ON THE TWENTY-FOURTH **ANNIVERSARY OF THE** RUSSIAN REVOLUTION

An Editorial -

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

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

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

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

As a result of this initial backwardness and isolation, a monstrous bureaucracy grew up within the Soviet Union. This bureaucracy, taking advantage of the weariness of the Soviet masses after their years of exhausting struggle, and basing it- Trotsky's Policies Alone Can Bring self on the most conservative elements, flourished under the regime of Stalin and gradually usurped the leadership of the Soviet Victory In Present Grave Crisis

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

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

Today, that workers state totters on the brink of the Donetz Basin has been lost. the abyss. How can it be saved?

The methods, program and forces which can still turn de- in fascist hands, and more than feat into victory are the same ones that brought the Soviet Union three-quarters of the productive into being and enabled the Soviet masses to retain state power capacity of Soviet industry has against the combined assault of world imperialism during the either been taken or crippled. Civil War of 1918-20.

The Bolsheviks triumphed in 1917 only through the meth- able to halt the German forces ods and program of Marxism, the revolutionary theory of in- when it had all of Soviet industry ternational proletarian class struggle. The Russian workers and and agriculture to draw from, peasants, guided by the principles of Marxism, refused to fight will find it even harder to within the armies of Russian imperialism against their class brothers stand the onslaughts of the enein other lands. They turned against their own imperialist mas- my now that it is deprived of and Kiev districts. Only a few WHY NO APPEAL ters, seized the power from them, and ended the war.

Then, during the darkest hours of the early So- LACK OF LEADERSHIP viet State, in the Civil War of 1918-20, when the Why, in spite of the heroism Because no real attempts have USSR faced the combined assault of world imperial- and sacrifice of the Red Army been made to disintegrate Hitler's ism, Lenin, Trotsky and the Bolshevik party turned to the workers of Europe and called for their revolutionary support. That support came, and the Soviet Union was saved.

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

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

proletariat.

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

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

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

That is why the Roosevelt administration, in the 25th year | to the 28 defendants in the "Seof the Russian Revolution, now aims its most vicious blows at ditious Conspiracy" trial now go-

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

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

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

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

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

Sentative, Paper, Novelty and Toy the defeat suffered by the Soviet workers International, CIO, are union. Because it can be used as among those who joined the companion of struggle that organized labor can command.

Continued on page 3)

THE MILITANT

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TRIAL OF 28 OPENS WITH ATTACK ON SWP PROGRAM

Thus, the Soviet Union was condemned to isolation, cut off from the economic resources of the world, separated from the organized aid of its class allies in other countries. As a result of this initial backwardness and isolation, a result of this initial backwardness and isolation. Front' Will Save USSR

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

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

the plea by the Stalinists. The fascist armies keep advancing deeper into Soviet terriory. Moscow is in a state of siege, Leningrad is encircled and Kharkov is the scene of a desperate struggle, the southern front has been shattered, most of Territory inhabited by almost half

The Red Army, which was un-

these sources of supply.

and the Soviet masses, has the army from the rear and from

Soviet Union been placed in such a dangerous position?

Because the Red Army has lacked competent leadership, a staff qualified to develop and execute, a unified strategic plan,

Stalin, long before the war began, destroyed the ablest military commanders who built and mechanized the Red Army, purged not less than 40,000 Red officers and in their place appointed men withthe population of the USSSR is out revolutionary experience, military knowledge or moral capital, whose sole qualification was their complete subservience to Stalin

> Stalin himself has had to admit the worthlessness of these pup to the masses of Germany and pets. At the very outset of the Europe to rise up against their war he removed his own appoint oppressors and fight for the Sotees in the Leningrad, Moscow cialist United States of Europe. days ago he reshuffled the high command for the second time in less than 5 months.

Against War

Running for Mayor On Trotsky Program Against War, Fascism

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

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

Both the American Labor Party and the Communist Party have added another betrayal of the Street's candidate, LaGuardia. Stalin's whole program of "so- The other groups who claim to cialism in one country" on the have a "socialist" program repbasis of which he first opposed, resent nothing but different edo bring socialism to any other petty-bourgeoisie, one pacifist,

whole policy he has pursued in absence of its candidate, JAMES the last 15 years, in the interests P. CANNON, who has had to go of which he sacrificed the world on trial in Minneapolis to face revolution, and led the working the government's "seditious conclass movements of Germany, spiracy" charges along with 27 Spain and France to destruction. other leaders of the Socialist (Continued on Page 4)

Planning in Buffalo

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

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

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

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

Who says the boss class can't look ahead?

tain relief here.

Advocate Ideas

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

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

Following immediately after the two-hour opening statement for the prosecution by United States District Attorney Victor E. Anderson, Goldman's adand thus gain the coveted plums dress to jury was a masterful answer to the governments attempted frame-up.

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

philosophy and activities of the revolutionary anti-war party. With grim humor, Goldman contrasted the comic-opera "con- Workers Party is daily engaged working class to their already spiracy" picture presented by the in reaching and trying to con-

long list by supporting Wall prosecution with the actual sit- vince as many people as possible uation, in which the Socialist with the party's program and

Candidate In **New Jersey**

Has Only Anti-War Program On Nov. 4 **Assembly Elections**

NEWARK, N. J., Oct. 28.— There are 57 candidates on the ballot in Essex County, seeking election to 13 state offices and 7 county offices. Of these 57 candidates, only one has used the campaign to speak up against the war. That candidate is George Breitman, Socialist Workers Party candidate for election to the state General Assembly.

The Democratic and Republican machines have spoken only about minor and comparatively unimportant issues. To listen to them one would think that there is no such thing as an imperialist war going on, or at any rate that it is of no significance to the workers of New Jersey.

The Communist Party candidate for General Assembly, Lawrence Mahan, who campaigned for election to the City Commission last spring as an anti-war candidate, is now hysterically demanding American entry into the war and pleading with the workers not to go on strike to improve their conditions.

The Trotskyist campaign alone has been carried on as part of the struggle against the war. Election material issued by the Socialist Workers Party has ex- that proof of overt acts was neplained why the government is headed for war, and how in the process it is committed to a ernment in this case," said Andrive to suppress the voice of the derson, "that proof of overt acts anti-war fighters and militant

Breitman's campaign has also cast by workers for him will be (Continued on page 3)

trying to recruit as many workers as possible into the organiza-

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

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

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

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

THE GOVERNMENT'S CASE Anderson's speech was a braz-

enly frank statement that the government is prosecuting not 'overt acts", but the program of the Socialist Workers Party and the ideas of Marx, Lenin and Trotsky. Previously, Attorney - General

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

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

Anderson began by asserting that the government did not feel cessary for conviction.

"It is the position of the govis not required and that the conspiracy in itself is unlawful."

The "conspiracy", it turned out, been so conducted that the vote consisted of organized propagation of the ideas of the Socialist an indication of their opposition Workers Party. Anderson spent (Continued on page 2)

CIO Officials Endorse suing a revolutionary appeal to The campaign of the TROTthe masses of Germany and Eu- SKYIST ANTI-WAR PARTY rope. To do it, would be to admit has been conducted under the **'28' Defense Committee** that the European workers can be greatest difficulties. Besides the mobilized for the world revolu- limitations imposed by the tion, would be to confess the small size of the party and its

TO EUROPEAN MASSES

FOR MAYOR

JAMES P. CANNON

National Sec'y, SWP

within by a revolutionary appeal

Workers Defense League Says Prosecution bankruptcy and treachery of the treasury, the party suffered the

Endangers "People's Freedom to Organize" NEW YORK, Oct. 28, 1941, that these local union leaders are

Director of the United Retail and Wholesale Employes of America, CIO, this week expressed the deep concern of the labor movement about the prosecution of the 28 indicted leaders of Local 544-CIO and the Socialist Workers Party, in a statement endorsing the work of the Civil Rights Defense Committee, organized to rally support ing on in Minneapolis.

SMITH'S LETTER His letter read as follows: Civil Rights Defense Committee 160 5th Avenue

New York City

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

We feel that all CIO members should support Local 544 in demanding that the cases be dropped. If truck drivers in Minneathen AFL "big wigs" should not

an example" of these brothers.

- Tucker P. Smith, Michigan a "menace" to the United States. Fraternally yours,

W.D.L. HITS TRIAL

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

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

TUCKER P. SMITH, Furthermore, Stalin fears the Michigan Director extension of the revolution to other countries because it would give the Soviet masses new con-

the government."

As the work of organizing the raising of funds proceeded, the

magazine TWICE A YEAR, a of defense of the USSR, do the publication devoted to the arts Stalinists put forward the cry and civil liberties; Mark DeWolfe for the "western front" as the Howe, Dean of the School of Law, only salvation for the workers University of Buffalo; A. J. state? Muste, Secretary of the Fellowbe allowed to use governmental ship of Reconciliation; and Mormachinery to persecute the lead- ris Reiger, International Repre- inism and its responsibility for ers of the CIO local union in an sentative, Paper, Novelty and Toy the defeat suffered by the Soviet effort to force these people back workers International, CIO, are Union. Because it can be used as

themselves of their parasitic bureaucracy, which has been able to remain in power only because the Soviet masses felt isolated

izing the European masses for the revolution: it has betrayed the only real allies it had in Europe, the working class of Germany, France and other countries; that is why it is forced to depend on and grasp at the straws of "collaboration" and "support" from the "democratic" imperialists who really desire the destruction of the Soviet Union's na-

tionalized economy so that the

vast territories and wealth of the

USSR can be opened up to their

fidence and inspire them to rid

Stalinism is incapable of mobil-

WHY THE PLEA FOR THE WESTERN FRONT

capitalist exploitation.

Why then, if it fails to solve the crucial problem of competent military leadership of the armed Dorothy Norman, editor of the the European masses on behalf

> Because it diverts attention away from the bankruptcy of Stal-

Trial Of The 28 Opens

Defense Asserts Legal Rights to Advocate Ideas

(Continued from page 1) most of his two hours in describing in distorted terms the pro- | ment's strategy in this case: gram and structure of the party.

MARX, ENGELS, LENIN AND TROTSKY ON TRIAL TOO

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

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

"I mentioned to you Lenin and Trotsky," Anderson declared. against a majority. "But this philosophy and theology (sic) of the Socialist Workers Party also has a further foundagoing to be the plan of the gov-Lenin and Trotsky based their and the public. philosophy on the Marxist philosophy. Not only were these defendants Trotskyites, but their basic belief is based on Marx, so Rights. It is attempting to outthey are Marxists."

"is like the Bolshevik party in socialism and the class struggle Russia in 1917."

At one point Anderson made ist war. an amusing slip of the tongue, refering to "the defendant, Leon Trotsky." In his own mind he had Trotsky, Lenin, Marx and bench.

DRAGS IN ALL OF PARTY'S ACTIVITIES

There was scarcely a single aspect of the party's activities which Anderson did not bring into M. Joyce ruled that the length of the trial as a "crime": the party's the trial necessitated two alterwhich urges reliance on mass ac-

defense of the Soviet Union against imperialist attack, etc. GOVERNMENT'S

STRATEGY

Summed up. Anderson's opening statement reveals the govern-

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

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

3. The term "conspiracy" turns out to be merely a frightening word used by the government to tion. That was the writings and describe the banding together of group of prospective jurors who teachings of Karl Marx. It is workers in the Socialist Workers Party to propagate their revoluernment in this case to show that | tionary ideas to the working class

In short, the Roosevelt administration is in this case making a frontal attack upon the Bill of law free speech, free press and "This party," said Anderson, free assembly for all advocates of and all opponents of the imperial-

NO TRADE UNIONIST

CALLED IN JURY PANEL Selection of the jury was com-Engels up before the Judge's pleted this morning. In the whole panel of 35 examined, not a single person turned up who is or ever was a member of a trade union.

> After selection of the jury had been completed, Judge Matthew

class struggle trade union policy nate jurors and they were chosen. The jury chosen consists of a tion rather than on arbitration; bank executive; a grain elevator the attempts of the party to save owner; a lumber company sales Leon Trotsky from being assas- manager; the owner of a weekly sinated; the party's agreement newspaper; a housewife; a small with the ideas and principles of town plumber; a hardware clerk; the Fourth International; the par- a general store owner; a general ty's advocacy of military training store clerk; a farmer; a farm lafor workers under control of the borer; and a former garage owntrade unions and financed by the er. Alternates are a registered government; the party's policy of nurse and an advertising woman.

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

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

rights of the entire labor move-

And before the first day was over it was painfully apparent that these great issues were not going to be decided fairly. The ultrareactionary method of selecting the panel of prospective jurors, the ban on permitting defense counsel to examine prospective jurors, the judge's refusal to put to these candidates many ques- ing of this stark fact, one must tions which defense counsel wish- also realize that this trial is taked to have them answer, and, last ing place in Minneapolis, one of but not least, the judiciary's the best-organized cities in the method of examining prospective jurors — these were the glaringly is also well-organized. There are unfair procedures which gave the Department of Justice a big headstart against the labor defendants.

NO UNION MAN IN PANEL

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

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

To understand the full meancountry. Its twin city, St. Paul, hundreds of thousands of trade unionists in the federal district from which the panel for the jury was drawn with ostensible impartiality. Not one of these trade un-The whole business can be ionists found his way into the



Felix Morrow

were examined today.

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

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

When Federal Judge Matthew tioning of the first twelve pros- city councilmen in a Minnesota for cause.

Fine Gentleman

dispatch from Washington on

developments in the moves to

pass the "arm the ships" legis-

"Senator Connally," it said,

"referred to Senator White,

Republican, of Maine, one of

the uncommitted members of

the Foreign Relations group

(Senate Committee), as 'a fine

gentleman.' Although he re-

fused to elaborate, the refer-

ence was generally interpreted

as meaning that Senator

White would support an

amendment broadening the

armed ship legislation. If he

did, the minimum committee

vote for the proposal would be

12 to 11."

New York City

lation, told how.

An Oct. 23 Associated Press

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

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

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

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

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

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

ALLOWED ONLY TEN

this system of judicial procedure led to accept all other jurors 12:30, the afternoon session from M. Joyce had completed his ques- is the example of the man, now whom the judge would not dismiss 2 to 5, making a total of five and pective jurors whom he accepted, city and, according to his testi- From this system of judicial day of this trial.



deputy sheriff and cop. Scarcely one to serve on a jury trying militant trade union leaders who had led nicket lines in battles to de fend themselves against sheriffs

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

The defense counsel could get that ex-cop off the jury only by tory challenges. As one would expect under such a system, the

Grace Carlson

The First Day In The Court Room He was quick to tell the court that he wasn't at all prejudiced and would be sure to deliver a fair verdict. Only after a long series of questions did he make

ed as a special fink deputy during the 1934 drivers strike and that he had "always thought of the Only 7 of the first day's talesleaders of 544 as advocates of

Nash also coyly admitted that sections of the state. he was an officer of the Nash-To make up for that, there Finch Co., a national firm of

Q: Are you opposed to communism? A: Yes. Q: Do you knew anything about the principles of communism?

Only one prospective juror said: "I am opposed to comminism so far as I understand it." All the rest, led along this something they said they knew

himself on the jury.

communism."

the admissions that he had serv-

nothing about! ten peremptory challenges of the Joyce sped the task along, keep- reason why he couldn't be imdefense were exhausted long be- ing court in session well beyond partial. fore the jury was completed. From the usual four-hours per day. The Typical of what happens under then on the defense was compel- morning session lasted from 10 to

MINNEAPOLIS, Oct. 27. - | wholesale grocers who have brecht from service because of You can't say the bosses don't fought the union movement the great amount of work he had throughout the northwest.

Trial Sidelights

Robert L. Nash, investment Nash was excused but only broker and scion of a wealthy after he finally blurted out. "I Minneapolis family made a vali- doubt it," to a question about ant attempt to win a place for whether or not he could be absolutely impartial.

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

men came from the Twin Cities. The rest all were from the rural

were two bankers, one investment broker eight merchants and business men, one newspaper publishquestioning there developed one particularly crass absurdity. The er, two executives of large Minjudge questioned each defendant: nesota corporations, a draft board official, a justice of the peace and a former deputy sheriff.

> ficial was enlightening. This impartial gentlemen is the Chief Clerk of his county's Selective Service Board, serving at full-time eight years.

It took a motion by the defense By the end of the day most of to eliminate him as a juror, since the jury had been chosen. Judge the Draft Board official saw no ants".

Some official made a slip some where and the name of a former "hard rock" miner, Jacob B. Volla half hours for the very first brecht, was included in the panel. Judge Joyce excused Mr. Voll-

banker, clerk, purchasing agent

to do at home.

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

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

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

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

For the information of our readers, this trial is not taking salary. Prior to that appointment, place in Vermont, but in Minnehe had served for 12 years as sota, where for many years, at line of questioning, were in the the county Treasurer and before least 50% of the voters have been position of being opposed to that, as the deputy Treasurer for Farmer-Laborites and Democrats.

> The Minneapolis newspapers spoke of the "sober faced defend-

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

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

Mr. Bryant is an electrician's helper who formerly was a mechanic and butter maker. He does not take the daily newspaper, "heard something about the case on a news broadcast," helped an officer to make an arrest once, and wishes the Draft Law had the parade of jurors through the jury box: wife of a court house been passed earlier. Certainly janitor, garage owner, merchant. one would expect him to be a good government juror. But no, salesman, hardware store owner. they take no risks. Mr. Bryant general merchandize store owner, ONCE JOINED A UNION clerk of selective service bureau. WHICH WAS ORGANIZED IN AN ATTEMPT TO GET LIfarmer, store owner, insurance broker, sales-manager, banker, re-CENSING OF ELECTRICAL tail store owner, etc., etc. Every- WORK! The prosecution perthing - except members of trade emptorily struck his name from the list!

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

MINNEAPOLIS — The method of drawing the panel from whether they have ever been con- as in the case of the first 132 which the trial jury is finally selected is of the greatest impor- victed of a crime, etc. These names selected. tance in determining the composition of the twelve persons who will decide the question of the guilt or innocence of the defendants. The names of some sixty or seventy persons have been drawn out of a box and these persons have appeared in court

to be questioned as to their qualifications to serve as jurors in the court ordered that a panel of one names of persons summoned for Mirneapolis "sedition" trial. How to Become A

qualified as jurors.

to each of these persons asking County, using the same kind of WANNING WANNING the workers of New York in the their occupation, age, citizenship, "cross section" of the population

questionnaires and answers are then filed away for use during the box by the clerk and jury forthcoming terms of court.

In September of this year the hundred and fifty names be drawn jury service in this case. The interesting thing, however, from the second and fourth diviis to learn how the names were sions of Minnesota for use at ner of drawing the jury panel selected that were put into the this term of court at which the box from which these sixty or Minneapolis "sedition" case was to be tried. The judge has the The clerk of this federal court power to fix the territory from and the jury commissioner, are which the panel shall be drawn. each required by the federal pro- The fourth division of Minnesota cedure practiced here, to place in includes the City of Minneapolis. the box one hundred and fifty Upon receiving the judge's renames of persons they deem quest, the clerk — and presumably the jury commissioner did However, they do not pick these the same - went through the names at random but, according questionnaires for each of the 33 to the statement of the clerk him- counties comprising the second self, he and the jury commis- and fourth division and selected sioner write to various officials four persons from each county of the counties throughout the whom he considered a representstate asking them for names of ative cross section of the populapersons for the panel. These of tion. These were generally a couficials are county auditors, judges, ple of merchants, a banker, a clerks of court, etc. Upon receiv- salesman or broker and occasioning from them suggested names, ally a farmer or mechanic. *Then the clerk and the jury commis- he threw in eighteen more names sioner then mail a questionnaire of people residing in Hennepin

In this manner the three hundred or more names placed in commissioner were determined and out of these were drawn the

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CAMPAIGN USES OF THE MILITANT

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

few days remaining before polling day.

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

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

RESULTS OF THE CHICAGO CONFERENCE

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

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

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

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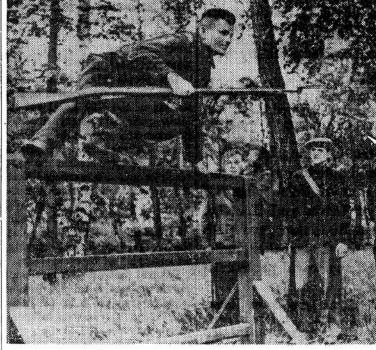
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Defending Leningrad



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

Rejected Questions Of Defense To Jury

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

tions which defense counsel in the Minneapolis sedition trial purpose of which was to defend MINNEAPOLIS, Oct. 27. — Here are some of the guesasked Federal Judge Matthew M. Joyce to put to prospective jurors — and which the judge refused to ask of these men and women who will have it in their power to convict the labor that affect your judgment in this defendants and render them liable to sentences of up to sixteen

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

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

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

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

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

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

7. If the evidence should further show that some of the defendants, although expressing the a "western front" as the only mocratic" imperialists to save the hope and desire that the majority hope for the Soviet Union is in Soviet Union. of the people will be permitted | tended to cover up the bankto bring about a peaceful change in the social system are, nevertheless, of the opinion that the war and in the whole conduct Soviet Union is surrounded by minority organized by bankers and big industrialists will not a recution and an indictment of it the right to engage in alliances permit such a peaceful change and that therefore some violence might follow, would that prejudice you against them?

8. Have you ever read anything concerning Leon Trotsky?

9. If the evidence should show that some of the defendants believed in some of the ideas ex- bility" of the Red Army at the pressed by Leon Trotsky, would that in any way prejudice you purges they carried out in the against them?

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

11. If the evidence should show that the defendants approved of the Russian Revolution of Nov- only lulled the masses into acember, 1917 and considered it to cepting their false policies and be of great benefit to the Russian people, would that prejudice you

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

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

14. If the evidence will show

IN LOS ANGELES

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Sam Smith's News Stand 5th and Main Street.

MINNEAPOLIS, Oct. 27. -

any fascist organization or any

anti-labor organization, would

15. Do you believe in the right

of members of a union to organ-

ize and train themselves for the

purpose of defending the union

hall, the union property and union

meetings against possible phys-

ical attack by forces hostile to

unionism, would that affect your

16. If the evidence should show

that in connection with the Union

Defense Guard a few single-shot

.22 calibre target rifles and a few

target pistols were purchased by

some members of the Union De-

fense Guard for target practice

in order to be able to defend the

union hall, property and meetings,

against physical attack by anti-

labor groups, would that in any

masses because they do not wish

to "alienate" their military allies,

with one set of imperialists

STALIN'S REAL CRIME

Stalin's crime lies in this, that

he presents the "western front"

by the imperialists as the only

he refuses to call for independent

Europe and to appeal for the only

kind of aid that can really de

fend the USSR, the extension of

the October revolution; that he

Great Britain and the United

States to support the war for im-

perialist profit as a "means of

defending the USSR"; that he lies

to the masses inside and outside

the Soviet Union and tries to

tie their hands in the genuine

struggle against world imperial-

It is a fatal illusion to believe

that the imperialists have any in-

terest in saving the first workers

state. They may open a "western

front", and they may not - but

whatever action they take will be

dictated by their own imperialist

aims and needs, and not by the

interests of the workers state.

simultaneous, if possible, of both

all the "aid" they give is aimed

at securing a situation where the

democratic imperialists will be

dent working class action.

judgment?

ticipated in the organization of way prejudice you against the de-

A unique feature of this Minneapolis "sedition" trial is the role of Albert Goldman. His scholarly face is at the

> head of the table of defense counsel, and he often steps up to the judge's bench, side by side with Special Assistant U. S. Attorney General Henry A. Schweinhaut, to argue some point or agree on some proce-But Albert Goldman also, at

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

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

Counsel for defense, in addi-



Albert Goldman

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

No Imperialist 'Western Front' Will Save The Soviet Union

(Continued from page 1) and confuse the masses who are aid comes from the outside. beginning to understand from the bitter reality of events that Stal- this aid to save the Soviet Uncessful defense of the workers hundreds of thousands of pro-

James P. Cannon

that some of the defendants par-

the Union Defense Guard, the fendants?

Because it lays the basis for a capitulation to Hitler when a 'western front' by the imperial. Army, Soviet industry and agriists does not materialize, or, if culture whose only "crime" was it does materialize, has no appre- that they criticised or objected to ciable effect on the struggle in the reactionary policies of the Soviet territory. Because it will Kremlin. No, they fear to issue enable Stalin to say that the failure of the "democratic" impermade necessary a deal with the fascist imperialists.

ADMISSION OF BANKRUPTCY

But while the Stalinist plea for Instead they appeal to the "delin's policies leading up to the a "western front." As long as the of the war, it is at the same time imperialism, workers cannot deny

For since the Stalinist bureaucracy came into power on the pro- for military supplies or any other gram of "socialism in one coun- kind of military aid from one try," it has justified its opposirevolution on the ground that it could build and was building a "self-sufficient" order. The Stalinists boasted about the "invincisame time that the monstrous interests of perpetuating their own rule, beheaded and weakened the Red Army.

Now, in the hour of greatest crisis for the workers state, and in the face of irrefutable facts. their justifications and their boasts are proven to be lies which criminal leadership.

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

IN MEMORIAM

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

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

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

| viet Union will be crushed unless | feat or capitulation to the fascist | aid the Soviet Union goes hand And to whom do they turn for exhausted and demoralized.

Trotskyism, based on the inism is responsible for bringing on? Not to the masses of Europe Marxist principles which created the Soviet Union to the brink of and the world. Not to the revolu- the workers state and successfulcatastrophe and that it is the tionary strength of the interna- ly defended it against all its immain internal obstacle to the suc- tional working class. Not to the perialist enemies in the days of the Civil War of 1918-20, alone Soviet prisoners in Siberian con- teaches the program of victory. centration camps, experienced re-TASKS OF SOVIET MASSES volutionary leaders of the Red In the Soviet Union: The Soviet

masses, while they continue the military struggle against the fascists, must take steps to provide a leadership for the fronts that is qualified, trained and capable a revolutionary appeal to the of leading them to victory. They must strive to secure the release of all pro-Soviet prisoners, they the "democratic" imperialists must legalize all pro-Soviet parwho demand as the price of their ties, they must reconstitute the "aid" that the Stalinists assist democratically-elected Soviets. In them in suppressing any indepenthis way they will find the leaders they need; in this way the hopes and initiative of the masses, whom Stalin has tried to siity, will be aroused once more.

The Soviet peoples, reconstituted through the Soviets, must issue a revolutionary appeal to the masses of Germany, offering their support against the imposition of any new Versailles Treaty

against another, nor in asking by the "democratic" imperialists. This will inspire the masses of Europe to rise up against their set of imperialists to be used for tion to the extension of the world the defense of the USSR against oppressors and join them in the struggle for a Socialist United States of Europe, the only way out for Europe.

> to the successful defense of the USSR and the organizer of its defeats, must be subordinated to the defense of the military front against the imperialists, the Soviet masses must take the first favorable opportunity, without weakening the front against the imperialists, to remove the bureaucratic regime that is interested only in own self-preservation and obstructs the only program that can achieve Soviet victory.

In the United States and Great Britain: The workers of this country and England must place no faith in the promises of the imperialists to help the Soviet Union. They must recognize that the imperialists are guided in their policies solely by their own aims and needs.

Supporting the imperialist policies of Roosevelt and Churchill cannot help the defense of the Soviet Union, for those policies in- ty's candidate in the November What they want is the exhaustion, clude the aim of the subjugation of the workers state by imperialthe Soviet Union and Germany, ism. Support of the war being Assembly." and all the steps they take and conducted by Roosevelt and Churchill means support of their imperialist war aims.

Only the workers of the world step in and take over the Soviet west - a class front - for the purpose of saving the Soviet ers, Negro and white. But in spite of the defeats, in Union. Only this kind of western sion can only bring crushing de- is why the workers' struggle to for which he is now a candidate.

imperialists, after the masses are in hand with the struggle for the overthrow of all the imperialists lis) - For 30 years a member and the establishment of Workers of organized labor. Minneapolis and Farmers Governments in all | secretary of the Socialist Workthe capitalist countries, "democratic" and fascist.

> The hypnosis of Stalinism over wide sections of the American lis) - One of the leaders of the working class must be broken. Strike Committee of 100 in the The workers must be shown that great 1934 drivers' strike. Ac-Stalinism is capable only of or- tive in organizing over-the-road ganizing defeats, that it bears drivers throughout the Middle the responsibility for the plight West. Organizer for 544-CIO. of the workers state, that in the interests of perpetuating the rule interests of the American workterests of the workers of Europe and Asia. The workers must unquires the sharpest and most Secretary of the S. W. P. merciless political struggle against the policies of Stalinism.

aims of imperialism and the beworkers can best defend the So-

Breitman SWP Candidate While the struggle against Stalinism, the chief internal obstacle In New Jersey

(Continued from page 1)

to the Roosevelt-Biddle-FBI prosecution of the 28 defendants in the Minneapolis trial opening this Local 544 against the fink suit. week. Explaining that the government persecutes the S. W. P. because of its working class opposition to the war, and for that reason "every worker who opposes the war must rally to the support of the Socialist Workers Party," the party's election literature concludes:

"Support the party that fights against the war!

"Fight against Roosevelt's witch hunt prosecution of the Socialist Workers Party! Defend the democratic rights of labor! "Join the struggle for a Workers and Farmers Government that will destroy the cause of

war and war itself! "Vote for the Anti-War Par-4 elections in Essex County -George Breitman for General

Breitman is well known in Newark labor circles as a leader of the New Jersey unemployed able to conquer Germany, and can or will open a front in the many pamphlets on the problems

He was one of the leading figspite of the betrayals by the front can save the Soviet Union. ures in the 1936 "Trenton Siege." Kremlin, the Soviet Union can But this kind of revolutionary during which the unemployed ocstill be saved. But first it must class struggle is possible only in cupied and held for nine days be understood that the policies of opposition to and against the in- the meeting place of the state Stalin, continued to their conclu- terests of the imperialists. That General Assembly, the same body

Albert Goldman: Defendant Records Of 28 Show And Counsel For Defense Long Service To Labor

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

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

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

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

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

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

JAKE COOPER (Minneapolis) Militant driver, member of Local

OSCAR COOVER (Minneapoers Party.

HARRY DEBOER (Minneapo-

FARRELL DOBBS (Minneapolis) — A leader of the 1934 of the Kremlin it will betray the Strike Committee of 100. Former secretary-treasurer of Loers just as it betrayed the in- cal 544. Former international representative of the AFL Teamsters. Chief negotiator of the derstand that the struggle for the Area Committee which organized defense of the Soviet Union and and improved the wages and confor a Workers and Farmers Gov- ditions of over 100,000 over-theernment in the United States re- road drivers. National Labor

MILES B. DUNNE (Minneapo-In this way, by continuing the lis) — World War veteran. Pionstruggle for their own class ob- eer organizer of Local 574 and jectives, by fighting against the editor of its first paper. Imprisoned by the National Guards in trayal of Stalinism, the American the 1934 strike. Former secretary-treasurer of the Minneapolis Teamsters Joint Council, and now President of 544-CIO.

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

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

MAX GELDMAN (Minneapo lis) - Active in the leadership



Farrell Dobbs

of the Federal Workers Section unemployed movement. Served 8 months in prison for leadership tion, 544-CIO. of 1939 WPA strike.

ALBERT GOLDMAN (Chicago) - Attorney for Local 574 in | in labor movement. Pioneer orthe 1934 strikes. Active for many years in labor defense work. Was attorney for Leon Trotsky. Attorney for the Socialist Workers

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

CLARENCE HAMEL (Minsteward for Local 544. Organizer

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

CARLOS HUDSON (Minneaoolis) - Labor writer and speaker. Author of "Dere Emily" column in 1934 daily strike bulletin, of pamphlet "Behind the 544 Fink Suit." Managing editor of the Industrial Organizer.

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

- Editor of THE MILITANT Organizer, 544-CIO.

Assistant editor of Northwest Organizer, 1937-38.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

ROSE SEILER (Minneapolis) - Former business agent, Minneapolis Office Workers Union. Active in Federal Workers Sec-

CARL SKOGLUND (Minneapolis) - Thirty years' activity ganizer of Local 574. Former president of Local 544. Organizer, 544-CIO.

HAROLD SWANSON (Minneapolis) - Active in Federal



Vincent R. Dunne

Workers Section, in union move-

NICK WAGNER (Minneapolis) - Active for many years as union organizer in drivers' move FELIX MORROW (New York) | ment in Illinois and Minneapolis.

New Pamphlet Just Off The Press! WITCH HUNT IN MINNESOTA The Federal Prosecution of the Socialist Workers Party and

Local 544-CIO

GEORGE E. NOVACK foreword by JAMES T. FARRELL

Author of 'Studs Lonigan', etc. -is it treasonable to oppose the war?

-has the Bill of Rights been abolished? -what was the Minneapolis Union Defense Guard?

—how does the Administration fight the C. I. O.?

-how does the Justice Department serve Daniel J. Tobin? -have workers the right to choose their own union?

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exchange for the spoils of public office have enjoyed a greater reputation for "liberalism" than Fiorello H. LaGuardia. Yet this reputation is a sham.

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end of time.'

LA GUARDIA

CUTS RELIEF

LaGuardia slashed relief to the

bone during his term of office.

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cent which he made on March

"dramatize Lehman's tax grab."

F. H. LA GUARDIA

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how landlords butter their

bread by artificially maintain-

ing high rents through main-

tenance of congested fire-traps.

um endorsed \$300,000,000 for

housing, LaGuardia in his bud-

get "forgot" to ask for more

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LYDIA BEIDEL

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SELLS CITY ITS

OWN SUBWAYS

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

LA GUARDIA HOUNDS WAR OPPONENTS

Consequently in 1918, in recognition of his services as a warmonger and as a further step in shaping this willing tool into a prominent public figure, LaGuardia was renominated for Congress 26, 1938 as due to his desire to on the Republican ticket and at the same time stamped with the Lehman had taken over some taxapproval of the corrupt Tammany es from New York City. The unmachine. LaGuardia in return employed know, however, that it drive against the employees of denounced the socialists as "agents of the Kaiser" because they opposed the war and because they warned the people that it was Wall Street's war, not theirs.

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

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

LA GUARDIA ADMIRES TAMMANY

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

Few men who have bartered their souls to Wall Street in the people of New York City was Wall Street sold the city of New York its own subways. Protest on the part of the populace was so widespread that even promin-+ daily newspapers of the canitalist press were forced to give many has done more for the wel- swindle. fare institutions of New York in

systems have been owned by the dation with its theories and sta- city since they were first contistics can do from now until the structed, both of them were 'leased" in a crooked 1894 deal This background enables us to to Wall Street sharks who were better understand LaGuardia's then guaranteed a minimum profanti-labor record during his in- it of \$10,000,000 a year for opcumbency as mayor of New York erating them. By 1939 this City. It enables us to understand amounted to \$450,000,000, but acwhy this "liberal" was capable tual profits were far in excess. on Sept. 25, 1937 of endorsing The city on the other hand dursuch a demagogue as George U. ing this same period sustained a Harvey, the Queens fascist who lass of \$325,000,000 in order to has openly praised Mussolini and pay out this profit to Wall Street. Hitler and who favor's the Ku By 1939 the lines were in such Klux Klan. It enables us to un- run-down condition that only anderstand why LaGuardia boasts other large investment could keep of civic "improvements" while he them operating on a safety basis. suppresses factual reports on the | Wall Street felt that it could get high rents, over-crowding, and a bigger return on such an outunsanitary conditions which lay of cash in other fields of inplague the Negro people in Har- vestment.

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

TRIES TO SMASH TRANSPORT UNION

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

LA GUARDIA CODDLES FASCISM

LaGuardia claims to oppose Hitlerism, but his real attitude was demonstrated to the hilt by the tender and solicitous manner in which he protected the Coughlinities. Bundists, and Christian cy to chisel them out of relief by heaping up the red tape and Fronters just before the outbreak of World War II. chopping down the appropria-

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

LaGuardia's concern for these budding fascists who were beating and stabbing anti-fascists and raiding the headquarters of labor organizations in New York that first brought him into Wall and elsewhere culminated at the One of the most outrageous Madison Square Garden demonmade by him on the floor of Con- swindles ever perpetrated against stration of February 20, 1939. The



JAMES P. CANNON Trotsky Anti-War

The 30 Year Labor Record Windle. Although the B.M.T. and I.R.T. Of Cannon, SWP Candidate

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

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

Because of his militant opposition to the first imperialist world most militant of all fighters in war, Cannon was among those persecuted by the Wilson admin- rights, for civil liberties, for the istration. When the October revolution flamed up out of the blooddrenched battlefields, disclosing the path to the socialist society, Cannon became an ardent advo-

James P. Cannon was one of famous world-wide struggle for the founders of the American the liberation of Sacco and Vansection of the Communist Inter- zetti. national. During the hard years of the notorious Palmer raids he tion of Roosevelt has recognized was an outstanding spokesman of James P. Cannon and the Trotthe Communist Party and remained so until the Stalinist degener-only serious opposition in the ation brought that party to an United States to its plan of

In 1928 Cannon was expelled War II. by the Stalinist bureaucracy for espousing Trotsky's struggle to to railroad him and 27 other WHAT A VOTE FOR return the Communist Interna- Trotskyist leaders and members CANNON SIGNIFIES tional to Lenin's program of of Local 544-C!O to prison.

Coughlinites and Bundists held a spewed race hatred against the Jews and Negroes in approved Hitlerite fashion.

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

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

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

LA GUARDIA SUPPORTS WALL STREET'S WAR

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

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

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

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

party of the American working

class under the banner of Trotsky-

volutionist. James P. Cannon has

been recognized as one of the

the labor movement for workers'

He stood at the head of the

The war-mongering administra-

minority groups.

cate of Bolshevism in America.

rally in the Garden at which they Stalinists Prefer One Warmonger to Another

LaGuardia Is a More Effective Warmonger, progressive war. Our support of scious workers must pass up So Stalinists Back Him Against O'Dwyer

By LOU COOPER

The most brazen war-mongering organization in the labor movement in the United States today, the Communist Party, has again made it clear that its policies betray the workers in every field. They have withdrawn their "candidate", Israel Amter, in the New York mayoralty election and are calling upon the workers to support Fiorello LaGuardia, ace war-monger of Presi-

eaders decided to support the sand times over as a candidate imperialist war, they went the of Wall Street. They portray whole hog. It does not matter to O'Dwyer as a "Hitler-appeaser" them that as recently as a few candidate, on the grounds that months ago the CP attacked La- O'Dwyer has the support, official Guardia's anti-union drive against and unofficial, of the Bundists, the transit workers. Neither do America First outfit, and Joe Mcthey care that the CP has, from Williams' Yorkville Nazis. time to time, mercilessly exposed strike, the WPA workers strike.

WHY STALINISTS

SUPPORT IMPERIALIST WAR Orders came from the bureaucrat in the Kremlin to junk the line about Wall Street fighting imperialist war and orders orders. In return for this change in line, Stalin hopes to "supplies" from Roosevelt even though he thereby sacrifices the interests of the American workers and thus still further weakens the real defense of the

That is why in the interests of support of the imperialist blood bath, the Stalinists not only are silent about the vicious anti-labor record of LaGuardia, but are ready to picture him as do the Social Democrats - as a trustworthy friend of organized labor.

The war leader in the United States is Franklin D. Roosevelt and the Stalinists follow the warleader. Roosevelt endorsed La-Guardia because LaGuardia is his most effective war-deal representative in the City Hall of New York. Therefore, the Stalinists campaign for LaGuardia.

In a vain effort to justify their treachery, the Stalinists actually find it necessary to misrepresent the position of a capitalist candidate in the election whose rec-

dorses Wall Street's candidate, LaGuardia, on the other he tries to imprison the genuine opponoter at election time. ents' of imperialist war. ENCOURAGING RESPONSE Despite these difficulties, the party has been able to conduct a militant campaign. From the court room, where he is accused of advocating overthrow of the capitalist government. James P Cannon has conducted an unrelenting struggle against the reactionary ideas represented by

LaGuardia and O'Dwyer. Thru he distribution of leaflets and ment of a revolutionary political THE MILITANT, and through street meetings, the program on which he stands has reached hundreds of thousands of workers in Throughout his career as a re- New York City. The response to our campaign literature has been most encour-

aging. Invariably readers of our

Candidate

Against War

(Continued from page 1) Workers Party and Local 544 of

the CIO Motor Transport and Al-

lied Workers Industrial Union.

On the one hand Roosevelt en-

leaflets fold them and put them into a pocket or purse. Rooseeconomic and social equality of velt's FBI persecutions of the Negroes and all other oppressed Trotskyists has impressed on a ide section of militant workers one fact - if Wall Street takes International Labor Defense when the Trotskyist program seriousthat organization conducted its ly, then the Trotskyists must be genuine opponents of Wall Street's imperialist war aims. In Harlem especially the Negro pecple have received our campaign literature with the greatest interest and in many ways indicaskyist movement he heads as the ted that they understand James P. Cannon is on trial not only for us opposition to war but for his plunging this country into World militant fight against racial bigotry and Jim Crowism.

That is why they are trying

When the Communist Party ord has condemned him a thou-

This is an example of how in LaGuardia as a vicious enemy of their anxiety to line up the workorganized labor in such strike sit- ing class of New York in support uations as the taxi drivers of the imperialist war, the Stalinstrike, the elevator operators ists manufacture artificial differences between LaGuardia and O'Dwyer in basic program where none exist.

Not only has O'Dwyer consistently voiced his support of Roosevelt's interventionist imperialist policies, but some of the most important national interventionist leaders support O'Dwyer. How do the leaders of the Communist Party explain, for instance, the fact that the interventionist leader, Governor Lehman of New York, and Roosevelt's pal, Senator Wagner, support O'Dwyer? They

Both LaGuardia and O'Dwyer are interventionist candidates. war issue whatever) whether the Daily Worker says so or not. LaGuardia, O'Dwyer and the Stalinists must all be rejected on 🔊 election day by all class-conscious workers who oppose the imperial-

IN PITTSBURGH

READ THE MILITANT AT: Hirsch's Book Store, 1623 Center Avenue Rose Book Shop, 1332 - 5th

Avenue BUY THE MILITANT AT:

Barber Shop 426 E. Ohio St., North Side International Labor Lyceum 805 James St., North Side

Cannon N.Y.'s Wm. O'Dwyer **Tammany Choice**

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

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

are Flynn, Kelly, and Sullivan, well-known Tammany ward-heel-

one moment that James P. Canthey will count the votes cast for James P. Cannon with far Tammany machine vote for the more anxiety than they count th: votes cast for O'Dwyer and La-Guardia. In their eyes each vote of Tammany's record is enough cast for Cannon will outweigh a to finish O'Dwyer as an attracthousand votes cast for either of the capitalist candidates. And in this question Wall Street is right, tion of 1931 which lifted the lid for tomorrow the program of slightly from the Tammany sewer, Trotskyism on which Cannon and which made it possible for stands can sweep the nation like LaGuardia to ride into office as a wildfire. That is why Wall Street knight in shining reform armor, has ordered that Cannon be placed behind bars. They don't received with Russell T. Shervant to take any chances

do will succeed in the long run in a typical case of Tammany govpreventing the program of Trotskyism from becoming victorious. It expresses the genuine interests of the masses. Beginning with irreconcilable opposition to imperialist war, the election platform of James P. Cannon explains that the Second World War is a continuation of World War I on a rander scale. It is not a war for 'democracy" but a bloody struggle between contending camps of mperialist bandits for profits, for the redivision of colonies and markets, which will bring the masses only misery and degrada-

FOR DEFENSE OF THE SOVIET UNION

Cannon's platform next calls for working class defense of the Soviet Union as the only country with Tammany. in the world which is waging f | On election day the class-confact that industries and wealth of | Guardia, an old admirer of Tam-Russia, taken away from the ca- many, and turn down the lever pitalists and landlords in Novem- at column "H" where the name ber. 1917, have not gone back to of James P. Cannon, candidate private ownership. At the same of the Trotskyist Workers Party, time the platform calls for an is listed. end of Stalinism which has brought the Soviet Union only defeats and now the danger of complete catastrophe.

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

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

It is quite understandable why O'Dwyer tries to deny his connection with Tammany and sneak into office by agreeing with the non will be swept into office. But basic issue of LaGuardia's platform - support of Wall Street's war - and by depending on the

Merely reminding the workers tion to them in the election.

The famous Seabury investigarevealed that Mayor Walker had wood \$48,000 from taxi owners But nothing Wall Street can for favorable legislation. This is ernment.

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

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

platform are:

Discrimination!

Defend the trade unions! For Civil Liberties! Against Racial and Religious

Fight the high cost of living! For the continuation of the reief program! For a Workers' and Farmers'

Government! For socialism!

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Negro Struggle

The Elections On November 4

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

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

I mean what do these boss parties really stand

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

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

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

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

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

Vote for the Program You Support

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

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

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

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

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

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

The CANNOT EMANCIPATE ITSELF WHITE SKIN WHITE SKIN WHITE SKIN OF THE Prosecution?

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

Government Masks These Real Reasons Behind 'Seditious Conspiracy' Charge

By ART PREIS

According to the official federal indictment and recent state- stemmed from the administraments by the prosecution, the Roosevelt administration is trying tion's decision to use this case to convict and imprison the 28 defendants in the Minneapolis for an attack on the Socialist 'sedition' trial because they "did feloniously conspire. . . to de- Workers Party because of its stroy by force the Government of the United States of Amer- outspoken opposition to the im-

But all the evidence of the public record and the circumstances and statements leading up to the opening of the trial by Biddle who stated: "The prinindicate that this was not the reason for this indictment being cipal basis for the prosecution is

the government."

Times, June 14).

these statements;

program.

direct request.

1. Tobin appealed to Roose-

velt for aid on the basis that

this was a "political favor"

owed him for his support of

the administration and its war

2. Roosevelt acted promptly

3. Roosevelt's immediate spe-

cific actions were to condemn

the CIO for "raiding", without

any further inquiry into the sit-

uation, and to instruct the

"Government departments and

agencies interested in this mat-

Within a few days these "de-

partments and agencies" did act.

the headquarters of the SWP in

Minneapolis and St. Paul, seizing

copies of works by Marx, Lenin

and Trotsky and various publica-

tions of the party, all of which

Announcement was then made

books and publications would be

prosecution against members of

Attorney General Biddle, who

brought, are also leaders of Local

544-CIO in Minneapolis. . . and

have gained control of a legitim-

ate labor union to use it for il-

legitimate purposes." (Minneapo-

The St. Paul Dispatch, a repre-

sentative organ of the conserva-

But Biddle hastened to lie:

added that the federal officials

themselves had admitted that

'the criminal proceedings were

stimulated by the bolt of former

leaders of General Drivers' Union

The facts are iron-clad. The

initial purpose of the prosecu-

tion was to aid in the crushing

of an influential and powerful

sector of the trade union move-

ment because of its opposition

to the Tobin dictatorship on the

question of labor's policies in

There was, it is then apparent,

no question of "seditious conspir-

acy" involved in the events lead-

ing up to the opening of the pro-

secution by the Roosevelt admin-

the war.

544 from AFL to CIO."

FIRST MAIN REASON

FOR THE PROSECUTION

lis Star-Journal, June 28).

544."

organizations."

the Socialist Workers Party.

ter" to assist Tobin.

THE FBI ACTS

on behalf of Tobin at Tobin's

Early then added:

handed down at this time. the government was trying to enemies of the government, inment and the prosecution:

1. To aid Daniel J. Tobin, AFL teamster chief, in his fight to prevent the members of Local 544 from exercising their democratic right to belong to the union of their own choice, and to strike a blow at the leaders of this union who were noted for their opposition to all moves to stifle the militancy of the labor movement in the name of "national to point out that this is no time, defense";

2. To terrorize, isolate and, if warmongers:

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

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

BACKGROUND OF TRIAL

The immediate circumstance which inspired the administration to undertake this prosecution when it did was the conflict between the Minneapolis truck drivers union, Local 544, and Tobin, climaxed on June 9 when over 4,000 Local 544 members voted to disaffiliate from the On June 27, FBI agents raided AFL and join the CIO.

Tobin, a staunch supporter of the Roosevelt administration, had declared himself unconditionally pledged to the war aims and policies of the government. Further- | are on public sale everywhere, more, he had publicly declared that adherence to his pro-war that these publicly available policies were a condition for continued membership in the AFL Teamsters, and that the members of the union must be prepared to make "sacrifices" in the in-

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

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

ROOSEVELT INTERVENES

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

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

On the very same day that he eceived Tobin's appeal, Roosevelt acted. Through his secretary, tephen Early, Roosevelt issued a statement to the White House press conference, which acknowledged Tobin's telegram and recognized Tobin's claim that the Teamsters' international leader istration. That came later when conditions. ship was being fought "by all the prosecution saw that it would

have to cover up its real motives. SECOND MAIN REASON

The second reason for the prosecution was purely political and perialist war.

This was explicitly admitted found in the Declaration of Prin-Rather, the evidence shows that subversive organizations and all ciples adopted by the Socialist Workers Party in January, achieve three ends by the indict- cluding Bundists, Trotskyists and 1938." (Minneapolis Tribune, Stalinists" because Tobin and his June 28).

colleagues have been and will Biddle then made specific refcontinue to stand squarely behind erence to those sections of the Declaration which read:

"If, in spite of the efforts of "When I advised the President the revolutionists and the miliof Tobin's representations this ant workers, the U. S. governmorning, he asked me to immedi- ment enters a new war, the SWP ately have the Government de- will not, under any circumstanpartments and agencies interest- ces, support that war but will, on ed in this matter notified, and the contrary, fight against it.

There was nothing secret or "conspiratorial" about this Decin his opinion, for labor unions. local and national, to begin raid- laration. It was made public three possible, suppress the party ing one another for the purpose and a half years before the inwhich proclaimed its irreconcil- of getting memberships or for dictment was drawn. It is the able opposition to the war and the similar reason." (New York expression of political opinions and, as such, the SWP and the Three things are established by defendants had, and have, the constitutional right to express

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

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

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

To find a legal basis for such a charge, the Department of Justice had to disinter two federal statutes which had never previously been used and which are in June 28). clear violation of the guarantees of free speech and free press contained in the Bill of Rights of the United States Constitution.

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

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

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

THIRD REASON FOR THE PROSECUTIONS

But the government wants to get a conviction precisely on the basis of these unconstitutional groups whose opinions the administration deems hostile to its war

That this was one of the major reasons for the prosecution was Unable to tell the truth about drive against "dangerous radi- the war days ahead.

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

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

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

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

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

Most decisive of all is the fact hat the Roosevelt administration is serious about the war, and statutes, because it wants a le- it is serious, therefore, about getgal precedent for the future pro- ting a conviction in this case as secution of any individuals or an important part of its war preparations.

Let there be no mistake about t. The government is in deadly earnest about railroading the 28 'efendants to prison. Progresindicated by Biddle himself, who sive workers must mobilize all eer Press, June 28, as stating against a conviction in this case, rally to their defense on this that this prosecution was to be a conviction which will jeopardthe first step in a nation-wide ize their rights and liberties in

Post-War Crisis Will Grip All Capitalist Lands

By JACK WEBER

The Crisis After the War

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

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

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

Marxist Analysis Confirmed

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

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

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

Economic Crisis for Imperialists Need we add anything concerning the imme-

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

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

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

LaGuardia No Friend Of Negroes Of Harlem

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

was subsequently to brazenly In Harlem there are few illusions about the great "liberal", did he do? He suppressed the deny that the prosecution had LaGuardia. For everyone who defends him, there are a hun- report! He does not dare to exany connection with the fight dred others who point to his broken promises, his system of disbetween Tobin and Local 544, crimination, his brutal police force. To the masses of Negro the indignation and united action declared on the day of the FBI people, he is no different from any other boss politician, - full of black and white workers raids that "the principal Socialist of campaign speeches and benevolence, but unwilling to lift a lagainst the landlords, profiteers, Workers Party leaders against finger in real aid. whom prosecution is being

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

what does the record reveal? On one hand he made a lavish display of placing Commissioner Battle on the parole board. But tive business interests in the that he had Ewart Guinier, mili-Twin Cities, announced that an tant trade union leader of the indictment was being prepared CIO State, County and Municipal against the Socialist Workers orkers of America, fired on Party, with the revealing head-"U. S. TO PROSECUTE is willing to appoint a few Negroes who will carry out his orders, but he attacks them vicious-'The prosecution is not in any ly if they try to defend their sense an attack on organized la-

bor, nor is it an effort to inter-LaGuardia noisily insists that fere in a dispute between labor he has championed Negro rights. But behind the scenes, he has act-However, in reporting this very ed as all Negro and labor hating tatement of Biddle's, the Minpoliticians. neapolis Star-Journal, June 28,

about unemployment and discrimination in defense industries? About old houses, many of them rents? About the problems of relief, health, and education?

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

What did the commission find? onstrate to the Negro people his for mayor in the Nov. 4 election.

luring his administration. But | They found that the largest proportion of those in industry were forced into unskilled and the low- full liberty to beat up and arrest est-paid occupations. That there pickets who are trying to secure was no check on companies which it was with much less publicity refused to hire Negroes or let litants who protest against the them work only in the capacity | injustices and Jim-Crow pracof porters or menials. They found that the Board of Transortation, under the direct jurisframed-up charges. LaGuardia diction of the Mayor, for the most | They have frequently been known part refused to hire Negroes. to interfere between colored and

> They discovered that almost beg at the relief office for weeks Skilled mechanics, electricians, gory of common laborers, were hired or fired at the whim of the

particular supervisor. They were shocked to find that are overcrowded, and full of discriminatory practices. The police sorts, - saloons, narcotic centers,

With the exposure of all these conditions, Mayor LaGuardia real-

pose such conditions for fear of etc., and the politicians who pro-Thus LaGuardia has done practically nothing to help the Negro

people. Instead he maintains better working conditions, or mito hide the real situation.

throughout the world. What we need is a party com-

There is only one such party, - the Socialist Workers Party. ly had his opportunity to dem- James P. Cannon is its candidate

desire to help them. But what

large police force in Harlem, at tices. They are allowed to break into and search homes without oven the formality of a warrant The few platform men who were white people who meet together. hired by the Independent Subway LaGuardia hopes, by the appoint-System were confined largely to ment of a few colored policemen,

We in Harlem have learned half of Harlem's families lived on that no Democratic or Republican relief. That often people had to candidate, no matter how liberal he pretends to be, can solve our and months before they were giv- problems. Both these parties rep-What has he done in Harlem en any attention. That discrimin- resent the rich and the powerful, ation on WPA flourished under the people who own and control the very nose of LaGuardia. the wealth, the industries, the newspapers, etc. They have no fire hazards, and exorbitant etc., were forced into the cate- interest in the problems of the Negroes, nor of the working class

> posed of the working class, whose school buildings were so old, so interests lie solely with all secfew, and had such poor and in- tions of the workers. A party adequate equipment. In all of whose basic program includes full Harlem there is but one high economic, social, and political school. The elementary schools rights for the Negro people. A arty which is not afraid to expose this war for what it is, do nothing about the vicious re- an imperialist struggle for profits, markets, and control, and to conduct agitation which will once

> > democracy.

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

—LEON TROTSKY

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
- 5. Confiscation of all war profits. Expro-
- priation 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 vig-
- ilante and fascist attacks. 8. An Independent Labor Party based on
- 9. A Workers' and Farmers' Govern-

Roosevelt's Threat To Labor's Rights

the Trade Unions.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

last Sunday, states: "In this crisis of our national life there must be uninterrupted production of coal for making steel, that basic material of our national defense. That is essential to the preservation of our free-

doms, yours and mine; those freedoms upon which the very existence of the United Mine Workers of America depends."

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

for the miners' own good! But what more precious freedom do the miners have than the freedom to strike?

America, and of every other labor union, has not depended primarily on those abstract "freedoms" Roosevelt proclaims.

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

J. P. Morgan's Man

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

John L. Lewis declared in his letter of October

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

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

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

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

Preserving 'Freedom'

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

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

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

What was the difficulty? Why did the Board which Stalin turns? On what does editorial in the same issue, which Union. find it so hard to come to a decision? It had he want to stake the very exist- declares: previously found, not the union-shop, but the closed-shop itself acceptable in the contracts of the commercial mines.

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

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

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

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

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

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

> Trotsky's Last Work MANIFESTO OF THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL IMPERIALIST WAR and the

PROLETARIAN REVOLUTION 48 pages 5 cents per copy

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The existence of the United Mine Workers of the existence of the United Mine Workers of the United Min Stalin Soviet Betrayal

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

Stalin is playing his last cards in his betrayal of the Soviet Union. As the moment approaches when he must make a full accounting for the catastrophe to which his leadership and policies have brought the USSR, the Kremlin bureaucrat tries to salvage his lost prestige by sowing the illusion that the Soviet Union will yet be saved if only the Allied imperialists can be

persuaded to open a "western+ front," and thereby draw off the illusion which can only lead to a strength of Hitler's invading ar-

In recent weeks the Stalinist has been saying, by order of the of a Western Front can stave off annihilation for the USSR.

Worker declared:

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

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

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

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

WHAT STALIN DEPENDS ON

fession by Stalin that the Soviet Union lacks the internal re- ever seen, it has been allowed occupied territories of Europe. sources, in the Red Army and in to borrow about a single day's boundaries of the first workers state in history.

ence of the USSR? On the bavoperialist armies!

From the first, Stalin has linked the fate of the Soviet Union rector Knudsen calls this a "Vic-German imperialism and all imwith the imperialist aims of tory program" . . . The immediate perialisms. British and American capitalism. practical effect of this program Now, he proclaims that the Soviet is to provide an excuse for not they will unite is the proletarian Union must appeal to the mili- going all out against Hitler now revolutionary hanner. tary forces of these same imper- and to paralyze aid to the Soviet ialists to save itself. These Allied armies, whose sole purpose is to carry out a program of imperialist conquest and plunder, are, for Stalin, the only hope of salvation of the USSR.

debacle.

Churchill and Roosevelt do not want to save the Soviet Union. press in England and America They wish, in fact, its ultimate destruction. They pursue only Kremlin, that only the creation their own imperialist ends, which include the ultimate annihilation on the USSR. What criminal fol-Thus on Oct. 19, the Sunday ly it is to delude workers with the idea that British and Amer-"Today this Hitler monster, ican imperialism will sacrifice even one soldier to hold the first workers state back from the edge

THE EXTENT OF IMPERIALIST AID

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

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

The Daily Worker, October 23, editorially complains:

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

"Thirty-six million dollars is REAL ALLIES OF ess than Great Britain spends for THE SOVIET UNION the war in a single day.

"Which means that while the bloodiest fighting the world has forces outside the remaining tities than the pace set thus far." 1920.

The Daily Worker even resorts

Union . . . "

Watch out, the Stalinists are telling the American ruling class, lest we brand you as "appeaser"! WHAT IS STALIN'S

Stalin is in effect asking the PROGRAM?

world workingclass and the Soviet | Dark hints and bluster! But save the Soviet Union for world masses to pin their hopes on an the Stalinists do not even try to socialism.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

There still remains the one decisive force which can save the Red Army has been holding Hit- Soviet Union, which Stalin dares This is nothing less than a con- ler off for four months in the not summon. That force is the

the masses of the Soviet workers war losses from the lease-lend ized for revolutionary struggle, and peasants, to resist any agencies . . . It needs no inside which can strike a mortal blow further Hitler's imperialist ag- information to realize that the to Hitler from the rear. This was gression. It is an unconditional 'substantial' aid which Harriman the power which saved the Soviet admission that the salvation of described as urgently needed will Union during the imperialist inthe USSR lies exclusively with have to go in far greater quan- tervention and civil war of 1918

It is to this power alone that in its desperation, to veiled the Soviet masses can and must But what are these forces to "threats" on this score, in an turn for the defense of the Soviet

The peoples of the occupied territories have demonstrated i nets and guns of the Allied im- ing in certain upper circles that blood that they need only a pro America should prepare to defeat gram and leadership to rise and Hitler - but in 1943. OPM Di- sweep before them the forces of

The one banner around which

"For the Socialist United States

of Europe!"

That is the appeal which the Soviet peoples must address to the masses of Europe. That is the front - the class front and not an imperialist "western front" which can destroy Hitlerism and

The Crimes Of Stalin

By Lydia Beidel=

I. How Stalin Throttled the German Proletarian Revolution - 1923

THE BACKGROUND OF 1923 EVENTS

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

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

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

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

PROBLEM FACING THE GERMAN COMMUNISTS:

The Social-Democracy had disclosed itself in all its nakedness as a willing tool of capitalism against the socialist objectives of the working class. The remaining sterile shell of the Independent Social-Democratic Party spent itself in loud talk but did

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

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

STALIN'S POLICY:

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

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

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

ACTIONS OF STALIN:

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

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

EFFECT UPON THE WORLD REVOLUTIONARY MOVEMENT:

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

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

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

Open Air Rally

Union Square - 17 St. between Broadway and 4th Ave. Saturday, November 1st, at 3 P. M.

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