June 22, been able to lend the Soviet Union only thirty-six million dollars through lease-lend agencies."

"Thirty-six million dollars is less than Great Britain spends for the war in a single day."

"Which means that while the Red Army has been holding Hitler off for four months in the bloodiest fighting the world has ever seen, it has been allowed to borrow about a single day's war losses from the lease-lend agencies. . . It needs no inside information to realize that the 'substantial' aid which Harriman described as urgently needed will have to go in far greater quantities than the pace set thus far."

The Daily Worker even resorts in its desperation, to veiled "threats" on this score, in an editorial in the same issue, which declares:

"A dangerous line is developing in certain upper circles that America should prepare to defeat Hitler — but in 1943. OPM Director Knudsen calls this a 'Victory program' . . . The immediate practical effect of this program is to provide an excuse for not going all out against Hitler now and to paralyze aid to the Soviet Union. . ."

Watch out, the Stalinists are telling the American ruling class, lest we brand you as "appeaser!"

WHAT IS STALIN'S PROGRAM?

Dark hints and bluster! But the Stalinists do not even try to

explain how the Allied imperialists who are doling out only crumbs by way of arms and supplies to the Soviet Union, can be expected to risk entire armies in an offensive calculated solely to save the Soviet Union. No, when the Allied imperialists fight, it is only for their own interests, the reactionary ends of all imperialist bandits.

Churchill, through his cabinet emissaries, has already said as much to the labor members of the House of Commons. He pleads the impotence of the British military machine as a pretext for denying Stalin's plea.

The utter futility and criminal deception of the demand that the "democracies" open a western front can no longer be camouflaged by the Stalinists. The question which the Soviet masses, the Stalinist rank and file, the workers of the world should ask is:

What program to save the Soviet Union does Stalin propose in the event that the capitalist "democracies" do not open a "western front"?

The only possible answer is that Stalin has no program. The bankruptcy of his regime and policies stand forth naked for all to see.

With this fiction of a "western front" blown away, all that Stalin can offer is to drain the last drop of blood from the Soviet people and make a forthright capitulation to Hitler.

But is the only salvation for the Soviet Union, as the Stalinists insist, the opening of a western front by the imperialists? That Stalin has led workers to believe this is one of the crowning infamies of his infamous career.

REAL ALLIES OF THE SOVIET UNION

There still remains the one decisive force which can save the Soviet Union, which Stalin dares not summon. That force is the proletariat of Germany and the occupied territories of Europe.

Here is the power, when organized for revolutionary struggle, which can strike a mortal blow to Hitler from the rear. This was the power which saved the Soviet Union during the imperialist intervention and civil war of 1918-1920.

It is to this power alone that the Soviet masses can and must turn for the defense of the Soviet Union.

The peoples of the occupied territories have demonstrated in blood that they need only a program and leadership to rise and sweep before them the forces of German imperialism and all imperialisms.

The one banner around which they will unite is the proletarian revolutionary banner.

"For the Socialist United States of Europe!"

That is the appeal which the Soviet peoples must address to the masses of Europe. That is the front — the class front and not an imperialist "western front" — which can destroy Hitlerism and save the Soviet Union for world socialism.

The Crimes Of Stalin

By Lydia Beidel

I. How Stalin Throttled the German Proletarian Revolution - 1923

THE BACKGROUND OF 1923 EVENTS

In Germany: The full and horrible implications of the Versailles peace had become apparent. Mass starvation ravaged and haunted the proletariat; the petty-bourgeoisie was being rapidly ruined; a catastrophic inflation menaced all of society. The French ruling class, taking its pound of German flesh, occupied the rich coal and industrial area of the Ruhr.

In January, 1923, the Social-Democracy was driven out of power by the open capitalist regime of Cuno, which began an offensive against the working class in order to satisfy the demands of the Allies and to stabilize German capitalism. By the second week of August, Cuno's government was driven out of power by a general strike.

Mass unrest and definite mood for revolution (recognized and admitted even by Stalin's closest henchmen after it was too late) characterized the German proletariat.

In the Communist International: Lenin was ill; Trotsky had been isolated by the Troika (an anti-Trotsky alliance of Stalin, Zinoviev and Kamenev).

PROBLEM FACING THE GERMAN COMMUNISTS:

The Social-Democracy had disclosed itself in all its nakedness as a willing tool of capitalism against the socialist objectives of the working class. The remaining sterile shell of the Independent Social-Democratic Party spent itself in loud talk but did nothing.

Every shop election, every governmental election, indicated a steady growth of the influence of the Communist Party. The rival parties of the working class showed rapid disintegration and the masses gravitated toward the C. P., looking there for leadership and decisive action.

The obvious political necessity of the German Communists was to cut loose from any parliamentary flirtations with the Social-Democrats and prepare to strike for power — against the Versailles peace and for socialism.

STALIN'S POLICY:

In a letter to Zinoviev and Bukharin in August, 1923, Stalin thus clearly formulated his attitude toward the situation in Germany:

"Should the Communists strive (at the given stage) to seize power without the Social Democrats? Have they sufficiently matured for that? — that's the question as I see it. . . Should the power in Germany, so to speak, drop now, and should the Communists catch it up, they'll fall through with a crash. That's 'at best'. But if it comes to the worst — they will be smashed to pieces and beaten back. . . The Fascists, of course, are not napping, but it is to our advantage to let the Fascists attack first: this will fuse the entire working class around the Communists (Germany is not Bulgaria). Moreover, the Fascists, according to all reports, are weak in Germany. In my opinion, the Germans should be restrained and not encouraged."

Here we have the fatal germs of the false policy which today has allowed Fascism to reach the very gates of Moscow: Don't launch an offensive against fascism! Let it kill itself by feasting upon the body of the working class! Give it state power, — or give it Soviet territory, — only don't organize the masses for revolutionary assault!

ACTIONS OF STALIN:

Brandler, the leading figure of the German Communist party, journeyed to Moscow in September, seeking the advice and aid of the Comintern in this critical situation. He was instructed by Stalin-Zinoviev-Kamenev to use the influence of the German party against any attempt to seize power and instead to enter with the Social-Democrats into the government of Saxony. Brandler vacillated. Stalin's line was acceptable to him because he himself was a Centrist.

From then on, the Communist Party of Germany deliberately discouraged all mass demonstrations and barred all the avenues to the struggle for power. Abortive uprisings in Saxony and Bavaria, products of the spontaneous but unguided revolutionary spirit of the masses, were drowned in blood by the German bourgeoisie. Stalin-Brandler, working toward an amorphous "workers' government" and away from the dictatorship of the proletariat, betrayed the German revolution of 1923 and cleared the way for the future ascendancy of Fascism.

EFFECT UPON THE WORLD REVOLUTIONARY MOVEMENT:

Upon realization that the Communist Party of Germany was unwilling to conduct a revolutionary struggle under the most auspicious conditions, the workers turned away from the C. P. The party was declared illegal; more than 9,000 workers were put on trial. There was an epidemic of "prison suicides" and of workers being "shot while attempting to escape."

When Trotsky finally succeeded in bringing to the attention of the Comintern the strangling of the German revolution, Stalin vehemently defended Brandler (and thus himself) and renewed his attack upon Marxism and Leninism, under the guise of a struggle against Trotskyism.

The German revolution — and the world revolution — had received its first stab in the back at the hands of Stalin. By that time the General Secretary was well along in his career as the great "organizer of proletarian defeats."

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