

REVOLT

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MASS ACTION CAN STOP THE DRAFT

Hitler Ahead in Deal with Stalin

THE FIRST anniversary of the German-Russian non-aggression pact, hailed by the Stalinists as having been "the greatest factor for peace," ended a year of war from the Arctic to the Indian Ocean and from the Black Sea to the English Channel. Hitler and Stalin have done well. Their "peace" pact was the signal for parallel courses of slaughter, pillage and annexation. Gone are states that cluttered the map of Europe. Fearful are others that new aggressions will end their independence. As these dictators re-carve Europe there loom the questions:

Will Germany and Russia clash? How have their recent gains prepared them for such a conflict?

When Stalin signed the non-aggression pact with Hitler, securing Germany's eastern flank and loosening the invasion of Poland, he must have envisaged a protracted war between Germany and the "democracies." He believed that 1939 would follow the pattern of 1914-18; that both imperialist camps would exhaust themselves in a series of advances and stalemates; that the victor would be too weak to attack Russia.

IF THAT was his speculation Hitler has opened his eyes.

Germany, thru a series of startling victories, has subjugated continental Europe west of Warsaw, has conquered Norway, dominates Sweden, is gaining domination of the Balkans. Although the Stalinists have a string of conquests stretching from the Arctic to the Black Sea, their position, considering the successes of Hitler, has been relatively weakened.

A comparison of the respective gains of Hitler and Stalin reveals the following:

HITLER'S gains have been primarily in industrial and mineral territory. He took 90% of Poland's industry, mines and transportation facilities; the rich coal field of Upper Silesia, the blast furnaces and mills of Posen. He now absorbs almost the entire output of the iron ore mines of Sweden, the coal fields and blast furnaces of Belgium, the iron ore of Luxemburg and Lorraine, source of one half of Europe's iron ore. The most important industrial regions and transportation facilities of France are in his hands. The great armament works of Skoda and Schneider-Creusot are producing for him. And not least are the shipyards of Norway, Denmark, Holland, Belgium, and France.

Already before the war Germany ranked as Europe's leading industrial nation. In twelve months of alternate blitzkriegs and stalemates she has engulfed nearly all the basic industry of continental Europe outside of Russia and Italy. If before the war her need for wheat and raw materials, principally oil and rubber, made her hunger for the Ukraine, the Near East and territory in the Far East, her greatly expanded industrial empire must make her appetite absolutely ravenous.

SOONER OF LATER if she is not crushed in the present fighting, which is extremely unlikely, she must plan to ensure for herself adequate supplies of wheat, oil and rubber. Thus, sooner or later, she must use the Balkans as a bridge to dominate or conquer the Near East, in which case she may come to blows with Russia.

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Willkie Misses the Bus

WHOMEVER FIGURES Wilkie's campaign strategy missed an opportunity to win the election in the first inning. As it stands now there aren't any important issues being fought out at all. Roosevelt's strategy appears to be a fight for reelection as the champion of the masses against predatory big business. With the opposition concurring in his foreign policy of aid to Britain "short of war," and with his national defense policy, and unable to attack the reform farm and labor programs of the New Deal, which they would like to scrap, the only real issue they had was conscription.

This they muffed completely. There can be no doubt that from the point of view of capitalist interests conscription of men is absolutely necessary. Unless the capitalist government is able to train millions of men to become skilled murderers it is going to lose out to Germany and Japan in the inevitable struggles with those imperialist powers.

As capitalist interests Wilkie's backers are for conscription. But they also want to get control of the government. As Roosevelt's opposition their big problem is not to weaken his standing in big capitalist circles. His popularity is not great there nor is the total vote cast in those circles important. The place to weaken him if they can is with the middle class, and above all with the working class. As long as they support Roosevelt's foreign policy and his national defense policy they have no issues. And as long as Roosevelt poses as the champion of social reform they have no real opportunity to crack his mass popularity.

BUT WITH conscription they had a golden opportunity. There can be no question that the overwhelming mass of workers and farmers is against conscription. Any population including the German is against militarism because of its brutal dictatorial character and the great hardships it imposes. If it were not so the German ruling class would not have to resort to fascism to build up a powerful military machine; England would not have had to wait so long to introduce it; Democratic and Republican conventions would have written it into their platform, the selective service law which is emerging from Congress would not have been so limited, even crippled a thing.

Only the almost silent, and totally passive opposition of the American population to conscription prevented the capitalist government from introducing sweeping militarist measures.

If Wilkie had boldly seized this issue, which the failure of his party platform to take a stand on this question left him free to do, he would undoubtedly have split Roosevelt's support in the masses. On this issue he could have won a tremendous popular following and won the election.

TO BE SURE opposition to conscription would have put Wilkie in contradiction to the interests of capital. But only until he was in office. A president elected on an anti-conscription platform need not be an obstacle to conscription after election. Wilson was elected on a peace platform in 1916. Yet a month after he was inaugurated the country went to war. The election of 1916, to the extent that it expressed the will of the population, was a referendum for peace. Yet J. P. Morgan and Rockefeller and their brother capitalists found the means of sending the country to war. They can do it again and certainly they can change the government's policy in a matter like conscription.

If Wilkie had declared against conscription he would have put his capitalist backers in the position of choosing between accepting the decision he had made and winning the election or sabotaging his campaign and making Roosevelt's election sure. Can anyone

have any doubt about what they would have done?

All they would have lost thereby would have been a few months time. And once in power they would have been in a first class position to undermine, if they could not scrap, Roosevelt's reform measures.

WHY DIDN'T the Republican opposition follow such a policy?

Certainly not because it is a principled political body. The fact that it is campaigning for state power when it is in substantial agreement with the foreign and national defense policies of the party in power shows that the election, on both sides, is only a naked and unprincipled contest by two political machines representing capitalist interests for state power. It is a virulent campaign already in its opening stages and it will get more violent and dirtier as it proceeds. That is the nature of capitalist politics.

But this time there is an added reason. Both sides anticipate that this country will be at war within the next four years. The party that will control the government during the coming war will be in a position to reap some of the juiciest plums in the history of capitalist United States.

The only principles in capitalist politics are: hatred of the workers; and anything goes that you can get away with. Take Roosevelt's attitude toward conscription, to illustrate the second "principle." Since 1918 this great humanitarian and hater of war has been writing articles advocating conscription in peace time. When the recent campaign for conscription opened up in the press Roosevelt didn't take a position solidly consistent with his long advocacy of it. He approved in a press conference of an editorial written in the New York Times.

BUT HE GAVE his party no leadership in proposing it as he should have done if he were a principled man. He permitted the Democratic Convention platform on which he would campaign for reelection to ignore the issue entirely. He wasn't sure of how the issue would sit with the population. He wasn't sure what the Republican opposition would do if he came out four square for conscription.

When debate opened in the Senate on the Burke-Wadsworth Selective Service law he played doggo, laid low. But when he read Wilkie's acceptance speech and saw that Wilkie said only that he was in favor of some form of selective service Roosevelt saw his political opportunity and followed with a blast in a press conference saying he wanted the Burke-Wadsworth measure passed within two weeks.

Instead of the Republican opposition taking an immense strategic advantage of the issue they permitted Roosevelt to outmaneuver them.

WHY DIDN'T they try to win the election by coming out flat footed against conscription? Is it because they think they can win anyway and can therefore avoid a loss in time and the round-about method which would be required if Wilkie won on an anti-conscription platform? It may be but it is doubtful. There is no realistic ground for assuming that they can win without cracking Roosevelt's overwhelming support in the middle class and in labor. We may assume that they know this as well as Roosevelt, as well as we.

The conclusion seems inescapable—they missed the bus, they overlooked an opportunity.

IF THE ANTI-LABOR republican opposition could have won a presidential election by adopting an anti-conscription platform, what could not have been accomplished by a revolutionary organiza-

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THE FOLLOWING are extracts from an article, How New York Fought Conscription 71 Years Ago, by Maurice Clifford, in the June-July, 1934, issue of the Class Struggle. The Class Struggle no longer appears.

Although the situation in 1940 is profoundly different from the situation in 1863 both in the world as a whole and in the United States, one thing is consistently true. The workers have no interest in conscription by capitalist governments to fight wars in its interests. They are justified in opposing and resisting it.

If this was true in 1863 when Lincoln's government was fighting to suppress the slave-holding system in the southern states it is a thousand times more just today when Roosevelt's government is preparing to fight a continental war of imperialist conquest and annexation.

It is also true that the workers today are as unprepared and leaderless as they were in 1863. This is bitterly unfortunate because today a mass struggle against conscription can be the starting point of a revolutionary struggle to overthrow the capitalist system of society.

* * *

ONE OF THE richest episodes in the history of the American proletariat is the occasion of the draft riots which took place in the City of New York in the summer of 1863.

The immediate cause of the draft riots of the workers was their conscription for military duty.

For four days were conducted, violent, bitter, and almost wholly leaderless struggles with their class enemies and agents.

During this bloody week, from early morning on Monday, July 13th, until Friday, July 17th, 1863, business came to a standstill, the railroads and omnibusses ran infrequently. Over fifty buildings were burned, two of them police stations, three were offices of the Provost Marshal (where the drawings for duty in the army were made); one was an arms factory; an entire block of homes was consumed in flames; hotels and newspapers also were the objects of the fiery wrath of the enraged workers.

In general, homes, factories, and stores were wrecked and looted, and property estimated to be more than \$1,200,000 destroyed. The toll taken among the workers is not known definitely, but unofficial counts add to more than 1200 killed or dying as result of their injuries.

IN PARTICULAR, the disturbances began early on Monday morning when a demonstration formed near Central Park. The crowd marched through many of the streets in the uppermost part of the city, compelling laborers in every quarter to knock off work and fall in. After a march of about an hour, the parade halted in front of Provost Marshal Jenkin's Office where the demonstrators crowded as many as they could into the confines of the hall, at number 977 Third Avenue.

A balance of 264 names had remained to be drawn from the previous Saturday's enrollment. Soon after the drawing of these names began at 9 o'clock, a stone hurtled from outside crashed through the window and precipitated the opposition of the assembled workers. For a description of what happened we shall refer to the columns of Tuesday's Tribune. Provost Marshal, engrossing clerks, etc. made their escape by the back door and climbing fences.... One of the clerks who endeavored to save some of the papers was seized by the crowd, the papers taken from him by force and torn to pieces. In a few moments thereafter a man appeared with a can of turpentine, which he poured on the floor of the office, and setting fire to it, the room was soon in a blaze.

THE SCENE outside is described by A Volunteer Special (Special Deputy Policeman— in his book The Volcano Under the City. About 9 o'clock street cars were compelled to stop running in 2nd and 3rd Avenues. At the same time a number of men began to cut down telegraph poles and sunder the wires near the enrollment office, with the evi-

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Mass Action Can Stop Draft

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dent idea of interrupting the communications of the city authorities. This was the first overt act of the mob and indicates previous planning.

Unfortunately, there was in reality no organization among the workers capable of planning.

As for the soldiers, we shall see that many of the rioters were returned army men; and the workers were able to win a good many of the soldiers over to their side. It was only the scum of the police against whom the masses waged implacable war and who, in return, were responsible for the ensuing massacres. This puts down forever the despicable howls of the kept Northern press which has tried to damn the New York riots by tales of how the rioters were against the Union Army and for the Southern slave-holders.

During the fight on July 13th, Superintendent of Police, John A. Kennedy, making a tour of inspection in mufti, was recognized by the throng. Tuesday's New York Tribune reports cries of "Down the Yankee Perlice son of a— (not lady); down with him, duck him, drown him." David M. Barnes, in *The Draft Riots in New York*, describes the chief attacker of Superintendent Kennedy as a man in the uniform of a returned soldier. Kennedy was severely beaten, until he was unrecognizable.

FROM THE Provost Marshal's Office the demonstration swelled down Third Avenue. At 42nd Street they were met by a detachment of thirty to forty invalided soldiers whom they surrounded. The soldiers fired, killing and wounding some twenty to thirty of the closely milling workers. The military, scanning the surly countenances of the workers frightened at the hornet's nest had stirred, took to their heels, threw away their muskets to run the faster. These were seized by the workers and used against the soldiers whom they pursued with vengeance.

The vast crowd swayed to and fro, attacking indiscriminately every well-dressed man. The general cry was: Down with the rich men! Down with property. Down with the police! From the Tribune we learned that a gentleman connected with the press... was attacked by the crowd. Late in the afternoon, a building in 29th Street between 8th and 9th

Avenue was attacked, because, as was alleged, Horace Greeley bearded there. The house was gutted and two police were wounded.

Miscellaneous activities of the mobs were attacks on the house of Mayor Opydyke on the house Avenue, the burning of the home of the Provost Marshal General of the City, Col. Nugent, in Yorkville, attack on the office of the N. Y. Tribune. In the evening a large body of Irishmen and Irishwomen tore up the tracks of the Fourth Avenue Railroad. The tracks of the Hudson River Railroad likewise were torn up, and telegraph offices at William's Bridge and Melrose on the Harlem railroad were destroyed.

CALLS WERE issued for citizens to volunteer as "Specials" and General Sandford issued a call for ex-officers and soldiers to aid in suppressing the mobs. In connection with this we read in Harper's Illustrated Weekly of August 1, 1863, that of 400 muskets which lay idle at the 37th Regiment, only 80 found men to carry them, though urgent appeals for men were made by the authorities and the officers of the regiment.

Before we leave the accounts of the first day we must comment on the viciousness and brutality with which the police attacked paraders carrying the American flag and placards reading No Draft, killing several outright (Page 82, *The Vulcano Under the City*.) A Volunteer Special tells us the reason. Police President Acton, in answer to a question: PRISONERS? almost screamed the angry President. Don't take any! Kill! Kill! Kill! Put down the mob. Don't bring a prisoner until the mob is put down. Inspector Carpenter instructing his men: We are to meet and put down a mob. We are to take no prisoners. We must strike quick and strike hard. This brutality was supported and urged on by the press.

The second day of the riots found other arenas of conflict. Workers swarmed into the streets on the East Side, in the neighborhood of the ferry to Williamsburg. Third and Second Avenue and the side streets from 34th to 18th streets were milling with striking workers. They massed for an attack on an arms factory located on Second Avenue at 21st Street, which was owned, in part, by the Mayor of the City. The building was stoned, entrance was forced,

and the store of arms was seized. Some of the guns were stored in another building for use should they be needed later. Others were retained by the rioters. The building was then fired.

SOON POLICE reinforcements came. The New York Herald of Wednesday prints: there were certainly about 400 police on the march... They were well armed, and... determined to do their part of the work. Keep in mind the instructions and orders of Police President Acton, and Inspector Carpenter, just mentioned. A furious charge followed, and the rioters were chased and scattered, those caught in buildings were clubbed vigorously. As the rioters were literally tossed downstairs, other policemen caught them as they rolled or tumbled out of the doors and administered a second dose. Other houses were inspected and vengeance visited upon every rioter caught. A horrible gauntlet for the rioting workers.

In the meantime the masses reassembled on the block above, where at 22nd Street stood the plant of the Union Steam Works, converted into an arms factory, an even larger one than that of Mayor Opydyke. While marching through the avenue, the police were met by the militia headed by Col. H. L. O'Brien. The united forces counter-marched down the avenue. The New York Herald writes: There was no opposition whatever offered to the military as they filed past; but as soon as the police made their appearance the (fight commenced) in earnest. A shower of bricks came down upon their heads from all directions and a hand to hand encounter immediately followed. The police rushed into the various houses on the route, and rushing upstairs used their clubs against any person, young or old, whom they met. In these encounters there were... have been ten or fifteen clubbed to death.

THIS VICIOUS attack dispersed the workers only for them to reassemble further up the avenue.

In the Herald we read that Colonel O'Brien held a revolver in his hand, and was riding up and down between either line of the crowd. He, as it is stated, fired his revolver into their midst, the ball killing a woman and child, which she held in her arms.

The workers withdrew, defeated. As for the fate which awaited Colonel O'Brien, the tale reads that a little later, upon leaving a saloon, he was apprehended alone by several of the mob of workers. Instantly he was surrounded, his sword and pistol knocked from his hands, and he was beaten down mercilessly. Women took a prominent part in this attack. On the pavement he was kicked, and dragged through the gutters by the feet. For a while his body was suspended from a lamppost. On Thursday the Herald writes that it is the universal sentiment that Colonel O'Brien's blood could be placed on his own head because of the outrages he had committed upon the people.

TUESDAY BROUGHT the Governor to the city. A throng was assembled at the City Hall and Governor Seymour was introduced. He addressed the crowd as his friends, and assured them that he had their interests in his heart. Some of the crowd here shouted, Send away those bayonets, referring to a company of soldiers drawn up in front of the City Hall, but the Governor declined to interfere with the military and, bowing to the crowd, retired. Later that day in a proclamation Governor Seymour wrote: the only opposition to the conscription which can be allowed is an appeal to the courts... Riotous proceedings shall and must be put down.

For three more days business was suspended. Struggles between the working population, on the

one hand, and the police and military, on the other, continued. The arsenal on Seventh Avenue and 35th Street, at the site of Macy's huge Department store, was the object of many conflicts which resulted in high casualty figures among the workers. On West 29th Street barricades were erected, whereupon the soldiers fired volleys into the crowd, killing thirteen by shells. One of the killed was a young soldier who had been in seventeen battles. (World).

IN THE Herald of Saturday we learn the Case of James Rutgers of the 17th Regiment, who was killed by one of his own officers when he deserted to the mob and called upon his comrades to follow him.

On Monday, in consequence of the rioting in the adjacent district, Col. Manierre adjourned the draft and removed the enrollment slips and other material from the Provost Marshal's Office at 29th Street before it was attacked by the mob. On Thursday Provost Marshal General, Col. Nugent, announced to Governor Seymour and Mayor Opydyke that he had received from Washington a telegram in the following words: The draft in New York and Brooklyn is suspended. This suspension lasted for five weeks.

Other cities in the North reacted sympathetically to the rioters. A traveller from New Haven communicated to the Times that Sunday evening a delegation of 300 Irishmen voicing independence and opposition to the conscription rode down to New York City on Sunday night, with the obvious intent of participating in the disturbances which developed on Monday morning. In the Herald we read that the Philadelphia Council defeated an ordinance appropriating a half million dollars to provide exemption bounties. But it voted \$1,000,000 for relief of the families of the drafted. The Chicago Post of the 31st of July reports that most of the opposition to the conscription comes from the Germans.

IN NEWARK, New Jersey, a riot of several hundred assembled about the offices of the Daily Mercury, the proprietor of which was also the District Provost Marshal. Riots broke out in Hartford, Connecticut, Boston, and Newport, Rhode Island, where the opposition was mainly directed against the enrollment officials.

In Boston gun shops were broken into, and in Hartford troops were sent to protect the army and arsenal. In Jersey City, on Staten Island, in Jamaica, N. Y., in Westchester County, in Brooklyn, in Albany and in Troy, New York, riotous proceedings developed.

In Troy, some 400 workers of the Rensselaer Iron Foundry, and the Albany Nail Works, marched through the streets of the city proclaiming that the draft should not take place. They stopped in front of The Times office, which they stoned and gutted, destroying all the property within. They next visited the colored church and threatened to destroy it. Next they released all the prisoners in the jail. (From an account in the Tribune of July 17th.) In Rochester, N. Y., the Council appropriated \$207,300 to pay \$300 bounties to each man drawn in the draft. (New York Times, July 22.)

FROM THE New York World of July 21 we learn that a mob of women at Lancaster descended upon the courthouse where the draft was in progress, armed with heavy spoons, knives, and other kitchen implements. The boy turning the wheel was rapped on the knuckles and over the head and drawn from his post. The wheel was overturned.

In New York City, finally, on Friday July 17th the riots were suppressed. Quiet was restored. On Saturday stores and business places reopened, and well-dressed persons ventured on the streets again.

Had the workers won, it would have precipitated a workers' revolt throughout the Union, which, far from ending the... would have completed the democratic revolution which ended up by "freeing the slaves" with the proletarian revolution.

However, the workers in America were too immature. The "Socialists" kept aloof. The trade unions had been broken up. There was no leadership. Nevertheless, the New York City riots against the first conscription act must stand as one of the harbingers of the proletarian revolution.

BAD VENTILATION; GAS; EXPLOSION; 63 MINERS DIE

SONMAN, Pa., Sept. 7. — Responsibility for the death of 62 miners in Sonman, Pa., last July 15, was placed on the Sonman Mine Company this week by the government bureau of mines.

"The faulty system of ventilation," said the bureau of mines, "allowed explosive gas to form." A spark from an electric locomotive in the mine ignited the gas, causing an explosion which resulted in the formation of the deadly afterdamp. Suffocation also caused many deaths.

This is the worst disaster in the American mine fields since 94 miners (were suffocated, gassed, or blown to pieces in Kentucky last year. Unfortunately such disasters are of frequent occurrence, as mining is the most dangerous occupation employing hundreds of thousands of workers. Investigation shows that the primary cause of these continued mass slaughters is the companies' criminal refusal to provide safety devices; fans to blow out the constantly accumulating gas; emergency oxygen tanks in the mines; gas masks; rescue equipment, etc. The Sonman Company, owned by Andrew Mellon, ally of the J. P. Morgan interests, didn't "waste" money on such equipment.

The day before the explosion occurred the miners were sent home from work because gas was accumulating in the mines. Next morning the Company allowed the men to enter the mine. Supposedly the gas had been cleared out. But one of the foremen, to whom this writer spoke, had repeatedly complained to the Company Mine Inspectors that the mine was unsafe. He was warned to keep quiet, and when his complaints continued, he was fired.

As later events showed, he was lucky to be fired—as his life was thus saved.

At one o'clock in the afternoon, the Company siren shrieked the alarm. An explosion had occurred in the mine. The several hundred people in Sonman and thousands from the surrounding towns rushed to the mines, fearful that their relatives were trapped. They were

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WORKERS WILL AVENGE TROTSKY'S MURDER

ALTHOUGH there is no direct proof of the guilt of the Stalinist government in the horrible assassination of Trotsky on August 21, the evidence which has come to light as reported in the capitalist and labor press leaves no doubt that it was the GPU which finally accomplished a task at which it had been working for more than ten years.

No other government or force had an interest in removing Trotsky by killing him. For the truth is that since the suppression of his opposition in Russia in 1927-28 he has been no menace either to the capitalist world or to Stalin. His persistent effort to win the Communist International to his point of view from 1929 to 1933 and his effort to build a Fourth International since 1933 alike ended in failure. Here and there in this country or that he caused difficulties for the Stalinists; never for capitalism. He exposed their deceptions and crookedness but he never succeeded in constructing a party to lead workers in revolutionary action.

THE TROTSKYISTS like to say that Stalin feared Trotsky and that he needed his death to remove the threat which Trotsky constituted to his policy and government. It was not so.

The civil war in Spain showed that it was not so. From 1936 to 1939 the uprising of the Spanish workers threatened to undermine Stalin's government in Russia. If the Spanish workers had succeeded in seizing power and smashing Franco the condition would have been realized for a revolutionary alliance of the Spanish and Russian workers in which Stalin would have been crushed as in a vise. For Stalin it was a vital matter that the Spanish workers should not seize power. Even a victory by Franco was preferable for him. Stalinist policy in Spain had that interest above all.

In the end both Stalin and Franco triumphed over the Spanish workers. In three years of bitter civil war Trotsky and his movement were a complete zero. They had not the remotest influence on the course of events nor on the Spanish working class. Spain showed

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WORKERS WILL AVENGE TROTSKY'S MURDER

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both that the Stalinist attacks on Trotsky as a counter-revolutionist and that Trotsky's claims of leading a growing revolutionary movement were without the slightest foundation.

STALIN'S motives in Trotsky's assassination are something else. One is unquestionably revenge on an opponent—Stalin's personal hostility to Trotsky goes back almost a quarter of a century; the other most probably a terrorist discouragement to existing or potential opposition to the Stalin regime.

The statement found on the assassin, Jackson, is framed to make it appear that with Trotsky opposition to Stalin led to espionage against the Soviet Union in the interest of imperialist powers and to terrorism against the soviet government and against the chief of state, Stalin himself. It followed the familiar pattern of the accusations of the Moscow trials, which had as their motive, among others, terrorization of opposition to the regime.

If Stalin thought to traduce Trotsky in the moment of killing him with Jackson's statement accusing him of being a spy and a terrorist he has failed. History will not credit the accusation. It was immediately repeated by the entire world. Stalin's persistent attempt to rob Trotsky of his place in history is a failure. Trotsky's place in history and in the affection of the oppressed of the world is secure. His achievements during the Russian revolution when he was at his best are too great to be scratched from man's memory by the faltering blow of a pick axe.

IT CAN ALSO be said that even though his passing caused less of a stir than his service to the cause of man's emancipation deserved the working class will cherish his memory and will take its revenge for the foul manner of his going. When the workers rise to overthrow the Stalinist government they will do so in the name of restoring the Russian revolution to the original path marked out by Lenin and Trotsky. When workers rise in capitalist countries to overthrow the profit system it will be with the idea of marching on the road down which first marched the Russian workers behind Lenin and Trotsky.

Successful revolution will be Trotsky's revenge. If we who were his opponents may presume to speak for him it is probably all the revenge he would have wished.

But before that can come to pass the working class will have to build a revolutionary party. And in this field many lessons can be learned from Trotsky's life. It was his biggest shortcoming.

That he was a revolutionist all his conscious life is a matter of record. That his gifts were great is generally conceded except by the Stalinists. He was a great orator probably the greatest of modern times; a magnificent writer; an inspiring personality; and even a great administrative organizer. Within severe limits he was a creative theoretician.

BUT IN THE field of the revolutionary party he was neither great nor creative. From 1903 to 1917 he fought Lenin's untiring efforts to create the Bolshevik party. He threw his genius into the scales against that work of unprecedented and unequalled historical creation. Then for seven years to Lenin's death in 1924, he fought side by side with him. Together they struggled for power, created the soviet state, fought the civil war. In these years Trotsky made his greatest contributions to the cause of working class revolution and emancipation, for which he will always be remembered with affection by the workers. He could make these great contributions because, essentially, he accepted the party which Lenin had created, because he dedicated himself to the policy whose fundamental lines had been created by Lenin.

That gave his genius the opportunity to bear fruit. Unable to organize a revolutionary movement, he nevertheless displayed an incredible organizing genius in creating the red army out of almost nothing but revolutionary fervor and devotion on the part of millions of workers and peasants.

But when Lenin died and he fell heir to his policy in new and



LEON TROTSKY

unprecedented circumstances he faltered and finally failed. Against Stalin who challenged Lenin's policy Trotsky displayed the same conciliatorist attitude toward opportunists as he had exhibited from 1903 to 1917 and which had brought him into sharp conflict with Lenin.

WHERE Stalin fought Trotsky for state power Trotsky fought as if the issue were a conflict over theory. In exposing the nationalism of Stalin's policy Trotsky made many rich contributions to revolutionary theory. But whereas Stalin showed that issues and men were irreconcilable, Trotsky professed the irreconcilability of the issues but pleaded for conciliation of men and yielded time and again to the bureaucratic ultimata of Stalin. Of his own will he resigned as head of the Red Army without a fight. On Stalin's demand he repudiated Lenin's Testament demanding the removal of Stalin. Whenever the struggle grew sharp the Stalinists demanded retreat on Trotsky's part. And almost always Trotsky obliged. Adolph Joffe, blowing out his brains, reproached Trotsky after ten years of collaboration for lacking "the inflexibility, the intransigence of Lenin, his resolution to remain at the task alone, if need be, in the road that he had marked out..." and for having "often renounced your right position in favor of a compromise...."

Lenin, breaking off his monumental work, *State and Revolution*,

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tion which boldly took the issue to the masses and intervened in the situation by organizing nation-wide monster demonstrations and strikes in the factories? Possibly fear that the anti-conscription movement would get out of control induced the Republican opposition not to oppose the draft.

If this was the republican opposition's opportunity it was so only because the working class had no leadership of its own to voice its opposition and organize its protest. But had there been such a leadership what a powerful mass movement could have been set in motion. Millions would have responded to its clear summons to demonstrate in the streets by its numbers that there was another way, a surer way, a more democratic way, than the election system in the hands of the capitalist state, to manifest their opposition to conscription.

In a few weeks a revolutionary movement could have done more by organizing demonstrations and strikes to expose the hostile nature of the capitalist government than it can do in a score of years of propaganda by cold leaflets and newspaper explanations.

VICTORY WOULD have been sure. Consider how the passive opposition of the masses has limited the conscription program. It is limited in time; it runs only for five years. It is limited to men between 21 and 35. Only 900,000 men may be under arms at any one time. For the present only 400,000 are to be called every six months.

This is how it is without organized resistance. Had millions of workers and their wives and children massed in the streets and manned picket lines to demand that conscription be defeated who would have dared to fight for its passage?

And how the revolutionary party could have grown through victory. To millions of those whose sympathy and support it must seek to accomplish its tasks it would have appeared as the true spokesman of and fighter for their interests. Once this bond is established between the party and the masses it will be time to count the numbered days of capitalism on the calendar.

What an opportunity here was lost. Because no revolutionary party existed to take the field. Future historians of the American Revolution will record this as one of the lost opportunities of agitating the class struggle to its revolutionary depths.

How many more such opportunities will we have before the blundering democratic system of the American capitalist class is replaced by a totalitarian dictatorship? What a terrible warning is this lost opportunity to all revolutionists to build a revolutionary party without delay.

to seize power wrote in a post-script in December, 1917:

This pamphlet was written in August and September, 1917. I had already drawn up the plan for the next chapter... I did not succeed in writing a single line... what "interfered" was the political crisis—the eve of the October Revolution... Such "interference" can only be welcome... It is more pleasant and useful to go through the "experience of the revolution" than to write about it.

Trotsky testifying in April, 1937 in Mexico City before the Dewey Commission of Inquiry into the

accusations made against Trotsky in the Moscow Trials, made the following self-revelation about his attitude toward power:

I am not hungering for power personally. I am satisfied with my literary work. Power is a burden, but it is necessary and an inevitable evil. When your ideas are victorious you must accept it. But the mechanics of power is a miserable thing. If you permit me this personal observation: During the time I was in office, the best time was the vacations when I wrote my books.

After his exile from Russia in

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Bad Ventilation; Gas; Explosion; 63 Die

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met by the Pennsylvania National Guard which allowed no one to go through their lines to the mine.

No one was being dragged from the mines, and the reason for the presence of the National Guard became obvious: the explosion had occurred at 11:00 A.M., two hours before the Company sounded the alarm; and the Company lacking rescue equipment, and fearful of the fury of the town folk if they discovered this lack, had meanwhile sent to Pittsburgh for equipment, two hours before sounding the alarm.

No one besides the Company knows yet when the equipment arrived. All that is known is that the first body was dragged out at 11:00 P. M., twelve hours after the explosion!

Thousands pressed against the National Guard lines in the pouring rain all day, eagerly awaiting news of the fate of their relatives and friends.

One of the first men to enter the mine, a Company Inspector, told this writer that 17 dead men were piled on top of each other in the middle of the first room—victims of afterdamp. Notes were in some of their pockets. One man had written a note as late as six o'clock in the evening, saying that he was the only live man in his crew, and expected to die any minute. Many had scratched notes on stones and bits of paper, saying good-bye to their loved ones. In many cases the working members of whole families were wiped out, fathers and sons, brothers,

On reaching the other rooms it was discovered that the mine foremen in charge of the crew in each room, had closed the "curtain" shutting off the room from the others to prevent gas from reaching them while the rescue squads were at work, as they are instructed. They waited in vain. No rescue squad came. But death came to 63 slowly. The oxygen was gradually used up. Afterdamp slowly seeped in through the walls.

21 of the men disobeyed the instructions to close themselves up in the rooms and await rescue. They preferred to take a fighting chance, instinctively trusting to their own efforts. Knowing from experience that gas has a tendency to leave about an inch of air space on the ground, they crawled on their bellies, their noses scraping the rough ground, until they reached safety. Exhausted, half-asphyxiated, with all the flesh scraped off their noses, they barely escaped with their lives.

As the first bodies came to the surface, the screaming of women and children increased. Men, too, screamed, implored the Guards to let them through. Body after body was brought up through the night. The wailing and moaning of thousands of miners and their pitiful, dazed families, was a sickening spectacle. Women fainted, were revived, fainted again. Families from nearby towns brought food. But few ate.

In one short block in Sonman, eight crapes hung on the doors of eight identical houses. Some of the dead miners were

from surrounding towns. Main Street of nearby Portage, Pa. was draped in black streamers. Profound grief manifested itself in the grimy faces of the surviving miners trudging along to and from the mines, and even the young men looked as though they were going to their doom.

The horrible story hit the newspapers; editions in the little villages spread all sorts of rumors about the number in the mine. Next day a partial story of the disaster appeared in the press of the surrounding towns. The national newspapers printed a brief Associated Press report stating that not all the bodies were recovered. No list of the dead was ever given. By the next day the story of the Sonman explosion had vanished from the pages of the national press—completely hushed up.

Will this disaster recur? Or will the Company use some of its profits from the labor of the miners to protect their lives?

The disaster IS recurring. The very lives of these miners is one long—or rather, brief—disaster.

Sonman is a typical mining town. The air is heavy with the blue smoke from the smoldering piles of "bony," a coal refuse dumped around the mines, which readily identifies any mining town. "Bony" smolders for years, until it burns itself out, constantly contaminating the air with smoke. The unpaved streets are covered with what looks to be powdered coal. Long rows of tiny, ramshackle, unpainted wood shanties, all alike except the number on the door, are called "homes." They are

owned by the Company. The only store is owned by the Company. The whole town is owned by the Company.

The Company owns the miners too.

Trudging along with their tin lunch buckets, with filthy clothes, black faces, and downcast heads, these miners almost never see sunlight. In many cases they work in water up to their hips; many of them bent or crouched over in rooms two or three feet high. They can hardly straighten up when they crawl out at night.

The miner slaves to get his miserable wage. He gives it right back to the Company for rent and for food and clothing at the store. Nothing is left over. When the slack season comes, he is thrown out like "bony."

In this case because of the resentment of the miners which brought on government investigation, the Company will probably be forced to install some safety devices. This mine may be fairly safe until the safety equipment needs repair or replacement. Then another 63, 73, or many more lives will be sacrificed to the Company's lust for profit. Other mines after similar disasters may be forced to install safety equipment.

But disaster will follow disaster until the organized miners decide to put an end to the whole rotten set-up of company-owned towns, homes, stores, jobs and lives. Until the miners decide it is time to kick the owners out, take over the mines and run them decently for the use of all.

D. Hamilton

IMPERIAL ENGLAND NEAR DEATH

AS THE SAVAGE war in the air over England and Germany unfolds Germany is gradually establishing superiority over the inferior British defenses. London and lesser towns are being laid waste in the insane holocaust of imperialist war. In retaliation the British are able only to wreak occasional havoc on various parts of the German system of factories and military and air bases. Whether Germany can knock Britain out from the air alone or will attempt an invasion and whether, in that case, it will be successful, only time can tell.

But whatever the outcome of the present battles eclipse of Britain as the ranking political power in world affairs is already assured. Her retreat from China and the closing of the Burma road signify not merely a temporary strategic retreat to consolidate forces in Europe and the near East. It was made to enable imperial England to fight for its very existence against Germany's blitzkrieg.

THE ADVANTAGE that Japan is realizing will not be surrendered by her to Britain even if the latter beats Germany, without war for which Britain, weakened if the latter beats Germany, will be in no position to fight let alone win.

Japan could be beaten only with United States' help in which case Uncle Sam would be sure to take the lion's share of the spoils. What Britain would have to pay for such help can be seen by the price she had to pay for fifty so-called obsolete American destroyers

THE EXCHANGE of bases in British western hemisphere possessions from American destroyers signifies that Britain cannot defeat Germany at all without making vast political, economic and territorial concessions to the United States in return for the enormous help that she would require—assuming that the United States was in a position to give it.

In the last war after the entry of the United States the total Allied cause had over seven hundred destroyers which were engaged in blockading the Central Powers and conveying Allied troops, munitions and supplies and Allied and neutral shipping.

BEFORE ACQUIRING the fifty destroyers from the United States, England, facing a much more powerfully armed and strategically placed superior combination of enemies, had available for blockade of the European continent, defense of England's shores and her near eastern possessions against invasion—a danger which never threatened in the last war—and convoy duty in the Mediterranean Sea, the Indian, Pacific and Atlantic Oceans, only about 165 destroyers, a number obviously insufficient for the successful accomplishment of any one of these tasks.

The issue is not whether the fifty American destroyers are sufficient to enable Britain to win the war. It is whether they will give Britain sufficient strength to defend her shores, a point which may well be questioned.

IF CURCHILL had to pay this price for fifty destroyers what will he not have

to pay for assistance great and decisive enough to beat back the German thrusts and follow up with invasion of Germany? What will remain of the world-proud dominant position of the British ruling class after they pay Uncle Sam's price for saving them from submission to Hitler? One does not have to be a statistician or an economist to measure the cost in pounds sterling or dollars and cents. The fact that so many bases had to be given for fifty destroyers suggests the price. It will be nothing less than subordination of British policy to American imperialist dictation and the loss of control if not of outright ownership of some of Britain's richest possessions.

IF ALL THIS is speculation and forecast the recent tearing-up of Rumania was a fact which revealed the political and diplomatic impotence of Churchill's England in that part of the world. To appreciate it, it is only necessary to run one's mind down the following table of facts:

At the close of the World War of 1914-18 the victorious allies made Rumania part of the encirclement system of Germany under French political hegemony. Dobruja, won before the war, was included, as was Transylvania, torn from defeated Hungary by the Treaty of Trianon. Rumania seized Bessarabia.

At the beginning of the present war England guaranteed Rumania's borders.

IN THE SUMMER of this year Stalin seized Bessarabia. The British govern-

ment which had made restoration of Poland a condition for peace with Germany and had ignored Stalin's seizure of eastern Poland, condemned Stalin's invasion of Finland, was silent on his Bessarabian grab.

When Bulgaria and Hungary, later, began to push their demands for return of Dobruja and Transylvania, the British government approved of the return of Dobruja, was silent about Transylvania. When Italy and Germany intervened to settle the dispute over the return of Transylvania, the British government issued a statement saying it would not approve of the transfer of territories unless they were made with the full and free consent of the populations inhabiting them.

In the new imperialist map of the Balkans which is being carved out Stalin is a factor; Germany with Italy's consent calls the tune; England is only an impotent spectator.

IF IT WINS the war England may recover influence in Rumania. But it is not likely to return Dobruja and Transylvania to Rumania since that would create antagonism on the part of Bulgaria and Hungary which are not enemies in this war as they were in the last.

British retreat in the Far East and British impotence in the Balkans are political defeats which are symptoms of her speeding political decline which defeat by Germany will finish or which victory will not arrest but will hasten as the price of assistance by the United States.

Hitler-Stalin

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or may fight Stalin directly over Ukrainian wheat and Caucasian oil.

It was to avoid such a conflict toward which the British government has been pushing Hitler since 1935 or '36 that Stalin made pact with Hitler, hoping that enemies would exhaust themselves in imperialist conflict.

In the meantime Stalin prepared for unpleasant eventualities by a policy of land grabbing. Hitler's unexpected successes have increased the danger of a Russian-German clash.

But if Hitler is stronger than Stalin expected, how has Stalin used the past year to improve Russia's defenses?

ALTOGETHER Stalin has added about 175,000 square miles to the territory of the Soviet Union. The chief value of this territory is the acquisition of naval and military bases and the pushing of Russia's western frontier further westward making it more difficult for an attacker to reach the vital centers of Russian industry and communication.

Exactly what these advantages are worth in a military way only war will show.

But that too high a price has been paid for them is a matter of fact. This is so both from the economic and political point of view.

On the economic side—the economy of the new territory is overwhelmingly agrarian.

In Eastern Poland Russia confiscated an area where 83.4%

of the population lived in the countryside. Only 4% of the population were engaged in industry. The chief industry was textiles, which, in its best years, employed only 12,000 workers. The annual consumption of electricity measured in kilowatt hours per person is 20, compared to 1,000 in the U.S. Railroad mileage and paved roads are negligible compared to the territory's size.

IN FINLAND Russia's territorial acquisitions were, in the main, only of military value: a few islands in the Gulf of Finland, the city of Viborg, strips of land in the arctic and along the Karelian border and the use of a railroad, not yet completed, from Russia to the Gulf of Bothnia.

The Baltic territory presents a similar picture. Total population is less than 6,000,000. 70 per cent is engaged in agriculture. The soil is not very fertile and yields as its chief crops, rye and barley. There are millions of cattle, sheep, swine, horses and poultry. There are hundreds of dairy factories, the majority of which are cooperatives.

Industry is insignificant. In Estonia at the end of 1938 there were only 60,215 workers engaged in textile, paper, cement, oil shale, forestry, flax and leather factories.

IN LATVIA at the end of 1939 there were 98,497 workers employed in 5,977 enterprises.

In Lithuania at the end of 1939 1,441 industrial establishments (of not less than 5 workers) employ-

ed 40,880 workers. Chief products were meat, fish, tissues and yarns, metallic wares and leather goods.

In the seizure of Bessarabia and Northern Bukovina Stalin obtained some of the richest wheat fields in the world. The population is about 4,000,000, the vast majority engaged in agriculture.

Since Russia, despite the intense industrialization of the two five-year plans—the third is still under way—is still predominantly an agrarian economy, which industry has the greatest difficulty in carrying forward, the new territory will add to the difficulty by putting an even greater strain on industry.

IN PREPARATION for war in which industry is the decisive factor Stalin's policy has added several important items of strategic defense at the expense of weakening soviet industry.

This is true despite the fact that in the wake of the Red Army land and industry are nationalized. If the territory affected were industrial production areas the result of this revolution in property forms would be far reaching and would increase considerably the defense capacity of Russian industry. But in view of their agrarian character the significance of the nationalization is less than that. It will undoubtedly make possible the improvement of production locally through the introduction of the superior level of development of soviet production — tractors, combines, etc.—but this will in no way alter the adverse effect on Russian economy already noted.

ON THE political side—the expropriation of the large landowners and the owners of industry will not result in a just social system of distribution. The

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1929 followed years of political and theoretical analysis and criticism principally of Stalinism, and programs for revolutionary action and the creation of a revolutionary party—a ceaseless stream of intellectual creation, most of it characterized by a fatal lack of revolutionary independence, devoted, even after the proclamation of the need for a 4th International in 1933 to seeking the creation of a revolutionary party by some other means than its independent program and action in the class struggle.

CONSEQUENTLY nowhere did Trotsky succeed in building a

party of revolutionary workers able to lead masses of workers and peasants or farmers in revolutionary action against their class enemies. Writing a program and annihilating by criticism the program of his enemies were Trotsky's forte in these years. Creation of a revolutionary party was beyond him.

of his personality. It is long on theoretical argument, short on revolutionary influence among the workers. With Trotsky's passing it will decline.

The ultimate creation of a revolutionary party will be at once Trotsky's greatest refutation and his greatest monument.

Trotsky

peasants and workers may benefit temporarily from reforms such as the eight-hour day, abolition of debts, etc. But the greedy maw of the Stalinist bureaucracy will appropriate for itself the surplus values created by the toilers in the new territory. The Stalinist regime which cannot provide economic security for the population of the USSR and which is a regime of chronic hunger cannot do better by the population of the conquered territory. If Stalin's plan was to win support in this population by economic reforms the state of Soviet economy guarantees that he will fail.

IN NO CASE was the invasion of the Red Army and the subsequent revolution in property relations popular. The Finnish workers fought, the others sub-

mitted without resistance. Despite years of propaganda from Moscow the workers and peasants of the now conquered territory knew that life under Stalin is a horror of hunger and terror. There is no reason to suppose that they will defend Russian enthusiastically if Hitler attacks. On the contrary there is more reason to assume that they may see in that advent an opportunity to get their revenge.

And workers of other countries who see only counter-revolutionary action coming from the Soviet Union, may not come to its defense should Hitler attack.

If Stalin's pact with Hitler was motivated by defense time is likely to reveal that his adultery has given birth to a Frankenstein.

same thing to him about me. The S.O.B., I swore, he wants to scare us both into cutting our throats by working like blazes so he can make a bigger profit. He'll never give us a raise. My normal rate of production is 150 a week. Will you do the same amount and stick together?

Sure, I was wise to that guy all the time, he agreed.

Well the boss must have got wise after a while. He had the other worker put on another machine and a job-killer put in his place. The first week he does 150, the second 180 and the third week 200. Naturally, I had to work faster to keep my job.

That skunk gave you an awful screwing', said my old partner.

Yeah, but what about yourself? I asked. The boss will get after you pretty soon, to. What'll you do?

Join the union, he said with a laugh. D. Whitman

SHOP TALK

CHICAGO.—It was sultry hot. We had just come out of the factory and were standing in Mike's tavern drinking beer, trying to keep cool. The newspaper kid came up. Paper, mister.

We looked at the headline: Senate Committee Passes Draft Bill. I bought a paper and we glanced thru the draft article. The boys were silent for a moment, then Dave spoke

I guess they mean business. Irv put his glass down and still looking at the paper said slowly, Yeah, it seems so. I wonder where we fit in?

Right in the middle, Paul said, we're just the right age.

Dave spoke again, How much will they give us? How long does it last? Not much, I said, 30 dollars a month, and we're in it for one year.

Yeah, said Irv, that's a fine mess they're getting us into. Why in the hell should we go?

Didn't you hear the president? Carl asked. He said we got to prepare to stop the Germans and Japs from running wild.

Ain't it a Lulu? said Dave. Why you'd think we had nothing to worry about over here.

Thirty dollars, Irv repeated. I can't get over it. Here I work seven years in a lousy plant. I finally get a decent job and now these guys come along and ruin everything.

Look at this, I said, pointing to another article in the paper. The government is going to loan millions of dollars to the manufacturers to build more plants. And that's not all, the paper says they're doing it cause the manu-

facturers are squawking about not making enough money.

Well can you beat that? Dave said, banging his glass down on the counter. Thirty dollars for us, millions for them guys.

It's always like that, said Irv heatedly. They give us nothing and they expect us to do all the dirty work. They give some lousy banker everything and he does nothing.

Sure, I said, That's it. That's it right on the head.

Why should we stick our necks out? said Dave.

Let the pot bellies train, hollered Carl. It's their war anyway.

H. Marsh.