

Who Ended The
First World War?

— See page 4 —

THE MILITANT

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LABOR'S NON-PARTISAN LEAGUE BRANDS ST. PAUL INDICTMENT AS FBI FRAMEUP

August 4-27th Anniversary Of World War I

An Editorial

On August 4, 1914 World War I began. Who "started" it? Learned professors were still trying to figure that out when World War II began. The truth is that all the imperialist powers were equally guilty. It was irrelevant who fired the first shot. All the imperialist powers had reached the stage in their economic and political degeneration where they could go on only by expanding at the expense of each other.

Twenty-five million men were killed or maimed in more than four years of warfare to decide which gang of imperialists would be top dog. The war would have lasted even longer, except that the workers and peasants of Russia, led by Lenin and Trotsky, took their destiny out of the hands of the Czar and the capitalists, and established the governmental power of the Soviets.

The revolutionary events which began in Russia in February, 1917 spread to the trenches and navies on both sides.

Had the American imperialists not entered the war in April, 1917, the war would have been over at least a year earlier than it did end. It would have ended with workers' revolutions throughout Europe. Precisely to prevent successful revolutions and their fruition in the Socialist United States of Europe, the American imperialists intervened.

Even so, revolution swept Germany, Austria and Hungary, and the imperialists forgot yesterday's enemies to join hands against the revolutionary workers. German capitalism was saved from being overthrown thanks only to the support the German capitalists received from American and British capitalism.

The revolutions of 1917 and 1918 which really put an end to the war came late in the war. For the first three years the capitalists were able to go on warring with impunity because of the help they got from the warmongering "socialist" leaders. In Britain, America and France these "socialists" called for "war for democracy against the Kaiser's autocracy." In Germany and Austria-Hungary they called for "war against Czarism."

They lied. In the end the Kaiser was overthrown, not by pro-war socialists, German or Allied, but by the revolution inspired by the anti-war revolutionary socialists, Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg. Czarism was finally destroyed, not by the "democracies" but by the anti-war Bolsheviks, and then the "democracies" financed the Russian monarchist White Guards with hundreds of millions of dollars in a three-year attempt to restore Czarism.

On this 27th anniversary of World War I, World War II is raging toward the close of its second year. It is but an extension of World War I. German capitalism, saved from revolution by the "democracies," resorted to fascism to destroy the German workers' organizations and to upset the re-division of the earth imposed by the Versailles Treaty. It does not matter who fired the first shot. All the imperialists are again equally responsible.

Today, as in 1914, there are warmongering "socialists" telling us to die for our "own" imperialists. This time there are, in addition, the Stalinists who likewise betray the working class.

No more than the warmongers destroyed Czarism and Kaiserism in World War I, will the warmongers destroy fascism in World War II. The Soviet Union will be saved, and fascism will be extirpated, only by the socialist revolution.

The overthrow of Czarism and Kaiserism seemed a far-off dream on August 4, 1914. The imperialists and their "socialist" warmongering lackeys seemed all-powerful in every country. The voices of Lenin and Trotsky, Luxemburg and Liebknecht, seemed but isolated voices crying in a wilderness of chauvinist madness.

But those few voices represented the real interests of the toiling masses of the world. Out of the crucible of the war came tens of millions of workers and peasants who learned to listen to those voices. Not the "realists" who supported the war, but the courageous few who stood out against it, were listened to by the great masses as the war unfolded death and destruction.

So it will be in this war. We of the Socialist Workers Party have no fear of the future. Today we are indicted and summoned to trial for our anti-war stand. Tomorrow the great masses will know from their own experience that all that we have said against all the imperialists is true. For every anti-war fighter torn by the government from our midst, there will be tens of thousands to take his place as the war unfolds. We represent the real interests of the toiling masses. And those interests will prevail.

Arming the Soviet Workers



This radiophoto from Moscow shows a group of Soviet civilian workers receiving rifles. Many millions of workers and peasants are reported being armed for guerilla warfare.

James P. Cannon Is SWP N. Y. Mayor Candidate



JAMES P. CANNON

Anti-War Candidate Is One Of The 29 Indicted In St. Paul

James P. Cannon, National Secretary of the Socialist Workers Party, will be the Trotskyist Anti-War candidate for Mayor of New York City.

Comrade Cannon is one of the 29 under federal indictment, charged with "seditious conspiracy" by Roosevelt's Department of Justice.

His campaign will mobilize the advanced workers against the brazen attempts of Roosevelt and his War Party to intimidate the anti-war forces in America.

Comrade Cannon's record as a revolutionary socialist anti-war fighter for thirty years gives his campaign outstanding significance. He began his revolutionary career as a member of the IWW before the last war, and received his baptism in the class struggle during the great strikes waged by the IWW in those days.

FOUNDER OF COMMUNIST PARTY

He was an outspoken opponent of the last war and helped the anti-war forces as an editor of a left-wing socialist paper. Under the wartime anti-strike legislation, he was indicted and imprisoned for his work in the 1919 Kansas coal miners strike.

Inspired by the October Revolution led by Lenin and Trotsky, Comrade Cannon became one of the founders of the Communist Party in this country. He was elected to the Central Committee and Political Committee of the party.

He was delegate to the Fourth Congress of the Communist International in 1922 and to numerous other international gatherings in Moscow.

In 1928, he was a delegate to the Sixth Congress of the Third International. In Moscow he saw with his own eyes the bureaucratic degeneration of Stalinism. Expelled from the Communist Party for defending the revolutionary program of Leon Trotsky, he founded the Left Opposition, forerunner of the Socialist Workers Party.

ANTI-WAR PLATFORM

The platform of our party in this campaign will have three chief planks:

1. For a class struggle opposition to the war and the capitalist system that breeds the war.
2. For the defense of all workers' rights and civil liberties against the war-time repressions.
3. For the unconditional defense of the Soviet Union and against reactionary Stalinism which weakens the defense of the Soviet Union.

Every vote for Cannon will be a vote of protest against Roosevelt's attempted frame-up of the 29 "seditious conspiracy" anti-war fighters and militant unionists.

The first stage of the campaign is already under way, with an all-out mobilization of New York party members and sympathizers to get the necessary 7,500 signatures of qualified voters on the petitions to place Comrade Cannon's name on the ballot. Due to the election laws, our candidate will be listed on the petitions and ballots under the name of the Trotskyist Anti-War Party.

Says U. S. Gov't Is Repeating 1918 'Witch-Hunting'

CIO Political Body, Of Which John L. Lewis Is Chairman, Takes Strong Stand Against Federal Indictment of CIO, SWP Members

WASHINGTON, July 28—Labor's Non-Partisan League, of which John L. Lewis is national chairman and to which the CIO is affiliated, today branded the July 15 federal indictment of 29 Local 544-CIO and Socialist Workers Party members as "a menace to fundamental civil liberties and to labor's basic rights."

The text of the press statement of CIO's political body, dated today, follows:

"Witch-hunting tactics of the Department of Justice under A. Mitchell Palmer in World War I are being revived here as history repeats itself in World War II.

"The Palmer period in the Justice Department has long been recognized by all Americans with any respect for human freedom as one of the blackest in our Government's history, yet one of the key figures of that time is still functioning in a high Justice Department post. He is J. Edgar Hoover, now chief of the FBI.

"It was Hoover who was behind the recent Administration move to jam wire-tapping legislation through Congress, which was defeated only after the CIO became active against it. In the postwar era, Hoover's bureau stooped to searching private Senatorial mail and even tried to frame a U.S. Senator on trumped up charges.

"Today, Justice Department activities again are a menace to fundamental civil liberties and to labor's basic rights. The pattern of activity is the same as in Palmer's day and Hoover has forgotten none of it.

In St. Paul a few days ago a large number of CIO union members of Minneapolis were indicted for holding allegedly subversive opinions. The indictment went back to 1938 in strained efforts to find some incident on which to base its action. Not what these men did, but what they thought, formed the real crime against them.

"In this particular case, the Justice Department did not act against these allegedly subversive persons until three years after the deed complained of and

only after they had transferred their membership from the AFL Teamsters Union to the CIO.

"To many observers here, both in and outside the labor movement, this is a clear case of Justice Department interference in a trade union matter. By its action the Justice Department seeks to discourage teamsters from joining the CIO.

A DANGEROUS PRECEDENT

"The incident is regarded generally here as an attempt by the Justice Department to establish a precedent. If it is successful, many informed observers are expecting other indictments of labor figures who do not toe the mark in the way some bureaucrat would prefer that they do.

"If Minneapolis teamsters can be jailed for their opinions, so can anybody. That is why the case is of national importance to civil liberties."

Civil Rights Defense Committee Is Organized To Fight Prosecution

It was announced this week that the Civil Rights Defense Committee has been organized on behalf of the defendants in the Federal prosecution of the Socialist Workers Party. This Committee has been formed for the purpose of raising funds to defray the cost of fighting this important case, and to mobilize labor and liberal support for the defendants.

George E. Novack, Secretary-Treasurer of the Committee, stated:

"The Civil Rights Defense Committee proposes to wage an energetic fight on behalf of the members of the Socialist Workers Party and the leaders of Motor Transport Workers Union, Local 544-CIO, who have been indicted in Minnesota. We condemn the action of the Federal Government in conducting such an unjust prosecution against members of a working class party for their opinions, or trade unionists because of their activities in the labor movement.

"We intend to rally public opinion in support of the defendants and to acquaint the American people with the serious threat to civil liberties and to organized labor involved in this important case. We believe that this assault upon labor's democratic rights can be and will be beaten back by an aroused public opinion."

The National Office of the Civil Rights Defense Committee is located at 160 Fifth Avenue, New York City.

Auto Union Convention Will Hear John L. Lewis

Buffalo Convention, Opening August 4, May Be Test of Strength Between Lewis and Hillmanite Forces On Issue of CIO Policy

John L. Lewis will address the Buffalo convention of the United Auto Workers-CIO, it was announced Tuesday.

Coupled with the 10-9 vote of the International Executive Board of the UAW, refusing Sidney Hillman an invitation to speak, John L. Lewis' appearance may lead to a dramatic clash of the pro-Lewis forces with the Hillmanites at the convention.

By E. R. FRANK

DETROIT—Every convention of the Auto Workers Union constitutes a landmark in American labor history. The constitutional convention of the UAW, scheduled to open in Buffalo on August 4th will be no exception to this rule.

The great battle looming in the CIO between the Hillman and the Lewis forces will find its initial test of strength at this convention.

Relations between the Lewis-Addes and Thomas-Reuther groups have become increasingly embittered. The International Executive Board is divided into two hostile camps. Things have reached such a sharp turn that the board rejected by a vote of 10 to 9 the proposal made at its last meeting to invite Sidney Hillman to address the UAW convention.

The sad fact must be recorded, however, that the Lewis-Addes forces have not yet indicated clearly what they stand for. The Lewis-Addes group has initiated a virulent red-baiting campaign reminiscent of Homer Martin at his worst. Reuther and Frankenstein announced months ago that they would seek an amendment to the UAW constitution to bar all members, sympathizers, etc. of so-called "subversive groups." That is where the Reuther-Thomas group stands and this is the program it will fight for at the Buffalo convention.

HILLMANITE LINE IS CLEAR

Everybody knows where the Reuther-Thomas group stands. Comprising about half the union leadership and controlling such key sections as the General Motors, Chrysler and the Aircraft divisions, this group follows the Hillman program. It has sold itself lock, stock and barrel to Roosevelt war machine. It supports the OPM and the National Mediation Board and, in general, is working overtime to place labor in the army straight jacket.

Of course the Hillmanite program, when boldly put, is not very popular with the auto workers or any other group of workers. The workers interests are in a diametrically opposite direction. The workers must fight for constant wage increases, if they are even to hold their own in this period of upward-spiraling prices.

In order to chloroform the auto workers so that against their better judgment and against their real desires they would line up behind the war machine, the Reu-

ther-Thomas group has initiated a virulent red-baiting campaign reminiscent of Homer Martin at his worst. Reuther and Frankenstein announced months ago that they would seek an amendment to the UAW constitution to bar all members, sympathizers, etc. of so-called "subversive groups." That is where the Reuther-Thomas group stands and this is the program it will fight for at the Buffalo convention.

The other half of the top union leadership, the so-called Addes group, has generally supported John L. Lewis and his policies. What is the policy of John L. Lewis' followers in the UAW? Nobody knows for sure. The Addes people caucus against the Thomas-Reuther group, they compete for positions with them, but they have not yet clearly revealed what their union program is and what the membership grants them the leadership.

John L. Lewis has unquestionably taken a more progressive stand on many recent union issues than Hillman and his supporters. This much can be said.

(Continued on page 5)

Friends Asked To Aid SWP Election Campaign

Every class-conscious worker, every opponent of the boss war, every progressive individual who wants to defend civil liberties and the democratic rights of the workers, can do his bit by supporting the campaign of James P. Cannon for mayor of New York City.

The first stage of that campaign is to secure sufficient signatures on the petitions to place our candidate's name on the ballot. The election laws, aimed at restricting minority political parties from participation in the elections, are extremely stringent and require 7,500 signatures of qualified voters on the nominating petitions.

We urge every friend and sympathizer of our party to join with us in securing the necessary number of signatures.

Come to our headquarters at 116 University Place without delay, and obtain your petition blanks. The fight against this war and for the freedom of the 29 "seditious conspiracy" defendants will be aided by placing the name of James P. Cannon on the ballot in the coming New York City mayoralty election campaign.

War Prices Are Going To Run Riot

Henderson Paints Black Picture of Future Inflation; Covers Up Role of Profiteers And Falsely Blames Workers and Farmers

Having been kicked in the face by every single industry over which he has attempted to establish price controls, Leon Henderson, Federal Price Control Administrator, was constrained on July 14 to "prepare" the American consumers for an impending orgy of price inflation.

Speaking before the convention of the New York Housewares Manufacturers Association in Atlantic City, Henderson declared:

"Prices are going up. Some of you ladies are already complaining. But many of you never met that terrible monster who destroyed family income in the last war — old H.C.L. (High Cost of Living) himself. Shortages have brought him back into prospect. We will deceive ourselves if we believe that the cost of living will level off shortly and everything will be all right. Costs and prices of many consumer items already risen at the wholesale level — it's only a question of time lag when they will hit the pocketbook . . .

Because of "shortage" due to diversion of basic materials and production facilities to war products, Henderson pointed out, there will be "rationing at the raw material line, and rationing means that someone is going to get hurt."

That "someone," who is already "getting hurt," happens to be the eighty per cent of the American population who exist at or below the minimum subsistence level, and who are now paying anywhere from thirty to sixty per cent more for food, clothing and other necessities of life than in August 1939, just before the start of the war.

How much more they are going to get hurt is indicated by the Bureau of Labor Statistics figures which show that prices are accelerating faster than at any time in American history, four to five per cent per month.

GOVERNMENT'S 'SOLUTION': PULL YOUR BELT IN

Henderson himself predicted inflation: "Before long now there will be more purchasing power running around hunting something to buy than there are goods available. If that occurs

to substantial degree, no power on earth can prevent inflation."

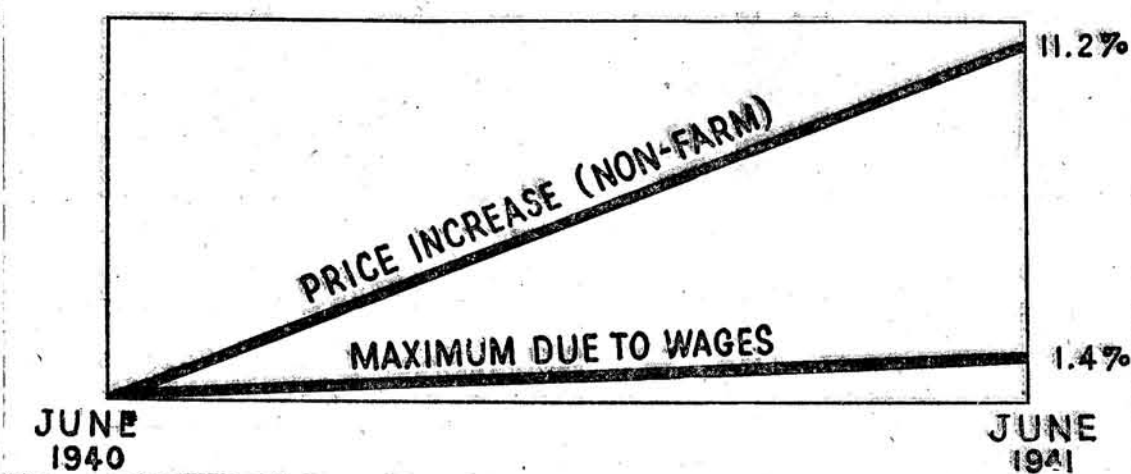
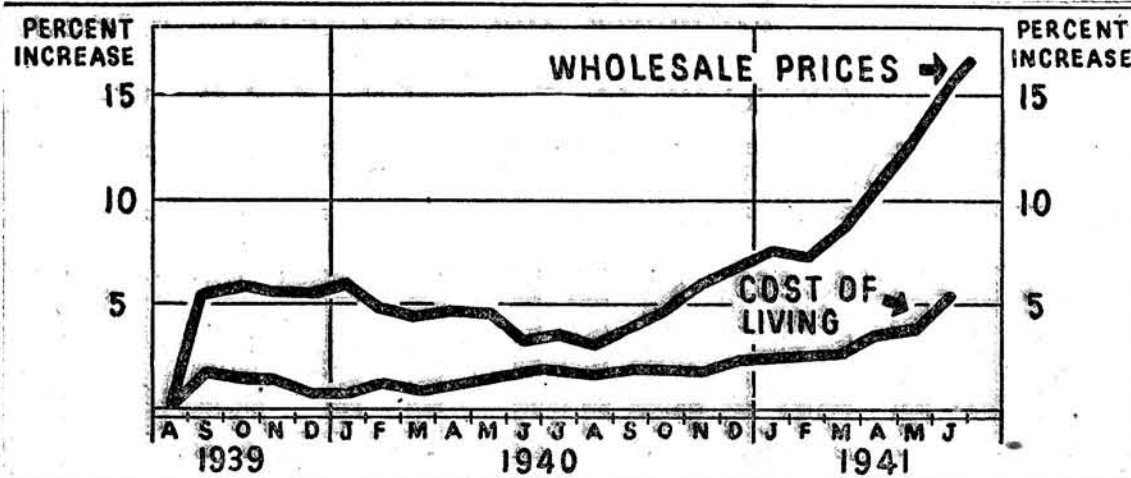
Henderson then made the one specific recommendation of his speech — other than a general reference to the need for some "price control" — as to how he and the government propose to stop price inflation.

"For that reason the government must sop up some of this extra purchasing power, and it can do so in many healthy ways. It must increase taxes, thus helping to pay for defense. It can stimulate savings—thus providing a backlog for the future when first attention is not being given to making merchandise of death. Consumer credit must be kept from expanding."

In short, Henderson is flatly telling the masses of low income earners in America that they have just two "alternatives," a terrific reduction in their standards of living by a continuing slice in real wages and income through steadily rocketing prices, or by handing back a large part of their purchasing power to the bankers and the boss government in the form of "savings" and "defense loans." (Henderson fails, of course, to explain just where the money is to come from to pay back these "loans" after the war, since war funds are used for completely destructive and unproductive ends.)

To justify this outrageous scheme, Henderson blamed "farm parity loans and wage raises" as "real cost increase items." His shoddy device of placing the blame for high prices on the workers and working farmers covers up the war speculators and

Prices Advance Over Wages



These two graphs, published by the AFL's LABOR'S MONTHLY SURVEY, give a visual picture of what has happened to prices and wages in the past months. The top chart shows that wholesale prices are soaring at a runaway pace and will soon lead to terrific retail price inflation. The lower chart demonstrates the relation of wage increases to the total rise in prices of manufactured goods and proves that the present price inflation is not due to wages but to profiteering.

profiteers, who alone are responsible, with the aid of the government, for making the masses pay for the war through high prices, sacrifices of living essentials, taxes, etc.

FARMERS ARE VICTIMS, NOT MAKERS OF HIGH PRICES

Is the ordinary dirt farmer, toiling away from sunrise to sunset in an effort to pay for his tools, fertilizer, seed, feed, interest on loans and mortgages, responsible for high prices? On the contrary, the small farmer is the victim of high prices for everything he must buy.

The main beneficiaries of increased farm parity price payments are, and have been, the big insurance companies, federal land banks and corporation farms.

The largest single beneficiaries of the farm parity payments in the last reported crop year, 1939, as published by the U. S. Department of Agriculture on July 7, were the Prudential Insurance Company, the Metropolitan Insurance Company and the Federal Land Bank of Omaha, Nebraska, which received respectively, \$133,191, \$96,332 and \$92,963. Eleven other insurance companies each received in excess of \$35,000.

But of the 5,475,000 farmers participating in the government price adjustment program, less than ten

per cent received yearly payments of over \$200. Fifty per cent received less than \$20 a year each.

The factor of increased demand — government or consumer — is extremely negligible in terms of the actual available supplies.

The Department of Agriculture reported on July 10 that the wheat supply for 1941-42 will be the largest in the last ten years — 1,319,000,000 bushels. Of this, 400,000,000 bushels represent a carry-over supply, held mainly by wheat speculators who purchased the wheat from the farmers a year or more ago at the low level and have been holding the grain for speculation at anticipated high prices. The small or medium farmer cannot afford to hold back his crop from the market, he must realize cash at once. So he must sell to the grain speculators at a low price. It is these speculators, not the farmers, who hold and store the wheat, create shortages artificially and jack up the prices.

The same is true of the cotton crop. Yet the capitalists would have us believe the half-starved tenant-farmers and share-croppers of the South are to blame for the terrific price spurt in clothing and cotton goods.

While the anticipated 1941 cotton yield is expected to be around

80,000,000 bales, there is a present surplus on hand, piled up mostly in the speculators' warehouses, 12,600,000 bales. Yet cotton prices have been jacked up by the cotton speculators to a point higher than at any time since 1929. The cotton farmers will not get one dime of the increased price which will be paid for these surpluses to the speculators.

Within the past weeks we have had two outstanding examples of how the corporation food manufacturers and processors have been responsible for the rise in food prices.

On July 1 an indictment under the Sherman Anti-Trust Law was handed down against six dairy foods corporations, including the giant Kraft Cheese Company and Borden Company, for monopoly price fixing.

The indictment charges that these corporation monopolies not only fixed prices of the goods they sold to the distributors, but: "As a result of this conspiracy, the defendants suppressed competition among themselves and fixed non-competitive prices for . . . cheese purchased by them."

That is, these corporations forced the dairy farmers to sell their products at the lowest prices and then the manufacturers re-sold them at the

highest prices to the consumer outlets.

An identical type of indictment was handed down by a federal grand jury in Chicago on July 3 against the Meat Trust — Wilson & Co., Armour & Co., Swift & Co., the American Meat Institute and the hog section of the Chicago Joint Marketing Improvement Committee.

The indictment charge that the Meat Trust pegged live-stock prices at the lowest point, and then sold the processed meats at a fixed high price. Here, again, the farmer is the victim of price-fixing.

WAGES NOT RESPONSIBLE FOR PRICE RISES

The annual statistical report of the American Iron and Steel Institute for 1940 gives us some extremely illuminating figures on the relation of workers' wages to high prices.

Total production for the steel and iron industry increased 22 per cent in 1940 over 1939. There was an increase of only 17 per cent in total pay rolls. Thus there was an actual decline in labor costs for each unit of production, as the increase in workers' output was greater than the increase in wages.

But net profits for the industry increased 97 per cent in 1940 over 1939. And steel prices rose from \$13 a ton to between \$18 and \$23 a ton.

Steel production has now reached over 97 per cent of capacity 15 per cent higher than in the peak of 1940. But wages have been increased, due to the CIO strike struggles last spring, a maximum of ten per cent for the same period. Thus, we see that steel labor costs have again declined in terms of total production. And labor costs in the steel industry constitute a relatively higher percentage of production costs than in most other industries.

If wages throughout industry were to be increased 20 per cent, total cost of production would thereby be increased not more than 5 per cent if production remained stationary, for labor accounts for only from 15 to 25 per cent of production costs.

HIGH PRICES DUE ONLY TO LUST FOR PROFITS

The cause of high prices is high profits. And the only way to de-stroy the control of the boss profiteers over industry and production.

Henderson, speaking for the Roosevelt administration, says about the problem of the High Cost of Living:

"I wish I could tell you that we had an easy solution, that everything is going to be all right. I can't promise you any such hope. All I can tell you is that only by sweating blood and tears can the dislocations be held to a minimum."

"Sweating blood and tears" for the masses, but profits unlimited for the financiers and industrialists, is Roosevelt's answer.

We of the Socialist Workers Party have an entirely different answer. We say:

Curb High Prices By Curb-ing Profits!

Take the Profits Out of War by Expropriating All the War Industries and Placing Them Under the Control and Management of the Workers!

Mexican Stalinists For U. S. Indictment of SWP

Mexican Statement May Be Trial Balloon For Line of Stalinists in This Country

By WALTER O'ROURKE

MEXICO CITY, July 19—The Stalinists and their friends here have lost no time in taking advantage of the U.S. government persecution of the Trotskyists to show the bosses that they are ready to go even further in their slanders against revolutionists.

On the day that Hitler declared war against the Soviet Union, the Communist Party of Mexico indicated its return to the old slanders of the Popular Front days in the following words: "Now they (Trotskyists) are in the English and American espionage service . . . Tomorrow, as yesterday, they will return to the service of the Gestapo." (C.P. statement published in EL POPULAR, June 22, 1941). The indictment of leading Trotskyists by the U.S. Government has supplied the opportunity for carrying out this "new" line of slander.

Since their return to the Popular Front line, the Stalinists have reformed their old alliance with the petty-bourgeois scoundrels who dominate the Confederation of Mexican Workers (the CTM) and have immediately received co-operation in their anti-Trotskyist slander campaign. For the first time since the GPU murdered Leon Trotsky, Lombardo Toledano and his representatives on the editorial board of the CTM's EL POPULAR, have revived their calumnies against the Trotskyists.

A dispatch "Exclusive for EL POPULAR" reports the Minnesota indictments in a manner which in vehemence and outright falsification surpasses anything the American bourgeois press or even Toledano would attempt.

AGREES WITH FBI

"Plot of Trotskyist Provocateurs in the United States" headlines the article published on page one of the July 16 EL POPULAR. The first sentences accuse these "provocateurs" of having just carried out one of "their typical counter-revolutionary acts."

The Trotskyists wanted to take advantage of the war between the USSR and Germany in order to proclaim that the "revolution had already begun." They wanted to "sabotage in all forms the defense program of the United States," and, worst of all, they wanted to "overthrow the government of President Roosevelt."

"All the workers' circles affirm that it is truly lamentable that

the provocateurs commit acts of this nature which only serve to fortify Hitler," the dispatch ends. It would be very embarrassing for the Stalinists if they were called upon to indicate just which "workers' circles" affirm this. They would find themselves in the company of the worst enemies of militant unionism in the United States. Since, unfortunately, very little is known here about trade union events in the United States, EL POPULAR and the Stalinists feel free to lie even more cynically than their brothers in the States.

SERVE AMERICAN IMPERIALISM

Often a new Stalinist policy is tried out in some South American country such as Mexico before being put in full force in the U. S. This is perhaps what we see taking place now. The Stalinists and the Toledanos are serving the reactionary American imperialists by openly supporting their red-baiting drive against the militant U. S. unionists; they are striving to confuse the masses of Mexico and other South American countries by preventing their knowing the truth about the "democratic" persecution of their brothers in the fatherland of Yankee imperialism; they have declared their readiness to slander the Trotskyists on behalf of Washington as well as of the Kremlin.

FBI-Gestapo's Latest Victims, WPA Workers

Roosevelt's Gestapo-FBI carried out its latest act of anti-labor terrorism when 27 WPA workers in New York City, arrested for picketing Mayor LaGuardia's home, were subjected to an intensive grilling on July 22 by FBI agents, aided by federal representatives of the Selective Service and Alien Registration agencies.

The arrests occurred July 18 during a picket-line demonstration of about 100 WPA workers at Mayor LaGuardia's residence. The pickets, representing the WPA Teachers Union, the United Artists Union and the Workers Alliance, were protesting the dismissal on July 1 of some 15,000 WPA workers in New York City.

LaGuardia's police twice asaulted the picket line with swinging clubs, arresting seven workers during the first foray, and the remainder of the 27 in a second vicious attack after the line had been reformed.

FBI STEPS IN

While the arrested pickets were at the Harlem Court waiting to get their hearings, they were taken into a room where a large group of FBI agents shot questions at them, such as whether they were citizens, had registered for the draft, what unions they belonged to, etc.

This is but the latest outrage in the government's systematic campaign of anti-labor terrorism, which includes the Department of Justice "conspiracy" indictments against 29 Socialist Workers Party and Local 544-CIO members; the FBI "investigation" and hound-

ing of federal employees who are CIO members; and the dismissal of scores of workers and CIO unionists, without hearings or charges, from Navy yards throughout the country.

Further evidence of the Administration's development of a Gestapo agency was the passage, on July 22, of a Senate bill to establish a secret special detective force in the Navy yards and other Navy Department establishments. From the actions of the FBI and Naval Intelligence in the past few weeks against unionists in the Navy yards, it is clear this new detective force is directed against union labor.

STALINISTS WHITEWASH FDR

The Stalinist Daily Worker, which has carried stories and editorials about the Department of Justice and Navy Department's terrorism against the WPA workers and federal employees, deliberately omits the fact that these agencies are acting directly under Administration orders and that the heads of these departments are Roosevelt appointees.

Supporting the war policies of Roosevelt, the Stalinists

cover up the anti-labor policies of the Administration and make it appear that the actions of the FBI are "independent" of the Administration's will.

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

PIONEER PUBLISHERS

116 University Place, New York City

Also obtainable through all branch literature agents of the Socialist Workers Party

New Deadline Set at Aug. 21 in Fund Drive

TO DELINQUENT BRANCHES:

Dear Comrades:

The formal deadline for the War Chest is Friday August 1st. The score as we go to press today stands at 76%. Your branch is one of those lagging behind.

We have decided to extend the deadline to August 21st, the anniversary of Comrade Trotsky's death. Can you make extraordinary efforts to get under the wire by then so that we can show a 100% score in honor of this memorial?

The party hasn't failed in a single one of its undertakings during the year since the Old Man died. It would be a pity to fall down on this one. Please do your best and a little more to have your full quota in the National Office not later than August 21st.

Yours fraternally
JAMES P. CANNON
National Secretary

The following branches have gone over the top this week:

Cleveland—124% (From 100%)
Baltimore—120% (From 70%)

The Philadelphia branch joined the 100%ers.

Contributions this week

Branch	Amount
New York	\$233.25
San Francisco Bay Area	142.00
Los Angeles	96.00
Flint	94.00
Chicago	72.00
South Chicago	55.00
Cleveland	36.50
Philadelphia	24.00
Minneapolis	20.00
Baltimore	5.00
Members-at-large	13.00

TOTAL \$790.75

\$10,000 War Chest SCOREBOARD

Branch	Quota	Amt. Pd.	%
BUFFALO	\$ 60.00	\$ 98.50	164
READING	25.00	38.30	153
CLEVELAND	150.00	186.50	124
BALTIMORE	10.00	12.00	120
YOUNGSTOWN	150.00	160.00	107
SEATTLE	25.00	26.00	104
San Diego	100.00	100.00	100
Akron	50.00	50.00	100
Portland	30.00	30.00	100
St. Louis	25.00	25.00	100
Quakertown	25.00	25.00	100
Toledo	10.00	10.00	100
Detroit	500.00	500.00	100
Louisiana	25.00	25.00	100
Newark	500.00	500.25	100
Philadelphia	125.00	125.00	100
Chicago	1200.00	1126.12	94
Rochester	50.00	46.25	93
Boston	350.00	305.00	87
Flint	200.00	174.00	87
St. Paul	300.00	257.00	86
Allentown	25.00	19.50	78
Pittsburgh	40.00	30.00	75
New Haven	50.00	37.00	74
San Francisco Bay Area	1100.00	817.88	74
Milwaukee	55.00	36.00	65
New York City	2500.00	1619.03	65
Los Angeles	500.00	276.00	55
Texas	20.00	10.00	50
South Chicago	125.00	55.00	44
Minneapolis	1200.00	405.90	34
Fresno	30.00	0.00	00
Members-at-Large	475.00	511.30	108
TOTAL	\$10,000.00	\$7637.48	76%



ST. PAUL BRANCH ANSWERS THE FBI

In these days when the mettle of our party is being tested in the crucible of war we are proud to offer the following evidence of the spirit of our movement:

"In the face of the FBI raids and federal indictments the St. Paul branch is carrying on its good work. Last week we voted to increase our Militant bundle by 50%."

"The St. Paul comrades have been hawking MILITANTS at a certain big AFL union's meetings regularly for two years. About six months ago the Stalinists also began to cover these meetings with their literature."

"Last Monday night, the day before the grand jury handed down the indictments, the MILITANTS were especially well received. They were opened eagerly by the men, who stood on the sidewalk in front of the Labor Temple reading the true story and latest developments in the FBI frame-up of Local 544-CIO and the moves against the Socialist Workers

Party. Some of the men asked for more than one copy.

"The Stalinists were distributing their 'peoples' program' passed by the national committee of the Communist party calling for 'all aid to the Soviet and British peoples' and asking 'to defend the USA by defending the USSR.'"

"The union men evidently could not stomach this sudden change of the Communist party's political line because while the MILITANTS were folded and carefully tucked into their pockets and not a single copy thrown away, the sidewalk was strewn with copies of the Stalinist folder."

One of our oldest and most loyal supporters writes from Plentywood, Montana: "I will try to get a few subs for the MILITANT and the F. I. You comrades are doing a fine job of getting out both revolutionary organs, so it will be up to the comrades on the battle front to see that money comes in so that the publications can come out. I will do all I can."

Our Call For Workers Defense Guards

Federal Indictment Tries To Make Crime Of Our Leading Anti-Fascist Demonstrations

By DON DORE

Every advanced worker in New York City remembers the anti-fascist demonstration organized by the Socialist Workers Party against the Nazi Bund at Madison Square Garden on February 20, 1939. Fifty thousand workers joined our demonstration. Hundreds of thousands of others gave us their moral backing and were glad that there was a workers' party that knew how to deal a blow against the fascists.

We organized that famous demonstration around the slogan: "Build Workers' Defense Guards to answer the fascist menace."

Today our anti-fascist demonstrations constitute one of the main points in the indictment drawn up by the United States Department of Justice against 29 members of Local 544-CIO and the Socialist Workers Party!

The indictment says, on Count 1, Point 10:

"10. Workers and laborers would be, and they were, organized into military units which would be armed and drilled and taught how skillfully to use pistols and rifles, which said units would be, and were called, 'Union Defense Guards'; said units would ostensibly be used for protection against violent attempts to destroy trade unions, but were in truth and in fact, designed and intended to be used ultimately to overthrow, destroy and put down by force the duly constituted, constitutional Government of the United States."

The best answer to this police-mind concoction is to refer to the written record, both of our party press and of other newspapers, which tells all the easily verifiable facts — just what we actually said and did with the slogan of Workers Defense Guards and exactly against whom we directed the Workers Defense Guards.

Last week I told the history of the Union Defense Guard of Local 544-CIO of Minneapolis, and showed conclusively that they were organized and aimed against the fascist Silver Shirts. Local 544's Guard succeeded in cowering those fascist gangs.

Let us now see where else we raised the slogan of Workers Defense Guards.

WHY WE CALLED FOR WORKERS DEFENSE GUARDS
The call for the mobilization of Workers Defense Guards, which we first sounded in 1938, was our answer to the increasingly bold and violent attacks on workers and their organizations being made in 1938 by the fascist scum of every variety.

The immediate necessity for Workers Defense Guards was demonstrated in half a dozen major cities in 1939. And most of all in New York City.

Nowhere did the Bundists, Coughlinites and other fascist hoodlum gangs become bolder or more violent than in New York City. In the latter part of 1938 and the first two months of 1939, Bundist and Coughlinites gangs attacked lone workers and Jews on the streets. They were breaking up street meetings of workers' organizations, including SWP meetings, and were openly spewing their anti-Semitic, anti-labor filth on the busiest corners of the city.

In February, 1939, came their first venture at a big mass rally. Emboldened by the success of their gangster attacks on individual units in the streets, the Nazi Bundists secured Madison Square Garden, seating over 20,000 persons, for a meeting on February 20, 1939.

Had this provocative fascist mobilization gone unchallenged, there is little doubt but that it would have encouraged the fascists to carry out a reign of violent terrorism against the workers and unions of New York City and elsewhere.

Thanks to the Socialist Workers Party, the fascists did not get away with this provocation.

While the LaGuardia administration and police department offered protection to the fascists, and all the "democrats" and "liberals" crawled before this provocative challenge, the Socialist Workers Party issued hundreds of thousands of leaflets calling on the workers and anti-fascists of New York to organize a counter-demonstration at Madison Square Garden. And the workers answered our call.

On the night of February 20, 1939, Fritz Kuhn, leader of the German-American Bund, was blaring to his uniformed storm-troop-

ers and 18,000 assorted Coughlinites, Silver Shirts, and other fascist reactionaries in the Garden that "History is not written in ink, but in blood," and "That it will take more than words to answer our program."

But 50,000 workers were massed outside the Garden, storming to meet the challenge of the fascists. That demonstration, scarcely equalled in militancy in the history of New York labor, was called and led by the Socialist Workers Party.

Outside the Garden, 1,780 police, including hundreds of mounted cops, attempted unsuccessfully to smash the workers' anti-fascist de-

Our Military Policy Aims To Bar American Petain

Federal Indictment Against Us Will Not Stifle Our Criticism Of Impossibility of Fighting Fascism Under Present Officers

The indictment for "seditious conspiracy" handed down July 15 by the St. Paul federal grand jury against leaders of the Socialist Workers Party and local 544 is filled from beginning to end with charges that the defendants are guilty of trying to get members of the armed forces "to become undisciplined," "to create dissension, dissatisfaction" and to "advise, counsel, urge and cause insubordination, disloyalty, mutiny and refusal of duty by members of the military and naval forces."

Last week we showed that these charges are a distortion of our proposal for military training, financed by the government, but under the control of the trade unions.

This week we propose to show further that these charges completely distort the Socialist Workers Party proposal for the establishment of special training camps, also government-financed and union-controlled, to train workers to become officers.

The Socialist Workers Party makes no bones about its opinion of the U. S. Army officer caste. Because of their practices and training and tradition, we say, these officers cannot be trusted to carry on a successful struggle against fascism. They are much more interested in defending capitalism than in defending democracy. Their training teaches them to despise democracy and to admire the harsh barracks atmosphere that also characterizes the fascist armies and the whole fascist social system.

WE WILL NOT FORGET THE LESSON OF FRANCE

This part of our criticism of the military hierarchy was summed up by James P. Cannon, SWP National Secretary and one of the 29 defendants in the government's frameup case against our anti-war party.

Comrade Cannon said: "We will never let anything happen as it did in France. Those commanding officers from top to bottom turned out to be nothing but traitors and cowards crawling on their knees before Hitler, leaving the workers absolutely helpless. They were far more concerned to save a part of their property than to fight the fascist invader. The myth about the war of 'democracy against fascism' was exploded most shamefully and disgracefully."

"We must shout at the top of our voices that this is precisely what that gang in Washington will do because they are made of the same stuff as the French, Belgian and Norwegian bourgeoisie. The French example is the great warning that officers from the class of bourgeois democrats can lead the workers only to useless slaughter, defeat and betrayal." (Cannon's speech at the Sept., 1940 Plenum-Conference of the SWP that adopted the party's military policy — *Socialist Appeal* Oct. 12, 1940)

What facilitated the defeat of the French army was the bureaucratic philosophy on which all capitalist armies are based; that the ranks of the army must be trained to respond like machines. When the order is given to the ranks to go forward in battle even when it means sure, useless death, they must go; when the order is given to lay down their arms and submit to rule by Hitlerism, they must obey.

This is the way the American army operates too. As General O'Ryan once explained it to the readers of the magazine, *Life*: "We must get our men so that they are machines, and this can be done only as a process of training. We have to have our men trained so that the influence of fear is overpowered by the peril of an uncompromising military system, often backed up by a pistol in the hands of an officer. . . . The recruits have to put their heads into a military noose."

WHAT REALLY BREEDS DISCONTENT IN THE ARMY
What is it that really causes dissatisfaction? The police mind never sees the cause of a strike in a factory in the bad working conditions there, but always seeks to explain it in the activities of "agitators." Similarly, the police mind of the administration seeks to explain the dissatisfaction of the men in the army by the workings of agitators.

But the workers in the army—where the safety of their lives, and not just wages, are involved, and where the punishment is much greater than in a strike—know better. They are dissatisfied, not because someone comes along and tells them to be, but because of the very conditions they have to live under in the army.

The harsh discipline that makes machines of workers and destroys the initiative of the workers who have the greatest stake in defeating fascism.

The outright indifference of the officers to the welfare of the men, that results in a wanton waste of soldiers' lives in time of combat, and a consequent lack of confidence in these officers.

The court martial system that always upholds the officers and condones all their arbitrary acts.

The prohibition by the Articles of War of any representative ma-

Steel Workers Mopping Up



Striking members of the Steel Workers Organizing Committee (CIO) are shown picketing the Great Lakes Engineering Works, largest shipyard on the Great Lakes. The union, representing the 600 workers of the company, is demanding union recognition and exclusive bargaining rights. The strike was precipitated by the company when it refused to deal with the SWOC

monstration. Scores were trampled and clubbed. Workers were arrested, and were roughed up by the police in the station house. Fritz Kuhn concluded his talk by thanking "New York's finest, the police department, for the splendid protection it has given."

Dorothy Thompson — a rabid war-monger and certainly no friend of the Trotskyists — wrote

in the *New York Herald-Tribune* the morning following the Garden fascist rally:

"The entire meeting was familiar to me. I saw an exact duplicate in the Berlin Sports Palast in 1931. That meeting was also 'protected' by the police of the German Republic. Three years later the people who had been in charge

of that meeting were in charge of the government of Germany, and the German citizens against whom, in 1931, exactly the same statements had been made as were being made tonight by Mr. Kuhn, were being beaten, expropriated, and murdered."

But for all their boldness inside the hall surrounded by 1,780 armed police, the fascists slunk from the meeting like scared rats.

Wherever a fascist storm-trooper dared to appear in uniform that night, the workers took care of him in short order. Never again did the Bundists attempt such a meeting in New York City.

SWP STOPS NAZI MEETING IN LOS ANGELES

Three days later, the Bundists and their native colleagues called a similar rally in Los Angeles.

The Socialist Workers Party of Los Angeles rallied 5,000 anti-fascist workers to a counter-demonstration that forced the fascists to a hasty decision to abandon holding their meeting.

In Los Angeles, as in New York, the "democratic" police protected the fascists and attempted to smash the workers' demonstration. And here, too, as in New York, the workers fought back militantly, and drove the uniformed storm troopers to cover. The Bundists never attempted another such mobilization in Los Angeles.

In Philadelphia and Chicago, also, the SWP met the provocative challenge of the Bundists by preparing counter-mobilizations. But by this time, the fascists had learned a lesson. They called their meeting off.

Following the Madison Square Garden and Los Angeles demonstrations, the *Socialist Appeal*, February 28, 1939, warned: "Fascism is a national organized movement of scabs and thugs, which threatens the very existence of the working class."

"The lesson of the Madison Square Garden mobilization of the fascists is:

"Labor must have a counter mobilization!"

"It must immediately organize its Workers Defense Guards!"

"It must put the fear of ORGANIZED WORKERS POWER into the cowardly hearts of the Nazi hoodlums!"

"Only a fool will wait until he is in a concentration camp. The workers of Italy, Germany and Austria are sorry THEY waited."

For a few months after the Garden rally the fascists went under cover. Gradually, they came out of hiding, this time operating through the Coughlinites Christian Front.

Gangs of Christian Front hoodlums began breaking up workers' meetings, with clubs, knives and broken bottles. Several meetings of the SWP and the American Labor Party were smashed in this fashion. Salesmen of anti-fascist literature in New York City were attacked almost daily on the streets by the fascist gangs.

The Debs Labor School in N. Y. was raided and ransacked by the Coughlinites. A Jewish school-teacher was knifed by a group of Christian Fronters on the subway. Jewish women were being insulted on the streets, in full view of the police. Workers coming from union meetings were attacked.

The SWP initiated the organization of the Anti-Fascist Defense Guards. This guard, composed of young, trained workers, began to protect the meetings of the SWP.

Following this example, the Transport Workers Union organized a defense guard for the ALP meetings. On June 16, 1939, when Michael Quill, president of the TWU, addressed an ALP rally in the Bronx, the fascists attempted to break up the meeting. But the TWU members, forming a powerful defense guard, pitched into the bottle-slinging fascist hoodlums and drove them into panicked retreat.

But the "Christian Front," encouraged by the protection of the police, thousands of whom were later proved to be members of the Christian Front, kept growing and becoming more aggressive and violent.

The Christian Front, and its storm-troop contingent, the Christian Mobilizers, finally brazenly announced that they would parade from Columbus Circle to Union Square, the heart of the labor union district in New York City and the gate-way to the East Side, where hundreds of thousands of Jewish workers live.

The Nazi Bund, in its official organ, *Deutscher Wecker* and *Beobachter*, August 17, 1939, published official orders to its members to join this parade, which was scheduled for August 19.

The Socialist Workers Party was the only organization to answer this challenge. The SWP again put forth hundreds of thousands of leaflets calling for a mobilization of the workers and anti-fascists to stop this fascist attempt to invade the union district and intimidate the East Side Jewish workers.

In the face of our preparations, and knowing our success on February 20, the fascists did not dare to carry out their threat. At the last moment, on the command of Coughlin, the parade was abandoned. This had such a demoralizing effect on the Christian Front fascists, that they have never recovered their former prestige.

At the present time, the fascist movements are working mostly under cover. That they are big and powerful, however, is shown by the attendance at the meetings of Lindbergh, and others of the fascist wing of the "isolationist" crowd.

The conditions brought about by the continuation of the war and the inevitable post-war economic breakdown will present the native fascist demagogues with new opportunities. As the resistance of the workers to the war and post-war crisis increases, the whole reactionary pack of capitalists and

Arraignment Of 29 Defendants Set For Aug. 11

Carl Skoglund, Local 544-CIO Organizer, Has Bail Reduced On Deportation Charge

MINNEAPOLIS, July 28—The 29 defendants cited in the July 15 federal indictment against Local 544-CIO and Socialist Workers Party members will be arraigned here before a U.S. District Court Judge on Monday, August 11.

A request by attorneys representing the defendants for a postponement of arraignment to a later date has been refused by the U.S. District Attorney's office.

All the defendants are now out on bail.

(In New York, last Thursday, the last four defendants—James P. Cannon, National Secretary of the Socialist Workers Party; Felix Morrow, editor of *THE MILITANT*; Oscar Schoenfeld and Alfred Russell—surrendered, were fingerprinted and released on bail of \$2,500 each).

Carl Skoglund, Organizer of Local 544-CIO, was finally released from prison on bail Friday, when Department of Justice officials in Washington finally agreed to lower his bond on a deportation charge from the original figure of \$25,000 to one of \$3,500. The CIO posted this bond, and another, also for \$3,500 — the same figure paid for all 16 members of Local 544-CIO indicted along with the Socialist Workers members — on the "seditious conspiracy" indictment.

The fantastic figure of \$25,000 bail first demanded of Skoglund on the deportation charge could not be defended by the immigration bureau (now part of the Department of Justice) in the face of the facts. Skoglund, now nearing 60, came to this country at the beginning of the century from Sweden. Like so many of the Scandinavians in this area, "Skogie," working as lumberjack, miner, railroad and truck driver, didn't get around to applying for citizenship until he recently filed papers.

The local Swedish consul and various Swedish organizations have interested themselves in

their politicians will be looking for the fascist way out.

The Socialist Workers Party is preparing for that time. Today we continue to warn the workers of the menace of fascism in America. Today and tomorrow we will tell the workers, as we have in the past, "Only the Workers Anti-Fascist Defense Guards will save you from the annihilating violence of Fascism."

By outlasting us, and with us

the conception of Workers Defense Guards, the Roosevelt regime would leave the workers defenseless against the coming fascist menace.

That shall not be! Despite this indictment, and no matter what happens when we are placed on trial, we shall never abandon the task of building Workers Defense Guards. That is the only way the American workers can smash the menace of fascism in America.

Support the Defendants in the Federal Prosecution of the Socialist Workers Party

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

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

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

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

SEND YOUR CONTRIBUTIONS TO

THE CIVIL RIGHTS DEFENSE COMMITTEE
Organized on Behalf of the Defendants in the Federal Prosecution of the Socialist Workers Party
GEORGE E. NOVACK, Secretary - Treasurer
Room 809, 160 Fifth Avenue, New York City.
I enclose \$..... for your Defense Fund.
Name
Address

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

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

Fill Out This Coupon As Your Protest Against The Indictments

Russian Revolution Speeded End of World War I

Both Imperialist Camps Were Fearful Of Spread Of The Workers' Revolt

By WALTER LANG

The end of World War I was inspired and hastened by one thing above all: Revolution and the threat of revolution in every country of Europe.

By the time the war was half over, the imperialist war masters in every country were trembling in their boots, not from fear of the armies of their imperialist rivals, but in dread of their own troops and the masses on the "Home Fronts."

The first giant crack in the imposing facade of imperialist militarism came in February 1917, with the overthrow of Russian Czarism.

The first revolution was greeted by the Allies with a certain warmth. They imagined that it was a prelude to a renewed participation of the Russian masses in the war. The tsarist regime of Czarism had been replaced by a bourgeois democratic order which enabled the spokesmen of the bourgeois democracies to claim that now the war was "really" a war for "democracy."

But that isn't what the February Revolution meant to the soldiers and peoples of Europe. To them it meant the end of the war.

In the trenches and in the fleets of the warring nations, the overthrow of Czarism was the first glimmer of hope that the beginning of the end had come.

The Russian peasant soldier, Leon Trotsky writes in his *History of the Russian Revolution*, on receiving news of the Czar's abdication, began immediate preparations to pack up and go back home, explaining to his commanding officer:

"When we heard that the

Czar had abdicated, we all thought it meant that the war was over... The Czar sent us to war, and what is the use of freedom if I have to rot in the trenches again?"

EFFECT OF THE REVOLUTION ON THE FRENCH ARMY

When the French troops heard of the overthrow of the Czar, they saw in this fact the same thing as the Russian soldiers. War was coming to an end.

On April 16, 1917, the French high command ordered an offensive which resulted in the gain of three kilometers of ground and 100,000 casualties.

The troops returning to the rear from this offensive began to shout out to the civilians along the roadsides: "Long Live Peace!" "They have been assassinating us!"

When the order was given for another offensive, open mutinies broke out in one

regiment and division after another, until, in the words of Painleve, the French Minister of War, "no more than two divisions between Soissons and Paris could be absolutely relied on."

These mutinies, which began May 3, 1917, continued for over three weeks. Regiments in cantonments around Soissons and Paris seized hold of a locomotive and announced that they were going back to Paris and move on the Parliament. "Only after some violence they finally submitted," reports Painleve.

Raymond Poincare, then President of France, tells in his memoirs, that:

"Colonel Herbillon informs me of new mutinies... Men have refused to go into the trenches... Order is menaced everywhere... The fever is spreading. Symptoms of a breakdown of discipline in the army are multiplying... At Dorman a few days ago soldiers cried out: 'Viva la Revolution! Down with war!'"

MUTINIES HASTEN THE END OF THE WAR

Jean de Pierrefeu, who was connected for three years with General Headquarters, writes in his book, "French Headquarters":

"In one place a collection of mutineers had fortified a village formed a soviet, appointed a leader, and set up a sort of independent government... Their delegates imposed conditions on the officers: increase of pay, regular leave periods, and assurances that assaults should not take place before the destruction of the enemy's trenches and wire..."

"Elsewhere, a regiment equipped with motor lorries, on

Anti-War Fighters of World War I



KARL LIEBKNECHT



ROSA LUXEMBURG



EUGENE V. DEBS

Workers the world over will pay tribute on this August 4, the 27th anniversary of the start of World War I, to the memory of these three proletarian anti-war fighters and martyrs of the 1914-1918 imperialist holocaust. Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg were jailed in the Kaiser's prisons for their denunciation of the war. Released by the revolution they had inspired, they were kidnapped and murdered in 1919 by Junker officers in the service of the Social Democratic government. Eugene V. Debs was thrown into a federal penitentiary by the Wilson administration for opposing the war, and died from illness brought on by his five years behind prison bars.

which were mounted machine-guns, had been stopped in the attempt to march on Paris. They had stated their intention of going to the Palais-Bourbon and presenting their demands to Parliament. These manifestations of revolt were accompanied by seditious shouts of "Down with the war! Down with incapable leaders!" And the red flag was displayed.

"In another, the leaders of the mutinies had rigorously forbidden alcohol to their followers, in order that they should not be

taken for delirious drunkards. The mutiny was carried out in an orderly manner, as though according to exact instructions. Nowhere was any bloodshed reported... These scenes broke out in sixteen army corps, simultaneously or at short intervals."

These mutinies put an end to the talk of further offensives. For the next year the French generals were occupied with restoring "morale" in the French Army. Concessions were made to the troops; committees were established to hear complaints; 350,000 soldiers were given leaves of absence; food and warm clothing were poured out in a sudden stream for the soldiers in every sector.

At the same time, severe decrees introduced summary court-martial without a review before a civilian court and with the death penalty. Hundreds were shot — but many were saved by the pressure of the workers at home, who threatened to strike and did strike against these decrees in fraternity with the men in the army.

The sentiment of the French soldiers was summed up by one of the men before he was shot. "If they shoot me, I shall at least know why I am dying." (Michal Corday's "The Paris Front.")

THE HOME FRONT MOVES INTO BATTLE FOR PEACE

For the first time since the war began, a great May Day demonstration was held in Paris in 1917. A mass meeting attended by ten thousand workers was called by a "Committee for the Renewal of International Relations."

Paris experienced a wave of strikes, which Corday, in the "Paris Front," describes as follows: "May 26: The strikes... Great excitement at the Labor Bureau. Endless processions of laughing

women. A crowd of strikers compelled the cafes and restaurants in the Place de la Republique to shut. It was a swift move. The crowd shouted: 'Off with the aprons!' In a trice, not a single customer was left on the terrace. A deputation went in. The staff at once went on strike. The news was announced by a strike leader standing on a table. He was cheered. The shutters were rolled down with a loud noise. The whole operation took only five minutes for each cafe."

"Meanwhile the women strikers lolled on the deserted terraces with an attitude of laughing independence. It made one think of the French Revolution, with the populace overrunning the royal palaces... The newspapers are unanimous in their claim that we must suspect foreign influence in the strikes. They all demand a firm attitude."

But these same "foreign influences" were at work in every country in Europe.

As Colonel House, President Wilson's adviser, recorded in his diary on June 30, 1917: "I see evidence of all the belligerents weakening and the cracking process being actively at work."

In England, "the shock that came from Petrograd," as Lloyd George stated, resulted in a tremendous wave of strikes throughout the most vital war industries during the spring of 1917. The strikes that swept England in 1917 affected 860,727 workers. They were most acute in the munitions industry.

GERMAN ARMY UNABLE TO TAKE ADVANTAGE OF EVENTS

Here, with the mutinies in the French army, with the paralyzing strikes in the British war industries, with the breach on the East-

Mutinies In All Armies Came As Workers' Eyes Were Opened by Bolsheviks

ern Front created by the first Russian Revolution, apparently was the opportunity that the German High Command had long sought.

One well-directed offensive might have crashed through. But that offensive never came. The Kaiser dared not call for one. Until March 1918, the German High Command feared to order the troops forward.

The anti-war agitation of Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg was bearing fruit. At home, hunger and misery had become so acute that the masses of Germany were moving toward open revolt. On April 16, 1917, the German government had ordered another cut in the civilian bread rations. This was answered in Berlin by a huge demonstration, of which even the Vorwarts, the central organ of the pro-war German Social-Democratic party, said:

"...the people's strong desire for peace played the most important part in connection with the demonstration. It is evident that if the government had made any resistance the demonstration would have assumed a more serious nature than was the case."

250,000 Berlin workers went on strike against the food reductions, 125,000 munitions workers throughout Germany joined this strike protest. 10,000 workers at the German naval yards at Kiel the chief shipbuilding center downed tools.

And just outside the harbor at Kiel, the sailors of a powerful section of the German fleet were in mutiny. The crews of several ships in Squadron IV, anchored at Schillig Road, set up committees and seized control of their vessels.

This mutiny was crushed with difficulty. It roused such panic and fear in the German war leaders that they did not dare to press for a war offensive.

AMERICAN ENTRY REALLY PROLONGED THE WAR

Only in March 1918 did the German High Command finally issue an order for an offensive, and this was a last desperate move to attempt to achieve a quick victory before the intervention of the American Expeditionary Force. This offensive was a failure.

At this moment, had the United States not intervened, there is every likelihood that the soldiers in every European army would have revolted in a more decisive fashion and would have put an end to the war in their own way. The army of Austria-Hungary that, flabby empire of 60,000,000 people and half-a-dozen oppressed nationalities, had virtually ceased to participate in the war since the spring of 1917. The Emperor of Austria had tried to secure a separate peace. Strikes and revolt were flaming on the home front.

As Rose M. Stein, in her book "M-Day" declares:

"The Russian Revolution supplied the spark. Weary and bedraggled as was the Austrian Army by this time, it still showed some willingness to offer resistance to Russia as long as Russia was an autocracy and as long as that autocracy threatened to invade Austria. This attitude was changed after March 1917. No one wanted to make war on the Revolution."

The Italian Army virtually disintegrated after the battle of Caporetto in October, 1917. The bourgeois history books like to call this a "retreat." It was no retreat. The Italian soldiers, who hated the war from the beginning, simply refused to fight and scattered all over Northern Italy. It was a mutiny.

The United States Ambassador to Italy cabled the United States Department on November 2, 1917:

"...News coming of Second Army's going on strike and declaring for peace with exception of certain units that fought till extirpated... Second Army contained 27 of Italy's 60 divisions at the front... From two or three hundred thousand men abandoned arms."

THE OCTOBER REVOLUTION FRIGHTENS BOTH WAR CAMPS

But the crowning blow to the imperialist war on both sides was the victorious Bolshevik revolution of October, 1917, led by Lenin

and Trotsky. The Allied powers, who had held on to the hope that the first revolution, the bourgeois democratic revolution, would mean the continuance of Russia in the war, viewed the October Revolution as a greater menace than the German armies.

The German Kaiser and his generals turned their eyes from the Western Front to their Home Front, and shivered at the impending disaster awaiting them.

The contending imperialists fought on for another year, thanks only to American intervention, then patched up an armistice and hastened to join hands to deal with the main enemy — the workers' revolts at home and the new workers state, the Soviet Union.

But the war of the capitalist world against the Soviet Union did not succeed. Wherever the troops or fleets of the capitalist nations were sent against the Soviet Union, revolts broke out. A great mutiny occurred in 1919 in the French fleet in the Black Sea. The battleships sent to help crush the Soviet Union were taken over by the French sailors, and the French government had to agree to the fleet's withdrawal from Soviet waters.

The troops sent against the Soviet Union by the British, French, American governments, had likewise to be withdrawn. Instead of fighting the Soviet workers and peasants, these troops began to listen to the appeals of the Bolsheviks and to mutiny.

In Germany, Austria and Hungary revolutions flared up. These were suppressed by the capitalists only with the aid of the treacherous Social-Democrats and the backing of Great Britain, France and the United States.

The revolutionary masses of Europe ended the last war with their own might. But they were stopped short of their final goal — the end of all imperialist war — by the destruction of capitalist imperialism.

This war, too, will be ended by the revolutionary masses. But this time, they will not end the war just to go through the same agony two decades hence. They will carry through to the very end, to the establishment of the Socialist United States of Europe and a Socialist World.

Boss Press Didn't Give Knox's Reason For Detective Force

On July 22nd, with little debate and a minimum of publicity, the Senate appropriated one million dollars for a detective force to be placed at the personal disposal of Frank Knox, Secretary of the Navy. Knox already has available for use the Naval Intelligence Service, but this new detective force, the capitalist press reported, was aimed exclusively at "saboteurs."

Unreported in the press, however, was the following incident which took place in the Senate the day the bill was passed.

One Senator complained that the offense of sabotage was not even defined in the bill. To answer this the administration had the clerk read a letter previously written to the Senate appropriations committee by Mr. Knox. The letter made clear that the bill was not REALLY concerned with sabotage. "The primary responsibility (of the new force)," wrote Knox, "will be the determination of the PRESENCE of...Communists. The presence of such individuals leaves the navy vulnerable."

Having been put straight on the REAL anti-labor purpose behind the bill, the Senate promptly passed it. The bourgeois press obligingly kept up the fiction and reported it all as a move against "saboteurs."

Orchard Beach No. 1 Picnic, Sun., Aug. 3

On the 27th Anniversary of August 4, 1914

Eugene V. Debs Was Ready To Fight--In The Workers' Army

"I have been asked if I was opposed to all war and if I would refuse to be a soldier and to fight under any circumstances... No, I am not opposed to all wars under all circumstances, and any declaration to the contrary would disqualify me as a revolutionist. When I say I am opposed to war I mean ruling class war, for the ruling class is the only class that makes war. It matters not to me whether this war be offensive or defensive, or what other lying excuse may be invented for it, I am opposed to it..."

"If I were in Congress I would be shot before I would vote a dollar for such a war."

"Capitalist wars for capitalist conquest and capitalist plunder must be fought by the capitalists themselves so far as I am concerned, and upon that question there can be no misunderstanding as to my position."

"I have no country to fight for; my country is the earth; and I am a citizen of the world."

"I would not violate my principles for God,

much less for a crazy Kaiser, a savage Czar, a degenerate King, or a band of pot-bellied parasites."

"But while I have not a drop of blood to shed for the oppressors of the working class and the robbers of the poor, the thieves and looters, the brigands and murderers, whose debauched misrule is the crime of the ages, I have a heart-full to shed for their victims when it shall be needed in the war for their liberation."

"I am not a capitalist soldier; I am a proletarian revolutionist. I do not belong to the regular army of the plutocracy, but to the irregular army of the people..."

"I am opposed to every war but one; I am for that war with heart and soul, and that is the worldwide war of the social revolution. In that war I am prepared to fight in any way the ruling class may make it necessary, even to the barricades."

"There is where I stand and where I believe the Socialist Party stands, or ought to stand, on the question of war."

—From the "Appeal to Reason," September 11, 1915.

On the 27th Anniversary of August 4, 1914

Lenin's Manifesto Of 1915 Against The War

The indictment drawn up by the U.S. Department of Justice against us charges that the Socialist Workers Party adheres to Lenin's Bolshevik doctrine. Far from denying that charge, we proudly affirm it and redouble our efforts to educate the American workers in Lenin's great tradition.

The following anti-war manifesto was written by Lenin and was presented by the Bolsheviks and other left wing delegates to the September, 1915, International Socialist Conference at Zimmerwald, Switzerland. Despite the support of Lenin and Trotsky, as well as other delegates, the manifesto was not adopted by the Zimmerwald Conference and was, instead, issued by the Bolsheviks. It was designed as a direct appeal to the workers in all countries.—EDITOR.

PROLETARIANS OF EUROPE!

The war has now lasted for more than a year. The battlefields are strewn with millions of dead, millions have been crippled and doomed to remain a burden to themselves and to others for the rest of their lives. The war has caused terrific devastations, it will result in an unheard-of increase in taxes.

The capitalists of all countries, who at the price of proletarian blood have been reaping enormous profits during the war, demand of the masses that they strain all their efforts and hold out to the end. They say: "The war is necessary for the defense of the fatherland, it is waged in the interests of democracy." They lie! In not a single country did the capitalists start the war because the independence of their country was threatened, or because they wanted to free an oppressed people. They have led the masses to

slaughter because they want to oppress and to exploit other peoples. They were unable to agree between themselves as to how to divide the peoples of Asia and Africa that were still independent; they were lying in ambush for each other, watching for a chance to snatch from each other the spoils previously seized.

It is not for their own freedom, nor for the freedom of other peoples, that the masses are bleeding in all parts of the immense slaughterhouse called Europe. This war will bring the proletariat of Europe and the peoples of Asia and Africa new burdens and new chains.

There is, therefore, no reason why this fratricidal war should be waged to the end, to the last drop of blood; on the contrary, every effort must be strained to put an end to it.

The time for this has already come. What you must demand first, is that your Socialist Deputies, those whom you delegated to Parliament to fight against capitalism, against militarism, against the exploitation of the people, do their duty. All of them, with the exception of the Russian, Serbian, and Italian comrades, and with the exception of Comrades Liebknecht and Ruehle (of Germany), have trampled upon that duty; they have either supported the bourgeoisie in their rapacious war, or else have vacillated and have shirked responsibility. You must demand that they either resign from their seats, or that they use the platform of parliament to make clear to the people the nature of the present war, and that outside of parliament they help the working class to resume its struggle. Your first demand must be this: refusal of all war credits, withdrawal from the cabinets in France, Belgium, and England.

But that is not all! The Deputies cannot save

you from that rabid beast, the World War, that subsists on your blood. You must act yourselves. You must make use of all your organizations, of your entire press, to rouse the broadest masses groaning under the burden of the war to revolt against it. You must go out into the streets and throw into the face of the ruling classes your rallying cry: "Enough of slaughter!" Let the ruling classes remain deaf to it, the discontented masses will hear it, and they will join you and take part in the struggle.

The demand must immediately and energetically be made that the war be stopped; a loud protest must be raised against the exploitation of one people by another, against the division of any people among several states. All this will take place, if any capitalist government comes out victorious and is able to dictate the terms of peace to the others. If we allow the capitalists to conclude peace in the same manner as they started the war, without the participation of the masses, the new conquests will not only strengthen reaction and arbitrary police rule in the victorious country, but will sow the seeds of new wars, even more horrible.

The overthrow of the capitalist governments — this is the object which the working class in all belligerent countries must set themselves, because only then will an end be put to the exploitation of one people by another, an end put to wars, when capital has been deprived of the power of disposing of the life and death of peoples. Only peoples who shall be freed of want and misery, of the rule of capital, will be in a position to settle their mutual relations, not by war, but by friendly agreement.

Great is the goal we set ourselves, great are

The Negro Struggle
By ALBERT PARKER

Roosevelt Picks Six

When A. Philip Randolph and Walter White called off the July 1 March on Washington, Roosevelt issued an executive order stipulating that future contracts let by the government would contain a clause against racial employment discrimination, and announcing the formation of a five-man Committee on Fair Labor Practices as a subdivision of the Office of Production Management.

The very inclusion of the clause establishing the Fair Practices Committee was an admission that the executive order had no teeth since it made no provision for punishing employers who disregarded the new clause in their contracts.

After the Uncle Toms who condoned calling off the March had finished praising and extolling Roosevelt for his great "statesman-like" act, a behind-the-scenes struggle took place as to the composition of the five-man Committee which would "investigate" all complaints of discrimination and "recommend" punitive and corrective steps to be taken.

Exactly what took place behind the scenes has not been revealed to the Negro people whose welfare is involved. All that leaked out was that it had developed into a fight over the question: Should there be two Negroes on this Committee, or only one?

In the end, Roosevelt solved the problem by appointing six men to the five-man Committee, and among the six, two Negroes.

So that even if no Negroes have gotten jobs in industry as a result of Roosevelt's order, at least two of them have gotten posts with Roosevelt.

The Six He Picked

Picked to head the committee was one Mark F. Ethridge, a newspaper executive from the South, labeled a "Southern liberal." This is to satisfy southern sentiment, and to assure the Jim Crow sections of the Democratic Party that they will not be discriminated against.

The two Negroes are Earl B. Dickerson, Chicago alderman and a member of the Board of Directors of the NAACP, which endorsed the March on Washington when it was being organized and endorsed its being called off when Roosevelt made the request; and Milton P. Webster, vice-president of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, of which Randolph is president.

Selected as representatives of organized labor were Philip Murray, head of the CIO which practices equality in admission and treatment of membership; and to compensate for him there was added William Green, president of the AFL which refuses to do anything about the many affiliated international craft unions which bar Negroes from membership or admit them only to Jim Crow locals.

Representing business and industry is David Sarnoff, president of RCA, and with regard to industry and the Negro, Sarnoff certainly represents it in this case, for his own company hires practically no Negroes, with the exception of a few Negro salesmen and porters.

One thing these six men have in common: they are political supporters of the Roosevelt administration and its war program.

The Committee does not have any real powers. Its job is to investigate what everybody of high school age knows, and to recommend corrective steps to a man who has shown that he doesn't want to take them.

How the Committee Will Work

The word "runaround" has always neatly summed up Roosevelt's handling of the demand of the Negro people for equality.

Runaround is also the description of the machinery adopted by the Fair Practices Committee for the carrying out of its work. The set-up is as follows:

1. Any complaint of racial discrimination is to be reported to the local office of the state employment service. A field worker will be directed to ascertain the facts of the case from the sides of both applicant and employer.
2. In the event the field worker finds that the employer is at fault, "he will be informed of the President's executive order and immediate adjustment will be sought."
3. "Failure to reach a solution through these preliminary efforts will result in a referral of the case" to the office of the chairman of the state labor supply bureau of the Division of Labor Supply, OPM.
4. "If satisfaction is not then obtained, the entire case is to be referred to Washington for the consideration of and adjudication" by the Fair Practices Committee.

This is all of the process reported by the Chicago Defender. Of course, it does not stop there. After the Fair Practices Committee considers and tries to adjudicate the case, and fails, the case goes before the arch-hypocrite responsible for all this rigamarole.

Negroes who want job equality and who pin their faith to Roosevelt and his Committee, had better be prepared to live to a ripe old age before anything is done.

As always, the struggle for Negro rights continues to require mass action and mistrust in all promises, whether they come from white Jim Crow politicians or Negro Uncle Tom stooges for those politicians.

On The 27th Anniversary of August 4, 1914

The "Socialist" Warmongers

Stalinists of 1941 Continue Treacherous Traditions of 1914 'Socialists'

By GEORGE BREITMAN

August 4th is the 27th anniversary of the beginning of World War I. It is also the 27th anniversary of another dreadful event—the vote of the German Social Democratic Party's deputies in the Reichstag in favor of the war, followed by similar pro-war votes by the French Socialist Party, the British Labor Party, the Social-Democratic Party of Austro-Hungary, the pro-war Mensheviks of Russia.

The reformist and class-collaboration policies carried out by the leaders of these parties in peace-time thus produced a policy of supporting the war of "their" capitalists.

The "socialist" warmongers, by providing "good" reasons for workers to support the imperialist war, were helpful servants of the capitalists in World War I.

With the change of only a few words in their slogans, they or their sons and younger brothers are performing the same Judas functions for the imperialists today in World War II.

In 1914 it was the parties of the Second International — socialists in words in peace time, recruiting sergeants in action for the imperialists in war time, who played the main role in rounding up the workers for the slaughter.

In 1941 the Second International repeats its inglorious traditions of 1914-18 but the parties of the Third International are challenging it for supremacy in the field of war-mongering.

Today capitalism has even less to offer the workers than in 1914. The decay of the system which can produce only war, fascism and unemployment has reached the stage where all can see and feel its degeneration.

"SOCIALIST" WAR SLOGANS HAVEN'T IMPROVED WITH TIME

If the times have changed for the worse, so have the slogans and pretenses. As World War II is the extension of World War I on a wider and bloodier scale, so the arguments of the "socialist" warmongers of today are the extension of their arguments of 1914 on a lower and dirtier scale.

In 1914 the "socialist" leaders on each side of the imperialist war supported their "own" capitalists. Their organizations had grown big, they had many members and newspapers and jobs. In the course of the years leading up to 1914 they had become opportunists.

The capitalists were willing to tolerate them as long as they would remain only a party of opposition — opposition, that is, within the framework of private property and profit. But in time of war, the capitalists need more than friendly opposition, they need "national unity," that is, the assurance that the working class will unprotestingly play its role of providing the munitions of war in the factories and the cannon fodder on the battlefields.

Any party that tries to convince the workers that they have nothing to gain from imperialist wars and organizes the workers to put an end to the war and the system that creates the war, will meet the full fury of boss persecution, frameup and suppression. The "socialist" leaders, grown soft, did not want, by opposing the war, to jeopardize the gains they had made for themselves.

Therefore they would not go before the workers and say the truth:

"This is an imperialist war. It is a war for the benefit of the employers and the monopolies. They are asking us to go to war to gain or protect foreign markets and colonies and sources of raw materials for them to exploit." If the "socialist" leaders had said this, the workers would have answered: "Very well, we must fight against this war, and you, our leaders, must lead us in this fight."

The "socialist" warmongers cooked up slogans to justify their position.

In France, Russia and the allied countries they said, "This is a war against Kaiserism, which represents everything reactionary and anti-labor. Kaiserism must be destroyed before the workers of the world can go ahead to socialism."

In Germany and Austria they said: "This is a war against Czarism, which represents everything reactionary and anti-labor. Czarism must be destroyed before the workers of the world can go ahead to socialism."

The bosses, whom the workers had to fight every day for an extra crust of bread, would have had great difficulty in selling this line to the workers. Only the "socialist" leaders could do this for the bosses. In the name of a war for democracy, the "socialist" leaders drove the workers out

of the struggle for socialism until their own imperialists had won the war now told them to postpone it again.

In Russia, the "socialist" warmongers not only told the workers and peasants to postpone the establishment of a workers' government that would put an end to the war, but also fought side by side with the capitalists to prevent or overthrow the workers' government of Lenin and Trotsky. In Germany they did the same.

The difference was that in Russia there existed a Marxist workers party, the Bolsheviks which had grown up in struggle against the opportunism and war mongering of the "socialists," and in Germany there was no such strong, experienced party. As a result, the socialists, Noske and Scheidemann, were able to help put down the German revolution while the Mensheviks were unable to hold back the Russian Revolution, which proceeded at once to stop the war.

When we look back now at the slogans of the first World War, we can see what dangerous lies they were. For the "war for democracy" led straight to fascism. The suspension of the class struggle by the German "socialist" leaders brought in at home a regime as reactionary and anti-labor as Czarism had ever been. In the name of democracy, the German "socialist" betrayers had

urged postponement of the fight for socialism, then they fought against the socialist revolution and murdered its leaders and thus they saved the capitalist system which was to destroy all democracy in Germany.

So in the end these "socialists" whose opportunist support of the war had been based on their desire to preserve their institutions, newspapers, labor banks and buildings, lived to see them all taken away, not by a foreign invader, but by that same capitalist class whose war they had supported and whose system they had saved.

STALINISTS ARE NOW MOST USEFUL WAR-MONGERS

Although the Stalinists are shouting many of the same slogans as the "socialists" at this particular stage of the war, their warmongering cannot be explained in the same manner as that of their brothers of the Second International.

They too were whooping it up for the war in Britain and the United States, and they too are rendering service to the imperialists in these countries. But their allegiance to the imperialist cause is for the benefit of the Stalinist bureaucracy.

In this way alone can one understand the shifts in Stalinist slogans. Two months ago their main emphasis in the democratic capitalist countries was against the war; that is, silence about fascism, and a policy of isolationism. Today the total emphasis is on the slogan against fascism: that is, support of the war and a policy of intervention. In Germany they made a shift too, but in the opposite direction. In each case the slogans raised were calculated to help Stalin and his foreign policy.

For obvious tactical reasons the Stalinists present their slogans as dictated by the American national interests. Yesterday, for example, they said "Defend American democracy by keeping out of the war." Today they say, "Defend America by aiding the Soviet Union and Britain." In each case they really mean to defend Stalin's interests by whatever policy they think will help him at the moment.

SUPPORTING IMPERIALISTS DOESN'T AID THE SOVIET UNION

The Stalinists justify their warmongering by pointing to the need for defending the Soviet Union, a factor which did not exist in World War I. And certainly the Soviet Union, still a workers' state despite its degeneration under Stalinism and therefore still a threat and challenge to the capitalist world, must be defended. The question is how.

Created by a proletarian revolution, the Soviet Union was able to withstand the combined civil wars and imperialist interventions of 1918-21 by carrying on a revolutionary war and seeking to extend the October revolution. This was Lenin's and Trotsky's method of defending the Soviet Union!

Stalin, on the other hand, has pursued a policy of winning alliances and the "good will" of various imperialist powers. The price he pays for these alliances is nothing less than the chaining of the working class in the capitalist countries to the imperialist war machines. This is Stalin's method of defending the Soviet Union!

The Stalinists, by following this policy, not only don't defend the Soviet Union, but contribute to its weakness and isolation. By subordinating the interests of the world working class to the defense of the interests of the Kremlin bureaucracy, they betray not only the world revolution but the defense of the Soviet Union as well.

Thus, though their motivations may superficially appear more revolutionary than that of the "socialist" warmongers, the Stalinists serve the interests of world imperialism.

As long as capitalism remains in power, the warmongers of the Second and Third Internationals will continue to enjoy a certain amount of influence. But once the workers' anti-war sentiments turn them in the direction of wiping out the system that creates war, the "socialist" and Stalinist warmongers will be swept away with all the other chaff, rubbish and treachery that constitute the by-products of capitalism.

Social Democrats Come To The Aid Of Imperialism

By JACK WEBER

The most vicious of all war mongers have been and are the Social Democrats, and more particularly the emigre section.

In the period preceding the second World War, while Blum was still in the cabinet in France, there was a division in the ranks of the Second International between those who had already been driven out of power and into exile, and those who still served the bourgeoisie in official posts at home. The defeat of France ended this rift and united all the ousted ones in the holy cause of "anti-Hitlerism." No longer was there a group interested primarily in maintaining the status quo for the sole purpose of holding on to their jobs. Now all became united in clamoring for American intervention to restore a past that has disappeared forever.

The worst case of all (if there can be a worst among such a wholly miserable crew) is that of Willi Schlamm now of the *New Leader*. This political clown, whose career has rung all the variegated hues and changes from right to left and back again, literally foams at the mouth in his eagerness to see the United States jump into the war. In his book on the "Second War of Independence" he winds up by advocating that all those who oppose American entry into the war be placed in American concentration camps!

They Fear the European Proletariat

What, then, is the outlook of these social-patriots for the future? Surely they must have a worthwhile program for which men would be willing to fight to the death! Sad to tell, with all their mouthing of phrases in favor of democracy (capitalist style), every word they utter shows only complete consternation and fear in face of the future. These great "realists," who look upon us as Utopians, demand not only intervention by Roosevelt against Hitler, but also against the working class of Europe after the defeat of Hitler! Their fear of the revolution is coated by moral talk against the policies of revenge that the masses will pursue upon the downfall of fascism.

Schlamm calls for the future policing of Europe by American imperialism, no less. Here is what he says in the July 26th issue of the *New Leader*:

"Before I can admit any chance for any kind of sane post-war reconstruction, I want to see NICE, SOBER, WELL-BALANCED COPS (his emphasis) all over Europe—the type of cops you can meet in New York and London. Friendly, humorous, unhysterical officers (a breed only the Anglo-Saxon nations have so far succeeded in producing) to whom anyone can turn with full confidence that the well-built chap will reliably wrest the gun from the hands of the madman who is waiting for you around the corner. Provocative as it sounds, and unpopular as it is—not before this sort of police has the continent under control (and for quite a time) will the world have any chance to talk sense with Europe."

We do not quote Schlamm because he is exceptional in any way. He truly represents the Second International. Only he blurts things out in a crude and unpolished manner. The other Mensheviks learned the value of stating their politics in well-rounded idealistic phrases. But their outlook is no whit different. When they speak of a new League of Nations under capitalism, all they mean is a world dominated and policed by Anglo-American imperialism. And when they come down to cases, they must admit as much.

They Are Lackeys of Imperialism

But what then is the meaning of their "ideological" struggle, the struggle for democracy? Clearly they mean bourgeois democracy, the kind of democracy that distrusts the masses and keeps real power in the hands of the ruling minority. Without a capitalist ruling class to whom these wretches can sell their services, they can see no future. If the United States does not take over Europe after the war, then the Schlammes see nothing but blackness and chaos. Soviets, a Soviet United States of Europe? They call Utopian this, the only policy that can really save not only Europe but all civilization.

These reactionary bankrupts reveal their counter-revolutionary role in advance. If Hitler is overthrown, whom do the Schlammes then fear? Would not the European workers come to life at once and attempt to establish a working-class regime? Yes, and the Schlammes fear the workers as much as they fear Hitler. The Schlammes have long since lost all sense of class distinctions. They identify the proletarian revolution with Stalinist totalitarianism, Bolshevism with Stalinism. Fascism and Bolshevism are all one to these cretins who still call on the bourgeois state for help despite all the experience of the past.

But, truth to tell, this type of confusion merely expresses their paralyzing fear of the working class. In advance they ask Roosevelt to take steps to crush any attempts at revolt on the part of the European working class. But how will Roosevelt gain control of Europe as against the workers? He must use the armed forces of the United States, consisting for the most part of workers. Schlamm forgets the lessons of the last war, the lessons of the attempts at intervention against the Russian October Revolution. We must remind the Schlammes of the experience of the American troops in Murmansk and in Siberia.

Auto Union Convention Will Hear John L. Lewis

(Continued from page 1)

not be said, however, for Addes and his group.

Literally on every important union question that has arisen inside the UAW in the past year, the Addes group all voted solidly with the Hillman men on the UAW International Executive Board. The Board voted unanimously not to call the GM strike, and endorsed acceptance of the GM contract without the shop steward system against the express instructions of the GM delegated conference. The Board voted unanimously to call off the Ford strike before the union secured a signed contract with the company.

The Board likewise voted unanimously to approve the strike-breaking actions of Frankenstein in the North American situation. This means the Board approved the dictatorial Homer Martin policy of removing without trial a local union leadership and appointing administrators over the membership. This means the Board approved Frankenstein's public denunciation of a wholly justified strike. This means the Board approved Frankenstein's infamous statements welcoming the strike-breaking actions of the army and the Roosevelt administration.

ROLE OF THE STALINISTS

Tagging along behind the Addes group until very recently was the Communist Party bloc. Throughout the period of the Stalin-Hitler pact, the Stalinists pretended to be the sterling militants of the union. They opposed the Reuther-Thomas reactionary red-baiting campaign. They opposed the policy of subservience to the National Mediation Board and the war machine. They were active in the organization of the aircraft workers on the West Coast. They denounced Frankenstein for his strike-breaking activity. They appealed to every local union to denounce Frankenstein and his policy and to uphold the North American aircraft workers.

But now, with the new switch of their party line, the Stalinists have abandoned the North American aircraft workers cold. They will not fight out the decisive issues of this battle at the coming convention; they have already reversed their two-year-old campaign and are proceeding to grovel and crawl before the Thomas-Reuther group, having openly come out for Thomas' reelection. In short, the Stalinists today are back to the days of the People's Front in full support of the Roosevelt war machine.

UNION'S GREAT GAINS

The Buffalo convention meets in a period of storm. Great events

are in the offing in both the UAW and the CIO. What a contrast with the period of the St. Louis convention of a year ago!

At that time the UAW was marking time. The UAW had conducted that year two major strikes: the tool and die strike at General Motors and the 55-day strike at Chrysler. Both strikes had achieved no real gains for the workers. The union membership appeared to be demoralized. Shortly after the convention, the UAW had renewed some of its major contracts, the Chrysler, Hudson and a number of other corporations. The contracts provided for miserable two-cent increases in the face of sharply rising living costs. The membership, seemingly apathetic and tired, accepted the contracts without protest. The UAW was temporarily in a blind alley.

The Weisenheimers of the capitalist press began to wag their heads and observed sagely that the "punch" had gone out of the auto workers and that the union was at last on the road towards "stabilization."

But the auto workers finally caught up with the war drive. The first explosion came from the lowest paid and most-exploited section of the union membership, the aircraft workers. The Vultee strike came like a flash, and the militancy it engendered swept through the entire union membership like a prairie fire.

The fight was on and before the smoke of battle cleared, the greatest fortress of the open shop, Ford, was conquered. The aircraft drive, involving some half million young workers began churning. General Motors, Chrysler, and almost every major automobile and parts manufacturer, were forced to grant sizeable wage increases.

UAW FACES WAR DRIVE

Since the Wall Street-Roosevelt war drive must be financed at the expense of the workers, it was inevitable that the economic struggles of the auto workers should collide head-on with the forces of the Administration. The militancy of the workers smashed all obstacles in the union's path in the preliminary phase of the strike struggles.

But the Roosevelt administration, quickly realizing that it could not wholly rely on the top union leadership to curb the rank and file, revised its strategy and met the union forces head-on at the North American aircraft strike. Within the velvet glove of the National Defense Mediation Board was the iron fist of the

capitalist army. The strike was crushed and temporarily the great strike wave was stopped.

Since the North American strike, it has become extremely difficult to wage a major strike; the National Mediation Board has taken on the powers of a semi-compulsory body.

The labor movement has been maneuvered into this predicament not because it was defeated in battle by a superior power, or because it has been confronted with a force larger and stronger than its own. Labor's dilemma flows chiefly from the fact that at least half of its top leadership, like Hillman, Thomas, Reuther and Frankenstein, have sold out to the Wall Street war machine.

MILITANT LEADERSHIP NEEDED

The present position of the auto union, coupled with the existing mood of the auto workers, cries out for a new leadership which will lead the union out of the existing impasse. A recognized leadership possessing authority and prestige such as the Addes group possesses, could easily win the auto membership to its banner if it announced a clear militant program, courageously fought for it, and showed the auto workers in practical terms how an Addes leadership would operate in contrast to the Reuther-Thomas group.

So far, however, most of the effort and energies of the Addes group has gone into the game of horsetrading votes, competing for union posts, etc.

The class-conscious militants in the auto union today, the best men who have come out of the strike struggles of the past five years, are now bending their efforts to rally support for a realistic program which corresponds to the real needs of the auto workers today, the only program that will allow the union to move forward.

They ask that the union break completely from the Roosevelt administration, cut loose from the whole apparatus of the war machine, the NDMB and the OPM, and proceed to set up the independent political voice of labor, a National Labor Party, which will fight against the warmakers and the attempt to fasten the cost of the war on the backs of the workers.

They ask that the CIO fight for a policy of militant action to preserve the complete independence of the trade-union movement, so that the auto workers, in common with the rest of organized labor, can move forward in spite of Roosevelt's war machine.

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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.

Senator Wheeler's Case

We hold no brief for the policies of Senator Burton K. Wheeler, whose "isolationist" program offers no fundamental alternative to Roosevelt's war-mongering, because both start from a common basis—the promotion of the interests of American imperialism.

Nevertheless Wheeler has proved conclusively his case that he is the victim of an attempted smear campaign and frameup by the Roosevelt-Stimson administration, a frameup designed, as Wheeler says, "to silence all those who oppose and fight our entry into the war."

On July 24 Secretary of War Stimson charged that Wheeler, by circulating postcards calling on the recipients to send letters to the president and Congress expressing their opposition to American entry into the war, some of which reached soldiers, had come "very near the line of subversive activities against the United States, if not treason."

Stimson linked up Wheeler's mailing of the cards to a statement by General Marshall that members of the armed forces were being incited by "subversive" forces to protest against the extension of the terms of service.

The next day Roosevelt told his press conference that he fully endorsed the statement of Stimson and that he agreed with the editorials in the New York Times and the New York Herald Tribune that "Mr. Wheeler Goes Too Far" and that he was "On Dangerous Ground."

Wheeler took the floor of the Senate on July 28 to answer these charges. He so clearly proved his innocence and demonstrated the frameup intent of his accusers that not a single defender of the administration dared to stand up and try to justify the Roosevelt-Stimson statements.

Wheeler told how he had had a million postcards printed, containing excerpts from the Congressional Record of speeches made by Roosevelt, Hoover, Lindbergh, Nye and himself, and had used "a commercial list" of names to mail them, the same list that had been used recently by one of the Allied governments for the dissemination of its propaganda. Of these million cards, only three had reached men in the armed forces so far, and yet it

was on the basis of these three cards that he had been accused of action "near treason."

Wheeler then went on to prove by the facts that the mailing of the cards had had nothing to do with the administration's proposal to extend the draftees' term of service. For he had prepared the cards early in May, and most of the cards, as the administration knew very well, were in the mails by July 1, two days before General Marshall presented the request for extensions, and almost three weeks before Roosevelt formally asked for such legislation.

Wheeler not only proved his case, but he also showed to the world the lengths to which Roosevelt will go in his efforts to destroy and discredit every organized opposition to his drive toward war.

When Roosevelt resorts to such measures against a Senator Wheeler in what is essentially a capitalist family quarrel—for Wheeler, while he disagrees with Roosevelt's specific methods, fully subscribes to the basic aims of American imperialism—one can better understand to what lengths Roosevelt is prepared to go against the Socialist Workers Party, which not only opposes each concrete war step he takes, but seeks the organization of the masses for the establishment of a Workers and Farmers Government to put an end for all time to the system of imperialism, war and fascism.

Even before he declares war, Roosevelt seeks to frameup, slander and smear all those who speak out against him. It is part of his drive to confuse and intimidate the 79 per cent of the American people who continue to oppose entry into the war.

The frameup indictment and trial of the Socialist Workers Party for "seditious conspiracy" are constituent parts of this whole pattern of Roosevelt's strategy. Against our Anti-War Party Roosevelt has gone further than a smear campaign because Roosevelt knows that we shall oppose him as much after war is declared as before.

Every frameup of this kind is a blow against the anti-war struggle. That is why all those who seriously want to oppose the war must now come to the defense of the Socialist Workers Party and the 29 defendants.

Supporting Imperialists Is No Aid to the USSR

Last Saturday, in a speech at Los Angeles, William Z. Foster put the finishing touches to the Stalinist change in line from a "fight for peace" to all-out warmongering:

"To the question of how far we should go in the struggle against Hitler, the answer must be an emphatic—all the way.

"There can be no temporizing, half-hearted measures. The United States must throw everything into the struggle—munitions, funds, and when needed, also men."

No more half-hearted measures, Zigzag Foster tells the warmonger Roosevelt. Don't let anything hold up the raising of war funds (the taxation program that lays ever heavier burdens on the backs of the masses) and the uninterrupted production of munitions (uninterrupted by worker's demands).

And "when needed, also men." The Stalinists are giving their full support to Roosevelt to snuff out the lives of hundreds of thousands of young workers who want no part of the imperialist war.

Stalin, afraid to carry on a revolutionary war aimed at arousing the European masses to overthrow their capitalist masters, depends primarily on the aid of the "democratic" imperialists.

But the democratic imperialists, while they are perfectly willing to see the Red Army wear down the forces of the Nazis, have no desire to see a victory of the Soviet Union.

Plenty of evidence to this effect is offered by the Stalinists themselves. The *Daily Worker's* military expert, analyzing the military operations of the British since the outbreak of the Nazi-Soviet war, comes to the conclusion that the British imperialists' "idea might be to see the Soviet Union win the war with one division left" (*Sunday Worker*, July 13.) This was an admission that the democratic imperialists do not desire a victory for the Soviet Union. If the Red Army "won" and was left with but one division, the "democracies" would march into the Soviet Union and destroy the Worker's State.

A United Press dispatch in the *Times* (July 26) stated:

"Russia was represented... as dissatisfied with the extent of British material and with British reluctance, to send an expeditionary force back to the Continent... Soviet quarters were also said to be expressing disappointment over objections raised in the British press and elsewhere against undertaking land operations on the Continent for a heavy blow at Germany in the West... They evidently believe that, even though it would involve obviously heavy risks, a British landing on the Continent would create a diversion on the Eastern Russian front that might be decisive for the course of this war."

The American imperialist viewpoint is expressed in the Washington Kiplinger letter to businessmen, dated June 28:

"Will the U.S. aid Russia? On the record, yes. By gestures, yes. By backing up British aid to Russia, yes. But actually, effectively, NO."

By supporting the imperialists, the Stalinists do not aid the Soviet Union. On the contrary, by tying the hands of the American workers, and chaining them to the capitalist war machine, the Stalinists weaken the only force in this country that has a real stake in defending the Soviet Union.

On The War Fronts

Japan's Next Southward Move Would Bring War

Roosevelt Drops 'Appeasement' and Throws Down Gage of Battle; War in the Pacific Would Be Nakedly Imperialist Conflict

By GEORGE STERN

American imperialism is now on the offensive in the Pacific against Japan. It is still limited to an economic offensive but the implication is unmistakable: unless Japan backs water, the Roosevelt administration is ready to follow its economic sanctions with military force. Britain and the Dutch East Indies stand ready obediently to follow Roosevelt's lead.

Roosevelt's move coming as a response to Japanese occupation of French Indo-China by "agreement" with Vichy, consisted of the freezing of all Japanese assets in this country. Establishment of control of Japanese dollar balances here automatically places a noose around American-Japanese trade. This was followed by the warlike move of placing the military forces of the Philippines under direct U. S. control, with the appointment of General MacArthur as American military chief in the Far East.

At a press conference, the president explained with cynical candor that the U. S. had been selling oil and vital metals to Japan for two years—sales which represented hundreds of thousands of mangled Chinese bodies—made deliberately to postpone a U. S. reckoning with Japan in the Pacific.

ROOSEVELT NOW READY

Now, apparently, Roosevelt believes the time for the reckoning is at hand. He is directly challenging Japanese imperialism, chief rival of U. S. imperialism in the Pacific—and here the issue is totally unclouded: it is a bare and unshamed contest for control of the wealth of Asia, the wealth of the Indies and power and position of dominance over the billion people who inhabit that part of the world.

Roosevelt's shift from "appeasement" at this particular time derives from several factors. Hitler's attack on the Soviet Union left hapless Japanese diplomacy once more out on a limb of isolation. Just when Matsuo had rubbed his hands with pleasure over the neat (for Japan) consummation of the pact with Moscow as a complement to the pact with the Axis—leaving Japan free for southern action—Hitler attacked the Soviet Union. Between Japan and its German ally there now stretch six thousand miles of hostile territory. A link to Hitler's "new

order" has abruptly become transformed into a sizeable obstacle.

JAPAN SURELY WEAKENED

Moreover, it is plain that, whatever the outcome of the Nazi-Soviet war, Japan's position will be perilously weakened. A Soviet victory would mean the total collapse of Japanese imperialist ambitions. A Nazi victory would bring Hitler that much nearer to Japan's coveted "sphere" of Greater Asia.

This has introduced an agony of indecision in Japan. Matsuo has been dropped. The strong showing of the Red Army has discouraged any immediate attempt to profit from the war in the west to attack Siberia. The Japanese moved—because they had to move somehow, somewhere—along the line of least resistance, into French Indo-China.

But this move is correctly interpreted in London and Washington as fresh preparation for future Japanese incursions southward—into Malaya and toward the Philippines and the Indies. Roosevelt, who appears confident now that the eastern front will prevent Hitler from trying to blitz England this year, apparently decided he could now safely draw a chalk line for his Tokyo friends and dare them to step over it. He has done so with his economic sanctions. What is to follow depends largely upon whether the Japanese decide to call his bluff.

For the Japanese face strangulation. They are dependent upon the U. S. market now to a greater extent than

ever before. Without American oil, their military machine will bog down, their industrial wheels will cease to turn. Japan must either retreat or take the plunge—and either way it approaches disaster.

"ISOLATIONISTS" BACK ROOSEVELT

The problem of dealing with Japanese expansionism has been ever-present and even uppermost in Washington minds. It is a path Roosevelt can follow with little or no objection from the "isolationists" in Congress. The latter, in large part, have premised their entire stand upon the argument that American "interests" lie in the Pacific, not in the Atlantic. Any Roosevelt move in the Pacific will have their blessing.

But let us be quite clear on what this move means. Maybe some people can be fooled into believing that the war against Hitler, as waged by our bosses, is a "holy war" against Fascist tyranny. Maybe there is the possibility of a Nazi attack on the Western hemisphere, they may say.

But nobody seriously argues any possibility of a Japanese attack on this country. For Roosevelt to implement his present program, means sending U. S. forces across six thousand miles of water to "defend" not the Chinese people but the basic imperialist interests of American capitalism expressed in control of Asiatic raw materials and Asiatic markets.

And the "isolationists" who throw up their hands in horror at U. S. advances in Europe will gladly wish him godspeed. They were all silent in the Senate when Gen. MacArthur's appointment was confirmed.

In Washington the grim decision about the Far Eastern situation has already been made. In Tokyo the generals and the diplomats have their decision to make now.

Between the two, the Japanese and American peoples face war, war for imperialist plunder, a war which will in no way benefit either the Japanese or American masses.

Expelled YCL Member Writes To His Friends

Dear Comrades:

July 23, 1941

I was expelled from the Young Communist League for associating with Trotskyists. I am not the first case, nor shall I be the last. The constitution of the YCL specifically states that anyone associating with a Trotskyist should be expelled. Comrades, do you understand the implications of this clause? It is an indication of the weakness of the Communist party to stand up on its own arguments.

Such restrictions are not new. They have been used before, and are still used by every reactionary. When science was blazing a trail, the Catholic church condemned associating with the heretics. Capitalism today in the name of Fascism burns books contrary to their philosophy. So the CP and the YCL expels anyone who associates with Trotskyists.

Did you ever try asking at your meetings why that clause exists? At my trial I did just that, and I received my answer—expulsion. There is one item of the trial which bears hopeful indications. When the call came for a vote of expulsion, seven members voted for expulsion and five voted against. It appears that there are members in the YCL that still think in spite of the terroristic methods of the leaders, in spite of the threat of expulsion, and in spite of the other threats and name calling. It is to them that I address this message in the hope that it will arouse them and start them on the search for truth.

Afer my expulsion, I went home and read Stalin's speech of victory, and I received a still greater shock. One would expect the leader of a workers' state to mention a fact that stares every Marxist in the face today, namely, the struggle for Socialism in the other countries. Yet in the entire speech of Stalin the word Socialism is not once mentioned, or even hinted. Allow me to quote an example.

"Our war for the freedom of our country will merge with the struggle of the peoples of Europe and America for their independence, for democratic liberties."

Note that there is no mention of the struggle for Socialism. It appears that Stalin is not interested in extending Socialism further than the borders of the USSR. In the same speech, Churchill is lauded as a destroyer of Fascism. Could it be that Churchill has suddenly repented and is no longer interested in imperialism? Could it be that Churchill, seeing the Soviet Union in danger, has decided to wipe out Fascism for the benefit of the toilers of the world? Did not the party tell us that Churchill only yesterday was an imperialist and was not interested in destroying Fascism, but was just punishing his bad little boy Hitler? Yet today Churchill is lauded by Stalin!

"Ah," the Stalinist would say, "the Soviet Union is under attack and full measures should be employed to ensure its victory."

"Right," is the Trotskyist reply, "the Soviet Union has the right as a country to enlist the aid of any other country in its struggles in a war. BUT Stalin has no right to deceive the people of that country, struggling against Capitalism, by telling them to no longer battle for Socialism, but to join arm in arm with their oppressors and allow themselves to be exploited. The only ones really interested in the defense of the Soviet Union are the workers of the world."

Thus a real defense of the USSR is the struggle of this class. To this the party can give only one answer—silence, expulsion.

Another reason for joining the Socialist Workers Party is the Peoples Front movement. My particular branch of the YCL formed an A. P. M. volunteer group. I questioned them as to the advisability of the move, but the branch could not supply the answer. I decided to look into the matter myself, and meanwhile helped organize the group. I was elected president of the group. I participated in several meetings, meanwhile studying the question of the Peoples Front. I read Dimitroff for the pro, and I read Trotsky for the con. Even at that time, when I was a Stalinist, I could not answer Trotsky's very pertinent questions. At a meeting I questioned the group. They could not answer me. I then said that I would not participate in the A. P. M. any further until I could be supplied with the answer. I got no answer. Comrades, read Trotsky's writings on the Peoples Front and see if you can refute his arguments.

When finally I joined the Socialist Workers Party, the difference was immediately felt. It was as day compared to night. Comrades, you owe it to your own honesty of thought to look into the position of the Trotskyists. Don't let the leaders of the party intimidate you to its position by terror. Read THE MILITANT and the FOURTH INTERNATIONAL, organs of the Socialist Workers Party. Bring your criticisms to the Trotskyists; and we are willing to discuss them with you.

Your Fellow Comrade
WILLIE MILLER
formerly of Club Action, Y.C.L.

Where We Stand

By Albert Goldman

We Must Not Cease Fighting Stalinism

Our party subordinates the struggle against the Stalinist bureaucracy to the struggle against German imperialism. This is the general formulation by which we indicate our contention that the main task is to prevent Hitler from destroying the Soviet Union, from destroying the nationalized property and restoring the capitalist system.

The question that many are anxious to have answered is: in what way do we subordinate the struggle against Stalin? And there undoubtedly are many workers who dislike the methods used by Stalin but whose justifiable fear of a Hitler victory over the Soviet Union is so great that they become impatient with any criticism of Stalin at the present time. Their attitude is somewhat as follows: Forget about Stalin now; wait until Hitler is defeated and then you can continue the struggle against Stalin. In other words these workers would like us not merely to subordinate but to eliminate altogether the struggle against Stalinism.

To show how wrong such an attitude is, it is only necessary to picture the situation if the Stalinist bureaucracy were overthrown at the present time by a workers' revolution. Such an occurrence would lead to the immediate restoration of the Soviets and that would mean the mobilization of the efforts of tens of millions of workers, soldiers and peasants. At the present time the workers and peasants have no organizations through which they can exert their own efforts. Everything is handed down to them from above. The obstinate resistance of the Red Army shows that the Russian people understand the meaning of a Hitler victory and are determined to fight to the death. But their enthusiasm, their self-sacrifice and their initiative can be harnessed adequately only through democratically-elected Soviets where their representatives would have full freedom to formulate, discuss and criticize.

A victory of the workers against the Stalinist bureaucracy would release the tens of thousands of able and loyal revolutionists from the prisons and concentration camps of the GPU. It could not bring back to life the tens of thousands slain by the Kremlin fiend, but those who are alive could take their rightful place in army and in industry and constitute a tremendous aid in the struggle against Hitler.

The overthrow of the Stalinist bureaucracy would result, if it were not preceded by, the creation of a Bolshevik party that would guide the struggle against Hitler in the same way that the party of Lenin and Trotsky successfully led the struggle against the White Guard and imperialist forces in the Civil War. The struggle against Hitler would be carried on in a revolutionary manner, giving the workers of Germany and the workers of the whole world a revolutionary goal. Consistent revolutionary propaganda would inevitably result in the disintegration of Hitler's armies. The slaves of Hitler would begin to feel assured that a defeat of Hitler would not mean a victory of British and American imperialism but a Socialist United States of Europe.

In a word a victory of the workers and peasants against the Stalinist bureaucracy would mean the revival of the spirit of 1917 and would assure victory against Hitler. In the last analysis, therefore, the struggle against Stalin must be continued as a method of defending the Soviet Union. He who wants to forget and eliminate that struggle actually weakens the Soviet Union.

We Are the Best Defenders of the USSR

Granted that the overthrow of the Stalinist bureaucracy would be of tremendous aid in the victory of the Soviet Union, does not the struggle against Stalinism interfere with the struggle against Hitler? And surely any attempt to overthrow the Stalinist bureaucracy would leave the door wide open for a Hitler victory. These are the arguments most frequently leveled against us. A proper explanation can easily dispel all doubts and make our position crystal clear.

In the first place it must be understood that the Trotskyists would under no circumstances attempt to overthrow Stalin without the support of a decisive majority of the soldiers, workers and peasants. So long as we do not have that majority, so long must our struggle against Stalin be limited to education and propaganda. And it must be remembered that in our propaganda we stress not only the crimes of Stalin but above all the necessity of defending the Soviet Union unconditionally. If given the opportunity, a Trotskyist would show the greatest courage under attack by the capitalist enemy. We would unhesitatingly root out all defeatism in the Red Army and in the civil population. In action we would disprove the contention that our struggle against Stalin in any way weakens the Soviet Union.

And should our comrades in the Soviet Union, in the course of the war, gain the majority of workers and peasants, they would attempt to overthrow Stalin only if that attempt would not endanger the Soviet Union. It is in this way that our formula of subordinating the struggle against Stalin to the struggle against imperialism shows itself most clearly. Before attempting to overthrow Stalin, revolutionary Marxists would consider the situation at the front. Only revolutionary defeatists, that is, counter-revolutionaries in the Soviet Union, would attempt to overthrow the Stalinist bureaucracy regardless of the effect such an attempt would have on the military front.

Our main line is defending the Soviet Union unconditionally. It is because of this general line that we subordinate the struggle against the Stalinist bureaucracy to the struggle against the capitalist enemy. And it is because of this general line that we would, if we had the majority of workers and peasants behind us, attempt to overthrow the Stalinist bureaucracy, provided such an attempt would not afford the capitalist enemy an opportunity for victory.

He who does not continue the struggle against Stalinism during the war is not doing his utmost to defend the Soviet Union. And he who does not defend the Soviet Union in spite of Stalin, is, whether he knows it or not, a counter revolutionary.