

## GOVERNMENT'S WITNESSES BOOMERANG

### HELP DEFEND THE 28 NOW!

An Editorial

On trial in the Minneapolis federal courtroom today are not merely 28 individuals. Indicted before the bar of boss-class 'justice' are all those democratic rights and liberties for which American labor has fought for decades.

Through conviction of these 28 defendants, the employing class and its government hope to strike a blow at everything which progressive unionists and liberals hold dear: the right to freely propagate one's opinions; to join a union of one's own choosing; to carry out militant labor actions on behalf of the interests of the workers; to criticize and oppose the policies of the government; to educate and organize people for socialism.

Never in all American labor history, has there been a prosecution so clearly based on the expression of opinion.

In the prosecution's opening address to the jury on October 28, U. S. District Attorney Anderson baldly stated:

"... It is safe to say that usually in connection with a conspiracy count or charge, it is incumbent upon the prosecuting authorities to establish some overt act, some positive step or act done to bring about or in furtherance of the conspiracy; and it is the position of the Government in this case that that is not required."

It is nothing that the defendants are alleged to have done, therefore, which is the basis of this trial. It is their ideas in themselves and the fact that they publicly expressed these ideas which constitute the "crime".

Let the government secure a conviction on these grounds, and the precedent will have been legally established which will enable the government to make expression of opinion, independent working-class political activity, militant trade-unionism, a 'crime' and subject to punishment by long prison sentences. The mere possession or circulation of a book by Marx, or any other book or publication unacceptable to the government, may constitute a 'felony'.

Back of the prosecution is the mighty power of the government, the resources and apparatus of the wealthiest ruling class in history.

The defendants and their organizations have no resources with which to conduct a trial of at least two-months duration. They must have minimum living expenses, because they cannot work while the trial is in progress and maintain themselves and their families. Legal fees, court expenses, research work, all require financial means far beyond the capacities of the defendants to supply.

But the defendants are fighting not for themselves alone. They are battling for the rights and liberties of the American people as a whole.

Their fight, then, is the fight of every person, every worker, and progressive, who values his constitutional and inalienable rights and liberties.

Financial and moral support are the crying need of the defendants. Give them the means to fight, and they will conduct the most uncompromising battle for democratic principles ever witnessed in this country.

Every dollar, every penny which workers and liberals contribute to the defense will help prevent the flood of reaction which will follow a conviction in this case.

The need for funds is immediate and pressing.

The trial is already under way. The time to act is now — at once. Two months from now may be too late. Dig down in your pockets! Open wide your wallets! The price of liberty comes dear. Money is the least sacrifice we may be called upon to make for the preservation of our democratic rights. Rally to the front lines in the fight for civil liberties! Rally to the defense of the Minneapolis defendants! Let your dollars speak your determination that this attempt at violating labor's rights shall not succeed.

Rush your contributions to the Civil Rights Defense Committee, 160 Fifth Avenue, New York City. The Civil Rights Defense Committee is the authorized agency for collecting funds to aid the 28 defendants. It is a national committee, composed of labor leaders, writers, educators, and outstanding leaders in progressive circles throughout America, which has been authorized by the defendants to organize and mobilize public support on their behalf.

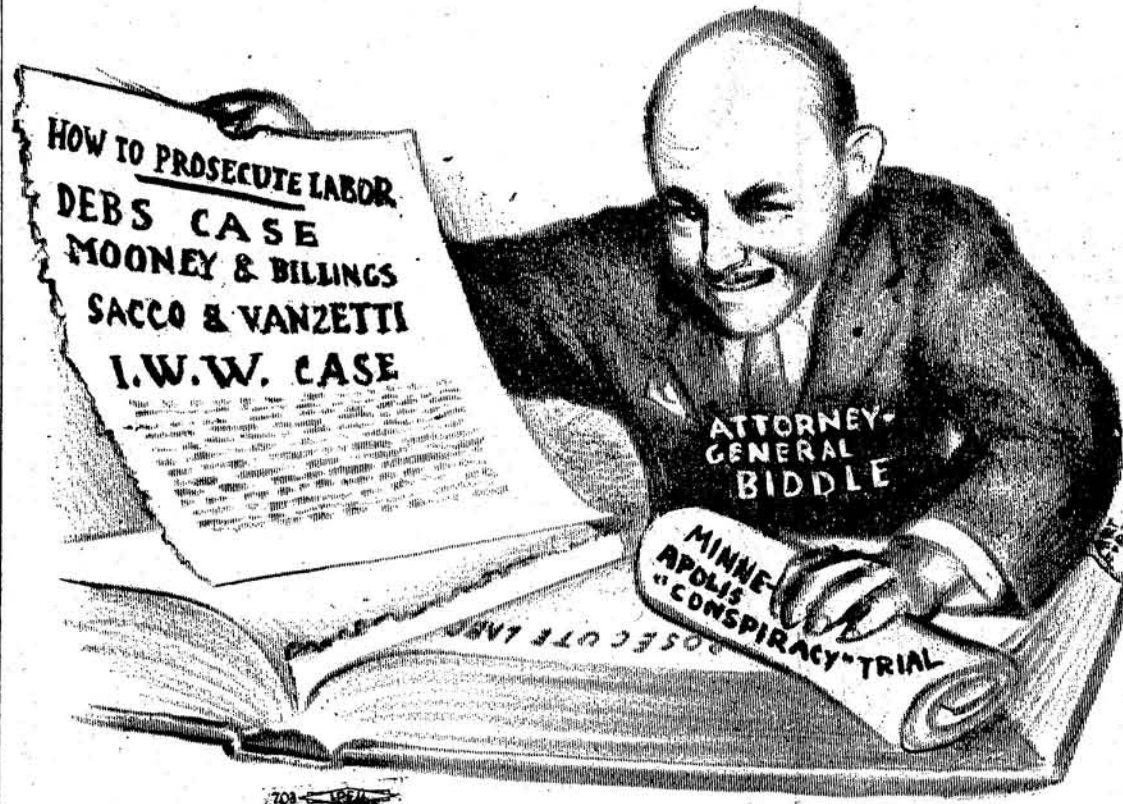
Don't delay! YOUR rights are at stake!

#### NEXT WEEK

For some time THE MILITANT has been trying to secure for publication the stenogram of the important speech delivered by Comrade James P. Cannon on "The Federal Prosecution and the Present Tasks of the Party", delivered at the Socialist Workers Party Plenum-Active Workers Conference in Chicago, Oct. 11, 1941. Delivery of the stenogram has been delayed by preparations of the party for the Minneapolis trial.

Just before this issue went to press, however, the stenogram was received in New York. This makes it possible for us to announce that next week's issue of THE MILITANT will feature the speech by Comrade Cannon.

### A PAGE OUT OF THE ANTI-LABOR BOOK



## Stalin Interview Shows Real Situation In USSR

### Stalin Shows He Is Incapable of Adopting A Revolutionary Program of Victory

By GEORGE BREITMAN

Reports from the Moscow front tell of fierce fighting raging around all the approaches to the capital. A radio broadcast from Moscow on November 3 declared that the German assault on the city had "entered a most serious phase", with the Germans throwing in fresh reserves of planes, tanks, guns and men. A decisive battle was being fought at the munitions center, Tula, 100 miles south of Moscow; and losses were increasing tremendously on both sides in the battle for Kalinin, 95 miles northwest of Moscow.

Late dispatches also tell of serious defeats for the Soviet forces in the Crimea, where they are reported to have been cut in two and driven back to the coast. Loss of the Crimea will give the Germans not only control of the Black Sea, but places them in a position to outflank Rostov, and the Don basin and threaten the Caucasus and its oil fields.

No one disputes the high fighting calibre, the spirit of sacrifice, the splendid morale of the Red Army soldiers. If the advances

of the German armies have been slowed up thus far, it is due primarily to these qualities of the Red Army.

But wars are not won by heroism alone. Modern armies require the proper strategy, the taking into account of all the factors, military, geographical, political, the co-ordination and the effective use of resources at hand, the selection of the weak points in the enemy's front.

#### STALIN'S INTERVIEW WITH INGERSOLL

Stalin's "strategy" in the war was authoritatively revealed last week in a series of articles writ-

ten by Ralph Ingersoll for the newspaper PM. Ingersoll has just returned from three weeks in the USSR where he discussed the war (Continued on Page 5)

## 'Captive' Mine Strikers Agree To 15-Day Truce

### Fix Strike Dead-Line in Event NDMB Fails To Make Favorable Decision On Union-Shop

The Roosevelt administration and the steel corporations have failed to force the United Mine Workers of America, CIO, to accept compulsory arbitration as a basis for settlement of the strike of 53,000 workers for the union shop in the "captive" coal mines.

Called on midnight, October 25, by UMW President John L. Lewis, in spite of Roosevelt's demand that the miners stay on the job and continue to work

without a contract, the strike was temporarily halted on October 30 under terms of a 15-day

#### DAILY REPORTS

See Page 3 for a complete day to day account of the proceedings of the Minnesota trial of the 28.

agreed to a mediation procedure which would not be binding on the union and would leave the union free to strike if the NDMB brings out a decision unfavorable to the miners, did the UMW announce a temporary truce. At the same time, a strike dead-line was announced by the union, and it is understood that the strike will automatically be resumed on November 15, if a satisfactory decision is not arrived at by then.

The strike was met by the combined onslaught of the entire capitalist class, incited openly and directly by the Roosevelt administration.

Terrific pressure was brought to bear on the miners to agree to a "no-strike" policy and to submit the disputed issue to arbitration which would be binding upon the union regardless of its effect on the miners' interests.

The strike was precipitated by the continued stalling of the NDMB, which after weeks of "deliberation" refused to take a position on the disputed union-shop issue. The board came out instead with alternative proposals which would have committed the union to submit the question to binding arbitration, or to continued fruitless direct negotiations with the companies which had refused for six months to accede to the union-shop, although over 400,000 commercial coal miners in the eastern United States are now working under a closed-shop contract.

#### NDMB ACTED FOR STEEL CORPORATIONS

The refusal of the NDMB to take a position on the union-shop (Continued on page 5)

also sought to convey a picture of Smith being given a course in ultra-revolutionary reading by Farrell Dobbs. Without explaining what these books actually were, the prosecution saw to it that the jury heard that Smith had read a book entitled "DYNAMITE" and the "COMMUNIST MANIFESTO."

But Smith of Omaha turned into a complete liability for the prosecution, when the defense had an opportunity to cross-examine him. Smith smilingly explained that "DYNAMITE" was a book, written by Louis Adamic, that disapproved of violence, and that he liked the "COMMUNIST MANIFESTO."

He described the work of defendant Farrell Dobbs first as Secretary of the 11-state North Central Area Committee, and then as International Representative of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters; Dobbs coming to Omaha at the request, first of the local union, and then seconded by AFL Teamsters' chief Daniel J. Tobin; and before this point was concluded Smith had described Dobbs as unquestionably the outstanding trade unionist in the work of the Eleven State Area Committee.

#### SMITH TELLS THE TRUTH

Asked why Farrell Dobbs resigned from his post as International Representative, Smith said that the International Office in Indianapolis had ordered Dobbs to settle a Kansas City taxicab strike on any terms and that Dobbs had refused to sell out the workers. An International Representative sent into Kansas City after Dobbs left there signed a worse contract than the one that Dobbs had rejected. The high point of Smith's testimony and cross-questioning came when defense attorney Goldman asked him why he had joined the Socialist Workers Party. Smith answered:

"I went to Minneapolis and saw the good work of Local 544 and how it was helping the smaller locals. I saw that the leaders of Local 544 were labor-minded and were for the poor. So I thought that if the Socialist Workers Party puts out people like that it was good enough for me."

Smith denied that any of the Socialist Workers Party members had ever advocated the use of force and violence.

#### TESTIMONY OF MALCOLM LOVE

The next prosecution witness scheduled was Malcolm G. Love, clerk of the Omaha Teamsters Union, of which he was previously an organizer. The prosecution asked him only two questions — how many members of the Union's Executive Board were Socialist Workers Party members and when he had joined the party. It was obvious that the prosecution, after its disastrous experience with Smith, had no intention of providing the basis on which Love could be cross-questioned at length. (A prosecution witness can be cross-questioned by the defense only on those sub-

(Continued on page 3)

## Trial An Alarm Signal To Labor

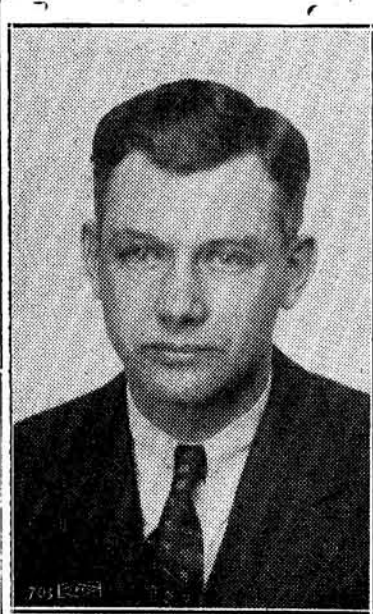
### Secretary of Civil Rights Defense Com. Warns of Danger

NEW YORK, Nov. 4. — George Novack, Secretary of the Civil Rights Defense Committee, today issued the following statement on the opening proceedings in the trial of the 28 Socialist Workers Party leaders and CIO unionists now going on in Minneapolis.

"Federal Prosecutor Anderson's opening statement to the jury is the most sweeping attack upon civil liberties and labor's rights in American legal history. The federal prosecutor contends that, regardless of overt acts, the mere expression of their opinions is sufficient to establish the guilt of the defendants. This is a clear violation of the constitutional guarantees in the Bill of Rights.

#### WHAT PROSECUTION MEANS BY "CONSPIRACY"

"As evidence of 'seditious conspiracy,' the Prosecutor cited activities which have been engaged in for decades not only by the



GEORGE E. NOVACK  
CRDC Secretary

Socialist Workers Party but by many labor and progressive organizations. According to the Prosecutor, it is seditious to carry on working class political activities, to publish such Marxist classics as the 'Communist Manifesto' and Trotsky's 'History of the Russian Revolution,' to crit-

icize any abuse or discrimination in the armed forces, to call the government of the U. S. imperialistic or capitalistic, and to maintain that the workers and farmers who form the majority of the population should govern the country.

"Even the demand for higher wages is branded a crime. 'It is going to be a part of our case,' declared Anderson, '... to show ... that the Socialist Workers Party was to guide and direct the activities of the union ... For instance, if it was a question of labor pay per hour, ask for an increase; if that was received, then don't stop there ... Always agitate and demand to cause a condition of unrest in order that there might be a breach between the employing class and the employee.'

#### FREEDOM OF SPEECH UNDER ATTACK

"There is hardly a progressive idea or a labor activity which could not be proscribed if the government obtains convictions in this case. Here in the United States, and not only in Japan, the

### Rights of Labor Are Under Attack Now, Says Novack

government is forbidding people to have 'dangerous thoughts.' Here in the U. S., as well as in fascist countries, trade union activities are being branded criminal offenses. Here, as under totalitarian regimes, freedom of speech and freedom of the press are in danger of extinction.

"The prosecutor's blunt assertions are an alarm signal to every American who values our hard-won liberties and does not want to see them taken away under pretext of war-time emergency. The trial now going on in the federal Courtroom at Minneapolis is today the front-line sector in the struggle for civil liberties and labor's rights in the United States."

Novack also cited the need for funds to carry on the legal and relief work of the Civil Rights Defense Committee which is aiding the 28 defendants, and urged that all funds be sent to its office, 160 Fifth Ave., New York City.

# Stoolpigeon Sets Tone For Government's Case

**Tobin Hiring and Three-Time Stoolpigeon Against Local 544 Is Prosecution's First Witness in Minneapolis 'Conspiracy' Trial**

MINNEAPOLIS, Oct. 27. — The first, and what is expected to be the key, witness in the federal government's "sedition conspiracy" case against the Socialist Workers Party and Local 544-CIO, Minneapolis motor transport workers union, is a three-time stoolpigeon on the payroll of Daniel Tobin, dictator of the AFL Teamsters.

James Bartlett is the Tobin hiring on whom the prosecution appears to be counting heavily to help in the manufacture of the "evidence" which the Administration and Tobin hope will send the defendants to prison for terms up to 16 years.

Last March, when Tobin was preparing to oust the militant, anti-war leaders of Local 544 (then an AFL affiliate), it was Bartlett who organized and led the so-called "Committee of 99", which opened the fight on Local 544 by filing charges of "radicalism" against the union's leadership with the Minneapolis Teamsters Joint Council.

## VETERAN STOOLPIGEON

Getting nowhere in this initial attempt to oust the Local 544 officers, Bartlett extended his stoolpigeon activities by appearing before a special Tobin-appointed committee in Chicago in April where he repeated his red-baiting fulminations against the Minneapolis drivers union.

All this was grist for Tobin's mill. He had long sought a pretext for moving in against the leadership of Local 544 because they had opposed his support of the warmongering Roosevelt administration and had fought his decrepit craft union methods and outlook, his one-man rule and his servile attitude toward the bosses.

Tobin then set the scene for his tool's third stoolpigeon venture. He called the leaders of Local 544 before himself and his cronies in Washington, in June, where Bartlett went all over the old ground once more.

After a farcical attempt at a Moscow trial, Tobin used Bartlett's reactionary "evidence" as the pretext for appointing a dictator-receiver over Local 544.

This Tobin move was nullified when Local 544, on June 9, overwhelmingly voted to disaffiliate from the AFL Teamsters and accept a charter from the CIO.

## TOBIN SETS THE STAGE

Tobin then turned for aid to his political master, Roosevelt, and thereby set the stage for Bartlett's fourth stoolpigeon performance.

On June 13, Tobin wired a frantic plea to Roosevelt urging that Local 544 "must be in some way prevented from pursuing this dangerous course..." (*New York Times*, June 14).

Roosevelt replied to Tobin on the same day. Through his secretary, Stephan Early, Roosevelt issued a White House press statement acknowledging the justice

time of the foundation of the SWP, Bartlett entered the party together with other members of the Minneapolis branch of the Socialist Party who in 1938 joined in a body.

## BARTLETT TELLS "ALL"

As first witness for the prosecution, Bartlett spent his initial time on the witness stand identifying members and officers of the party as members and officers of the party, the name of the party as the name of the party, the newspapers of the party as the newspapers of the party, and the weekly meetings of the party as the weekly meetings of the party.

Bartlett admitted under cross-examination that prior to the opening of the trial he had been aiding the FBI in preparing government "exhibits" for the case. Thus, through the entire background of the case and through the fabric of the prosecution itself runs the thread of Tobin's drive against militant unionism. He provided the pretext for the prosecution. He gave the initiative to it. He formulated the basis for the charges. He now supplies the stoolpigeons to offer the "evidence" for the government's case.

# KNITGOODS UNION CALLS FOR REFORM OF THE AMERICAN LABOR PARTY

**Executive Board Criticizes Deals With Boss Parties, Lack of Internal Democracy**

A few days before the Nov. 4 municipal elections in New York City, but too late to be printed in the last issue of THE MILITANT, a press release was issued by the Executive Board of the Knitgoods Workers Union, Local 155 of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union, denouncing Fiorello LaGuardia as "the last word in political opportunism", with principles

"like an elastic band," and William O'Dwyer as "the candidate of the corrupt Tammany machine," and refusing to endorse the candidacy of either for Mayor of New York.

But even more important in this press release is the Executive Board's analysis of the American Labor Party and its policies. Printed below are extracts from this analysis, all the more significant because the national leaders of the ILGWU play a leading part in the councils of the AFL.

## THE PRESENT SITUATION IN THE AMERICAN LABOR PARTY

"A. The Knitgoods Workers' Union has consistently supported the American Labor Party, even when the Union disagreed with certain steps. The American Labor Party was considered as a basis for a future nation-wide independent labor party. Tens of

thousands of workers and progressives rallied around it, giving it their time, energy and devotion. When unpalatable deals were made, these loyal followers were ready to forgive the Party, ascribing them to growing pains.

"B. Political Horse-trading: But the American Labor Party has not been able to keep this faith. Thousands of workers dropped out, discouraged and disillusioned by the policies of the leadership. In one election the American Labor Party supports the Democrats; in the next election, the Republicans and sometimes in the same election, candidates of both parties. Instead of advancing on the road to independent political action, it has thus continued to regress. The American Labor Party presents the anomalous spectacle of a political party that is non-partisan.

# War Raises Vital Issues For Coming CIO National Convention

**Key Problem Is How to Guard Independence Of Unions, Protect the Workers' Interests**

By DON DORE

The CIO will be confronted with the most crucial problems of its history at its forthcoming national convention starting November 17 in Detroit.

During the past eight years the American working class has made giant strides forward through the progressive, industrial union policies of the CIO. This convention will record the highest point of advance any labor organization has made in American history.

Labor in the basic mass production industries, the most decisive sector of the American working class, stands out as the most powerful organized force on the American scene, thanks to the great strike struggle, the sweeping organizational drives under the industrial union banner of the CIO.

For the first time in American history, labor has achieved an organization, sufficiently solidified and dynamic, and built on structural lines sound enough, to challenge the power of the tremendous monopoly corporations.

The industrial working class is now in a position to come into its own, to write a new and epochal chapter in the history of labor.

## GREATEST TASKS AHEAD

But the greatest and most decisive gains are still to be won. For all the advances made in the past six years are only in re-

ality good beginnings. Millions upon millions of industrial workers remain to be organized, the majority, in fact, of the working class. New giant industries, mushrooming forth in the fertile soil of the war boom, demand organization. The aircraft industry alone, for the most part anti-labor and open-shop, has drafted new hundreds of thousands of workers.

No American union movement has ever existed with greater promise and means for tackling the titanic problems of labor than the CIO today.

Nevertheless, at its forthcoming convention, the CIO will stand at a cross-road of destiny. Before the CIO members will stand the choice of whether they are to be halted in their march forward to the emancipation of industrial labor, or whether they will quicken their strides and smash ahead against all obstacles to the realization of their goal, the organization into militant, industrial unions of every worker in the United States.

This is a choice which the CIO members must face whether they like it or not. History has thrust it upon them.

## WAR IS KEY ISSUE

An imperialist war is sweeping over the world. No nation, no group, no class can escape being caught up in the vortex of that overwhelming catastrophe.

The American owning class is irrevocably committed to participation in that war. All its energies and powers are being directed toward the military struggle with its imperialist rivals, a struggle whose final aim is world domination of markets, colonies, resources, all the productive forces of mankind.

For the successful accomplishment of this task the American ruling class demands the complete support of labor. More, it must secure from labor all the wherewithal, the money and means, to sustain the astronomical costs of such a war.

Thus, as a prerequisite for the attainment of its ends, the ruling class demands nothing less of labor than that it subordinate or discard altogether its class interests, its struggle for improved conditions, its very independent existence, for the needs of the bosses' war.

The labor movement, the employers demand, must become a simple appendage of the war government and war machine. It may not have a will and life of its own. Its sole function must be to serve the war aims of the capitalist state.

## WHAT ROOSEVELT DEMANDS

The Roosevelt administration

of the party. Let us discuss and decide our problems in a democratic way.

"Breathe a new spirit into the ranks of Labor. With a sound political platform and active participation of all members we can still make the American Labor Party a political force in the state and nation and the cornerstone of a nation-wide Labor Party."

and the big business class it represents, plans to regiment and mobilize labor for the productive needs of the war. Labors' own needs and aspirations can have no place in this set-up. Strikes, militant struggles, dynamic organizational drives which bring the workers into conflict with the bosses, are considered taboo. Only those unions may exist which are completely servile to the government; those that resist will be met with the full power of the state.

The bureaucratic leaders of one great labor federation, the AFL Executive Council, have already given their answer.

They have reaffirmed their as-

surances to the government and employing class that they will go along "to the bitter end", regardless of the consequences to labor, with the war program. They seek to impose upon the AFL membership, over 4,000,000 strong, a policy of submission. It is summed up in the "no-strike" decree of William Green and the AFL Executive Council.

Enormous pressure, both from within and without the CIO, is being exerted on the CIO members to adopt this same course. They, too, it is demanded, must forsake all the traditional and effective methods of struggle which have carried the CIO forward and upward to its present position as the greatest union organization ever built by American labor.

They too are being told to abandon their own organizational ends, the unionization of all industrial labor, in order to give maximum support to the imperialist war.

What is demanded of the CIO, then, is neither more nor less than the renunciation of all possibilities for future gains and the surrendering of the only weapons it possesses for protecting the workers' interests.

## WHAT THE CIO WORKERS FACE

But the experiences of the CIO workers in auto, steel, rubber and all the other basic mass production industries, tell them that even if they agree to discontinue the struggle against the bosses, the bosses have no intentions of dropping the struggle against them.

They need only look back upon the record of CIO history for the past year, on the Ford, Bethlehem, International Harvester, North American Aviation and other momentous strike struggles, to know that the bosses yield only under overwhelming pressure; and that without the strike weapon, without their independent methods of combat, they stand helpless before the anti-labor assaults of the employing class and its government.

Already, the workers can see how quick the bosses and government have been to encroach of their rights and standards under the guise of "national defense."

The Roosevelt administration has warned labor that it must not strike, regardless of the circumstances and justice of the workers' demands.

A National Defense Mediation Board has been established, without formal legal powers of compulsion, which has nevertheless assumed for itself the power to foist completely arbitrary decisions upon the workers and which the workers are usually compelled to accept, regardless of how anti-labor these decisions may be, under threat of government armed intervention.

Further, the government has presumed, as in the case of the Minneapolis motor transport workers, Local 544-CIO, to dictate to the workers just what union they must belong to and how they are to conduct their union affairs.

And behind this initial drive to curb and restrict labor unions and their activities, is a threatened flood of legislation and administrative decrees to freeze wages, trench the open-shop, abridge civil rights, lengthen hours of labor, etc., etc.

This, in outline, is the situation and problems which face the CIO members at their national convention.

No matter what the specific and immediate issues may be which the delegates may discuss, the future of the CIO is bound up with the war and the position which the CIO takes toward the war.

(This is the first of a series of articles dealing with the issues and problems before the coming CIO national convention.)

# AIR ASSOCIATES STRIKE SAVED BY CIO SOLIDARITY

**NDMB Gave Bosses Chance to Break Union But State CIO Picket Line Prevented It**

BENDIX, N. J., Oct. 30. — 2500 U. S. Army troops arrived in Bendix this morning on the orders of Roosevelt as the government seized the plant of the Air Associates, Inc. just two months after its seizure of the Federal Shipyards in Kearny.

Seizure of the plane parts plant came only after the company had been afforded plenty of time to smash the United Auto Workers, CIO, local in the plant and had failed.

The National Defense Mediation Board, the OPM and the War Department had made recommendations to the company for the settlement of the widely publicized month-old strike and sat tight while the company used every method at its disposal to break the strike and the union. The company was in a strong position to do this.

The UAW had won an election by only 18 votes. It is a small plant, with the workers divided and a tough boss, and with the local administration working on behalf of the company, strike-breakers imported in large numbers and the government agencies making no effort to settle the dispute on behalf of the union majority.

For the successful accomplishment of this task the American ruling class demands the complete support of labor. More, it must secure from labor all the wherewithal, the money and means, to sustain the astronomical costs of such a war.

Thus, as a prerequisite for the attainment of its ends, the ruling class demands nothing less of labor than that it subordinate or discard altogether its class interests, its struggle for improved conditions, its very independent existence, for the needs of the bosses' war.

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24th ANNIVERSARY OF THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTION!

Open Meeting on:

'HOW TO DEFEND THE SOVIET UNION'

Speaker:

SAM GALLOWAY, lecturer

Sunday, November 9, at 8 P. M.

UKRANIAN HALL

525 W. RAYEN AVENUE

Auspices: SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY

ADMISSION FREE



## NEW 50c SUBSCRIPTION DRIVE

THE MILITANT and the FOURTH INTERNATIONAL this week launched a special subscription drive, patterned on the very successful one conducted early in the year, in which more than a thousand new subscriptions were secured in two months. Every factor involved gives promise of even more success this time.

Newark came in with the first subscription on the new drive, although the official opening was still five days in the offing. We think this premature rush is another index of the enthusiasm which will probably accompany the drive.

## NEW YORK USES THE MILITANT

The use of our newspaper as an effective mass agitator was demonstrated this week in the dis-

tribution of 20,000 copies of a special New York run for the mayoralty campaign.

To see these young New Yorkers, in the cold-bright dawn at 5 A. M., standing outside the subway stations with bundles of MILITANTS, distributing the paper and calling our party and its candidate to the attention of workers bound for the shop, makes us justifiably proud.

In the Bronx, long noted for its original angles on organizational and political matters, a horse and wagon have been threading the streets and climbing the hills (the comrades getting out at the foot to help up the horse), decked with party banners, loaded with party literature and bursting with speakers. It's certain that not much of the Bronx population got through this campaign without hearing the name of James P. Cannon and the Trotskyist Anti-War Party.

# Day By Day Summary Of The Minnesota Trial

## Govt. Witnesses Tell Of Defendants' Record In Building Strong Union

(Continued from page 1)  
jects which he had been previously questioned by the prosecution.  
Love testified that he had joined the Party on the invitation of the previous witness, Smith, and that five members of the union's Executive Board were Socialist Workers Party members.

On cross-questioning, asked by the Defense why he had joined the Party, he said: "For the same reason that Tommy Smith has just told you he joined."

(Further details on the sixth day of the trial will be found on this page).

Today, the seventh day of the trial, the prosecution began with the presentation of evidence showing that defendants who were members of the drivers union, Local 544, were participants in the formation of the Minneapolis Union Defense Guard set up in 1938.

This was the famous Defense Guard organized by progressive trade unionists after threats had been made against the lives of several of the union's leaders, and after the fascist Silver Shirt organization in Minneapolis had publicly called for armed attacks on the union hall.

District Attorney Anderson

read from the *Socialist Appeal* (now *THE MILITANT*) an article and an editorial showing that the Socialist Workers Party had approved the action of the Minneapolis unionists in establishing their Defense Guard to protect their organizations from the "vigilantes, fascist Silver Shirts and other employer-paid mobsters," and had called on other unions to follow this example.

Anderson in his opening statement for the prosecution last week had charged that the "sole" purpose of this Guard was to organize an armed force to be used for the overthrow of the government.

quarters, and a photograph of Trotsky.

It developed that one of the pamphlets the FBI agent had purchased at the party bookstore, on the basis of which he had, thirty minutes later, sworn an affidavit requesting the raid, was the "Communist Manifesto" of Marx and Engels. Similar testimony was given by FBI agent Roy T. Noonan about the St. Paul party headquarters.

The government then announced that it was proceeding to introduce excerpts from one-hundred articles which had appeared in the Trotskyist press. Defense Attorney Goldman reminded the judge that the defense, prior to the trial, had requested a Bill

of Particulars; but the government had refused such a bill and had been sustained in its refusal by the judge; and that therefore the defense had not had an opportunity to examine the one-hundred articles from which the government was about to introduce excerpts. The defense therefore requested time in which to examine these articles.

The judge agreed to recess court at that point — 4:35 P. M. — instead of the usual 5 P. M. closing and to convene the next morning at 10:30 A. M. Instead of the usual 10 A. M. starting, in order to give the defense council some time in which to examine the exhibits which the government was about to introduce.

## Sixth Day Of The Trial

MONDAY, NOVEMBER 3

Tobin's agent, James Bartlett, was on the stand most of the day. The morning was taken up with introduction by the Government of various socialist books and pamphlets, which Bartlett identified as having been sold at party headquarters.

The defense took the position, in general, of accepting without objection all works published by the Socialist Workers Party. It objected to the introduction of various works of Lenin and Trot-

sky on the ground that, insofar as the doctrines of these great Marxist teachers are accepted by the Socialist Workers Party — and defense counsel was at pains to insist that all the fundamental principles of Marx, Lenin and Trotsky were accepted by the Socialist Workers Party — these doctrines were embodied in the Declaration of Principles and other official documents and pamphlets of the party. On the other hand, there might be certain statements in books by Lenin and Trotsky which the party would not consider binding upon itself.

This, the defense stated, was true of a number of the historical works, excerpts from which the prosecution sought to introduce as evidence this morning: Trotsky's "LESSONS OF OCTOBER"; Lenin's "STATE AND REVOLUTION"; Lenin's "REVOLUTION OF 1905"; Trotsky's "WAR AND THE 4th INTERNATIONAL"; Trotsky's "STALINISM AND BOLSHEVISM." Judge Joyce sustained the defense's objection to the introduction of these items.

The defense made no objection to the introduction of Jack Weber's "A B C OF MARXISM."

The rest of the morning was spent with the Government introducing excerpts from various articles published in the *Socialist Appeal* during the year of 1938. In the case of party resolutions and other official party documents, the defense made no objection to their introduction except to insist that the prosecution be instructed to give the jury the documents in their entirety instead of mere excerpts.

GOVERNMENT 'EVIDENCE' PILES UP

Prosecution appeared to lay particular stress upon the introduction of the "SPECIAL ANTI-WAR SUPPLEMENT" which appeared in the April 2, 1938 *Socialist Appeal*. An article by Albert Goldman, published in August, 1938, criticizing the courts for their anti-labor bias, was introduced by the prosecution, obviously for no other purpose except to acquaint the jury with Attorney Goldman's estimate of the courts. The defense made no objection.

One quotation from the article that was read into the record was as follows:

"If under exceptional circumstances it is found necessary for the workers in their struggle against the bosses to use the capitalist courts, their limitations should be clearly recognized, and at all times should be recognized as auxiliary to the chief method of struggle — which must always be the unity and militancy of workers."

Several prosecution exhibits were introduced showing material published in the *Socialist Appeal*, and James P. Cannon's 1938 trip to France; likewise the article reporting the World Conference of the *Fourth International* in the fall of 1938.

One grotesque touch was the introduction by the prosecution of an article by Moissaye Olgin, the late editor of the *Stalinist "Freiheit"*, Olgin's article, printed in the *Stalinist* press prior to the People's Front, had been reprinted in the "Socialist Appeal" in 1938 to demonstrate Olgin's hypocrisy. When Goldman explained who Olgin was, the prosecution hastily withdrew their exhibit.

Before the prosecution was through with the 1938 *Socialist Appeals* it had also introduced excerpts from several "Appeal Army Columns" — the sub-getting column conducted by the Business Manager of the paper.

The prosecution next introduced Felix Morrow's pamphlet,

"LABOR'S ANSWER TO CONSCRIPTION." The defense interposed no objection except that the pamphlet be introduced in its entirety. Prosecution read excerpts to the jury, which stated:

"The Army could not be used for anti-labor purposes if the officers did not have power of life and death over the ranks. Only under that power can the officers drive young workers and farmers in uniform to smash picket lines."

The next prosecution exhibit was Albert Goldman's pamphlet "WHAT IS SOCIALISM?" The defense made no objection and provided the court with sufficient copies, which were immediately distributed to all the jurors.

James P. Cannon's "TO THE MEMORY OF THE OLD MAN," his address at the New York Memorial Meeting after Trotsky's death, was the next prosecution exhibit.

REMARKABLE WORK OF FBI MEN

FBI agent Thomas Perrin was then put on the stand to identify the two pamphlets he bought at the Socialist Workers Party headquarters in Minneapolis, on the basis of which he had sworn out the affidavit to justify the June 27th raids on the party's headquarters in the Twin Cities. The pamphlets were Marx's and Engels' "COMMUNIST MANIFESTO" and the "FOUNDING CONFERENCE OF THE 4th INTERNATIONAL."

Bartlett, brought back to the stand, also identified the "Communist Manifesto" as having been sold to him at Party headquarters.

Whereupon the prosecution introduced Exhibit No. 74 — the "Communist Manifesto" of Marx and Engels, first published in 1848.

Prosecutor Anderson argued that this work of Marx and Engels was valid evidence because: (1) it was bought by Bartlett in the party book store; (2) it was the basis for a discussion in Omaha; (3) Defendant Al Russell had told Smith to read it; (4) Dobbs had told Russell to explain it to Smith.

U. S. Assistant Attorney-General Schweinhaut seconded Prosecutor Anderson's contention, arguing that the "Communist Manifesto," Bartlett's testimony had indicated, advocated force and violence; hence the distribution and sale of such a book at the party headquarters in Minneapolis constituted violation of the second count of the indictment on which the defendants are being tried. (Schweinhaut was referring to the Smith Act which became a law in June 1940, under which sale or distribution of any published work advocating force or violence is an unlawful act.)

The defense objected to the introduction of the "Communist Manifesto," pointing out that it was a 93-year old historical work published in thousands of editions throughout the world. The defense insisted that Marx and Engels' ideas constituted the basis of the Socialist Workers Party, but this did not mean that all the formulations in the Manifesto were still valid after nearly a century.

Judge Joyce overruled the objection and accepted the "Communist Manifesto" as evidence against the 28 defendants.

ADDITIONAL LITERATURE

The rest of the afternoon was taken up with the introduction of the following items by the prosecution: "FOUNDING CONFERENCE OF THE 4th INTERNATIONAL"; New Year 1938 Jan. bore tickets to a party in the Minneapolis headquarters; a letter from the Trotsky Defense Fund, appealing for funds after the May 24, 1940 attempt to assassinate Trotsky; a leaflet advertising a speech by V. R. Dunn — an eye-witness report by him on the February 27, 1939 anti-Nazi demonstration led by the Socialist Workers Party against Bund meeting in Madison Square Garden; an advertisement of a mass meeting against war at which Miles E. Dunne was scheduled to speak; a leaflet advertising a memorial meeting in honor of Trotsky in Minneapolis; a leaflet, an anti-war manifesto, "Down With the War-Mongers," published by the Socialist Workers Party in 1938.

## Fifth Day Of The Trial

FRIDAY, OCTOBER 31

Bartlett, prosecution witness, was on the stand when court convened.

Through him the government introduced various excerpts from the party's Declaration of Principles.

Defense Attorney Goldman reminded the Court that he had interposed no objection whatsoever to the introduction of the Declaration of Principles, but that the Declaration should be considered as a whole, and not by excerpts.

Goldman then presented the court with sufficient copies of the Declaration of Principles, which were immediately distributed, one to each juror.

Prosecution proceeded to read to the jurors the lengthy itemized lists of the literature seized in the June 27th FBI raids, both at the Minneapolis and at the St. Paul headquarters of the party.

PURPOSE OF TESTIMONY

Much time was then consumed in repetition by Bartlett of the material he had previously covered on the witness stand on Wednesday. It was obvious that the purpose of this further testimony was to have him emphasize that, at numerous meetings, he had heard advocacy of the use of force and violence. Obviously well coached, and exhibiting a strangely precise memory, Bartlett linked various individual defendants

with statements in which they allegedly asserted their advocacy of force and violence. Through Bartlett, the prosecution introduced a mimeographed bulletin entitled "What is Trotskyism" by Jack Weber, to which the defense interposed no objection if the prosecution would introduce the bulletin as a whole. Prosecutor Anderson then read to the jury lengthy excerpts from the bulletin.

Bartlett testified on the alleged procedure by which various Minneapolis party members made financial contributions to the party. Defense Attorney Goldman objected to taking time with this testimony, offering to stipulate that members paid both regular dues and other sums depending on their ability and willingness to give. But the prosecution insisted on developing this point through Bartlett, the Judge overruled Goldman's objection, and this line of testimony went on for some time.

PARTY LITERATURE INTRODUCED

Through Bartlett, the prosecution attempted to paint a picture of the party attempting to "control the economy of the country" by winning strategic posts in the trade union movement. Also through Bartlett, who testified that he had purchased it at the party book shop, the prosecution introduced Farrell Dobbs' pamphlet, "Trade Union Problems." The prosecution proceeded to read to the jury the section opposing arbitration of strikes.

The prosecution next attempted to implicate V. R. Dunne as having insisted that Bartlett aid the party in recruiting members in the Warehouse Union, because that union was composed of young people of draft age, "in order that the party might have contact with them while in the army."

Bartlett identified Trotsky's "Lessons of October" as a book he

## Third Day Of The Trial

WEDNESDAY, OCTOBER 29

The morning session opened with Goldman's concluding the opening statement of the defense, taking about 45 minutes. (Goldman's opening statement is published on Page 4 of this issue.)

The prosecution began to present its case. Its first — and probably main — witness was an agent of A. F. L. Teamsters Chief, Daniel J. Tobin. This person, James Bartlett, is on the payroll of Local 544 — A. F. L. The Tobin union set up in opposition to the original Local 544 which joined the CIO on June 9th.

BARTLETT'S TESTIMONY

Bartlett's testimony consumed most of the day. He identified most of the defendants as party members; worked up details to indicate that they were active in the party; linked each one he named as an advocate of force and violence; was at particular pains to paint a picture of V. R. Dunne as the most active party figure; described the procedure at the Thursday night branch meetings; identified various defendants as members of the Minneapolis party branch executive committee; identified those who spoke at forums and mass meetings; traced the history of the Trotskyist movement from its inception as the Left Opposition to the formation of the Socialist Workers Party; identified party membership cards; identified the *Socialist Appeal* and the *Fourth International* as the weekly and monthly organs of the party respectively, etc., etc.

The prosecution solemnly intro-

duced Government Exhibit No. 49 — a ground plan of the layout of the Minneapolis headquarters of the party; Bartlett identified it as the plan he had aided FBI agents in drawing prior to the trial. Equally solemnly, Judge Joyce upheld the government's introduction of this. Defense Attorney Goldman offered instead to conduct the jury on a tour of the party headquarters but his offer was ignored.

The prosecution then introduced the Constitution of the party, and read it to the jury.

PRESENT FORMER POSITION ON LABOR PARTY

The prosecution then read to the jury various sections of the party's 1938 Declaration of Principles, including the section on Labor and Farmer-Labor parties. Goldman informed Prosecutor Anderson that this section had been completely changed and a new one endorsing the formation of a Labor party had been adopted by the party later in 1938 and

offered to furnish Anderson with a copy of that new section, but Anderson insisted on reading the old one to the jury.

Anderson read to the jury practically every section of the Declaration of Principles referring to the anti-war position of the party. He also read the section endorsing defense of the Soviet Union, and that supporting military struggles against fascism such as that of the Loyalists in the Spanish Civil War. The prosecution then began to introduce excerpts of the various articles in the *Socialist Appeal* of 1938.

FBI agent Thomas Perrin took the stand to testify on how he arranged for the June 27th raid on the Minneapolis headquarters of the party, during which the government seized the literature which it is now introducing as evidence against the defendants.

Through Perrin the prosecution introduced as evidence the red and white banners which had been hanging in the party head-

## Fourth Day Of The Trial

THURSDAY, OCTOBER 30

When court convened at 10:30 A. M. Judge Joyce explained to the jury that during the night it had become obvious that it was impossible to proceed with the trial until defense counsel

was given an opportunity to examine the government's next exhibits. Court was adjourned for the rest of the day.

This meant that at last the defense lawyers would have the op-

portunity to examine documentary evidence (about which they had been kept in the dark until then) on the basis of which most of the charges in the indictment had been drawn up.

## More Sidelights On 'Sedition' Trial

A homey scene of domesticity is presented each day between the trial sessions at the Minneapolis SWP headquarters where the defendants gather together twice daily to enjoy the tasty and wholesome meals prepared and served by Mrs. Downey Skoglund, wife of defendant Carl Skoglund, and her able staff of defendants' wives, daughters, and friends, under the auspices of the Civil Rights Defense Committee.

This is not only a way of reducing the expenses of maintaining the defendants and their families during the trial, but a daily demonstration of the solidarity of the defendants.

Appetites are quickened by the atmosphere of fighting spirit and comradeship that prevails as well as by the savory odors arising from the roasts, stews, soups, etc., coming hot off the big kitchen range. The food is seasoned by spirited discussion of the day's courtroom events and the progress of the trial.

The *St. Paul Dispatch*, October 29, published a full page of pictures of the defendants at lunch. (Reproduction of several of these pictures will be a feature of next week's *MILITANT*).

the opening speech of Defense Attorney Goldman: "A somewhat stolid, impassive jury of 11 men and one woman in federal court today were being given a short course in philosophy — the philosophy of his disciple, Leon Trotsky."

"Jurors sat transfixed. For most of them it was probably the first time they had enrolled in such a course. Most of them are from rural areas surrounding Minneapolis."

And as the *Times* further observed, this wasn't an ordinary trial. "The seats reserved for spectators were filled, too; mostly with men in sweaters or jackets — obviously of the laboring class, the class which Trotsky felt was the hope of mankind."

One of the Minneapolis reporters customarily goes off duty at 4 P. M. But he was so enthralled by Attorney Albert Goldman's opening speech for the defense to the jury on the second day of the trial, that he remained in the courtroom for an hour, until court recessed for the day. He said he'd never heard socialism explained as Goldman presented it. He wanted to know if there were other great orators among the defendants.

For the record, this is Criminal Case Number 7256. The *St. Paul Pioneer Press*

gives a picture of the "sedition" trial courtroom in its issue of Nov. 2:

"Every one of the spectators' chairs in the small courtroom is taken as soon as the doors are opened . . .

"At most there isn't room for more than 60 or 70 spectators, but the congestion is nothing compared with that inside the courtroom rail. There it's almost as crowded as a subway, except that everyone is seated.

"To Judge M. M. Joyce's left sit the defendants in three rows of chairs. At the right are the twelve jurors and two alternates. In between are the five defense lawyers and three prosecuting attorneys, not to mention the bailiffs, clerks, stenographers and newsmen. They're all crowded into an area 33 by 44 feet."

"By far the busiest of the defendants were Felix Morrow, editor of 'The Militant,' and Carlos Hudson, editor of the 'Northwest Organizer.' They took pages of notes, and were fully as busy as the battery of newspapermen covering the trial."

Incidentally, Madeleine Hudson, wife of Carlos Hudson, gave birth to a seven pound baby girl in St. Baranbas Hospital, Minneapolis, on Saturday, Nov. 2.

The courtroom looks like a library with the more than one

hundred different newspapers, pamphlets, books, documents, etc., circulating between attorneys, judge, jury and defendants. Attorney Albert Goldman, defense counsel and defendant, is setting a fine example for the party's literature agents with the zealous manner in which he is distributing literature in the courtroom.

The Minneapolis Daily *Times*, Oct. 31, described the satisfaction of the SWP defendants at the publicity which the trial is giving their Sunday afternoon forums, "where members speak to the public on world events and usually season the lectures with some SWP theories."

The defendants are taking advantage of the opportunities presented by the trial to advance the party's program and activities, the *Daily Times* relates. Last Sunday, Mrs. Dorothy Schultz, a defendant, lectured at the forum on "Showdown on the Pacific."

Felix Morrow, editor of the *MILITANT* and defendant, will address this coming Sunday's forum on the 24th Anniversary of the Russian Revolution.

The 'Industrial Organizer' of Nov. 1 points out that "The more District Attorney Victor Anderson defined a 'conspiracy,' the vaguer and more nebulous became that concept. Clarence

Darrow used to say that a 'conspiracy' was an idea invented by reactionary governments to rid itself of its critics."

The Minneapolis SWP headquarters is doing business as usual, only more so, these days, particularly the library and bookshop occupying a whole room, where the sale of the *MILITANT*, *FOURTH INTERNATIONAL*, pamphlets and books goes on, with many persons requesting the works displayed by the prosecution in the courtroom. And they don't leave empty-handed.

### MARXIST SCHOOL

Irving Plaza  
Irving Pl. and 15th St., N. Y. C.

MONDAY, NOV. 10

7:10 P. M.  
History of 3rd and 4th Internationals

8:50 P. M.  
Problems of World War II

WEDNESDAY, NOV. 12

7:10 P. M.  
Permanent Revolution in American History

8:50 P. M.  
American Unionism Today

At another point Bartlett testified that one of the defendants, Emil Hansen, had said to him: "We'll win this fight yet. Then we'll take care of rats like you." Nobody in the courtroom seemed particularly horrified.

Time was taken for Bartlett to identify certain alleged party names as belonging to various defendants; then he returned to the Mexico City trip and told of going to see a bull fight. There was a laugh in the courtroom when Defense Attorney Goldman said: "The question to the witness was as to what Harry DeBoer said about the aims and the purposes of the party and the answer was something about a bull fight."

### ANDERSON READS WORKERS' SONGS

Some time was then taken by Bartlett to identify various defendants as having acted as chairman or speakers at party branch meetings. Then came Government's exhibit No. 20 — the mimeographed program of a banquet given at the Minneapolis party headquarters. After introducing it into evidence, Prosecutor Anderson asked Bartlett whether at these social gatherings there were generally groups singing.

Having received an affirmative answer, Prosecutor Anderson then gravely read to the jury and into the court record all the words of three songs which had appeared on the banquet program: "Solidarity Forever," the "Work-

# Goldman States The Case For The Defense

Below are excerpts from Defense Attorney Albert Goldman's opening statement to the jury, delivered Tuesday afternoon and Wednesday morning, Oct. 28 and 29, following the opening statement by the prosecution:

Mr. GOLDMAN: Your Honor, and ladies and gentlemen of the jury, I speak now on behalf of all the defendants with the exception of the defendant Nick Wagner, who is represented by Mr. Dolf. When I say I speak on behalf of all the defendants, I do not thereby admit Mr. Anderson's contention that they are all members of the Socialist Workers Party. Some were and dropped out of the party; some, I understand, never were members of the party.

When I refer to the defendants and their beliefs, as I shall in the course of this statement, please remember that I mean those defendants who will without any hesitation whatever admit membership in the party.

I do not know whether you will ever sit on such an important case again, not because merely twenty-eight persons are involved in their liberties, but because great principles are involved, the principles of freedom of speech and of the press and of assembly; not only that, but great social theories are involved. Never before, I venture to state, in the history of this court room have the walls re-echoed with such contentions as made by Mr. Anderson (the prosecutor).

Marxism, the theories of Lenin and Trotsky, have been brought into this case by Mr. Anderson. I do not believe, ladies and gentlemen, that in this court room there has ever been an analysis on questions of more vital importance to mankind.

## A Political Movement On Trial

In the first place the defendants will prove that, if this is a conspiracy at all, it is a very, very peculiar "conspiracy". It is a "conspiracy" of the most peculiar nature ever entered into between human beings. It is a conspiracy where all of us defendants proclaim to the world what we want, never attempting at any time to conceal our purposes, but, on the contrary, begging people to read what our ideas are.

It is a political movement that is on trial here.

It is a movement that is based on certain ideas, maybe strange to you, and maybe strange to Mr. Anderson and everybody else connected with the prosecution — maybe ideas that you do not agree with and that you will not agree with subsequent to our explanation of them; but it is not a conspiracy

## OUR INFLUENCE ON THE TRADE UNION MOVEMENT

The evidence will show that we were very, very interested in the question of trade unionism. We will not deny it! that the Socialist Workers Party adopted resolutions dealing with the question of trade unionism; that it instructed its members to be active in all organizations, particularly trade unions — but in all organizations, social, unemployed, farmers — where people congregate, there should we be. That is what the evidence will show; yes, that we propagate our ideas, to show the majority of the people that they, in order to solve their problems, must accept those ideas. There is no other solution possible.

The evidence will show that some of our members were exceedingly active right here in Minneapolis; that they were responsible, beginning with 1934, for organizing Local 544, General Drivers' Union, and that subsequently they played a very important role in making a union city out of Minneapolis.

The evidence will not show, contrary to the claims made by the prosecution, that the Socialist Workers Party attempted to impose its control on the unions. The evidence will show that in the union where our members were active, specifically in Local 544, the best kind of democracy prevailed; that truck drivers and members of that union not only were permitted but actually were in opposition to the leadership; that they had a chance to criticize the leadership; that they had a chance to vote against the leadership and put up their own candidates; that at no time did anybody prevent any members in the union from getting freedom of expression.

## Genuine Democracy in Local 544

The evidence will prove conclusively to you jurors that if there ever was in the history of this country, in the history of the trade union movement in this country, a union democratic to the core, with a leadership that was absolutely honest, incorruptible, fighting for their ideals, fighting for the interests of the workers, and that was free from gangsterism and racketeering, it was Local 544; and the evidence will show you, will convince you, that it was after Local 544 began a fight for democracy against the President of the International Teamsters, Daniel Tobin, who wanted to put his dictatorial hand on the union — after that, when Local 544 had to leave the American Federation of Labor, this indictment resulted.

The defense will prove Mr. Anderson's contention that we are opposed to this war, and the evidence will further prove Mr. Anderson's contention that the defendants consider this war on the part of England and Germany and Italy and the United States as an imperialistic war, fought for the economic interests of the small group of financiers and capitalists who control the destinies of this country, of England, of Germany, of Italy, and of Japan.

The evidence will show that we are opposed to the involvement of this country in the war. There will be no question about that, that we consider this war an imperialistic war upon the part of those countries that I mentioned.

Those are ideas of ours with which the jurors may agree or not, but the evidence will show that every statement made by Mr. Anderson to the effect that we believe in sabotage is absolutely false. The evidence will show that, although we will not give support to any war on the part of the United States Government because we consider it to be an imperialist war, a war for profit, a war for markets, a war for spheres of influence, a war for colonies, still the evidence will show that so long as we are in a minority, so long as we cannot convince the majority of the people that our ideas are correct, we shall submit and we have nothing else to do but to submit to the government.

## Want Workers and Farmers To Fight Own War Against Fascism

We shall show that the Socialist Workers Party opposes sabotage. We shall show that Mr. Anderson's claim is absolutely wrong and based on no foundation whatever to the effect that we prefer the enemy, the imperialist enemy of the United States, to defeat our government. It is absolutely false. What we want, as the evidence will show, is to have the workers and farmers establish their own government, and then to continue a real war against Fascism. The evidence will show that we do not believe that England and the United States, as constituted at the present, are fighting against Fascism for Democracy, but are actually fighting to protect the interests of this small group of financiers and bankers.

The evidence will show that we have never advocated the idea of insubordination in the army. The evidence will show that, just as we believe — and Mr. Anderson stated it correctly

## Speech Delivered On October 28th, 29th At Start Of Minnesota 'Sedition' Trial Of The 28

hatched in the darkness of night in some cellar. It is a movement basing itself on philosophy, proclaiming to the world that this philosophy must be accepted by mankind or else the destruction of civilization is inevitable.

Call that a conspiracy if you wish, but know — know the difference between this political movement and a conspiracy hatched in the darkness of night for the purpose of committing a crime.

We shall show you — and this is one of the most important things and I want you to bear with me if I illuminate it a little extensively — we shall show to you, by the very evidence introduced by the prosecution, that the Socialist Workers' Party and all the defendants who are members of that party understand that the aim, the objective of that party, was to win a majority of the people for its ideas. I repeat: The objective and the aim of the party was to win through education and through propaganda a majority of the people of the United States, and Mr. Anderson will have to convince you that that is criminal.

We shall continue through propaganda, through education, to get everybody in the United States — at least a majority of the people — to accept our ideas, and thereafter to institute a social system which we call by the name of Socialism, a system which we believe will solve all of the ills of mankind, which we believe will abolish war and the destruction that is now raging throughout the universe, because under socialism there will be no countries controlled by a minority of financiers and big industrialists for their profit throwing all the people into useless wars.

We shall introduce such evidence and we shall let the jury decide whether we have a right to our beliefs and our opinions. If Mr. Anderson wants it, we shall gladly go into all the theories of Marxism, and if the jurors do not agree with those theories and they want to put us in jail merely because they do not agree, that is your privilege. But we think that we have a right to our ideas. We have a right to say that the ills of mankind, unemployment, Fascism, destruction, war — that all these ills of mankind require a solution, and that thus far the only solution is the ideas we represent, the ideas of socialism.

and he quoted, I believe, from my pamphlet on "What Is Socialism" — just as we believe you can no more stop a revolution than you can stop an earthquake, so after years of suffering and war and privation, the men who are doing the fighting and dying will themselves oppose the war and will look for a solution where they can get peace.

Peace, peace, they will cry and neither I nor anyone else will have to agitate them, and neither Mr. Anderson nor anybody else by putting us in jail will stop them.

The prosecution in the indictment and Mr. Anderson in his opening statement charged that our party was in favor of controlling the militia by the trade unions. Mr. Anderson did not explain that correctly.

## Military Training Under Trade Union Control

Our policy is summed up in the following phrase, the evidence will show: "Military training of every worker under the control of the trade unions." Now, if Mr. Anderson thinks that is criminal, that is his privilege. The evidence will show why we adopted that policy. We contend that the evidence will show that the present army of the United States is controlled by officers and especially by generals completely hostile to the interests of the great masses. The evidence will show that I wrote an article after France capitulated, in which I pointed out that the reason for the defeat of the French Army was because the generals and the bankers who controlled that army were the real "Fifth-Columbists" and that they were the ones who were responsible for the defeat. And the evidence will show that I argued that we cannot trust the American generals and the American higher officers to fight Fascism because in essence they are Fascists themselves, most of them. They are autocrats, arrogant, they utilize every opportunity to teach obedience and discipline in a disgusting manner, and that by and large they are people like that General "Yoo-hoo" Lear who made the soldiers walk fifteen or twenty miles because they yoo-hooed some girls.

The evidence will show that we believe that the trade unions should take control of the training of union members as officers, not for the purpose, as Mr. Anderson suggests, of overthrowing the government by force and violence, but for the purpose of protecting the interests of the soldier masses. We may be wrong. You may not agree with us, but the evidence will show that we sincerely believe, and will produce facts in the attempt to prove, that the soldiers are suffering under reactionary discipline, that they ought to have greater democracy, and that the higher officers of the army cannot be trusted because they are in essence defenders of the present day social system, which crushes the liberty and the initiative of the soldier masses.

## We Are Internationalists

Perhaps some of you have interpreted some of my remarks as indicating that I hold Mr. Anderson personally responsible for the prosecution. I certainly do not. This prosecution comes from Washington, Mr. Anderson, as the District Attorney, must of course take orders from Washington; and even Mr. Schweinhaut, who is from Washington, also is subject to orders. I do not hold them personally responsible.

The case here, I think the evidence will show, involves big political questions and big political maneuvering that took place in Washington, not in Minneapolis.

Mr. Anderson, in his opening statement, accused us of being internationalists. All of us who are members of the Socialist Workers Party are internationalists. But Mr. Anderson seems to think that it is a crime, or a part of a conspiracy, and I must answer.

We are internationalists because we really take seriously the doctrine that all men are created equal. That they must have an equal opportunity, and that they are equally good; that there is no difference between German and English and American and Chinese and Negroes; that whatever differences crop up, upon maturity, are the result of their environment, and not of their birth. So the doctrine that all men are created equal is full of meaning to us. We live by it. We have no prejudices, and we detest all forms of racial, religious and national prejudice.

Now I come to a point which I presume should be one of the principal questions at issue, a point concerning which perhaps more evidence will be introduced than on any other point. It is no longer a question involving theory. It is a question which you, ladies and gentlemen, even though you are not acquainted with Marxism and social theory, are perfectly capable of deciding without any help from experts or would-be experts. That is the question of the Union Defense Guard.

We shall introduce evidence to show that in the year 1938,

some members of Local 544 got together and decided to organize a Union Defense Guard; that those members did that because at that very time there was an organization, national in scope, and active particularly in Minneapolis, known as the Silver Shirts, an organization fascist in character, with the objective of destroying all the rights of labor, and all the democratic rights of all the people, a fascist organization.

## Union Defense Against Fascists

The evidence will show that those members of 544 learned that the Silver Shirt organization was supported by some labor-hating employers in Minneapolis, and was to attempt the destruction, not only of Local 544, but of all unionism in Minneapolis, to destroy the halls, to attack the meetings, to destroy the

## WE ARE DISCIPLES OF MARX, LENIN AND TROTSKY

Mr. Anderson, in his opening statement, charged us with being Marxists, and I am afraid that we will have to admit that Karl Marx formulated the basic doctrines of our movement back in 1848.

Now, ladies and gentlemen of the jury, the evidence will show that Karl Marx wrote many books, and that you can get them in all the libraries in the United States; that you can buy them in most book stores; that, together with other writers, Karl Marx is considered now by people who disagree with his writings, as one of the greatest social thinkers of the age; that he had certain theories with which we agree. We do not agree with all the theories that Karl Marx formulated, but with his basic theories undoubtedly we agree. What we do agree with is found in our Declaration of Principles.

Mr. Anderson also charged us, and the indictment charges us, with believing the theories of Lenin. Some of you, in your answers to the questions put to prospective jurors, said that you had heard about those theories; some of you had read something about those theories and about the Soviet government. The evidence will show, and I hope will convince you, that some of your ideas are not correct about the Soviet Union and the Soviet government. The Soviet Union is one thing, and the Soviet government very, very seriously, but we think that the fundamental basis of the Soviet Union is correct, that is, the fact that all property, productive property, is owned by the people. That we believe in, but the fact that the Stalin government has subjected the people to a terrorist dictatorship, that we have fought from the very beginning, and we shall continue to fight.

## Affirm Ideas Of Lenin And Trotsky

So far as the principles of Lenin are concerned, again the evidence will show that insofar as we agree with them, they are found in our literature, and especially in the Declaration of Principles. We do not claim to agree with everything that Lenin said. But with his fundamental theories we agree, and we put them into our Declaration of Principles.

The indictment mentions, and the prosecutor was very, very careful to bring to your attention, that Leon Trotsky was a man whose principles constitute the basis of our party. Here again I admit it. We do not deny that we did everything possible to defend Trotsky against that horrible organization of Stalin, the GPU, and that for thirteen years we succeeded in

## WE DESIRE PEACEFUL TRANSITION TO SOCIALISM

Now we come to the very heart of this case. I want to beg your pardon, ladies and gentlemen, if I went into theories and ideas that seemed to be unnecessary so far as this case is concerned, but you will certainly admit that I had to answer Mr. Anderson's opening statement, because he brought in Marx and Lenin and Trotsky and our ideas about trade unionism. I had to answer.

Essentially — and I am sure the Court will instruct you — essentially, the question boils itself down to this: Did we advocate the overthrow of the Government by force and violence? That is the heart of the question; because obviously, ladies and gentlemen, suppose you did not agree with our theories about trade unionism; suppose you did not agree with our theories about the war, our opposition to the war; supposing you did not agree with our designating the governments of England and United States and Germany and Italy as imperialistic; you would not convict us because of that. You said — and I believe every one of you — that you believed in the right of free speech, free press, free assembly, and it would be impossible to imagine a jury composed of American citizens, convicting individuals because they did not agree with the opinions of those individuals.

MR. SCHWEINHAUT (prosecution): I submit that that is clearly argument, Your Honor.

THE COURT: I agree with you, Mr. Schweinhaut. I think counsel should adhere to the line of proof, in answer to the statements of the Government, and not argue the merits of his position as such.

## Believe In The Class Struggle

MR. GOLDMAN: This is a question of advocacy, the question of whether or not we advocate the violent overthrow of the Government, and the question of whether we conspired to overthrow the Government by force and violence. Those are the two counts in the indictment, conspiracy to overthrow and conspiracy to advocate violence. Those are the important questions.

We shall prove that the defendants believe in the theory of the class struggle: that in our present society there are two major classes; on the one hand the class that owns the productive wealth of society; on the other hand, the class of workers, and by the term "workers", we mean the farmers, laborers, industrial workers, all those who work by hand or brain, and that this class is exploited by the financier and big capitalists; and between those classes there is a constant struggle going on. We do not have to advocate that struggle in order that it should exist. It existed before we were in existence, before you were born, before I was born, before Karl Marx was born. It is a fact in society, and this struggle between those classes goes on in society, regardless of our wishes and desires. The American workers and farmers, the majority of whom as yet know nothing of our theories, continue to struggle against the imperialists and against the Wall Street bankers, even though they know nothing about our theories.

Then the evidence will show that we believe that at a certain moment in history this class struggle will become more and more serious, and might lead to a violent war. Again, the evidence will show that it is not a question of whether we desire it and advocate it, but that the class struggle exists and will develop regardless of our wishes and our desires, and regardless of our intentions and desires, and regardless of the prosecution's intentions and desires.

property of the unions; that those union men thereupon decided to organize a Defense Guard for the purpose of defending the union halls, the union property, and union meetings against any possible attacks by these Silver Shirt members. Our evidence will prove all this, and if there is one thing that we will not deny, it is this, that the members of our party and the members of the union who were not members of the party — and every American with any red blood in his veins, would do exactly the same thing — prepared themselves to resist any attempt on the part of the fascists to destroy the rights of labor and the democratic rights of the people.

Now, I do not think that any juror will deny any American citizen, or any trade union member, the right to organize a Union Defense Guard. If the prosecution persists in its attempt to make this Union Defense Guard out to be a subversive organization, dedicated to the task of destroying the United States Government, all I can say is that this whole case is nothing but a frame-up on the part of the prosecution, because the evidence will show conclusively that the purpose of this Union Defense Guard was nothing except to defend the rights of the union members, not only of Local 544, but all union men.

keeping him alive, and finally one of Stalin's agents succeeded in murdering him. We will not deny that we did all in our power to defend Leon Trotsky, not merely because we liked him as a man but because we think that his ideas represent the hope of mankind.

As Mr. Anderson indicated, Trotsky has written many articles and, ladies and gentlemen of the jury, if you find us guilty of conspiracy on the basis of the fact that we circulated and published some of the things that Trotsky had written, you will have to find Liberty Magazine guilty; you will have to find Life Magazine guilty; you will have to find almost every important magazine and every important publisher in the United States guilty, because every important magazine and newspaper in this country has published articles by Leon Trotsky, and his books have been published by some of the most important publishers in this country.

## Approve Workers Revolution Of 1917

No, we do not deny for one moment that we considered Leon Trotsky to be a leader of our movement, and that we were willing to expend every effort to defend him against the OGPU. One of our members was shot and killed in Mexico in an attempt to defend him. His secretaries were killed, four of them, in the attempt to defend him. His sons and daughters were murdered, but he went on with his work. He had an idea. He wanted to save mankind from the destruction with which it is threatened, and his books and writings are very precious to us.

Again, the evidence will show that we do not believe everything that he said was correct. We do not hold any human being to be infallible. He was human, and therefore he made mistakes, but the fundamental doctrines that he taught are those doctrines which we believe will ultimately save mankind, and if not accepted, will lead to the destruction of all civilization.

We also will not deny, ladies and gentlemen of the jury, that we approve of the Russian Revolution of October, 1917. We consider it to be the greatest step forward in the history of mankind, because for the first time in history the people, the masses who were subjected to the tyrants' regime, the masses who were subjected to all the poverty, who were made dogs by the czarist regime; the masses of peasants and workers arose and said to themselves, "We shall take into our possession the wealth of Russia, and try to produce for our own welfare." That is why we think it is the greatest revolution in history.

The evidence will further show, as Mr. Anderson has himself indicated, that we prefer a peaceful transition to socialism; but that we analyze all the conditions in society, we analyze history, and on the basis of this analysis we predict, we predict, that after the majority of the people in the United States will want socialism established, that the minority, organized by the financiers and by the capitalists, will use violence to prevent the establishment of socialism. That is what we predict.

## Predict Overthrow Of Capitalism

Now the jurors will be instructed by the Court, I am sure, to be, again, very careful about this point, the question of advocacy, as against prediction, and the evidence will show that I wrote a pamphlet called "What is Socialism", in which I deal with that question very, very simply, and I think, very, very clearly. We prefer a peaceful transition, but we predict that the minority will not permit the majority its right to establish socialism. This is the heart of the question.

And the evidence will show that we were constantly insisting from the very beginning of the existence of the Socialist Workers Party, that we had a constitutional and a legal right to say what we said and to do what we did, and that in insisting upon that right we did everything openly. Our headquarters are still open. The evidence will show that. The evidence will show that we still continue our meetings, that we still publish and distribute our papers. It is a peculiar kind of criminals that you have, who insist on their rights to do what they are doing and to say what they are saying.

MR. ANDERSON: Your Honor, it seems to us that whether or not they insist on their rights is not a question for this jury at all.

THE COURT: I do not think it is, nor do I think that the matter to which counsel has referred, with reference to the prediction, is a proper matter for an opening statement.

MR. GOLDMAN: I said that the evidence will show that instead of advocating and inciting to violent overthrow, that the defendants merely predict. It is their prediction.

THE COURT: You say the defendants predict it?

MR. GOLDMAN: Yes, the defendants predict it.

THE COURT: I think you should devote yourself to a fact statement, what you propose to prove. That is not what you have been referring to in this part of your recital.

MR. GOLDMAN: The evidence will so show. We expect to prove it.

THE COURT: Just tell the jury what you expect to prove.

MR. GOLDMAN: We expect to prove that the defendants never advocated, never incited to violence, but simply predicted the violence of the reactionary minority. We say that the defendants had a right to say, under the constitution, what they said, and to do what they did. We rely on the jurors who swore to be fair and impartial to us, who swore to uphold the First Amendment guaranteeing free speech and free press, that they will give us that right, even if they do not agree with us. Thank you.

The Negro Struggle

By ALBERT PARKER

Looking through the Negro press the last week or so, we got a bird's eye view of what many of the so-called "leaders" of the Negro people are up to.

The handful of Negro soldiers now being trained as officers by the Army are all getting their training in the same camps as white soldiers.

Up pops that Negro advocate of Negro segregation, Edgar G. Brown, leader of the United Government Employees, with the request to Roosevelt and Secretary of War Stimson that a Jim Crow officers training school be established.

This gave a newscaster broadcasting over the Mutual Broadcasting System the opportunity to say, "A large group of the most responsible Negro leaders in the country has appealed to President Roosevelt in a formal, official letter opposing the present policy of the army whereby Negro officers are being trained in the same schools as white officers."

And, according to the 'Chicago Defender', "anti-Negro forces in Washington and particularly the War Department are reported to be delighted at the request of Brown. . . since it permits them to justify segregation on the ground that Negroes themselves have asked for it."

In Little Rock, Arkansas, the CIO has been active organizing cotton mill and compress workers, laundry workers, domestic workers, etc., many if not most of whom are Negro men and women.

So long come two Negro stooges, Attorney R. J. Booker of the Negro Chamber of Commerce and C. H. Jones of the so-called "Southern Mediators Association" calling meetings and issuing statements as "Negro" leaders urging the Negro workers to have nothing to do with the CIO and in general doing everything within their power to prevent them from receiving the benefits of unionism.

Only two months ago Governor Stassen of Minnesota was widely attacked in the Negro and labor press for his refusal to permit Negroes to serve in the state Home Guards.

Now, from Washington, D. C., Emmett J. Scott, who as "Negro advisor to the Secretary of War" did his "bit" in World War I in convincing the Negro people that it was a "war for democracy", and who knows what Stassen's record is, comes out with a disgusting article praising Stassen because he is one of those "engaged in battling the forces of intolerance and bigotry — not lip service-battling, but real battling. . ."

Today the Negro people have the greatest need and opportunity for agitation and struggle for equal rights. The government forces who want to stifle free speech also want to take away from the Negroes the right to speak and agitate against Jim Crowism, and in the name of "national defense" they propose to do this.

Dean Gordon Hancock, writing in his column, Between The Lines, this week gives them aid and comfort in their plans when he says, "Freedom of speech is a fine thing in times of peace, but it becomes exceedingly dangerous in times of war. At a time when we have to be concentrating everything on getting this nation's mind made up to fight a war that is inevitable, we are still crying 'freedom of speech' with the result that our councils are divided and the people are confused and the nation is just piddling around. Whether we have a dictatorship or not, we certainly need one, and that very badly. . ."

This is only a small fraction of the large-scale treachery reported in the press in the last week or so. But as we were saying, alongside of some of these people, Uncle Tom was just a harmless old coot. Even if his philosophy was that they could beat his poor old body but his soul belonged to God, at least he didn't go around selling out other Negroes to their oppressors. And he was supposed to be uneducated unlike many of these lawyers and doctors. And he didn't pretend to be a leader!

True Situation In USSR

Stalin's Interview With Ingersoll Revealed More Than He Realized--

(Continued from page 1) with many of the Soviet officials, and was granted an interview with Stalin himself.

On October 31, without quoting Stalin directly, but using the information Stalin gave him during the interview, Ingersoll gave Stalin's views on the war under the title, "What the Soviet Government Thinks About the War."

STALIN EXPLAINS THE INITIAL DEFEATS

How did Stalin explain the initial and the recent defeats to Ingersoll? By admitting that he did not expect the war with Germany when it came, and was unprepared for it!

The German army struck quickly. "When the German bombers came over, anti-aircraft crews did not open fire at once. They telephoned to headquarters to ask instructions on what most of them thought was simply a breach of treaty. Before they had time to think twice, their planes were destroyed and their hangars were on fire. The initial German drive on land, after smashing down outlying strong points, went into Russian territory, at 30 to 40 miles an hour."

In Moscow "the Government thought that such an obvious threat of invasion was simply the prelude to a demand for further treaty concessions."

"By the time the German panzer divisions had run the limit of their gas supply, Soviet armies on the frontier were encircled and instead of fighting to hold back the German advance, all their energy and ammunition went to get themselves out of the hole they were in and to reforming into a coherent line. Enormous supplies of equipment were lost in this retreat and from then on the Soviet Government knew that its armies would not be able immediately to stem the German advance — even at the old Soviet frontier, which was better fortified than the new."

In short, the ease of the initial German victories was due primarily to the stupidity of the Kremlin and its belief that Hitler would continue to bargain indefinitely for more "concessions."

The Germans made rapid advances in the first weeks of the war because Stalin had not prepared the Red Army politically or strategically for what came. Just as today he places his hopes on some kind of understanding with the "democratic" imperialists, so he placed his hopes before June 22 on the continuation of some kind of understanding with Hitler.

CAN USSR DEFEAT HITLER ALONE?

Can the Soviet Union defeat Hitler without outside aid, as the Stalinists boasted it could before and even after the beginning of the war?

The Kremlin claims it can no longer. According to what Stalin told Ingersoll, "The Soviet Government knows its armies are now outnumbered in planes and tanks." It does not even have as its objective the defeat of Hitler's armies: "Therefore its optimum objective, in a military sense, is to keep its armies together and to continue its unbroken line of resistance and to go on exacting casualties as it retreats."

"This has been the Soviet strategy since the break-through of the first week of the war."

What a refutation of the lies and boasts spread by the Stalinists early in the war to cover up the lack of a unified strategic plan of victory and to hide Stalin's responsibility for the defeats! Typical of these boasts was the one advanced by the Stalinists in the Daily Worker of July 5: "The Hitler mechanized army is meeting with tanks and planes more powerful than his own and with military generalship more skilled and more brilliant than his own staff."

Stalin no longer makes such boasts. Indeed, as Ingersoll puts it for him, "The Soviet Government admits that the Germans still have the equipment and the organization to take any given local objective, unless it be one of the big cities which the citizens can turn into a fortress and

which can only be taken by complete encirclement and starving out. Thus it is resigned to the fact that, alone, its armies cannot administer a severe defeat to the Germans in the field. (Emphasis by Ingersoll)."

DANGERS IN STALIN'S STRATEGY

What can this strategy of "exacting casualties as it retreats" lead to? This process of exacting casualties on the enemy means simultaneous casualties for the Army. And the further the Soviet forces retreat, the more territory embracing the means of vital industrial production falls into the hands of the enemy and all the harder it becomes to hold them at the next stage.

In addition, such a process at a certain point is certain to affect the morale of the Red Army soldiers; a continuous process of defeats is bound to produce doubts and a feeling of futility and impotence; the soldiers will begin to believe, in the face of all these defeats and retreats, that they are fighting in vain.

One of the reasons that Stalin was forced to adopt a "strategy" of retreat was that the Red Army lacked a competent, trained leadership able to work out a strategy that could bring victory. This situation existed because, in the interests of eliminating all criticism and opposition in the armed forces to his bureaucratic regime, Stalin destroyed the flower of the Red Army command in the purges of 1937-38 and appointed in their place nonentities with neither the ability nor experience to lead the Red Army to victory against a powerful foe.

All the facts show that Stalin's misconduct of the war is not something accidental or the result of misunderstanding on his part of what the situation requires, but is directly linked with and flows from all of his past policies. To fully understand his policies in this war, it is necessary to study and become acquainted with the past policies and history of Stalinism, beginning with the theory of "socialism in one country."

STALIN'S PROPOSAL FOR DEFEATING HITLER

Now, 17 years after he promulgated this theory of "socialism in one country" Stalin is forced to admit that the Soviet Union under his leadership will be defeated unless aid comes from the outside.

With the Red Army outnumbered, with the military leadership able to execute only a "strategy" of retreat, the fate of the Soviet Union depends on what

happens to the German armies from the rear or within. The question is: How can the German drive be halted, disintegrated from the rear? What is the policy Stalin proposes? Here it is, as given by Ingersoll:

"Based on information from its own agents in Germany and information obtained from captives, the Soviet Government does not believe that collapse of the German State is in order. It has heard talk about an imminent collapse — from its allies — but it believes this is wishful thinking. It thinks German morale is high and that nothing will unsettle Hitler except a decisive military defeat."

But Stalin is resigned to the fact that the Red Army alone cannot defeat the Germans. Since Stalin feels the Red Army cannot defeat Hitler, and since he believes that "nothing but a decisive military defeat" will accomplish this, Stalin declares that some other force will have to do the job of cracking German morale and overthrowing Hitler. Ingersoll continues:

"For the purpose of upsetting the Nazi regime it (the Stalinist regime) does not believe that this defeat need necessarily be administered to his principal armies. It believes the decisive defeat of one of Hitler's allies could turn the trick."

But no one could seriously contend that the military defeat of one of Hitler's allies would seriously interfere with the advance of the German armies in Russia. Ingersoll explains that Stalin looks at it this way:

"PRINCIPLE" BEHIND THE "WESTERN FRONT"

"Many of those who have joined forces with Hitler — the Rumanians, the Hungarians, the Finns, etc., etc., have done so as the lesser of two evils. It must be demonstrated to at least one of them that their alliance is not the lesser but the far, far greater of the two evils. For this purpose it will not be enough simply to defeat an army allied to Germany in the field; it will be necessary utterly to annihilate the forces of some ally, wholly to destroy its government. To rub its nose in it. To make defeat and collapse so obvious that the news of it will spread over the world, censorship or controlled press or no. (Emphasis by Ingersoll)."

"This is the principle behind the Soviet request to Britain for a 'diversion front.'"

This is the policy on which Stalin now depends to save the Soviet Union in the darkest hour in its history — the policy of a crushing imperialist defeat of one of Hitler's allies, the complete an-

ihilation of its forces and destruction of its government. This, he declares, is the only salvation of the Soviet Union, this is the only way to overthrow the Nazi regime!

WOULD THIS POLICY WEAKEN HITLER?

But if the fate of the Soviet Union really depended upon such a policy, then it would be doomed. The carrying out of such a "western front" will not in the last analysis weaken Hitler's war, but, on the contrary, in a real sense, it will strengthen it!

Because Hitler will be able to point to his defeated ally, and tell the German people and his other allies: You see what will happen to you if England wins this war? You will be crushed and annihilated, wholly destroyed. To prevent this, to prevent the imposition of another and worse Versailles Treaty which will bring untold suffering and depression to our country and yours, you must exert yourselves even more to insure the defeat of the enemy.

In short, such a policy will only give Hitler another weapon to add to those which he now uses to secure support for his war against the Soviet Union. Its mere advocacy has no doubt been greeted eagerly by Goebbels.

No, the very lesson of the rise of Hitler is that large sections of the masses of Europe are looking for some alternative to the rule of "democratic" imperialism and are temporarily willing to endure all kinds of hardships under Hitlerism in the hope that it may bring them a satisfactory alternative. Hitler's source of strength lies precisely in his promise that German imperialist victory in the war will bring a "new order."

STILL NOT TOO LATE TO SAVE THE USSR!

The bankruptcy of Stalinism and the military gains of Hitler so far do not mean that it is too late to save the Soviet Union, even at this late hour.

This is not the first time that imperialism threatened the very existence of the workers state. In 1918-20 the Soviet Union was able to hold off and defeat not only the imperialist intervention but to crush the counter-revolutionary White Guard Russians. The policy of revolutionary war appealing to the international working class that saved the Soviet Union after World War I can again save it in World War II.

This policy — today embodied in the Trotskyist program for Soviet victory — requires a revolutionary appeal to the masses of

Europe and above all Germany. They must be assured that the Soviet Union will fight side by side with them against any new Versailles Treaty, that the Soviet Union will oppose any imperialist peace settlement that will place new burdens on the backs of the exploited masses. The masses can be aroused to revolutionary action and initiative, not by the example of a lesser evil which is really not "lesser" at all, but by a fighting program for the solution of their own problems. The masses of Europe must be shown that there is a real alternative to capitalism, that the solution of their problems lies in the struggle for the Socialist United States of Europe and the world.

STRENGTHEN THE FRONT TO DEFEAT HITLER

The program for Soviet victory further requires measures to strengthen the front against Hitler in the Soviet Union at the same time that revolutionary agitation is being used to undermine Hitler's rear. The release of the brave and able pro-Soviet workers and soldiers, many of whom were leaders in the Civil War, and who are now kept in Stalin's concentration camps and prisons only because they opposed the ruinous policies of Stalinism, will provide new leadership at the front. The reconstitution of the democratically-elected Soviets, the legalization of pro-Soviet political parties, will arouse the initiative and enthusiasm of the Soviet workers, soldiers and peasants for they will feel once again that they have something to say about the policies of the workers state.

It is in the light of Stalin's program for saving the Soviet Union that his "strategy" of retreats assumes a particularly ominous character. Sometimes retreats cannot be avoided, sometimes they are justified. Even the most correct revolutionary strategy can not always guarantee victories, for there are other factors that can be decisive in particular battles and campaigns. But there are retreats and retreats.

The Bolsheviks in the Civil War Days of 1918-20, even though they followed a bold, revolutionary policy, which brought victory in the end, often had to retreat. But when they retreated, it was for the purpose of obtaining a breathing space, with the perspective of revolutionary developments in the rear of the enemy and throughout Europe coming to their aid. But Stalin has no such perspective.

Stalinism has shown by its betrayal of the Bolshevik program of Soviet victory that it is the greatest internal obstacle to the successful defense of the Soviet Union. As its responsibility for the defeats becomes more apparent, as the reasons for its failure to conduct a revolutionary war become more widely understood, the Soviet masses, choosing the proper time, without endangering the front against imperialism, must rid themselves of the Stalinist bureaucracy and march forward with the workers of the world to victory for the Soviet Union and world socialism.

The fight to save the Soviet Union is not the fight of the Soviet masses alone. The workers of the world have a stake in preventing the destruction of the remaining conquests of the October revolution. The Soviet masses require the assistance of the workers of the world. The task for advanced workers everywhere throughout the capitalist world is to explain the cause of the defeats in the USSR, to show how victory can still be achieved, to help the workers avoid the pitfalls of giving up opposition to the aims of their own ruling class, to strengthen the forces of the world revolution which alone can save the USSR.

IN LOS ANGELES

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What The Capitalists Think About The Soviet Union's War

By JACK WEBER

Lyons States the Capitalist Position

Eugene Lyons, whose career was "made" by breaking with the Stalinists at just the right moment, gives some plain capitalist talk about Russia in the American Mercury. What he says is of interest in the light of the policies pursued by the Stalinists, policies which cover up precisely what the Lyonses take correctly to be obvious. The Stalinists do their best to make the Soviet Union appear indistinguishable from the democracies, to gloss over the tremendous gulf between the Allied states and the USSR. But Lyons sees with approval the real attitude of the capitalists, their hatred of the first workers' state. While the Stalinists distinguish between the Churchills, the Roosevelts and their underlings like Beaverbrook, Lord Halifax and Co., the Lyonses have no such illusions.

"It is unfashionable to admit the obvious fact that Great Britain and the United States are offering material aid to Russia at this juncture for their own and not for Russia's sake. . . More-over only political morons could contemplate without goose-pimples the possibility of the Red forces actually licking Hitler's hordes, pursuing the advantage westward to the Atlantic and displacing the Brown scourge with their own brand. Britain and America are helping Russia — and should do so, we believe, to the utmost extent — for the sole reason that an eastern front engages and saps German military strength. They do so without any fear of a Red tidal wave overwhelming Europe — because they know that a decisive Russian victory is not even a remote possibility. The most that can be hoped for is the maintenance of a permanent Russian front until a victory over Hitler is achieved."

Fischer On the Hess Incident

That states the case of Allied aid, from the point of view of the capitalist class, as honestly as one could desire. Nor is Lyons in any way unique in presenting the facts. Louis Fischer, Stalinist collaborator for so long, writes concerning the Hess incident in The Nation. By now it is no longer much of a mystery that Hess carried a message that Germany would make peace with England in order to turn on Stalin. It is still not admitted that this message came directly from Hitler and that Churchill played his cards so as to egg Hitler on to attack the Soviet Union by pretending that he might be willing to listen to terms of peace after such an invasion had begun. Hess told Churchill that it was not a question of victory over the Red Army, but that without English aid the campaign would last only three months. With England still at war, the Nazis might require a year for the conquest of the Soviet Union. Churchill chose to get a year's respite for England.

All of this on occasion not the least surprise on the part of those who never for one moment let go of the class analysis of great social events. It is not the Moore-Brabazons, the assistants of Churchill, who alone desire to see the Red Army and the German army bleed each other to death, with but a single regiment left to the victor. That is the attitude of the "democratic" capitalists from top to bottom. It is but an added crime of the Stalinists that they hide this fact. Their demands on Churchill to open up a "western front" have no other effect than to permit the British reactionary to voice pious hopes concerning Russia's ability to continue fighting for another winter. To secure a better hold on the English workers, Churchill may even sacrifice those of his assistants who were indiscreet in blurring out the truth about aid to Russia.

The idea of resting the salvation of the Soviet Union on Allied aid is the worst of all chimeras. Stalin fosters this illusion both in Russia and abroad. It is possible that he does so with the purpose of using the failure of such aid to arrive as justification for a capitulation to Hitler. Such a capitulation is not at all ruled out at a later stage. But it is doubtful that Stalin would survive such a catastrophic event for a very long time. The machine which kept him in power by terror would be too weakened for it to function effectively. The Stalin regime would come to its inglorious end.

Stalin Incapable of Leading Successful Defense

But if no aid comes to Russia from the Allies, or if that aid is just enough of a trickle to keep the Red Army in being as a pawn of the Allies, must we give up the Soviet Union as lost? Certainly it will be lost if the workers pin their faith in the Roosevelts and Churchills and follow the policies of these capitalist leaders. Only aid from the workers of Europe and America can prevent the USSR from going down to utter defeat.

We have tried for many years to open the eyes of those workers who were still being misled by Stalin as to his true role. Where is the class-conscious worker today who cannot see that Stalin, in the midst of the most terrible danger to the Soviet Union, is incapable of giving any revolutionary leadership? He is utterly incapable of driving any wedge between the German workers and their overlords. He is incapable of giving directives to the workers in other lands that would help to stem the tides of Nazi invasion.

That task must fall to other leadership, to real revolutionary working class leadership. The Soviet Union can be saved, in spite of Stalin, by the courage and devotion of the workers led by revolutionary leaders. Their policies must in no wise be based on the war aims of the "democratic" imperialists who gladly see the sacrifice of the USSR for their benefit. They must be class policies solely in the interest of the international proletariat.

'Captive' Mine Strikers Agree To 15-Day Truce

(Continued from page 1) issue was in line with the demands of the steel corporations, which are determined to establish a precedent for continuing the open-shop in steel plants employing over 600,000 workers. The union-shop, a modified form of the closed-shop requiring all workers to join the union after a certain period of employment, is under contract discussion in Little Steel and in the important shipyard plants of the Federal Shipbuilding Company. It is also the chief disputed issue between the Steel Workers Organizing Committee, CIO, and the giant United States Steel Corporation.

The fight of the "captive" mine workers with the steel barons came to a head originally on September 14, when a strike was finally called after months of vain negotiations. On September 19, the union called off the strike under the terms of a 30-day truce, with the understanding that the dispute would be promptly settled by mediation through the NDMB. When the NDMB still balked at a decision after the 30-day period, the union extended the truce an additional five days. It was obvious, however, that the board wanted to force the hand of the union and give the pretext for the government to step in and force the "captive" miners to accept the corporations' terms.

That this was the game of the steel corporations was indicated

by Lewis, in his letter to Roosevelt on October 27, when he stated:

"For four months the steel companies have been whetting their knives and preparing for this struggle."

GOVERNMENT STRIKEBREAKING

Roosevelt intervened directly in the dispute, first with a plea to the miners not to go on strike, and then three rapid-fire demands that they return to work after the strike had been started.

These demands were accompanied by a direct threat that he would take drastic governmental action to force the miners back on the job if they did not comply with his demand. In addition he threatened to turn the green light on the open-shop, no-strike legislative drive in Congress.

The purpose of this latter threat was to attempt to isolate the mine union and prevent it from gaining support from the rest of the union movement. It was hoped that pressure from Administration forces within the CIO, working on the fears of the CIO members that their right to strike might be taken away altogether, would force Lewis and the miners to go "easy" and capitulate.

LABOR'S ATTITUDE

However, the only open support Roosevelt could get within

the labor movement for his strike-breaking moves was from the Stalinists.

Not even the reactionary craft-union leaders of the AFL, nor the pro-war Hillmanites in the CIO, dared to attack Lewis and the miners in this situation. It was too clear that the government was trying to establish the principle of the open-shop under the guise of protecting "national defense." An attack on the miners would have served to discredit any union leader in the eyes of the rank-and-file of the labor movement.

Philip Murray, CIO president, indicated the attitude of the organization he heads, when he declared in a public statement on October 29 that:

"The cloak of national defense used by the large (steel) corporations to escape responsibility is no justification for their refusal to accept the provisions of the Appalachian agreement (commercial mines contract)."

The fixing of a strike dead-line by the union is the best guarantee against the NDMB stalling around any further on a decision or coming out with a decision unfavorable to the union. It demonstrates to the Administration and the steel bosses that the union is determined to continue the fight if the NDMB fails to bring out a prompt and satisfactory recommendation.

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

—LEON TROTSKY

## JOIN US IN FIGHTING FOR:

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

## Anderson States The Government's Case

The Roosevelt administration has unveiled the "startling revelations" it promised for the trial of the 28 defendants in the Minneapolis "seditious conspiracy" case.

U. S. District Attorney Victor Anderson last week outlined these "startling revelations" in the prosecution's opening address of the trial.

The only thing "startling" in Anderson's discursive and oft-times unintelligible speech was the admission that the government's case is basically founded on the proposition that the mere advocacy of political ideas which the administration dislikes — specifically the ideas and program of Marxism — constitutes a "crime".

"It is safe to say," declared Anderson, "that usually in connection with a conspiracy count or charge, it is incumbent upon the prosecuting authorities to establish some overt act, some positive step or act done to bring about or in furtherance of the conspiracy; and it is the position of the Government in this case that that is not required."

What is required? According to the government speaking through Anderson, it is required only to show that the defendants and the Socialist Workers Party have stated openly and publicly, day in and day out, their uncompromising opposition to the imperialist war, their belief that the system of capitalism is in hopeless decay, promising only war, fascism and misery to the masses, and their conviction that the workers, together with all other oppressed layers of society, should take political power in their own hands and establish a society of peace and security.

"The very purpose of that party, the very plan of that party, the very program of that party... were a violation of the statutes which I have called your attention to," Anderson proclaimed to the jury.

And what is this 'purpose', 'plan', and 'program' which the government has placed on trial? Anderson flatly stated:

"... The purpose of this party or the ideas that were basic in this party, represented the views of Leon Trotsky, and those of his contemporary, the first executive head of the Soviet Union, V. I. Lenin."

In addition, Anderson stated:

"It is going to be the plan of the Government in this case to show that Lenin and Trotsky based their philosophy upon Karl Marx... so that not only were the members of this political party

and the leaders who are the defendants in this trial Trotskyites, but their basic belief was founded upon Marx, so they were Marxists."

They were Marxists! This, then, is their "crime"! All the government's intimations of dark, underground deeds, of "startling revelations" of secret conspiracy for evil ends, boils down to the fact that the defendants and their colleagues exercised their right of free speech, press and political belief — openly and publicly — to promote the ideas of Marxism, a political philosophy which has been discussed and legally propagated in this country for almost a hundred years.

There is not one informed person in this country who does not understand that this is a clear-cut trial of political ideas and the right to express them. It is part of the program of Roosevelt, as he prepares to plunge this country into another war for "democracy", to toss all democratic principles into the scrapheap.

## The 28 Fight Boldly For Party Principles

The trial of the 28 in Minneapolis is of historic importance for many reasons. It is the first peacetime "seditious" trial in this country since 1798. It is an out-and-out political trial, in which the basic charges involve the political concepts of the defendants. At issue are fundamental principles of civil rights affecting the entire mass of common people.

But an outstanding feature of the trial, as history will undoubtedly record, is the conduct of the defendants themselves.

They make no appeals for "mercy". They offer no plea of mitigating circumstances. They do not base their defense solely on technicalities or legal flaws — numerous as these are.

Rather, they have chosen to accept the government's basic challenge. They are standing foursquare on their principles. They are upholding their ideas, and the right to express their ideas, with uncompromising determination.

No effort is being made to deny or avoid responsibility for the ideas and program which are the basis of their alleged "crime".

Rarely, if ever, have men and women in an American court-room taken so firm a stand on ideas and principles, or defended those principles with such boldness, clarity and power. These 28 defendants have already widened the walls of the tiny courtroom. They have called on all American labor to pass judgment on their ideas and activities. Before this jury of working class public opinion, they stand not as accused, but as accusers.

They might have clung to technicalities, sought to avoid the risk of a principled fight. But these defendants are conscious of the fact that they are fighting not for their own liberty alone, but for rights of all workers.

Denying nothing of their program, indeed, embracing it proudly and proclaiming it aloud to the world, the defendants are giving an inspiring demonstration of how men and women fortified by unshakeable principles fight for the rights of labor.

## The Mine Strike And The 'Daily Worker'

On October 30, the *Daily Worker* hastened into print with a denunciation of the "captive" coal mine strike in a two-column front-page editorial.

To disguise the pro-boss odor of the editorial, the Stalinists first asked and answered the question: "What are the basic causes for the strikes which are harassing national defense?"

"First and foremost," said the *Daily Worker*, "these shutdowns arise directly from the unpatriotic resistance of certain die-hard employing interests to the workers' just grievances. . . Second, the government has not proceeded with such speed and diligence in bringing these recalcitrant employers 'to time'."

Therefore? Therefore, concludes the *Daily Worker*, "Labor has a responsibility, for its own protection and that of the nation, summarily to reject the policy of John L. Lewis. . . The governmental agencies have correctly asked the workers to restrain their use of the right to strike."

The semi-isolationists' *New York World-Telegram*, whose specialty is denouncing strikes and the closed shop, on October 30 featured this Stalinist attack on the mine strike on its front page.

Next day, the *Daily Worker* ran another editorial calling the *World-Telegram's* use of its previous editorial a "Neat Appeaser Trick" and lamenting that the boss newspaper did not "also" report its window-dressing "anti-employer" introduction.

What the Stalinists are really complaining about is that the boss press did not waste space in helping the *Daily Worker's* game of hiding its anti-labor role.

The bosses ignored the camouflage and recognized the essence of the Stalinist policy. This stab in the back to the mine strike was an aid to the bosses, and they made the most of it. Thus do the lines of the "appeasers" and the Stalinist interventionist war-mongers cross.

**Trotsky's Last Work**  
MANIFESTO OF THE  
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IMPERIALIST WAR  
and the  
PROLETARIAN REVOLUTION  
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# Stalin's Decrees Bare Rift With Red Officers

"Pravda" Reveals Growing Clash of Kremlin, Army Tops; Stalin Can No Longer Depend On Bureaucracy He Appointed

By JOHN G. WRIGHT

It is impossible for Stalin to hide any longer the gravity of the rift between himself and the officers' corps of the Red Army. Stalin's October 19 order "for a state of siege in Moscow" revealed to the world the growing intensity of this conflict. This order was, in effect, the first official acknowledgment of the re-shuffling of the Red High Command, which is in itself a symptom of the crisis

now convulsing the Kremlin-Kuibishev regime. But far overshadowing it in significance was another disclosure contained in this order, i. e., that Stalin is now openly relying on the GPU as his only remaining dependable prop.

The full implications of the latest re-shuffling of the High Command and the investment of the GPU with open and sweeping powers not only over the population but over the Red Army itself, soldiers and officers alike, — all this can be best understood in the light of Stalin's previous measures — a whole series in which the "shoot-on-the-spot" ukase of October 19 is only the latest link.

On June 22, the first day of the German invasion, the European territories of the USSR were placed under martial law, with the military authorities in command.

Almost, immediately Stalin demonstrated his lack of confidence in the Red command by forming, on June 30, the State Committee for Defense (composed of Stalin, Molotov, Voroshilov, Malenkov and Berya). The then-Commissar for Defense and Commander-in-Chief of the armed forces, Marshal Timoshenko, was not included in this body. This was not an "oversight," but rather it was Stalin's step in stripping the Red command of its powers.

Next, the High Command was reshuffled on July 11. (Timoshenko assumed command of the Moscow Military District, or the Western Central Army; Budenny — the Kiev Military District, or the South Army; and Voroshilov — the Leningrad Military District, or the Northwestern Army).

### POLITICAL COMMISSARS REINTRODUCED

Almost unanimously with this reshuffling of the High Command, the system of political commissars was reintroduced in the army on July 16. It is hardly necessary to dwell on the fact that this introduction of dual authority in the armed forces was a blow at the officers, stripping them of authority, and, in effect, subordinating them to the secret-police arm of the regime, the GPU.

(It should be recalled that the system of political commissars was originally reintroduced by Stalin in August 1937 to facilitate the beheading of the Red Army at the time. This system was revoked — undoubtedly under the pressure of the officers — on August 12, 1940, after the blows of the Finnish experience).

Each of the above-cited measures was designed not to strengthen the defensive power of the Red Army, but rather to facilitate Stalin's open assumption of the supreme command of the armed forces. They were political measures typical of Stalin's rule.

But this interpretation evades the entire history of the Soviet Union under Stalin's rule. Today as in the past, Stalin's moves are dictated and motivated solely by his ruthless struggle to maintain himself in power. He realized at the very outbreak of war that the officers' corps whom he had himself raised to power a short while ago could not be depended upon to follow him blindly. The officers could not fail to become alarmed by the continued defeats of the Red Army. Besides, their own lives were at stake. Stalin's only answer was to resort openly under war-time conditions to the real bulwark of his regime — the execution squads of the GPU. It is they, and not the military authorities who are now in supreme control in beleaguered Moscow, and this means — everywhere, both in the front lines and in the rear.

Stalin's monstrous bureaucratic apparatus of repression began crumbling on the eve of the second World War. The war has violently speeded up this process of disintegration. The military arm of Stalin's bureaucratic apparatus has crumbled beyond repair after less than five months of war.

### STALINISM THREATENS DEFENSE OF USSR

We are now witnessing the final stages of the death agony of Stalinism. These final convulsions, however, carry with them also a mortal threat to the USSR, whose strength is being sapped internally by the continuation of Stalin's rule. Every day, every hour of the struggle brings additional overwhelming proof that the Soviet Union can be successfully defended only by the reconstitution of the Soviets and the return to the policies of Bolshevism which guaranteed the victory in October 1917 and beat back the imperialists and the counter-revolution in the Civil War of 1918-1920.

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# The Crimes Of Stalin

By Lydia Beidel

## Stalin Wrecks the British

Communist Movement - 1925-26

BACKGROUND OF THE 1925-26 EVENTS

In the Communist International: Under the pressure of world capitalism, reflected in the USSR by the rich peasant (kulak), Stalin moved to the right. Politically, this turn manifested itself within Russia in a great campaign against "Trotskyism" and the enunciation of the theory of Socialism in one country; in other countries, it appeared as a desperate courting of bourgeois elements.

In England: November, 1924 — Hardly a month after the official birth of Stalin's theory of Socialism in one country, a delegation of British trade union leaders, headed by A. A. Purcell, president of the Trade Union Congress, visited the USSR and returned to write a glowing report of conditions there.

May, 1925 — A Russian delegation, headed by M. Tomsky, chairman of the Central Council of the Russian trade unions, returned the British T. U. C. visit by attending the Hull Trades Union Congress.

May 14, 1925 — A protocol was signed by the leaders of the British and Russian trade unions, dedicated to the furthering of international trade union unity, the struggle against capitalist reaction, and the fight against a new war. Thus was the Anglo-Russian Committee formed, with equal representation from each country.

The Committee, from the standpoint of the Soviet Union, might have performed a useful function to the working class, if the Russian trade union leadership and the British Communist party constantly warned the British working class of the character of the reformist trade union bureaucracy.

Anticipating the disaster to come from Stalin's opportunism, Trotsky wrote a biting critical work entitled "Whither England", in which he warned against every move which was to come in the ensuing disaster; it was condemned by Stalin as more evidence of "criminal Trotskyism".

### GENERAL STRIKE OF 1926

May 1, 1926 — After a year of wide-spread local strikes of increasing seriousness, the British trade unions, by a vote of 3,653,529 to 49,911, declared a General Strike in support of certain miners' demands.

The British Communist party, poised at a turning-point in its history, threw its support (following the line of its guide, the Anglo-Russian Committee) wholeheartedly behind the bureaucracy of the T.U.C.

The General Council of the T.U.C., meanwhile, in the persons of Arthur Pugh (later Sir Arthur), Walter Citrine (later Sir Walter) and J. H. Thomas, grovelled on the doorstep at 10 Downing Street, begging to be allowed to betray the strike to the Prime Minister, who was so frightened by the solidarity of the British workers that he feared even their misleaders.

Tension increased; the Prime Minister gave orders to the troops to fire if necessary; the workers raged at the signs of capitulation on the part of their leadership.

In a few days the General Strike was called off by the General Council. The workers of England, in a mood of political rebellion, were leaderless and the Communist party found itself bound and gagged by the bonds of the Anglo-Russian Trade Union Committee.

### PROBLEM FACING THE BRITISH

The Left Opposition in the Russian Communist party immediately demanded of Stalin-Tomsky that they withdraw at once and demonstratively from the Anglo-Russian Committee, in order to permit the British C. P. to raise its voice and organize the workers against the betrayal.

### STALIN'S POLICY:

From the day the Anglo-Russian Committee was formed until the British labor bureaucrats broke it up, Stalin looked upon the Committee and the General Council of the T.U.C. as a 'bulwark against capitalism.' He stubbornly refused to admit bureaucrats were basically instruments of the bosses.

In July, 1926, at a meeting of the Central Executive Committee of the Russian Communist Party, Stalin summarized his attitude: "If the reactionary English trade unions are willing to enter a bloc against the counter-revolutionary imperialists of their own country — then why not make this bloc? . . . And so, the Anglo-Russian Committee is the bloc between our trade unions and the reactionary trade unions of England. . . for the purpose of struggle against imperialist wars in general, and against intervention in particular. . . Comrades Trotsky and Zinoviev should remember this, and remember it well."

At the end of July, the Committee met in Paris. The Russian unions issued a criticism of the conduct of the General Strike; the General Council protested against it, refused to discuss the strike and rejected an offer of monetary assistance for the British miners' strike from the Russian unions on the ground that the offer constituted meddling in British affairs. The Russian criticism was promptly modified and the betrayal became simply a display of "unforgivable tactics". The General Council retaliated by passing a resolution accusing Russia of "intolerable interference in the domestic affairs of the British trade union movement."

In May, 1927, Chamberlain raided the Soviet Trade Commission (Arcos) buildings in London and broke off relations with the Soviet Union; the General Council withdrew from the Anglo-Russian Committee and handed over the corpse for Stalin to bury.

### EFFECT UPON THE BRITISH

For three critical years in British history, the Communist Party had been hamstrung. It could not strike out for independent leadership of the working class; it could not even criticize the treacherous policies of the British labor bureaucracy.

Because of the false theory of Socialism in one country and Stalin's cowardly belief that the Soviet Union could be saved from intervention by a policy of placating bourgeois elements in the capitalist countries, the British Communist Party was fatally compromised and crippled. Stalin, the great "organizer of proletarian defeats", already in 1927 had betrayed the British revolution.