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WITNESS ADMITS TOBIN-FBI PLOT AGAINST 28 ON TRIAL

THE MEANING OF THE CIO RESIGNATION FROM THE MEDIATION BOARD

An Editorial

The resignation from the National Defense Mediation Board of CIO President Philip Murray and Thomas Kennedy, Secretary-Treasurer of the United Mine Workers, CIO, can only be welcomed by the ranks of American labor. Their charge that the NDMB holds the position that "labor unions must be denied the right of normal growth and legitimate aspirations, such as the union shop, and that the traditional open shop policy of the anti-labor employers must prevail" is seconded by millions of workers throughout the land, AFL as well as CIO.

It was the pressure of the government, plus their political support for the Roosevelt war program, that originally led these union leaders to serve on the board. Now, despite themselves, they have been forced into the contradictory position of denouncing the NDMB in order to preserve the very existence of their unions and their positions as union leaders. Their dilemma proves the impossibility of reconciling the interests of labor with the boss war program. As an alternative to undermining their own unions, they have been forced to clash with the government whose war policies they uphold.

The resignation of Murray and Kennedy from the NDMB serves to underline what the entire record of that agency has already demonstrated: that the chief purpose of such boards is the beheading of militant union activity and the channelizing of the legitimate demands of labor into the endless swamp of arbitration and futile negotiation. Such boards, established by the capitalist government and dominated by the employers, are intended for and can in the last analysis serve only the interests of the employing class.

Had Murray and Kennedy failed to take this action, the CIO and free and independent unionism in general would have been dealt a stunning blow.

As it is, their action constitutes an acceptance by the CIO of the challenge laid down to all organized labor by the Administration's open-shop decision against the UMW in the captive coal mine controversy.

This NDMB decision, it is clear, is a gauntlet flung in the face not only of the UMW, but of the entire CIO and the whole organized labor movement.

If this NDMB decision is permitted to go unchallenged, the employers will feel free to attempt to undermine and destroy legitimate unions in every industry and trade.

In the face of the NDMB union-shop recommendation in the recent San Francisco AFL-CIO machinists strike, this decision is proof that the board did not consider for one second the merits of the miners' case. Its decision was consciously devised at the direction of the steel corporations and by order of Roosevelt.

A CIO acceptance of this decision would constitute more than submission to the principle of the open shop, for the government also has demanded, in this controversy, that labor surrender its right to strike. The government has seized upon this controversy as the most expedient one in which to dramatically and effectively invoke its 'no strike' policy. Roosevelt's intervention during the mine strike two weeks ago was not in the nature of a simple request for the miners to return to work. It was a command. And that command, the government makes clear, is to be fortified by the use of federal troops and a flood of anti-labor legislation if the miners again go out on strike.

A particularly reprehensible role, well-meriting Murray's condemnation as "arch-treachery", was played by the two AFL representatives who supported the employers and the pro-boss "public" representatives on the board. In the interests of a factional blow at the CIO, they played into the hands of the open-shoppers, who will use the weapon given them by these AFL leaders to stab the AFL, as well as the CIO, unions in the back.

Although Murray and Kennedy have resigned from this particular board, this does not in itself constitute an expression of opposition to the function of these boards in general or to union leaders serving on similar boards in the future.

One aspect of their minority report which should give concern to the workers, is the indication that Murray and Kennedy are still considering the possibility of accepting some substitute agency to the NDMB which would be more "pro-labor". This is an illusion.

The very purpose and character of these boards is anti-labor. It is fatal, therefore, for labor to place any reliance on such government boards, or for union leaders to serve on them. Had the CIO leaders refused from the start to lend their prestige to this board, it could never have gained the power and authority it now exercises so viciously against labor's interests.

Every right, every improvement in the conditions of labor has been won by labor's own organized strength alone. The preservation of labor's past gains and achievement of future gains will be secured by the same means. The future of the CIO, which meets in national convention starting this Monday, depends on the decision it makes in this crucial controversy. If it fights uncompromisingly with its own independent means and weapons, if it backs the miners to the bitter end, if it mobilizes its powerful membership for a battle against the coming flood of anti-labor legislation, it will survive and grow. But if the CIO yields without a struggle, it will face disastrous consequences.

A NEW PAMPHLET!

"THE TRUTH ABOUT THE MINNEAPOLIS TRIAL OF THE 28"

Speech for the Defense by ALBERT GOLDMAN

ONE CENT A COPY

Cannon Polls 1138 Votes In N. Y. Election

Against Warmongers — Was 'Trotskyist Anti-War' Candidate

NEW YORK, Nov. 10. — The first city wide election campaign of the New York Local of the Socialist Workers Party ended last Tuesday with 1138 votes cast for James P. Cannon, Trotskyist Anti-War candidate for mayor.

Although this was but a small fraction of the votes cast in the election, fiercely contested by the warmongering candidates, it represents nevertheless a significant response to the revolutionary program presented by the party throughout the campaign.

THEY VOTED FOR A REVOLUTIONARY PROGRAM

The 1138 people who voted for Cannon were under no illusion as to what program they were voting for. They knew both from the name on the ballot and from all the campaign literature put out by the party that they were voting for a Trotskyist program, for an expression of irreconcilable opposition to capitalism, its parties, candidates, wars and reaction. The party made no attempts to conceal what it stood for. It issued no pacifist slogans or catch phrases.

Though the vote does not represent much in the eyes of capitalist politicians, they represent the basis of greater support of the Trotskyist movement in the future, and indicate that although the party is not a mass force in New York today, the possibilities for substantial growth exist for the immediate future.

It is in this spirit that the members of the New York party feel they have made a good beginning in electoral work and are determined to go out and bring into the party those workers who expressed their support for the Trotskyist program at the ballot.

NEW OPPORTUNITIES IN ELECTION WORK

In spite of the severe financial handicaps the campaign gave the New York party the opportunity to approach over 100,000 workers with the message of the party in the course of the drive to secure 15,000 petitions, twice the number required to place our candidate on the ballot. It gave the party the chance to issue and distribute more than 150,000 pieces of literature, including a special election newspaper of 20,000 copies. This material went into the hands of workers in the famed fur and garment districts, Long Island City factory areas, in the shipyards, etc. Most of them learned for the first time what Trotskyism really stands for.

The New York Local has shown that it is possible, even in a period of reaction and under many adverse circumstances for revolutionists to use election campaigns as a forum for their ideas and to get their voices heard among the workers on the important issues of the day.

DAILY REPORTS

See Page 2 for a complete day to day account of the proceedings of the Minnesota trial of the 28.

Tobin Gloats Over Trial He Instigated Against 28

Daniel J. Tobin last week brazenly commented on the part he had played in the Minneapolis "seditious conspiracy" trial. He states his views in the November issue of the official magazine of International Brotherhood of Teamsters, Chauffeurs, Warehousemen and Helpers. Tobin is president of this AFL International and is listed on the masthead of the official organ as editor. This month's "Editorial by Daniel J. Tobin" says of the defendants:

"We can say now that it is our judgment that if they had agreed to the proposition which was made by the General Executive Board at its meeting in Washington in May, they would have avoided a great deal of the unpleasant conditions which now obtain."

The "unpleasant conditions" are this effort in Minneapolis Federal Court to send the defendants to jail for conspiracy to overthrow the United States Government.

The "proposition" made last May was a demand served by Tobin upon Local 544 to submit to a receiver from Tobin's office.

The receiver was to supersede the elected officers of the union. The membership of the union replied to the AFL baron by voting to leave the AFL and affiliate with the CIO. Tobin telegraphed a complaint to President Roosevelt. FBI raids and the indictment by the U. S. Department of Justice followed promptly. If a verdict of guilty is returned, the intervention of U. S. government departments will have brought Tobin the victory over the 544 leaders which he could not obtain from the rank and file of the thousands of Minneapolis truckmen.

Tobin Agents Are Key Government Witnesses

"Seditious Conspiracy" Case Against Socialist Workers Party And Local 544-CIO Is Also Based On Fact That S.W.P. Circulated The 'Communist Manifesto' Available In All Public Libraries

MINNEAPOLIS, Nov. 10. — The FBI and AFL Teamsters President Tobin's agents were working hand-in-glove against the leadership of the Minneapolis motor transport workers union from the time — months before the 28 defendants were indicted — when the fight broke out between Tobin's agents and the union leadership, it was established at this morning's session of the "sedition" trial against 28 members of the Socialist Workers Party and Local 544-CIO.

This damning fact, corroborating the charge of the defendants that Tobin instigated the prosecution, was established by admissions made by a government witness and Tobin agent, Henry Harris.

Under cross-questioning of Defense Counsel Albert Goldman, Harris made three important admissions on this key point:

1. The "Committee of 100" (later called the "Committee of 99"), a Tobin-instigated opposition against the leadership of Local 544, "went to the FBI when the fight started in the union," said Harris. This places the original connection between Tobin and the FBI in their collaboration against Local 544 at about last December or January.

2. Under cross-examination Harris testified also that FBI Agent Thomas Perrin attended a meeting of the pro-Tobin Committee of 100 at the Hotel Nicollet in March. The FBI agent was admitted to this closed meeting by Henry Harris, who said he was instructed to do so by the late Thomas Williams, leader of the Committee of 100.

3. Shortly afterward, FBI Agent Perrin suggested to Harris that he tell defendant Karl Skoglund that, if Skoglund would "break with the Dunnes" and join the pro-Tobin Committee of 100, Skoglund could get his citizenship papers.

(Skoglund, whose application for citizenship is still pending, has been refused his papers thus far by the Bureau of Immigration which is now, like the FBI, a sub-division of the Department of Justice).

Harris further admitted on cross-examination that he went to Skoglund and repeated to him the proposition suggested by the FBI Agent. Skoglund refused to take this bribe and break with those with whom he had built the union.

ADMISSIONS SHOW TOBIN'S ROLE

These three facts, reluctantly admitted by the government's own witness, prove to the hilt the contention of the defense that this trial was instigated by AFL Teamsters President Daniel J. Tobin against the militant leaders of Local 544.

What the defense did not know, however, until these admissions were drawn from Harris, was that the Tobin-FBI collaboration against the union had begun simultaneously with the very beginning of the attack by Tobin's Committee of 100 against the Local 544 leadership.

The Committee of 100 filed charges with Tobin against the leaders of Local 544, and these charges were the pretext on which Tobin in June appointed a receiver to take over the union. This move of Tobin was answered on June 9 by an overwhelming majority vote of the Local 544 membership to disaffiliate from Tobin's Teamsters and accept a charter from the CIO.

Four days after this vote Tobin, on June 13, telegraphed President Roosevelt, asking him for help against Local 544-CIO. Tobin's telegram said: "The withdrawal from the International Union by the truckdrivers union, Local 544 and one other small union in Minneapolis, and their affiliation with the CIO is indeed a regrettable and dangerous condition. The officers of this local union. . . **must be in some way prevented from pursuing this dangerous course. . .**" (New York Times, June 14, 1941).

ROOSEVELT'S AID TO TOBIN

In answer to Tobin's telegram, Roosevelt's secretary, Stephen Early, issued a statement to the press, which said in part, after condemning the CIO for chartering Local 544: "When I advised the President of Tobin's repre-

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3.333 Votes For Breitman In New Jersey

NEWARK, N. J., Nov. 11.— George Breitman, Socialist Workers Party candidate for New Jersey's General Assembly, received a total of 3,333 votes in the elections held in Essex County last Tuesday, a substantial increase over the vote he received as party candidate for City Commissioner last May.

The party campaign and all the election literature for Breitman's candidacy laid stress on two main points — opposition to the war program of the government and to the federal prosecution of the 28 defendants in the Minneapolis "seditious conspiracy" trial. The vote for Breitman is considered an expression of approval for the party stand on these questions and its denunciation of the capitalist parties and their program.

In spite of the heated warmongering campaign carried on by the Communist Party in this election, the Stalinist candidate received only 57 votes more than the S.W.P. anti-war candidate.

Twelve soldier votes were cast for Breitman.

Same Disastrous Policy To Be Followed--Stalin

Anniversary Speeches Indicate Kremlin Will Not Adopt Program That Can Save USSR

By GEORGE BREITMAN

In the two speeches he delivered on the occasion of the twenty-fourth anniversary of the Russian Revolution, Stalin tried to calm the fears of the Soviet masses about the defeats suffered by the USSR in the war against German fascism. He tried to explain away the defeats, and to justify the course the Stalinist regime has followed.

But what he succeeded in doing was to make it plain that the Stalinist bureaucracy has no plan or strategy for victory; that Stalinism is responsible for the terrible Soviet defeats; that in spite of the critical position the workers state occupies today, Stalin refuses to adopt the revolutionary policies which alone can save the Soviet Union in this war.

Stalin admits that by itself the Soviet Union is unable to defeat Hitler, for he explains what he calls the "temporary reverses" by the fact that the Soviet Union is fighting Germany alone, without the military help of allies, without the aid of a "western front," and by the fact that the Soviet Union does not have as many tanks and aircraft as Hitler who is able to draw on the resources and industries of most of Europe.

Stalin tries to console the masses with the hope that the "democratic" imperialists will come to the aid of the Soviet Union by opening a "western front." Aside from thus leaving the fate of the USSR in the hands of the imperialists, Stalin presents no program to save the USSR.

He points to the undeniable instability and contradictions in Hitler's position, and declares that eventually "in another few months, another half or one year

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Another article, dealing with other aspects of Stalin's speeches, written by Jack Weber, will be found on p. 5 of this issue.

"Union For Democratic Action" Denounces Trial

NEW YORK, Nov. 10. — One of the most important developments this week in the Minneapolis case, it is announced by the National Office of the Civil Rights Defense Committee, was the strong statement issued by the Union for Democratic Action sharply condemning the prosecution and declaring vigorous support for the 28 defendants. Chairman of the Union is Dr. Reinhold Niebuhr of the Union Theological Seminary, and Treasurer is Frieda Kirchwey, editor of *The Nation*.

The stand taken by the Union for Democratic Action is particularly significant since the Union is, in its own words, "an organization of American liberals whose definite interventionism is in sharp disagreement with the international and domestic policies advocated by the defendants in the Minneapolis trial."

Asserting that the prosecution was "politically inspired", they continue:

"The Union was formed with the purpose of combatting any anti-democratic tendency that may arise in this period of national emergency. The present federal prosecution of 28 alleged members of the Socialist Workers Party in Minneapolis is undoubtedly evidence of such an anti-democratic tendency . . . At this time, while the trial is under way, it would be well for Attorney General Biddle and the Department of Justice to consider carefully the implications of the proceedings in terms of their effect upon the four freedoms . . . The Union for Democratic Action calls upon Attorney General Biddle and the Dept. of Justice to drop all charges against the 28 defendants

CIO Meets As FDR Opens Anti-Union Drive

By JOE ANDREWS

The CIO national convention, starting November 17 in Detroit, meets at a time when the Roosevelt administration is demonstrating its intentions of shackling the labor movement in preparation for a totalitarian conduct of the war.

Roosevelt's most recent attacks against labor indicate that the government in the long run will not tolerate a free and democratic labor movement independent of government control.

The strikebreaking barrage leveled by Roosevelt at the "captive" coal mine strike clearly reflects a turn toward a more open policy of curbing labor's struggle for its rights during the war period.

A further expression of Roosevelt's all-out drive against the right to strike, was his order last week to one of his most willing lackeys, Daniel Tobin, AFL Teamsters head, to immediately call off the strike of Railway Express teamsters in Detroit. When Tobin informed Roosevelt that he was willing, but needed two additional days to get his executive board together, Roosevelt quickly countered with a categorical demand that the strike be called off at once regardless of the circumstances.

Thus, the CIO convention faces the fact that the accelerated war drive means an intensified employer-government campaign against union conditions and against the very existence of the union movement.

The pressure exerted upon the delegates to the CIO convention by the employers and their governmental apparatus is countered, however, by pressure from the powerful forces of the organized mass production workers who have reached the highest peak of their strength in the past year.

The union ranks, impelled by

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Day By Day Summary Of The Minnesota Trial

Tobin Role In Trial Exposed

(Continued from page 1)

sentations this morning, he asked me to immediately have the Government departments and agencies interested in this matter notified. . ." (New York **Times**, June 14, 1941).

The "government departments and agencies" thus "notified" turned out to be the FBI and the Department of Justice, which raided the Socialist Workers Party headquarters in the Twin Cities on June 27, drew up and on July 15 guided through a federal grand jury the indictment against the 28 SWP and Local 544-CIO defendants, and now are conducting the prosecution in this "sedition" trial.

Tobin agent Harris' admissions this morning complete the picture: the cynical collaboration of Tobin and the FBI in a joint attempt to destroy militant Local 544-CIO by a frame-up against its leaders and the leaders of the Socialist Workers Party.

Harris further testified that he joined the Socialist Workers Party in the hope that membership would help him get a job through the Trotskyist leadership of Local 544; that he didn't get the job, and left the party; that he joined the pro-Tobin Committee of 100 and on April 4 signed an affidavit for use by Tobin in which he named various leaders of the union as being alleged members of the party.

Two weeks of prosecution testimony are now in, and from beginning to end the government's "case" has been a continuous parade of Tobin agents. Here is the list so far:

1. **James Bartlett,** Tobin appointee as "544"-AFL organizer. He is the prosecution's chief witness.
2. **Roy Wienecke,** Tobin appointee as "544"-AFL organizer.
3. **Tom McCue,** Tobin appointee as "544"-AFL organizer.
4. **John Novack,** "544"-AFL goon-squad man during the months after June 9, when Tobin was spending money like water on thugs for use against Local 544-CIO.
5. **Walter Stultz,** ex-president of Omaha Teamsters Local 544-AFL, now serving a term in the federal penitentiary at Sandstone. Under cross-questioning he admitted that the Tobin receiver of the Omaha local — T. T. Neal, also Tobin receiver for Minneapolis Local "544"-AFL — is paying Stultz's wife a weekly wage and is sending Stultz himself money regularly.
6. **Joe Williams,** brother of the late Thomas Williams, founder of the pro-Tobin Committee of 99.
7. **Mrs. Violet Williams,** widow of Thomas Williams.
8. **Karl Bath,** member of Committee of 99.
9. **John Majersky,** member of Committee of 99.

Seventh Day Of The Trial

TUESDAY, NOV. 4

The day began with the prosecution introducing those final items from the *Socialist Appeal* for the year 1938 which had been previously passed over to give judge and defense time to read them.

Prosecution then introduced into evidence the "Manifesto of the Fourth International on the Imperialist War and Proletarian Revolution" (which was written by Trotsky shortly before his death).

Prosecution witness Bartlett took the stand again, and identified Joseph Hansen's pamphlet, "Wall Street's War, Not Ours" as one he had purchased. He also identified an internal bulletin on "Trade Union Problems." Both were made evidence. The prosecution then read sections to the jury.

An interesting incident occurred while Prosecutor Anderson was reading. One juror, Glenn W. Ross, Minneapolis lumber company sales manager, asked the judge: "May I speak?" When permission was granted, the juror said: "He read those things to us before."

Goldman explained that the same excerpts had been read by the prosecution to the jury from Farrell Dobbs' pamphlet, "Trade Union Problems."

The prosecution laid particular stress this second time on sections of the bulletin which opposed arbitration of basic issues between unions and bosses.

Two internal bulletins, containing both sides of the dispute with the petty-bourgeois minority on the Russian question in 1939 were introduced by the prosecution. Goldman objected on grounds of irrelevancy, but the judge overruled him.

BARTLETT WENT TO THE FBI

Bartlett testified — obviously in order to forestall cross-questioning to come from the defense — that he had gone to the FBI in February or March of this year, shortly after he had joined in forming a "Committee of 99" which appealed to AFL Teamsters Chief Daniel J. Tobin to oust the "radical" leadership of Local 544.

At 11:30 A. M. the government finally concluded with the "evidence" of its principal witness and Bartlett was subjected to a systematic cross-examination by defense attorneys.

It was brought out that Bartlett had been known under numerous aliases: James Bartolotto, James Bartletto, Herbert Jordan, John Jonathan. When Bartlett said these were all, the defense had him identify a photograph of himself in a newspaper, the caption of which identified him as one John Voitland. But the judge refused to receive the photograph as evidence.

Bartlett had great difficulty in explaining when and under what circumstances he had, as he claimed, left the Communist Party. He gave the date of the middle of 1933, but defense questioning made it plain that, if Bartlett had left the C. P. then, he had done so on the friendliest basis. It was indicated that among Minneapolis trade unionists, Bartlett was suspected as a Stalinist at least as late as the fall of 1936.

BARTLETT'S CONTRADICTIONS

Bartlett's asserted reason for leaving the Communist Party was particularly contradictory with his story about why he now denounces the Trotskyists. Under cross-questioning Bartlett said that he had read, before joining the Communist Party in 1932, Marx and Engels' "Communist Manifesto" and Lenin's "State and Revolution" and that these books advocated the use of force and violence against the government; that he had joined the Communist Party thereafter, became active as a speaker and unemployed leader, and left it in 1933 when he realized that the C. P. advocated the use of force and violence. Then, more than three years later, in 1936 he joined the Socialist Workers Party; he admitted to knowing from the first that the SWP was Marxist and Leninist; then was confronted with the statement he had made, early in his testimony for the government, that the reason he had left the Socialist Workers Party early in 1940, after over three years of party membership, was that he had "discovered" that it advocated the use of force and violence!

The obvious absurdity of this tale was so apparent after the threads had been drawn together under cross-questioning, that Bartlett tried to shift his ground. He went on to assert that he had joined the SWP in 1936 only because Vincent R. Dunne had made party membership a condition before the growing General Drivers Union would aid Bartlett in establishing a newly-founded Warehousemen's Union. When further questioning brought out that Bartlett, while claiming to have left the SWP early in 1940, had nevertheless continued to pay his dues — 10 per cent of his salary — Bartlett said he had done so as a "cheap way to buy peace with the Socialist Workers Party." Neither of these cynical (and false) tales enhanced the stature of the government's chief witness.

Bartlett denied that he had met Jacson, assassin who murdered Trotsky, during his visit to Mexico.

In general, Bartlett went to considerable lengths in attempting to claim that a period of time had elapsed between the time of his membership in the Communist Party and the time he came into the teamsters' movement.

But defense questioning developed the fact that Bartlett joined the teamsters union on the sole basis that he was ostensibly employed as a truckdriver by Walfred Smedberg, whom Bartlett admitted was an active figure in the Unemployed Councils and who in addition, was well-known in Minneapolis as a leader of the Communist Party during the period when he was "employing" Bartlett and enabling him to get into the teamsters union.

The judge permitted the jury and defendants to leave at 3:40 P. M. in order to enable the prosecution to show defense attorneys the exhibits the government plans to introduce from the *Socialist Appeal* for the year 1939.

Eighth Day

WEDNESDAY, NOV. 5

The session began with the judge admitting into evidence, over defendants' objections, a series of items from various 1939 issues of the **Socialist Appeal,** including three yarns in Bill Morgan's "On the Line" column which, the judge ruled, "it is for the jury to determine whether they were humorous or serious."

The most significant ruling was on an editorial entitled "How We Can Fight Hitler," advocating expropriation of the war industries. Judge Joyce ruled that, inasmuch as property is protected from expropriation without compensation by the Fifth Amendment, the advocacy of such expropriation "suggests" the use of the methods charged in the indictment.

BARTLETT'S RELATION TO THE SWP

Cross-examination of the chief government witness, Tobin payroller James Bartlett, then continued.

It became clear that the defense was attacking Bartlett's claim to have left the Communist Party in 1933, and considered that he was operating for the Stalinists in 1935 when he joined Local 544. Cross-questioning also brought out his constant clashes with the defendants in the trade union movement, his role as Tobin's agent in seeking the removal of the 544 leaders, and his evident bias against the defendants long before this trial.

Most interesting development in his cross-examination was the breaking down of the comic-opera picture of revolution that Bartlett had outlined previously under guidance of the prosecutor. Now he was drawn to describe revolution as being, as the Declaration of Principles states, preceded by the winning of a decisive majority; that preceding revolution, in the SWP theory, are a whole series of pre-conditions — mass unemployment, economic collapse after war, mass discontent, etc. — which make possible winning a majority.

Bartlett attempted to counter these admissions of his by asserting that V. R. Dunne had implied that the party could make the revolution with 160,000 members or so, on the analogy of the Russian Bolshevik party which had that number of members in October, 1917. Bartlett was trying to leave the jury with the impression that the Bolsheviks were not followed by a majority.

Attempting to prevent defense counsel from establishing that the defendants had built Local 544 from 1934 to 1941 into a powerful union, Bartlett asserted there were "also other leaders" and named the late Bill Brown as an example. He denied that Brown had been a member of the Socialist Workers Party. Defense counsel introduced an obituary article from the **Socialist Appeal** by James P. Cannon which identified Bill Brown as a party member.

When defense counsel sought to force Bartlett to tell the jury how the union raised wages of the workers from 1934 to 1941, prosecution objected that it was irrelevant and the judge sustained the objection.

Under close questioning, Bartlett admitted that he had neither read nor heard anything by the SWP advocating insubordination in the army. This charge is one of the main points in the indictment on which the defendants are being tried.

On re-direct questioning, the prosecution had its witness testify — obviously to take the edge off his previous testimony that the SWP sought to win a majority — that the SWP considered that "the minority would constitute the apparatus of government."

THE WITNESS STULTZ

Walter Stultz was the next government witness. He had been a member of the executive board and president of Omaha Teamsters Local 554 when five of the six other members were SWP members. His testimony primarily concerned defendant Al Russell. Stultz testified he had been hostile to Russell, had opposed him when he ran for the executive board, had denounced him to the membership of the union as a Trotskyist (but Russell was elected anyway); nevertheless, Russell privately confided in him that the party was planning to use force and violence. Although Stultz had been in the court building for several days, he was called to testify only after a lapse of two days after the testimony of Smith and Love of the same Omaha union who, although called as government witnesses, had testified entirely in favor of the defense.

Shortly after Goldman began cross-questioning Stultz, court adjourned.

Ninth Day

THURSDAY, NOV. 6

Government witness Walter Stultz, upon cross-questioning, turned out to be another Tobin payroller. His wife, he admitted, is paid a weekly wage by Tobin's receiver for the Omaha local to which Stultz belonged, while Stultz himself — a federal prisoner at Sandstone — receives a regular stipend also from Tobin.

The next witness was Franklin F. Page, reporter for the University of Minnesota newspaper, who testified he covered a speech there by Grace Carlson at which she advocated, he alleged, the use of force and violence.

Cross-questioning elicited the fact that spokesmen for the Socialist Club, under whose auspices the Carlson speech was made, had protested by letter to the university paper against the distorted story written by witness Page.

ANOTHER TOBIN AGENT

Next government witness was another Tobin payroller, Roy F. Wieneke. He testified he had joined the SWP to help him get a union job; didn't get the job and left the party; defendants in private conversation advocated force and violence, etc., etc. Wieneke then became a member of the Tobin Committee of 99, signed an affidavit in April to aid Tobin to remove leaders of Local 544. Now is a paid organizer, appointed by Tobin, for AFL Teamsters.

Under cross-questioning, contradictions between his affidavit and present testimony reduced Wieneke to the point where he could recall practically nothing, and that led to this question and answer:

Q. (by Mr. Goldman): All you recollect is that they told you that "We must overthrow the Government by force and violence?"

A. That is right.

Wieneke claimed that he had been pulled off a truck-driving job by defendant Emil Hanson, organizer of Local 544, because he (Wieneke) was supporting the Committee of 99. This was last year. Under cross-questioning it developed that Wieneke had not had a chauffeur's license then and did not know that he had to have a chauffeur's license to drive a truck.

Next government witness was John Novack, goon-squad Tobin payroller, who had been on the witness stand but a short time when court adjourned for the day.

Tenth Day

FRIDAY, NOV. 7

John Novack, was on the stand when court opened.

Highlight of his testimony was that a man named Rube — not otherwise identified either by Novack or anybody else — told Novack that the Socialist Workers Party had "guns and ammunition planted in the walls of churches." Novack claimed he had been invited to join the SWP, but had not.

Cross-questioning brought out that Novack had been employed by the Tobin receiver of the AFL Teamsters as a member of a squad, when Local 544 seceded from the AFL. Asked, "Were you a member of the AFL goon squad?" Novack drew a laugh from the courtroom when he demurely asked: "What is a goon squad?" Novack insisted merely on calling it "the squad". When defense counsel Goldman asked Novack how much he was paid for "squad" work, the prosecution objected and was supported by the judge.

The next government witness was Ernest L. Matt, better known around Plymouth Avenue as Dee-Horn. He, too, told about Rube. But he was such a besotted spectacle that, upon motion by defense to strike out all his testimony, he was excused from testifying.

Elizabeth Humpfner, sweetheart of the late Thomas Williams, Tobin agent in Local 544, was the next witness. She testified that defendants Rose Seiler, Felix Morrow and Grace Carlson, in private conversations, had advocated use of force and violence.

Next came Charles H. Chalmers, head of the Chalmers Oil Burner Company, to testify that, at a session of the Saturday Lunch Club in 1936, V. R. Dunne was the speaker and had advocated "revolutionary struggle."

Prosecution then put on John C. Majersky, member of the Tobin Committee of 99, who testified he had joined the Socialist Workers Party at the urging of Thomas Williams, believing it would help him get a union job; he didn't get the job, and quit the party. He testified that the 544 Union Defense Guard engaged in target practice; identified various defendants as party members; denied that the Silver Shirts were known to be threatening the union when the guard was formed; testified that party members advocated revolution.

Karl Bath testified he had been for three months in 1938 a member of the staff of 544; had joined the party to make sure of keeping his job; was dropped from the staff and left the party (and joined the Tobin Committee of 99, the cross-examination brought out). Like other government witnesses he testified to hearing party members, especially in personal conversations, advocate use of force and violence.

Next came Thomas McCue, Tobin appointee as organizer of the AFL Teamsters, to testify that in 1937 he heard Karl Skoglund ask the late Senator Lundeen to help secure asylum for Leon Trotsky here.

The government then put on J. J. Kenney, former Local 544 member, for pointless testimony on the Union Defense Guard. His only function was to enable prosecution to argue later that other beside Tobin agents have been government witnesses.

Then came Henry Harris, Committee of 99 member, who gave the usual testimony about defendants advocating use of force and violence. He was on the stand at session's end.

Eleventh Day

MONDAY, NOV. 10

The day opened with Henry Harris still giving testimony under the guidance of prosecution questions.

The big development of the day came shortly after Harris was turned over to defense counsel for cross-examination. Searching questions on the connection of the Tobin Committee of 99 with the FBI brought from Harris a number of damning admissions. (See page 1 story).

After Harris left the stand, the rest of the morning was taken up with introduction by the government of numerous items of "evidence" from various issues of the Socialist Appeal and the Fourth International.

In admitting most of these for submission to the jury, Judge Joyce made two significant rulings this afternoon:

TWO IMPORTANT RULINGS

1. He received as evidence, over the objection of defense, an editorial advocating a people's referendum on war or peace. Since the Constitution reserves solely to Congress the right to declare war, said Judge Joyce, advocacy of such a referendum by the people suggests "revolutionary" methods of securing such a referendum. It is up to the jury to decide whether this would be done by force and violence, or peacefully, concluded the judge.

2. One of the popularly-priced books issued by Penguin Books, Tom Wintringham's "New Ways of War", was introduced by the prosecution as evidence against the defense, because the **Socialist Appeal** had reviewed and recommended it for reading by trade unionists.

The book was written for reading by the civilian population of England to aid it in participating in defending the country against a Nazi invasion. Judge Joyce ruled that the 'Socialist Appeal' review, because it stated that Wintringham's military advice was useful to unions in the fight against American fascist bands, made both the review AND THE BOOK admissible as evidence against the defendants.

The government put witness Chris Moe on the stand. A former member of the Socialist Workers Party, Moe was of no value to the prosecution, his testimony being in no way hostile to the defendants. It was obvious that the only reason he was put on the stand was to enable prosecution to claim later that it had other witnesses beside Tobin agents.

Next witness was Fred Bove, member of the pro-Tobin Committee of 99, who testified that V. R. Dunne went to Mexico in an automobile owned by Local 544.

When defense counsel asked what relevancy his testimony had, Assistant U. S. Attorney-General Schweinhaut stated that the indictment charges that defendants sought control of unions for revolutionary purposes, and that charge is substantiated by proof that V. R. Dunne could use a union car to get to see Trotsky!

Next witness was Eugene F. Gleason, who identified himself as a reporter for the Cleveland **Plain Dealer,** who covered a meeting addressed by Grace Carlson in Cleveland on January 12, 1941. Gleason alleged he heard Dr. Carlson advocate use of "armed force" against the government. Gleason had also been a grand jury witness.

Next witness was Joe Williams, brother of the late leader of the Tobin forces in Local 544. After he testified, he was confronted with a copy of an affidavit he had signed for Tobin against the Local 544 leaders last April, and was unable to explain the contradictions between the affidavit and his testimony.

Myrtle Levenius, an employee of the Associated Industries, then testified that she, at the instructions of her office, had purchased a Declaration of Principles pamphlet at the SWP bookshop. Associated Industries is the employers' organization, bitter enemy of Local 544. The witness denied she was in the office when the Associated Industries gave its file on the union to the FBI.

Violet Williams, widow of Tobin's agent, was on the stand when the day closed.

Judge Joyce, announcing to the jury that court would not be in session tomorrow (Armistice Day), made a short speech on the solemn significance of that holiday.

A Man Named Rube

MINNEAPOLIS, Nov. 7 — It is impossible to describe in words the faces, appearance, character, of the government's witnesses in this "sedition" trial. One has to see them, parading into the witness stand, to realize what the government's "evidence" amounts to. A partial substitute for seeing them would be to read their verbatim testimony. But that would take up whole volumes of THE MILITANT.

Here, however, is a sample of their testimony, which will give you an idea what is going on in this courtroom in Minneapolis.

The witness who is speaking is John Novack, Tobin goon-squad man and government witness. And remember that what he is about to say, the government already knows; the prosecutors have gone over his testimony with him, not once but many times! He is telling what a man named Rube said. Who is Rube? Neither this witness nor any other ever identifies him. Prosecutor Anderson is putting the questions, Novack is answering:

Q: And was anything said in the clubroom at the Federal Workers Section (of Local 544) about whether there was any ammunition available, stored anywhere?

A: Well, this other fellow, Rube, said, "You would be surprised at what we have. We have ammunition . . ."

DEFENSE ATT'Y GOLDMAN: That is objected to, your Honor. I do not know why we should be bound by somebody by the name of Rube. We do not know who it was.

Q: Do you know whether Rube was a Party member?

A: Yes, he was.

MR. GOLDMAN: Rube who?

THE WITNESS: I said I don't know his name.

MR. ANDERSON: Rubinsky?

THE WITNESS: Yes, Rubinsky was his name.

MR. GOLDMAN: How does he know he was a Party member?

THE COURT: I don't know.

THE WITNESS: I can answer that.

THE COURT: Go ahead and answer it.

A: I knew he was a Party member because he was helping organize the youth section which was part of the Federal Workers Section of 544.

MR. ANDERSON: The youth section of the union, 544?

MR. GOLDMAN: I object to (prosecution) counsel putting words into his mouth.

Q: What youth section was Rube organizing?

A: The youth section.

Q: Of what group or organization?

A: Well, of the Party.

Q: All right. What did Rube say?

A: He says, "You would be surprised how well we are fixed." He said, "We have guns and ammunition planted in the walls of churches. We have bullets that will go through an inch and a half or two inches of armor plate, which is better than the United States Army can do."

Q: Well, was this a joking affair, or was it a serious argument?

A: Well, he might have been joking, but the way he said it, it was kind of serious. He was serious about it.

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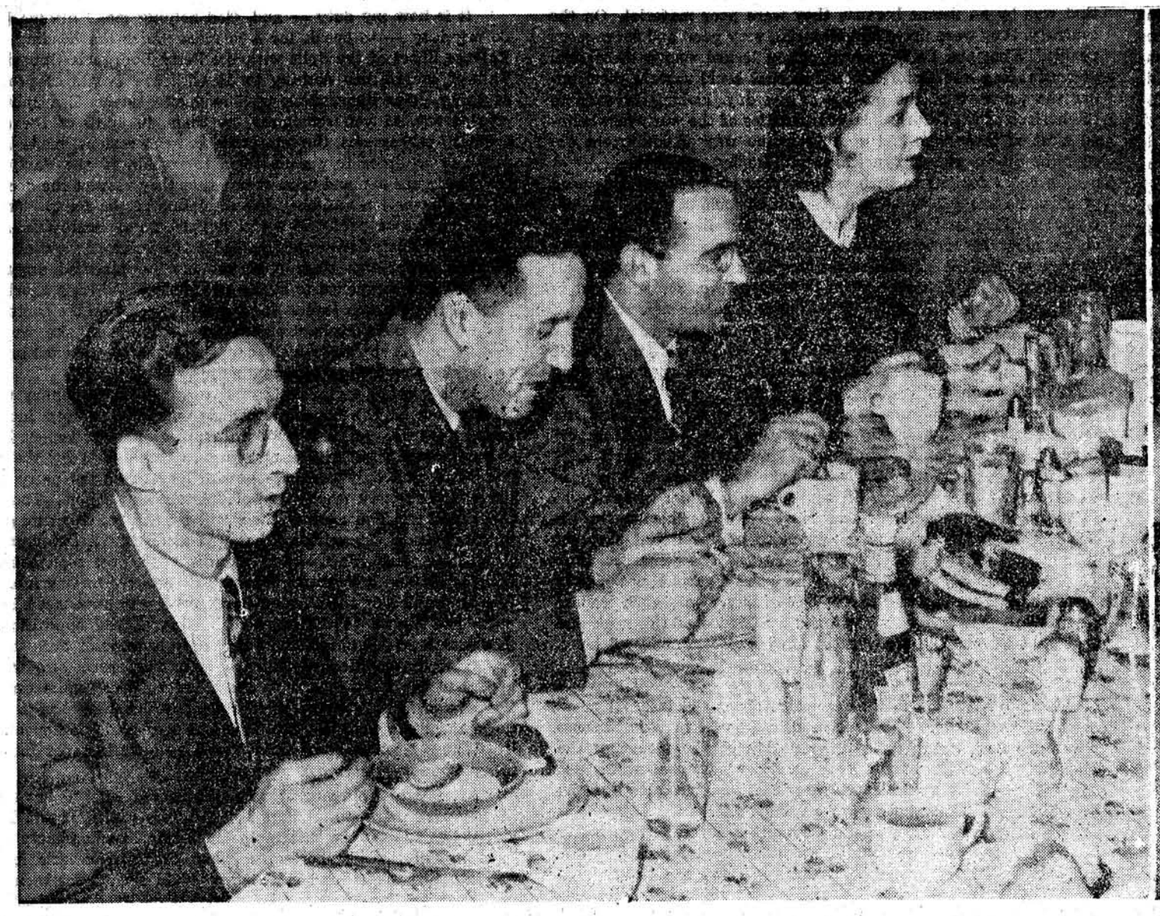
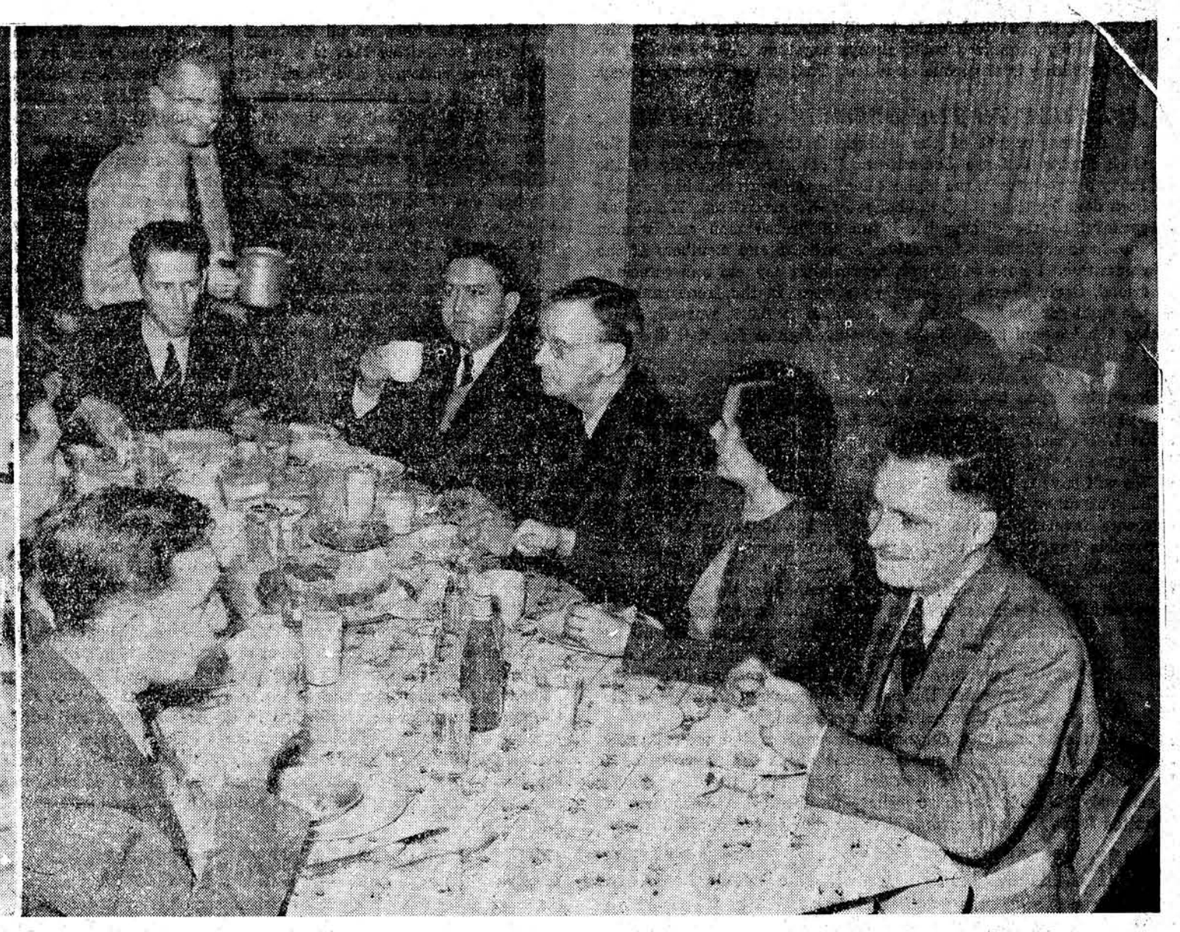
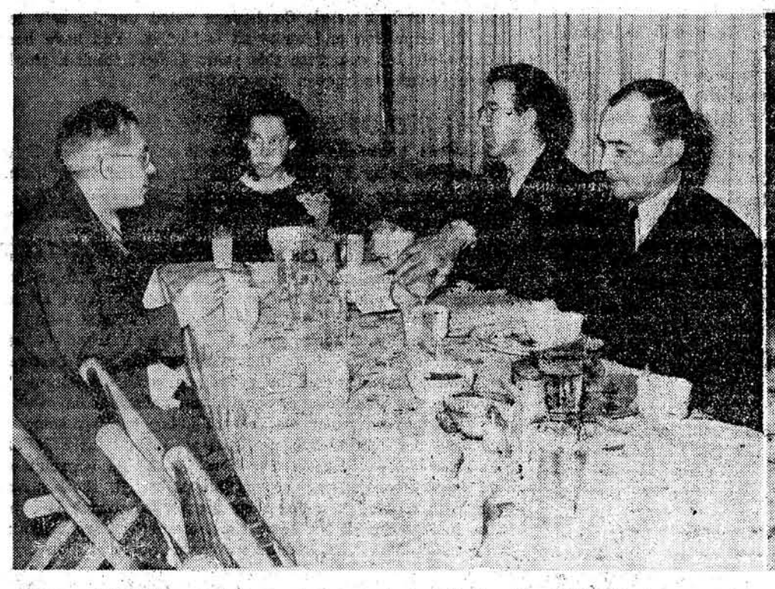


Exchanging views on the trial while enjoying a tasty meal are (left to right) defendants Alfred Russell, Farrell Dobbs, SWP National Labor Secretary, M. J. Myers of Chicago, defense attorney, and defendant Mrs. Dorothy Schultz, organizer for the St. Paul SWP branch.



Over the coffee cups trial plans are being discussed by: (left to right) Harold Swanson, Felix Morrow, Editor of the 'Militant', Oscar Coover, Minneapolis Secretary of the Socialist Workers Party, Dr. Grace Carlson, and Carl Kuehn, all defendants.



Albert Goldman, defense counsel and defendant (left), goes over some points of the trial with Mrs. Carlos Hudson, and defendants Carlos Hudson, editor of the Local 544-CIO Industrial Organizer, *and Miles Dunne, Local 544 president.*

These two "seditious conspirators" appear to have enjoyed their meal. They are (left) Harry DeBoer, Local 544 member, and James P. Cannon, SWP National Secretary.

(All pictures on this page are reproduced through the courtesy of the St. Paul Dispatch Pioneer Press).

Looking over press clippings of the trial posted on the Minneapolis SWP headquarters bulletin board are four of the kitchen committee which prepares two meals daily. They are (left to right) Elaine Roseland, Julia Rubich, Mrs. Betty Morrow and Mrs. H. DeBoer.

'Our Party's Answer To The Prosecution'

James P. Cannon's Speech At The Plenum-Active Workers Conference In Chicago, Oct. 11-12, 1941

The following excerpts from the main report delivered by Comrade James P. Cannon at the Socialist Workers Party Plenum-Active Workers Conference in Chicago, October 11-12, 1941, are printed here as a timely evaluation of the federal prosecution of 28 members of the Socialist Workers Party and Local 544-CIO, and the party's answer to it.

Comrade Chairman and Comrades:

To judge by the turn-out we have here for this Active Workers Conference, if Mr. Roosevelt and Mr. Biddle thought that by indicting a few members of the Party they were going to scare the rest, they made a miserable failure to start with. The Trotskyists don't scare very easily. When we undertook to organize a revolutionary movement to overthrow capitalism, we took it for granted that along the road we would have to be prepared to take a few blows. The real test of a workers party is its ability to stand up under the attempts of the class enemy to intimidate it and to scare it out of existence. The Socialist Workers Party will stand up.

This is by far the best gathering we have had in the entire thirteen years since we founded the original nucleus of American Trotskyism in 1928. Not only is it the best showing in numbers but also in spirit and enthusiasm, in unity within our ranks, and in the determination of all the Party members and leaders to respond to the demands of the new situation with greater efforts and sacrifices, firmer discipline, and devotion to the party.

One time, so the legend goes, there was a very spirited conference of the pioneer Communists in the early days of the Communist Party. One delegate got so enthusiastic that he stood up and said, "Comrade Chairman, I make a motion that this conference go down in history." Well, I am sure that this conference will go down in history without a motion to that effect. It marks a turning point, a new stage in the growth and development and integration of the invincible movement of the Fourth International in the United States. Nothing can break this Party because it is founded on the solid rock of Marxism; it is inspired by the spirit of its great teacher and leader, Comrade Trotsky, and is marching forward in his spirit. This Party is not afraid of anything or anybody. We can dish it out, as the saying goes, and we can take it, too. Biddle will find that out, and so will Roosevelt, and so will Tobin and all the little lackeys of these conspirators against the rights and interests of the workers.

I presume you have had an opportunity to study the resolution adopted and presented for your consideration by the National Committee. This is not a general economic and political survey but rather a special resolution to the occasion. The resolution undertakes to set forth, point by point, those specific concrete tasks imposed upon the Party by the present situation arising out of the developments of the war and the federal prosecution of a number of our people.

WHY THEY PROSECUTE OUR PARTY

Of course, this prosecution, as everybody knows, had its immediate initiation in the trade union fight in Minneapolis. But that trade union fight in Minneapolis was not just a trade union fight. It had its roots in the war situation. The conflict, as is pointed out in the resolution, and as is well-known to all of us, between the Trotskyist leaders of 544 and Tobin, the war-mongering international president of the teamsters union, didn't grow up out of incidental trade union questions. The fight came to a head over the fundamental question of the conduct of trade union leaders in time of imperialist war. All over the country the labor lieutenants of the capitalist class have succeeded in pushing local trade union leaders into line for the war. They pushed over the Socialist Party trade unionists, without difficulty, like so many nine-pins. The Stalinists are on the band wagon, and so are the so-called "progressives" and "radicals". But they couldn't line up the Trotskyists. Why? Because they are people of a different breed; they are people of an entirely different type. The Trotskyists don't line up for war after they have said in time of peace that they are going to oppose the war. The Trotskyists are bearers of a glorious name. They feel obliged to make their deeds match their words.

WHY THEY SINGLE US OUT FIRST

The prosecution really, to put it on its right foundation, is a prosecution of our Party because we remain loyal in time of war to the principles which we expounded in time of peace. This prosecution is a great new event. We are the first section of the working class to be singled out for prosecution. And not by some ignorant local prosecutor, not by some over-enthusiastic provincial jingo, but by the federal government itself at the direct instigation of the president of the United States. This is the fact. And this fact puts our Party right in the very center of the political situation in this country. It will remain there without question of a doubt because this prosecution will drag out a long time, and it will echo for a longer time through the ranks of the American people.

The blow aimed against us — and it is a real blow; a deliberate and determined attempt to imprison 28 people for terms of years and to intimidate the others — such a blow can either make or break the Party, depending on how we meet it. If we stand up and fight, regardless of the consequences; if we take the necessary risks, hold firm to our principles, use the trial for an aggressive defense of our principles — then our Party is bound to grow in prestige, in influence, and in membership, in spite of anything that may happen to some individuals involved. But if the Party tries to be clever, to run away, to disavow its principles under fire of the enemy, then the Party would be everlastingly doomed.

The political resolution which you have before you is designed to guide the Party. It is your task here as members of the Conference, in considering the resolution, to understand that we are giving the answer to all the party members and sympathizers, and to the working class generally, as to just what the Trotskyist Party is going to do in the next period.

OUR POLICY IN THE COURT ROOM

First of all we take up the question of the policy in court. We lay down in the resolution, clearly and categorically, that the policy, which is obligatory upon all Party members involved, is not to renounce, not to water down the revolutionary doctrines of our Party, but to defend them openly and militantly in court. That is the only program possible for us. When we are called to the witness stand to answer whether we did conspire to overthrow the government with armed force in the immediate future, we shall undertake to tell just what the Party stands for and what it aims to do today and tomorrow. If we succeed in carrying out this program we will transform that courtroom, which is designed by our persecutors to be the scene of intimidation and terror for the Party — we will transform it into a forum, into a sounding board from which we speak to the people of the United States about the program of our Party.

That is the court policy laid down in the resolution, and I think it will be accepted unanimously by the Conference, by the Party, and by the party members among the defendants involved. And we should go further, too, even in this detail, in my opinion, and lay down lines of procedure for the comrades involved in the trial. That is, like Trotskyists in all situations wherever they may be, wherever two or more are gathered together, they act as one. All questions of procedure and policy, decisions that have to be made on the spot, are made in meetings after discussion, and in cases of differences of opinion, the vote is taken and the majority prevails. That is the way a serious party machine works everywhere and under all circumstances and must do there.

They have a wonderful plan up there in Minneapolis where they have a fine Party headquarters with ample facilities. They are working out a plan for community feeding of the delegates — pardon me, the defendants. This system of community feeding, which we instituted last year at the Active Workers Conference and have again repeated this year, works out very well in keeping comrades together and promoting a good feeling among them. Twice a day in the commodious party headquarters the defendants will be gathered together for their meals, for lunch and dinner, which will be furnished by the defense committee. The party headquarters will also provide the necessary facilities and rooms

(Continued on Page 4)

'Our Party's Answer To The Prosecution'

(Continued from page 3)

for meetings of the defendants, social affairs, committee meetings and so on. Thus, from the beginning of the trial to the very end, the party defendants will be confronting their enemies as a solidly organized body, always together, always united, always striking in the same direction. That is the Trotskyist way.

ATTITUDE TO THE DEFENSE COMMITTEE

Another aspect of the defense is the organization of the Civil Rights Defense Committee. I am sure everybody in the Party appreciates in the highest degree the work that has already been done by the people in charge of this committee. We are all grateful to the distinguished and celebrated men and women who have constituted themselves as officers and members of the committee. I note with appreciation that my old and esteemed friend, Carlo Tresca, is there, as always, in the front ranks of the fight for justice. Margaret DeSilver is there, worthily bearing the honored name of the war-time fighter for civil liberties, Albert DeSilver.

In agreement with us the Civil Rights Defense Committee has taken upon itself certain definite and limited functions. It will undertake to provide funds for the legal expenses of the trial. We must not overlook any possibilities to protect the legal rights and interests of the defendants. This costs a lot of money. We will have to help the Civil Rights Defense Committee to raise it. The other task of the committee is to secure publicity and create favorable public sentiment for the defendants in every possible way. The functions of the defense committees are limited to these two points.

The policy of the defense is determined by the party in cooperation with the defendants. We cannot transform the party into a defense organization. The Party goes ahead with all its political and organizational work and tries to make such a distribution of the resources of our movement, between the necessary legal expenses and the necessary expenses of keeping the Party functioning, that neither is neglected.

You hear a lot of chatter from some of the radical petty bourgeois opponents of our movement about the necessity of a "broad united front" for defense. Don't take these windbags seriously. Nobody needs to agitate us about the importance of united front formations when it is possible to get substantial organizations to take serious action. But we certainly don't intend, under the formula of united front, to permit the legal defense committee to be transformed into a forum for all kinds of factional disputes between all kinds of jangling groups. We want a defense committee that is a working body, that takes its defense tasks seriously and doesn't attempt to become a political organization or a debating society. Anybody willing to participate with us and help us in good faith along that line, in the committee which has been established, is certainly welcome to come along and help us. But if others, whose sincerity is suspect, think for a minute that we will permit them to make a factional football out of the defense of our case, they will be promptly called to order. We have a certain stake in the matter, namely, our heads. This gives us a right to some say about the procedure.

We would like to have a great conference of labor organizations supporting our defense, but it is utopian to think we merely have to proclaim it in order to get it. There is no possibility in the present state of affairs in the labor movement to enlist many important workers' organizations actively in our support. The Stalinists are not in favor of our defense. They are in favor of our prosecution. They give Roosevelt and Biddle critical support, friendly advice. They advise them to change the indictment, accuse us of being Nazi spies and make it a little bit stiffer for us. Is anybody here fool enough to think the Socialist Party wants to help us? The Socialist Party will piously announce its support of civil liberties in general and let it go at that. If you pass the hat around, they will, maybe, give you two bits. Even then you had better bite the coin to make sure it isn't counterfeit. The trade unions on the whole, up to now, are not bestirred to help the most extreme and persecuted revolutionary group in the country, the Trotskyists.

So we have to go along with this kind of committee of prominent individuals which has been set up. Later on, it is quite possible that with the further progress of the case and further developments in the labor movement, a real basis of support for the defendants can be established in the trade unions and supporting conferences organized in defense of our people. When such a possibility arises we will be the first to recognize it and the first to grasp it. But in the present situation we do not run after utopian programs and do not want to be bothered with such proposals.

IMPORTANCE OF MAINTAINING OUR LEGAL FUNCTIONING

I come now to the point which is stressed in the resolution and which I want to elaborate particularly here. What shall be the general attitude to the Party in the event of a successful prosecution, that is, in the event of a conviction of the defendants involved in this case? Shall we accept this as a proclamation that our Party is illegal, withdraw from the public scene, close down our offices and establish underground corners and places of hiding, etc.?

That would be, in the opinion of the National Committee, the greatest mistake. We don't intend to surrender our possibilities of legal functioning at the very first blow. In spite of all they say, we are not "conspirators". We are a political movement and we want to work in the open. The advantages of public activity, agitation, propaganda and organization are so superior and so much more economical than similar work carried out by illegal and underground means that a serious revolutionary party has to fight to the last ditch to maintain its legal rights.

I mentioned some weeks ago to the Political Committee the experiences of 1919, the post-war period. There was a tremendous wave of reaction stemming out of Washington under Attorney-General A. Mitchell Palmer, the Biddle of his day. The Communist parties were no sooner organized — there were two of them; they began with a split, the Communist Party and Communist Labor Party — they were no sooner organized than Palmer's persecution began. Palmer's agents arrested all the leaders they could find in one part of the country or another; there was hardly a leader of the movement who wasn't under indictment. They staged raids on the meetings and arrested scores and hundreds of members within the space of two or three days. Under the impact of those blows, and under the influence of some leaders who were by no means cowards but who tended to draw their conclusions from the experiences in Russia where there never had been any democratic liberty, the parties automatically accepted an illegal status. They withdrew to the underground and stayed there two or three years, attempting to function with all the limitations and difficulties and multiplied expenses of illegal work.

EXPERIENCES OF THE POST-WAR PERIOD

A peculiar thing happened in connection with those events. Some judge — I forget the name — who had a case before him, proclaimed the Communist Party an illegal organization, and the party accepted his decision. But in another case, for some reason or other, some quirk in the judge's mind, he announced that the Communist Labor Party was a legal organization. This should at least have been the signal for the Communist Labor Party to say, "Thank you, Judge," and to open up its headquarters again. But instead of that, they considered the pronouncement an affront to their revolutionary integrity, a discrimination against them, and they issued a statement saying in effect: "By God, we are just as illegal as the Communist Party." And they remained "underground" on principle.

At the first underground unity convention in Bridgeman, Michigan — not the famous one in 1923, but in 1920 — when drawing up the constitution of the organization, the left-wingers insisted on having it stated in the constitution, "The Communist Party is an underground, illegal organization," so that there would be no doubt about it. In the light of later developments that attitude must be regarded as a mistake. The party was compelled later on to conduct an intensive struggle to regain its right to function legally, and in the course of several years, by experimenting with one form of organization and another, it succeeded in gradually extending its public activities. There was a change in the administration at Washington, and eventually the party restored its legal functioning although the laws remained the same as before.

In the United States, up to now, they have never worked out a formula to proscribe an organization as such. There is no reason why we should do it for them. We should not accept even a conviction in this case as a signal that the legal public activity of the Party has to cease. It will not be so easy for our enemies, the Roosevelts and the Biddles, to wage a war for "democracy" and suppress free speech altogether. It is not our duty to simplify their task by voluntarily relinquishing our rights. We should continue as far as possible, step by step, resisting at every step, and striving, even at the cost of some casualties, to maintain a legal existence for our movement. I don't, of course, project the perspective of a party of our size being able to resist the whole concentrated weight of American capitalism against us, but we will do the best we can.

They are persecuting us and will continue to persecute us, but we must not immediately begin to develop an underground psychology. There are two sides to that underground psychology, and I have seen both of them in the course of my experience in the movement. One side of it is revolutionary, that is, it is inspired by the impulse to continue functioning in spite of overwhelming persecution. This was the dominating spirit of the Russian Bolsheviks under Czarism. It is the spirit of the comrades of the Fourth International who are working by underground methods in Europe today. On the other hand, some people seem to think there is romanticism, combined with safety, in an underground organization. When we finally found the possibility of restoring the legal functioning of our pioneer Communist movement in 1922 and 1923, we met with a great deal of resistance from various types of underground fanatics who wanted to stay underground out of habit and on principle.

We had a big battle over this question in Moscow. I was a delegate of the "liquidators" faction — that is, the faction which wanted to "liquidate" the underground party and form a legal organization — to the Third International in 1922. It was due to the intervention of Trotsky in the first place, then of Lenin and Zinoviev, that we finally got support for our program of legalizing the movement. In the course of the discussions Zinoviev told a story about some underground fanatics in the Russian movement who had become so accustomed to conspiring under the Czar that they wanted to keep it up after the Czar was gone. Even after the Bolsheviks took power, said Zinoviev, they had a woman in the party who used to go around with a false passport. She didn't feel comfortable without it. We will have to find our way between the possibilities and the necessities, and try in every case to make the best of it: that is, to do those things and take those steps which make it possible for us to survive as an organization and have the greatest possible freedom of action.

ELECTION CAMPAIGNS AID OUR FIGHT FOR LEGALITY

One of the ways pointed out in the resolution to facilitate our fight to maintain our legal existence is participation in election campaigns. You all know about the 1940 election campaign in Minnesota. That was one of the celebrated things of our conference last year. The campaign of Comrade Grace Carlson for Senator and the sizeable vote she received were certainly a great help and inspiration for the whole party. You have learned about the perennial election races of George Breitman in Newark, until they are beginning to call him a chronic office-seeker. Breitman is running again this year. And this example finally caught hold in New York, and, as you know, I stand before you today requesting your suffrage in my capacity as candidate for Mayor of New York. And if elected. . . !

It is one of the greatest things that ever happened in the party, that the reaction of the New York party organization to our indictment was not to run for cover but to go out in the open, in the election campaign, with the banner of the indicted comrades. And they went out night and day, for weeks on end, and collected more than 15,000 individual signatures on the petitions. They must have interviewed not less than 100,000 people; and in almost every case there was the occasion to argue why they should sign, to tell them about the case in Minnesota and what our Party stands for. I venture to say more propaganda, more agitation, for Trotskyism was carried out in concentrated form in those weeks of the petition campaign than ever before, by many times, in New York.

Now it appears that we have the petition filed with more than double the required amount of signatures. The first three days have elapsed without challenge and the indications are that we will be on the ballot in New York. This is an excellent means of propaganda and agitation and of struggle to maintain legality. Our campaign in New York acquires exceptional significance now because of an account in today's paper that the Stalinists have withdrawn their candidate in order to help LaGuardia. That's all right with us too. It means that the possibility can be created for our Party, for the first time in New York, to rally around itself a real mass of militant anti-war workers.

This is a form of activity that must be emphasized more in the next period. Many comrades seem to take it for granted that we can't get on the ballot. We can't unless we work. We can do it in Newark; we can do it in Minnesota; now it has been demonstrated that we can do it in New York. It took us thirteen years to accomplish it. For thirteen years we thought we couldn't do it, but once this new group of young leaders in New York took hold of things, they organized the party to go out and get the signatures and put the party on the ballot. Let us think more seriously about election campaigns, particularly now in the light of our determined struggle to function legally as long as possible.

The Party, in order to prepare itself for this blow and others yet to come, should get a word from the Conference, which is contained in the resolution, about the internal preparation of the Party. Some of the leading people of the Party are put face to face with the prospect of prison terms; other activists in the Party ranks may be confronted in the future with the same prospect. We have to ask ourselves, what does it take to enable men to stand up in the face of tests of this kind? Does it take courage? Courage has many kinds. Some kinds of courage, ordinary human courage, are by no means adequate for such tests as these.

During the last war a great number of IWW men were sent to the penitentiary, 150 to 200 of them. In the Chicago case alone there were a hundred. These were the leading militants of the IWW and most of them served some years in prison, two-three-four years in prison. But only a small percentage of those IWW militants continued their activity for any length of time after their release from prison. A very small percentage. And that was by no means because they were poor material. On the contrary, they were first class material, very good and courageous people. What the IWW men in prison lacked was a theoretical understanding and historical outlook that could sustain them under the pressure of the defeats of the day, looking forward to the horizon of the future. The complexities of the war overwhelmed most of those who had nothing in the way of equipment except the all-too simple syndicalist philosophy.

In order for one to withstand persecution over a long period of time, he has got to have a theoretical understanding, an historical outlook and a firm conviction that history is working on his side. He must believe he is serving a great cause whose victory is assured. This conviction will sustain us against all the blows of the class enemy in the years to come. And that is why we must devote special attention now to the new cadres of youth who are coming to us — that we educate them in the principles of Marxism; teach them the history and tradition of Bolshevism; and help them to acquire an historical point of view, which is the point of view of Bolshevism.

In general, the Party in response to the new tests and the new tasks must of necessity be drawn tighter together, become more disciplined, demand more of its members, and particularly of its leaders. We cannot build a party and lead a revolution merely with clever leaders. In order to be a leader of the revolutionary labor movement, one must have Bolshevism in his blood. The leaders must have demanded of them that they set the example all the time before the Party. The comrades must see the leaders always and everywhere out in front, not merely making speeches, but in tests and sacrifices. Only such leaders can have the authority and win the confidence of the rank and file of the Party. The party must have leaders worthy of trust.

EDUCATION WILL STRENGTHEN THE PARTY

There is a section in the resolution about the internal preparation of the Party. This section should be taken very seriously and reported at length to the branches on the return of the delegates. We must do more systematic educational work, not only for the rank and file and new recruits, but also for the second cadre of leaders who are coming up.

We have even talked in the Committee several times lately about the necessity of systematic study work on the part of our field organizers, as part of their duties. There should grow up an atmosphere in the Party that the Party expects a field organizer to be an educated Marxist; and that systematic study is part of his duties in the field. A certain number of hours of the day he should be assigned by the National Committee to retire to the library and study the theoretical works of Marxism and report on the progress of his studies. He should be paid for this activity by the National Committee as part of his functions as organizer in the field. We should eventually approximate the standard that all the leaders of the Party, in the field as well as in the center, are informed Marxists. They will understand their philosophy, their doctrine and their history, and they will communicate this respectful attitude toward theory and history to the rank and file of the Party. Thereby the level of the organization will rise, and its ability to withstand the attacks of the class enemy will be greater.

They had a campaign of this kind once in the Comintern, along about 1924-25. The Communist International was swelled by the affiliation of parties in the various countries which had come over from the social democracy, and these parties were in different stages of political development. They had formally adopted the Bolshevik program but they were far from being Bolshevik parties. The Comintern worked out a program under a slogan called the "Bolshevization" of the party. The original aim, as announced, was to initiate a concentrated campaign of explanation and study of the history and principles of Bolshevism to aid in the assimilation of these new people into the Bolshevik current.

But, like every other good project of the Comintern as it fell more and more into the hands of Stalin, this excellent concept was perverted and caricaturized and transformed into a struggle against the best Bolsheviks in the Communist International. It became a campaign against Trotskyism. But the idea had an absolutely sound kernel. Trotsky mentioned it in his famous "Lessons of October." He said, there is a great deal of talk about Bolshevization and it is very timely too, but what is Bolshevization? He said, **it is such an education of the Party members and such a selection of its leading staff that the Party doesn't leave the track when its opportunity comes.** That, I think, is an excellent description of the campaign of internal strengthening which we want to carry out — to the end that the party membership should be so educated, and the leading people so selected, that the Party will remain firm under every test which may confront it.

It is now my duty — and, God helping me, I always try to do my duty — to speak for a moment under the heading, "The Balance Sheet of the Split with the Petty Bourgeois Opposition." This of course, has nothing to do with the events of problems of today. It is like raking up last year's leaves. The split was carried out, as you remember, by them, in spite of the extraordinary concessions, the unprecedented concessions, made by the majority in order to permit them to remain in the Party. We made only one demand upon them: that they respect the decisions of the Convention and obey the discipline of the Party. Trotsky said they had a profound social impulse to separate themselves from the proletarian majority. From the point of view of every political experience their split couldn't be justified anywhere, but they felt compelled to break at any cost. When, a short time later, Burnham, the leader and inspirer of that whole contemptible faction, completely repudiated socialism and the workers' movement, we could see how really profound their social impulse to break from the proletarian majority really was.

It is a crime to break the unity of the revolutionary party. Not a few of the honest comrades who were duped into the split by Burnham and Shachtman are beginning to repent it and to re-examine the question of who was responsible for the split. They can find only one answer: the leaders of the petty bourgeois faction were wholly and completely responsible. They say they were expelled against their will by the bureaucratic action of the Political Committee. That was along in the latter part of April, last year. Then a few months later, you remember, we had the Plenum and Active Workers Conference in Chicago. The time and place of the Plenum-Conference was announced in the press and known to the expelled leaders of the opposition. If they had been put out of the Party only because of bureaucratic action of the Political Committee their next procedure was to appeal to the Plenum, and to apear before the Plenum and the Conference in defense of their appeal, which they had a right to do under the party constitution. But they made no appeal.

Why? Because they didn't want to be reinstated into the party of Trotskyism on any terms.

After every bureaucratically engineered split I have seen in the past there unfailingly arose in the ranks of the Party a criticism against the leadership for having expelled party members unjustly. And, thereafter, when the bureaucratic leaders got into difficulties, and when they would appeal for money to finance the Party, the opposition would say, the Party is in difficulties, the Party is broke, because of the expulsions. There is an endless opposition around the heads of bureaucrats who force a split not politically motivated. That is a political law.

But we have not had in our ranks, from the time of the split a year and a half ago up till today, a single branch or individual who raised a reproach against the leadership for the expulsion of the petty bourgeois opposition. One hundred or so comrades at last year's Conference voted unanimously to confirm the expulsion and make an end of it. You have here approximately 150 delegates this year. I don't think a single one present wants to reopen the question.

THE KIND OF UNITY WE WANT

It was a socially motivated split on both sides. It was a split of the petty bourgeois elements from the proletarian. We didn't force the split, but we gained by it. Our Party, from the very first day, went forward after that split. Our activities, our press, our organization, our finances, our morale and our general digestion is a lot better ever since the petty bourgeois opposition walked out on us. In the light of the experiences of the past year and one half, one must say that of all of the splits in the history of our international movement — and there have been many of them, good, bad and indifferent — the best split that ever came down the pike was the split between the proletarian majority and the petty bourgeois opposition. There cannot be any semblance of conciliation toward them.

This does not mean we are not going to have some of the rank and file comrades back. Just as I stand here talking to you I received word from the West Coast that a group of eleven, the backbone of their second largest branch, the Los Angeles branch, is waiting now for their convention, which is supposed to be in progress at the same time as our Conference, to reject their resolution for the defense of the Soviet Union in order to come over in a body to join our Los Angeles branch on the basis of our program. Naturally, they will be welcomed back into our ranks. That is the kind of unity we can entertain with members of the so-called Workers Party. That is the only kind of unity we can have the slightest interest in.

WE DEFEND THE SOVIET UNION!

Another point mentioned in the resolution is the defense of the Soviet Union, in reality the biggest problem of all for us today. The most important question, which overshadows by a hundred times the Minnesota trials, is the great military struggle taking place on the territory of Russia today. From all indications, Stalin and his gang are carrying their work to its predestined end. Stalin and Hitler together are dealing the Soviet Union what appears now to be its most catastrophic blow. The bitter truth can no longer be concealed by any blustering. The reality is too glaringly obvious now.

And you can be sure that more than one Stalinist bureaucrat in the United States, more than one careerist who has been serving the Stalin machine because it had power and prestige and money, is already beginning to draw the conclusions from the military defeat of the Soviet Union and looking for his own personal way out. You will see in the next period, if the tide of battle turns more decisively against the Soviet Union, great numbers of these treacherous careerists deserting what they consider the sinking ship and trying to find a place for themselves openly in the camp of American imperialism. They are very happy that they are on the Roosevelt band-wagon now, and there they want to stay.

But it is just such events as are happening now, just such a trend, that will break the hypnosis of the Stalinist rank and file. We musn't lose patience with the Stalinist worker. We must remember that the sentiment by means of which they held him, maneuvered him and deceived him, was his determination to support the Soviet Union, to see in the Soviet Union some new hope in the world. Trotsky remarked in our very last talk with him that new events will break this hypnosis and make the rank and file workers see clearly what kind of leadership they have. These Stalinist workers — the honest and sincere but deluded workers — can't have any place to go except to us, or else into utter despair and disillusionment and inactivity. We should intensify our work among the Stalinists; try to reach them at all costs; fix the responsibility for the catastrophe of the Soviet Union where it really belongs — on the shoulders of Stalin and his gang; and try to win over every possible Stalinist worker to the movement of the Fourth International.

In such an hour as this, we see again how absolutely right were Trotsky and the majority of our party and the International in defending the Soviet Union to the very end; in establishing such a clear record that if we have now come to the catastrophe, nobody can justly say that one iota of responsibility clings to the Fourth International. We remain loyal to the Soviet Union in spite of everything, and that gives us the political and moral right to approach the disillusioned Stalinist workers.

It is not so with the petty-bourgeois elements who deserted our ranks on account of the Russian question. What position are they in to approach a sincere Stalinist worker who in his heart believed, and believed with justice, that the Soviet Union was a great fortress of the proletariat? Why, these wretched people addressed a leaflet to the Stalinists a couple of months ago in connection with the war turn and they didn't even mention their position on the Soviet Union. They felt so embarrassed and so helpless that they left out all mention of their attitude toward the Soviet-Nazi war.

We, on the other hand, can more and more aggressively, more and more confidently, approach the rank and file Stalinist workers who have believed in the Soviet Union and show them where the responsibility for the catastrophe belongs and lead them, or at least some of them, onto the path of the international revolution under our banner.

In the next period the shooting war may begin. Every day we get closer to it. Every day the effectiveness of agitation simply against war becomes diminished by the fact that more and more we are in the war. After the war starts formally, a mere opposition is not a practical basis of agitation. Then the proletarian military policy, adopted a year ago at our conference, comes to the front as the best practical means of agitation in a situation when the country is formally participating in a war. The demand for government-financed military training under trade union auspices, and for schools to train worker-officers, can be put forward with full confidence. As the experiences of the war develop and unfold, these slogans will get a wider echo and become ever more popular. The influence and the prestige of our party will grow with them.

CONFIDENCE IN THE PARTY

I have given you, comrades, just an outline, a synopsis, of what the National Committee considers to be our most immediate problems and the concrete tasks which must be accomplished by the party members in the next period. I hope the suggestions we have made will meet with your approval. If anyone has a contribution to make — an amendment, or a new proposal — I am sure that during the course of the discussion there will be ample opportunity to bring your ideas to the attention of the conference.

I want to close with the confident assertion that we shall go out of this historic conference firmly united on all important questions, sure of our future, and determined to answer the persecution of our enemies with better work, greater sacrifices, firmer discipline, deeper penetration into the trade unions. We have one common will: Everything for the party! All our work under the direction of the party! Every confidence that with this party and through this party we shall lead the American masses in due time to their liberating revolution!

The Negro Struggle

"LABOR WITH A WHITE SKIN CANNOT EMANCIPATE ITSELF WHERE LABOR WITH A BLACK SKIN IS BRANDED" — KARL MARX.

By ALBERT PARKER

Negroes and the Unions

One of the great achievements of the CIO, among many others, was that it opened its doors wide to Negro workers, and especially the great bulk of them in the mass industries. This resulted not only in a more effective organization of the basic industries, but it also did much to build up a feeling of solidarity among the white and Negro workers and to greatly increase the pro-union sentiment among the Negro people generally.

Since the organization of the CIO, the Negro workers have been integrated into hundreds of local unions. They have attended their meetings in "peace time" as well as done their full share on the picket lines in time of strike. They have been elected as officers and shop stewards and committeemen and responsible leaders in many shops, even where the Negro workers form only a small part of the membership. More and more Negroes have been selected as national organizers and representatives of their union and sent in to organize new fields. On the whole, the Negro workers in the CIO feel that it is their home, and they belong in it.

But it would not be painting a true picture to let it go at that and say that complete and full equality for the Negro people exists in all the shops that have been unionized, even by the CIO.

By this I do not mean to say that it is the policy of the CIO or its affiliated unions to practice discrimination or segregation against its Negro members. Far from it. If in isolated instances in the CIO such Jim Crow practices are discovered, they are the exception to the rule, and should be reported and exposed and fought against, and undoubtedly the CIO national office would aid in such a fight.

But while there are no, or practically no cases of such open discrimination in the CIO, that does not mean that there are no special problems for the Negro members in many situations. For even if the CIO does not discriminate, the employers and their managers still consider the Negro workers as "inferior" and do not hesitate to go out of their way in giving Negroes the dirtiest and lowest paid jobs and in preventing them from advancing to better and skilled positions.

And often the local leaders of the unions just do not see the problem or its importance. They may mean well and might be the first to protest and propose action to correct this situation — but meanwhile, they are so concerned about other problems, they are so busy that they just don't see this important problem.

Thus, as many Negro workers who have observed this will understand, although the CIO does not practice Jim Crowism, there are special Jim Crow problems which exist which the CIO is not in all cases taking the necessary steps to wipe out.

What is to be done in this situation? It is serious, for as long as it exists, many Negro workers will continue to feel that their white brothers are only paying lip-service to the idea of equality for the Negro workers, and in the end the employers may be able to turn them against the unions.

The Answer to the Problem

The answer is that the Negro workers in the unions — AFL as well as CIO — must get together as an organized force within the unions to bring these problems before the other workers and propose steps to correct them. They must organize Negro Labor Councils, or any other name you want to give it, which will concern themselves with the solution of the special problems facing Negro workers.

Does this mean separate unions? No! Does this mean separate Negro locals? No! Does this mean a body set up to fight against the regularly constituted locals in the various shops? No!

It simply means that the Negro workers will get together in their unions and in their cities to discuss how to best protect the interests of the Negro workers in the unions, how to bring unorganized Negroes into the unions, how to develop a more favorable attitude toward the unions among the non-unionized Negroes, and all other measures which will help to build the unions. They will not function separately from the unions, but as a matter of fact will try to get the unions to endorse their work and assist them in it.

Won't such a step antagonize many white workers? Not at all. As a matter of fact, the white workers will respect the Negroes all the more when they see that they are determined to build the unions and protect their own interests at the same time.

Is this a new idea? There is nothing new about it. For many years such a body of Jewish workers in New York did a very good job in helping to organize Jewish-speaking workers into the unions. There have been various such groups in the history of the American labor movement. Many prominent Negroes have for a long time been advocating the formation of such Councils — not to fight unionism, but to help it.

At the present time such bodies already exist in various parts of the country. Just recently there was organized a Mid-West Negro Labor Council in Chicago, with representation from CIO and AFL unions. (Next week we'll tell more about it). In many different local unions such bodies already exist and have done some good work.

What is necessary now is to spread and extend the formation of such Councils everywhere. Negro delegates to the CIO convention in Detroit this week should discuss the matter and bring it before the convention for its approval. Such approval would be a real impetus to formation of these Councils.

CIO Convention Meets As F.D.R. Begins New Drive Against Unions

(Continued from page 1)

their elementary needs, have refused to be curbed.

Despite the employer-government anti-labor offensive, the CIO has solidified itself on every front in the last period, penetrating deeply into every key industry expanding under the impetus of the war "boom."

Opposing Administration attempts to steer their demands into the bog of compulsory arbitration, the mass production workers, in defense of their living standards have taken to the picket lines. By their strike victories they have entrenched the CIO in the basic war industries.

The Bethl'm Steel strike smashed through the open shop defenses of Little Steel, leading to a succession of CIO victories throughout the entire steel industry which brought widespread wage increases.

The greatest citadel of anti-union terror, the Ford Motor Company, was cracked wide open by a strike which won a closed shop contract for the UAW.

The Ford, Bethlehem and other major CIO strikes of the past year were the result directly of the initiative and militancy of the workers, who often acted against the will of the union leaders.

Once a UAW drive was begun in the mushrooming aircraft industry, the young workers in this field poured into the union. The victorious Vultee strike inspired a wave of militancy among the aircraft workers. The North American strike, in spite of Roosevelt's strikebreaking use of troops, further helped to establish the UAW in aircraft. The UAW organizing campaigns now in progress in major East and West Coast plants already have brought new tens of thousands of aircraft workers into the CIO.

CIO LEADERS UNDER PRESSURE FROM RANKS

The series of miners' strike victories, the consolidation of the CIO in the aluminum, electrical appliance, shipbuilding, oil and auto industries attest to the irrepressible militancy of the CIO ranks, and underline the fact that the CIO has won its most glowing successes in the past year.

Most of the delegates to the coming CIO convention represent the top leadership of international unions. Most of these leaders already have expressed support in one form or another, of Roosevelt's war drive.

Nevertheless, the militant mass production workers in the CIO, who have not surrendered their rights by any means, who still strike for their needs and win when they strike, will exert a powerful influence in every session and every committee meeting of the CIO convention.

There are additional reasons why many CIO leaders have hesitated to stifle the militancy of the membership in the past year.

First, in order to preserve its base, the leadership has to defend the existence of the unions. That is why even the most conservative union leaders want the closed shop, which they view as a guarantee of the continued existence of the unions — and the dues payments which sustain the bureaucracy.

Secondly, the CIO is based on the mass production workers, who are increasingly concentrated in war production industries. The CIO is compelled to organize these war production fields to retain its hold in the basic industries. Thus, the CIO leaders have been forced into one clash after another with the anti-labor pro-war government.

These considerations, plus the pressure of the militant rank and file, serve to create rifts between the CIO leaders and Roosevelt despite their political surrender on the war question.

CONTRADICTION ALSO AFFECTS AFL HEADS

This contradiction also affects the leadership of the AFL, although not so strongly. William Green's repeated "no strike" admonitions and the formal AFL "no strike" policy have failed to halt a succession of AFL strikes. An example of this is the present building trades strike on Navy projects in San Diego. Whether their strikes are sanctioned by the top AFL bureaucracy or not, thousands of AFL machinists, naval yard craftsmen and building trades men working on government war construction *are going on strike*. Even a bureaucrat like Tobin of the AFL Teamsters, is forced, as in the Detroit Railway Express strike, to move cautiously against the strikers. The entrenched AFL bureaucrats still fear for their positions.

It is easy to understand, therefore, why Roosevelt is becoming less assured of the ability of the labor bureaucracy to tame American labor and resorts increasingly to direct governmental repressions.

In the long run, a powerful, forward-moving labor movement is incompatible with the totalitarian economy Roosevelt requires for his imperialist war. Roosevelt must resort more and more to the mailed fist against labor.

The CIO convention meets in this atmosphere of conflicting interests, that of the needs of the unions versus the demands of the boss war program. In one form or another, all the issues at the convention will reflect this contradictory situation.

CONTENDING FACTIONS AT CIO CONVENTION

Superficially, however, the convention debates may appear to be centered around the main interests of two contending factions—that is, a battle for posts and organizational domination of the CIO.

The Hillman group represents that section of the CIO leadership which is ready to surrender the interests of labor to serve the Morgan-duPont-Rockefeller interests in the war. These Quislings want to impose on the CIO workers Hillman's recent dictum, that "the right to strike should be held in abeyance."

Opposing the Hillman faction is the Lewis group, which up to now has maintained a more independent position toward the government and desires to increase the power of the CIO with the perspective of trading with Roosevelt on its own terms.

In addition to these two main groups, there are the Stalinists, who still represent a considerable force in the CIO. The Stalinists, as the most frenzied war-mongers, have catapulted from the Lewis group to the Hillman group. Their main aims at the convention will be to gain the adoption of a policy of support for immediate United States entry into the war and to trade their votes to the Hillmanites in return for the preservation of their present posts and influence.

A Stalinist-Hillmanite combination will greatly outweigh the Lewis forces. Such a combination will guarantee that the convention will go on record in support of Roosevelt's war plans.

LEWIS' POSITION ON THE WAR ISSUE

It is more than likely that Lewis will avoid a head-on clash with the Stalinist-Hillmanite bloc on the war issue. Lewis has no fundamental differences with the more open supporters of the war on the question of "national defense." He will most likely support a resolution of complete support to the "defense" program, aid to Britain, etc. This is indicated by the fact that Lewis lieutenants in recent weeks have made barnstorming speeches whooping it up for "national defense," attempting to outdo the Hillmanites in the expression of their patriotism. If Lewis opens an attack on Hillman, it will be, in all likelihood, on purely union issues.

The single factor operating against any solid bloc of the Stalinists and Hillmanites is the fear of a sector of the Hillman group that the Stalinists may outmaneuver them within the bloc and force them out of a position of dominance. As a result of this, a certain overlapping of the Hillman and Lewis factional lines is possible on organizational questions, provided Lewis goes along on the war issue.

But through all these deals and blocs, the basic issues will intrude themselves on the delegates. They will feel the pressure of the ranks.

None will dare oppose the continuation of the slogan, "Organize the Unorganized," although, if carried out, this will mean inevitable clashes with the government.

OTHER ISSUES BEFORE CONVENTION

The opposition of the ranks to the flood of anti-labor legislation will find expression at the convention, and the same union leaders who give political support to Roosevelt, will have to express opposition to his proposed laws to hamstring labor.

The convention will be forced to speak out against the sharp rise in the cost of living, priorities unemployment and the other acute economic problems which have arisen in consequence of the war.

The attempts of the Roosevelt administration, acting through Hillman, to force CIO unity with the AFL at the cost of the principle of industrial unionism will undoubtedly be an issue at the convention.

A parade of NLRB polls in which the CIO has been victorious proves that the workers want industrial unionism.

At the last CIO convention, CIO President Philip Murray denounced attempts at a "shotgun unity." At this convention, the mandate of the rank and file is even more clear: "No shotgun unity!"

Rank and file pressure forced the last CIO convention to adopt a resolution for "a program to assure an independent political role for labor." But neither the letter nor the spirit of this resolution has been carried out. With all boss parties united on a strike-breaking policy, the unions, to defend their own existence, must help initiate and build an independent labor party.

The CIO leadership at this convention is faced with the necessity of adopting a fighting program that will protect and advance the CIO in this crucial hour of its history. Should the decisions in Detroit widen the gap between the needs of the workers and the program of the present leaders, the American working class, in the coming class struggles, will forge a leadership able to lead its fight.

Same Disastrous Policy To Be Followed-Stalin

(Continued from page 1)

perhaps, Hitlerite Germany must burst of its own weight of crimes."

He asserts that Hitler's conquest of Europe has by no means destroyed the resistance and opposition of the European masses to Hitlerism, and declares that the "new order" is "a volcano ready to erupt at any moment and bury the Germany imperialistic house of cards," and that the rear of Hitler's army in Germany itself is ready to turn against him.

Thus is indicated the policy which can make up for the shortcomings in Soviet production, and destroy the fascist regime in spite of its advantages in machinery and military experience:

What is required for this is a revolutionary appeal to the German and the European working class to rise up against fascism; the assurance that they will not be alone or isolated in this struggle, but that they will be joined and supported by all the resources of the Red Army and the Soviet Union. What is necessary is a revolutionary appeal that will disintegrate Hitler's rear, that will move the German masses into action against the system that oppresses them.

STALIN TAKES NO STEP

But Stalin does not breathe even the suggestion of a revolutionary appeal to the German workers. If Hitler's regime is to be toppled from behind, if Hitler's doom is "inevitable", in a few months or a half year or a year, Stalin proposes to wait for history to accomplish it. Meanwhile, though the danger to the USSR increases, he himself refuses to take a single step to move the German workers into revolutionary action.

For Stalin has placed his hopes in the hands of the "democratic" imperialists. For fear of alienating them, he will not even suggest, let alone try to aid, a workers' revolution in Germany.

Indeed, far from doing anything to arouse the German workers in this way, Stalin's policies only drive the German masses still closer to Hitler, and help to destroy every possibility of convincing them they must not aid Hitler in the destruction of the workers state.

For Stalin completely identifies the war of the USSR with the imperialist war of Great Britain, and claims that England, the United States and the USSR are in a "single camp," that "the Soviet Union *and its allies* are waging a war of liberation — a just war calculated for the liberation of the enslaved peoples of Europe and the USSR" and that armies of the USSR, Great Britain and the other allies as armies of liberation."

Hitler and Goebbels secure the support or at least the non-opposition of the German masses by warning them that although they have known suffering in the war, they will, if Germany loses the war, face even greater suffering in the form of a new Versailles Treaty to crush Germany and make its people pay for the costs of the war. The only way to deprive Hitler of this bludgeon held over the German masses is by showing them that they can escape this terrible prospect even if Hitler loses the war.

But Stalin, by declaring that imperialist Britain wages a just war, and by declaring that the Soviet Union is in one camp with Britain, and by refusing to promise to fight against a new Versailles succeeds only in driving the German masses still closer to Hitler—thus alienating them further from the workers State.

Stalin spoke on the anniversary of the Russian Revolution. But he was careful to avoid all references to the true meaning and tradition of that revolution, which he has trampled on and betrayed.

Trying to show that all was not lost in spite of the defeats suffered in this war under his leadership, Stalin turned back for a moment to the days of the Civil War and the intervention in 1918-20 when the young workers state was almost overthrown.

"At that time almost three-fourths of our country was in the hands of foreign interventionists . . . We had no allies, no Red Army — we had only just begun to create it — we experienced a shortage of bread, a shortage of arms, a shortage of clothing. At that time 14 states were pressing against our country, but we did not despair . . . " In spite of its material disadvantages, the Soviet Union was saved. And today, according to Stalin, the Soviet Union is in a much stronger position, so: "Is it possible then to doubt that we can and must gain victory over the invaders?

But Stalin dared not tell the truth about the Civil War days. He dared not tell that the Bolsheviks, under Lenin and Trotsky, never for a moment placed reliance on the imperialists, even when momentarily they were allied to them, that at all times they turned to the working class of the world, and particularly the workers in the armies and the countries of the enemy, and called on them to save the workers state.

He does not dare admit that what saved the Soviet Union was this policy of revolutionary war, which neutralized the mechanical and numerical superiority of its enemies' forces by setting the worker — and peasant-soldiers into action against their own imperialist rulers.

It is not too late to save the Soviet Union, as the experiences of the Civil War days showed. But it can be saved only by the policy of revolutionary war which Stalinism fears and refuses to adopt.

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HOW STALIN WILL RETURN AID GIVEN HIM BY 'DEMOCRACIES'

He Serves Notice He Will Not Adopt Revolutionary Policy, 'Democrats' Expect His Aid Against Revolts

By JACK WEBER

Workers will look in vain in the two speeches delivered by Stalin on the anniversary of the Russian Revolution for an answer to the burning question, "How to save the Soviet Union?" His speeches were not intended to answer that question, but rather to explain away the defeats, to justify his criminal course in the past — and to allay the fears of the "democratic" imperialists that the USSR may turn to a revolutionary policy to bring about the defeat of Hitler.

His speeches therefore are couched not in the terms and spirit of the Russian Revolution which created the Soviet Union, but along the lines most acceptable to the "democratic" imperialists.

NATIONAL APPROACH

On what basis, for example, does he appeal to the masses of the USSR and the world working class to resist the Hitlerite invasion? On the basis that they must defend their "fatherland!" The war of the Soviet Union is to be taken completely on a national plane.

It is in this spirit that the Red Army soldiers are asked to emulate figures of the far distant past who helped Russia become a national state in the period of its rise under the Czars. The meaningless and perfunctory reference to Lenin serves only to highlight the completely reactionary spirit of a speech which in this epoch calls on the workers to pay their respects to Nevsky, Suvoroff and Kutuzoff. These figures are utterly meaningless in our time. Their mention at the same time as the war of intervention of 1918 serves to place the latter back in remote history rather than to give living meaning to the revolutionary struggle.

Stalin uses the speech to continue his game of rewriting history to suit each new occasion, each new veer of policy. Stalin is nothing if not totalitarian, even in his "logic." Since it is all a matter of the rights of nations, the same criterion must be used in all cases, past as well as present. Hitler, it now seems, performed at one period a truly progressive task!

"While the Hitlerites were engaged in gathering together the Germany which had been carved up by the Versailles Treaty, they could enjoy the support of the German people, who were inspired by the ideal of the restoration of Germany."

What does it matter that Hitler inflicted the most frightful defeat on the German working class and set back the proletarian revolution for a decade and more, that his counter-revolution led inevitably, as predicted by Leon Trotsky, to this present invasion by the super-Wrangel?

WHEN HITLER "WENT WRONG"

Reading this speech one would think that there was no necessary relation between the internal conquest of Germany by capitalist reaction and its follow-up in the present imperialist war of plunder. On the contrary, it seems that Hitler just went wrong at a certain stage, for Stalin tells us: "After this problem had been solved (!) and the Hitlerites set out on their paths of imperialism, on the paths which led to the seizure of foreign lands and the conquests of other peoples, and transformed those peoples and the peoples of Europe and the peoples of the USSR into the sworn enemies of present-day Germany, a profound change of attitude occurred among the German people. They are against a continuation of war."

There is good reason for Stalin's mode of presenting history. The reason is the new political line of Stalin. His speech is in reality the first down-payment for the aid he hopes to get from the "democratic" allies. He wants to show them that he will scrupulously refrain from "interference" in any other country. He wishes to prove that he will not appeal in any way whatsoever to class struggle ideas, that he will make no revolutionary appeal to the European working class.

STALIN FINDS DISTINCTIONS

Stalin also tells off the Nazi upstarts who want to encroach on his theory of national socialism, socialism in one country. He informs the world, cost what it may: "It is known that the Hitlerites trample on the Reich workers." No, truly they are not socialists, those bandits! But then we are told further that not only are they not socialists, they are not even nationalists! The purpose of all this pure balderdash becomes clear. Stalin wants to arrive by hook and by crook at a difference between nationalism — and imperialism. Here is indeed a distinction!

Yesterday, when the pact with Hitler was concluded, Stalin tried to give every token of friendship to Hitler. Then he said it was the British and American imperialism which was trying to involve Russia in war with Hitler. Today things have changed. The fascists are not nationalists but imperialists; the United States and Britain are nationalists but not imperialists. Thus is the new alliance cemented politically.

The speech was intended for Roosevelt and Churchill, not for the workers. The end of it gives the real aim of the speech: "As distinct from Hitlerite Germany, the Soviet Union and its allies are waging a war of liberation — a just war calculated for the liberation of the enslaved peoples of Europe and the USSR from Hitler tyranny. Therefore all honest people support the armies of the USSR, Great Britain and the other allies as armies of liberation."

If the war is a war of liberation naturally every worker should support it. This is what Stalin is now urging. But Stalin does not even dare to distinguish between "workers" and others abroad lest he give offense. Hence the "honest people." Not only does Stalin in this way give his political thanks for the material aid from the democracies, but he assures these allies that they need have no fear of proletarian revolution anywhere. Where does any talk of such revolution in Europe come from anyhow? Stalin places the responsibility for this spectre — on Hitler!

THE SPECTRE OF REVOLUTION

He says that Germany calculated on frightening the democracies into a crusade against the Soviet Union by harping on the theme of working class revolution fostered and led by the Comintern. "Their calculations were based in the first place on the earnest hopes of creating a general coalition against the USSR, of drawing Great Britain and the United States into this coalition by intimidating beforehand the ruling circles in these countries with the spectre of revolution and in this way completely isolating our country from the other powers." This worked, explains Stalin, in the case of France. But "it turned out that the German policy of playing on contradictions and intimidating with the specter of revolution had exhausted its possibilities and was no longer suited to the new situation."

It is not far to seek the reason for Hitler's failure to blackmail the democracies any longer with the spectre of revolution. Stalinism had weakened the Soviet Union and the international working class to such a degree that the imperialists feared Hitler more than the threat of revolution for the time being. Under Stalin, the first workers state had become almost a deterrent rather than an example.

Stalin's speech, we repeat, is devoted to the task of building up every confidence in the ranks of the ruling classes of his allies that they have nothing to fear from revolution. **Not so long as Stalin stays in power in the USSR!** This is his answer to Hitler and his bid for support.

STALIN'S USE TO THE "DEMOCRACIES"

The "democratic" imperialists feel little threat from Stalinism at present. They are willing to deal with Stalin today not merely with a view to keeping him in the fight against Hitler, although that is certainly an important consideration for Churchill and Roosevelt.

But there is involved besides a longer-term view. What the imperialists fear above all else is the post-war period in Europe. Victory is still remote, but already they lay plans for policing all of Europe after the war. Such policing is hardly intended for use against the defeated fascists alone. No, it is also intended for use against any attempt on the part of the workers to take their fate into their own hands. Who would be more expert than Stalin in destroying proletarian revolution? He offers his services — and the "democrats" accept them. For them Stalin is to lay the spectre of proletarian revolution both in the USSR (its revival) and throughout Europe.

Newark CRDC Mass Meeting

The Newark Branch of the Civil Rights Defense Committee announces a Mass Meeting on Friday, Nov. 14, at 8: 30 P. M., in the Manhattan Room of the Continental, 984 Broad Street, Newark, to protest against the government prosecution of the 28 Minneapolis labor defendants.

Speakers at the meeting will be John F. Finerty, lawyer for Odell Waller, Negro share cropper convicted for the self-defense shooting of his white landlord; Carlo Tresca, editor of IL MARTELLO and organizer of the Sacco-Vanzetti defense; and George Novack, national secretary of the Civil Rights Defense Committee.

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

—LEON TROTSKY

JOIN US IN FIGHTING FOR:

1. **Military training of workers, financed by the government, but under control of the trade unions. Special officers' training camps, financed by the government but controlled by the trade unions, to train workers to become officers.**
2. **Trade union wages for all workers drafted into the army.**
3. **Full equality for Negroes in the armed forces and the war industries—Down with Jim Crowism everywhere.**
4. **A peoples' referendum on any and all 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.**

Compulsory Arbitration

One of the accusations flung by government prosecutor, U. S. District Attorney Anderson, at the 28 defendants in the Minneapolis "seditious conspiracy" trial is that they warned labor against submitting its demands to arbitration.

It is no accident that the Roosevelt administration has dragged this charge into its attack on the Socialist Workers Party and Minneapolis motor transport workers Local 544-CIO, and is attempting to represent as criminal the fact that the defendants correctly pointed out that arbitration is a boss device to compel the workers to compromise their demands by surrendering their only effective weapon for protecting their interests, the strike.

This is part and parcel of the Administration's present drive, on behalf of the employing class, to invoke compulsory arbitration in all labor disputes. Compulsory arbitration was an objective of the Administration's efforts to break the "captive" coal mine strike. It is the basis of the government's present attempts to enforce the infamous Railway Labor Disputes Act, which Roosevelt would like to use as a model for legislation to hamstring the unions in all industries.

Although the railroad workers voted more than six months ago in a nation-wide referendum to strike for a justified 30 per cent wage increase, they have been forced by the Railway Labor Act to cool their heels for more than a half year while waiting for Roosevelt's "fact-finding board" to "investigate" the capacity of the railroad corporations to raise wages.

On October 5 this "fact-finding board" finally came through with a boss-inspired recommendation for a miserly 7½ per cent wage increase for the 300,000 members of the Big Five operating brotherhoods and a meagre increase of 13½ per cent for the 900,000 members of the fourteen non-operating crafts. But since the time when the railroad workers first stated their demands, prices have rocketed to a point where even a 30 per cent increase no longer represents a gain. Moreover, unlike the workers in other industries, the railroad workers have been denied virtually any gains since the last war due to the strangling effect of the Railway Labor Act. Wages for workers in the non-operating crafts, for instance, are as low as 35 cents an hour.

But the railroad corporations haven't had any restrictions on profit-taking. War-swollen profits for Class I railroads in the first nine months of 1941 — after deductions for all taxes — increased 512 PER CENT over the same period in 1940 (*New York Times*, October 30). This is a "little" item overlooked — intentionally — by the government's "fact-finding board".

The railroad workers have come face to face with the end-product of compulsory arbitration, opposition to which the government is branding a "'crime" in the Minneapolis case. They have been forced to render a verdict on its meaning for labor. This verdict is clearly expressed in their decision to strike on December 7. Even if this decision is not carried out, even if in return for some additional concessions the strike is called off, these concessions will have been won not by arbitration but by the threat of strike.

Strikes And The AFL

The bureaucratic AFL tops are experiencing increasing difficulty in their attempts to impose a "no strike" policy on the AFL rank-and-file.

Despite the repeated admonitions of AFL President William Green and his henchmen of the AFL Executive Council, AFL workers in virtually every trade and craft continue to go out on strike in defiance of the strikebreaking edicts of the top leadership.

At the present time, a succession of strikes involving thousands of AFL workers employed on government war projects are demonstrating that the AFL workers, like their brothers of the CIO, do not intend to submit without a struggle to the program of speed-up, rising living costs, etc., which the war bosses have drafted for them.

In San Diego, building trades workers employed on three navy construction projects have courageously faced the opposition of the government and the Navy Department's threats of armed violence in a strike for increased wages to meet the rising cost of living. They were joined on November 10 by thousands of their fellow unionists in a general strike on naval construction projects. This strike, like all the AFL strikes of the past period, was called against the will of the heads of international unions involved.

This example of militant ferment in the AFL is but one of many in recent weeks. Another important instance is the recent 16-day strike of welders in Seattle. In order to fight for their rights, these welders were compelled to leave the AFL and establish an independent union. Other welders are on strike in the important Lockheed and Vega aircraft plants in Los Angeles, and the Consolidated Aircraft in San Diego, with welders in several other West Coast aircraft plants threatening to take similar action. In Louisville, Kentucky, over 1,000 AFL truck drivers halted work last Saturday in what a union official called "an unauthorized strike which threatens to become general and paralyze trucking here."

Time and time again, the AFL heads have called strikes of their members "unauthorized", but that hasn't kept the workers from continuing to fight for their elementary needs.

William Green and his colleagues have replied to the anti-labor demands of the employers and their government with a "no strike" order. But the AFL workers are beginning to give a different and opposite answer.

FDR's Internationalism

Roosevelt's hypocrisy reached something of a high-water mark in his address on November 6 to the conference of the International Labor Organization, when he stated:

"It is appropriate that I recall to you. . . some words that were written in this house by a President who gave his very life for the cause of justice. Nearly eighty years ago, Abraham Lincoln said: 'The strongest bond of human sympathy, outside of the family relation, should be one uniting all working people, of all nations, and kindreds'."

These words, repeated by a Roosevelt, reflect utter cynicism. Even as he mouths them, all his energy is being directed toward dragooning the American workers into a war to fight and kill the workers of other lands for the benefit of American imperialism.

And at the same time, he turns the full repressive power of the capitalist government he heads against the true representatives of international working-class solidarity, the Socialist Workers Party leaders and members among the 28 defendants on trial for "seditious conspiracy" today in Minneapolis.

Roosevelt is attempting to railroad these working-class leaders to prison for 16 years for the "crime", as the prosecution has openly stated, of being Marxists — for being proponents of the ideas and program of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Trotsky. These are the ideas and program which guided the workers and peasants of Russia to power in October 1917, in the first stage of that world revolution destined to smash all national boundaries and unite the oppressed of all lands under a system of world socialism.

One of the chief points of "evidence" against the defendants is that they read, studied and circulated Marx and Engel's classic "Communist Manifesto", written in 1848, which ends with that world-shaking call: "Workers of the World Unite! You have nothing to lose but your chains. You have a world to gain."

We can measure the intensity of Roosevelt's hatred of international labor solidarity by the viciousness of his persecution of our party, which today carries on an uncompromising fight to transform this historic battle-cry of the "Communist Manifesto" into reality.

The series on "The Crimes of Stalin" by Lydia Beidel will be resumed in next week's issue of THE MILITANT. The next article, unfortunately not printed on this page this week because of lack of space, deals with the role of Stalinism in the Chinese revolution of 1925-27.

Latest Lies About The Moscow Trials Serve Stalin's New Diplomatic Needs

For the first time since the infamous Moscow frame-up trials of 1937-38, Stalin is receiving the voluntary co-operation of the bourgeoisie in whitewashing and justifying the trials and the purges that followed them. Up to now, he has had to depend only on the hirelings of the G.P.U., and on such people as the Pritts, Durantys and Feuchtwangers. Now he is receiving the support of gentlemen like Joseph E. Davies, former United States ambassador to the USSR, Harry Hopkins, Roosevelt's personal representative, and Ralph Ingersoll, editor of the newspaper PM. Undoubtedly, they will be joined by others.

The primary objective of the latest apologists for Stalinism is the whitewashing of their new ally, Stalin. They are trying to absolve him before public opinion of his guilt in the most infamous frame-ups in history. Thus they serve the present diplomatic needs of the White House.

But their statements that the Moscow trials were justified and helped to strengthen the Soviet regime are doubly welcome to the Kremlin. Not only do they raise Stalin's authority in the bourgeois democratic nations, but they also serve in the Soviet Union itself to cover up his criminal responsibility for the defeats suffered by the Red Army in the present war.

It is now no secret that one of the chief reasons the Red Army has suffered such setbacks is the lack of competent staff leadership capable of providing a unified strategic plan for the conduct of the war. Nor is there anyone in the USSR who is unaware that the reasons the Red Army lacks that leadership is because Stalin in the purges following the trials removed, imprisoned and executed the trained and qualified leadership of the armed forces. These sudden "revelations" — by Davies, after four years of silence, and by Hopkins and Ingersoll after a trip of a few days in the Soviet Union — are of great use to the Stalinist bureaucracy in justifying their criminal course.

Stalin is also served by these apologists in discrediting the revolutionary opposition to his disastrous policies at a time when that opposition, the Trotskyists, is the only force that correctly appraises Stalinism and its responsibility for the defeats and presents the only program for Soviet victory.

It is no accident that Davies concludes his "revelation" in the November issue of *The American* magazine with the words:

"There are no saboteurs, secret agents, or Fifth Columnists to co-operate with the invaders, because the Russians were sufficiently farsighted to eliminate them before it was too late.

"That is a fact which other liberty-loving nations might well ponder."

Davies figures that if frame-up trials of this kind can be used against the opponents of the regime in the Kremlin, there is no reason for not trying a bit of the same against the revolutionists in the United States. Evidently he was too busy remembering the things he never said before about the Moscow Trials to notice that Roosevelt has already begun his own frame-up against the Trotskyists in the Minneapolis "seditious conspiracy" trial.

Davies and the others now accept the Stalinist verdict and the Stalinist evidence in the trials as completely just and authentic. They do not mention and least of all do they try to explain the mass of contradictory and ridiculous evidence. They have nothing to say about the fact that the charges against the Trotskyists have changed with each change in the Stalinist diplomatic line, that before the trials Trotsky was accused of being an agent of Britain and France, then at the trials of being an agent of Germany and Japan. After the trials, when the Stalin-Hitler pact was signed, the slander changed again with the needs of Stalinist diplomacy and the Trotskyists were again accused of being agents of Britain and the U. S. Now when Germany has attacked the Soviet Union, the slanders of the Moscow Trials are again resurrected, and the slanders of the Stalin-Hitler pact period again put on the shelf.

Nor do they try to answer the findings of the authoritative Dewey Commission which after carefully sifting the evidence, hearing the defense of Trotsky and offering the Stalinists the chance to present their case (an offer which went unaccepted), found the trials to be a frame-up and Trotsky not guilty.

The article by Leon Trotsky on this page, never before published in English, was part of his introduction to his book, "The Crimes of Stalin," printed in France, and containing some of the material which was used in his summary speech to the Dewey Commission in 1938. We reprint it here because it explains how Stalin's slanders shift to correspond with the current diplomacy of the Kremlin. It is a devastating and irrefutable summation of the fantastic charges against the leaders of the Russian Revolution and the builders of the Red Army.

By Leon Trotsky

Up to the end of 1933, the Moscow press, and, in consequence, its shadow, the press of the Communist International, have depicted me a British and American agent, even labelling me "Mr. Trotsky". On March 8, 1929, **Pravda** devoted an entire page to prove that I was an ally of British imperialism (at that time Moscow was not yet designating it as "British democracy"); and established, over and above this, my complete solidarity with Winston Churchill. The article concluded with these words: "It is clear why the bourgeoisie is paying him tens of thousands of dollars." It was then a question of dollars and not marks.

On July 2, 1931 this same **Pravda**, using crudely forged facsimiles, — which it hastily forgot on the very next day — proclaimed me to be an ally of Pilsudski, and a defender of the robbers' Treaty of Versailles. In those days Stalin was fighting not for the **status quo** but for "the national liberation" of Germany. In August 1931, the "theoretical" organ of the French Communist Party, **Cahiers du Bolchevism**, came out with an exposé of the "touching united front" which had been formed "between Blum, Paul Boncour and the French General Staff, on the one side — and Trotsky, on the other." And so I remained firmly attached to the countries of the Entente!

Refuted by Their Own Lies in 1933

On July 24, 1933, i.e., after Hitler had assumed complete power in Germany, I was on my way to France through Marseilles, thanks to a visa granted me by Daladier's government. According to the retroactive "revelations" of the recent Moscow Trials, I was already in those days an agent of Germany and was occupied with preparing the world war with a view to destroying the USSR and France. At the Radek-Piatakov Trial, in January 1937, it was "established", among other things, that I had met in Bois du Boulogne — precisely toward the end of July 1933 — with a TASS correspondent, Vladimir Romm, in order to draw the Russian Trotskyists through this intermediary into an alliance with Hitler and the Mikado.

But **l'Humanite** suspected nothing of the sort: On the very day of my arrival in France it carried an article exposing my secret alliance with Daladier's government. "By covering up the intrigues of White Guard emigres and by inviting Trotsky" — wrote the organ of Stalin-Cachin-Thorez — "the French bourgeoisie is revealing its real policy toward the Soviet Union; negotiations are conducted because of necessity, forced smiles are put on, but behind the scenes there is aid and support for all saboteurs, interventionists, conspirators, slanderers and renegades of the revolution. . . From France, this hearth of anti-Soviet struggle, he (Trotsky) can launch an attack on the USSR. . . A strategical point! That is why M. Trotsky is arriving here." All of Prosecutor Vishinsky's subsequent formulas are here: conspiracy, sabotage, preparation of intervention. But with this difference: I was pursuing my criminal activity in an alliance with the French bourgeoisie and not German fascism.

But perhaps the hapless **l'Humanite** was simply ignorant of the true state of affairs? No, Stalin's Parisian organ was correctly reflecting the views of its taskmaster. The inert mind of the Moscow bureaucracy was in every way reluctant to leave its old orbit. An alliance with Germany, regardless of her state form, was considered axiomatic for Soviet foreign policy. On December 13, 1931, in an interview with the German writer, Emil Ludwig, Stalin declared:

Stalin's Relations With Germany

"If we are to talk about our sympathies for any nation, then **of course** we must speak of our sympathies for the Germans. . . Our friendly relations with Germany remain what they have always been."

Stalin was even so incautious as to add: "There are some politicians who promise and say one thing today, and on the morrow either forget or deny what they themselves had said, without even blushing. We cannot conduct ourselves in this manner." (These quotations are taken from the official Soviet publication, "Lenin and Stalin on the Soviet Constitution," pp. 146-147).

To be sure, this was said in the time of the Weimar Republic. But the victory of Fascism in no wise altered Moscow's orientation. Stalin did everything in his power to earn Hitler's good-will. On March 4, 1933 the official **Izvestia** wrote that the USSR was the only government which entertained no hostile feelings toward Germany, and "this independently of the form and character of the German government."

The Parisian **le Temps** on its part, commented, on April 8, 1933, as follows: "At a time when Hitler's assumption of power was occupying the attention of European public opinion and evoking everywhere voluminous comments, the Moscow papers maintained silence." Stalin was trying to buy the friendship of the conqueror and had turned his back to the German working class.

The general picture is thus quite clear. During the time when according to the latest and retroactive version I was busy organizing my collaboration with Hitler, the press of Moscow and of the Communist International depicted me as an agent of France and of Anglo-Saxon imperialism. My transfer into the German-Japanese camp came only after Hitler had spurned Stalin's extended hand and had compelled the latter, contrary to his original plans and calculations, to seek the friendship of "Western Democracies".

Why the Charges Shifted

The charges flung at me were and remain merely a negative supplement of Moscow's diplomatic twists and turns. Shifts in my political orientation took place each time without the slightest participation on my part. There is, however, a serious difference between these two diametrically opposite and, at the same time, wholly symmetrical versions of slander. The first version whereby I was transformed into an agent of the former Entente was predominantly of a literary character. The slanderers slandered, the newspapers broadcast the poison, but Vishinsky still remained in the shadows. True enough, even in those days the GPU used to shoot individual oppositionists, ascribing to them either acts of sabotage or espionage (in favor of England and France!). But as yet only little known individuals were involved; the violence was perpetrated behind the scenes, by way of modest experimentation. Stalin was merely training his investigating magistrates, his judges and executioners. It took some time to bring the bureaucracy to such a degree of demoralization, and the radical public opinion of Europe and America to such a degree of degradation as would make possible the grandiose juridical frameups against the Trotskyists.

Why the Frame-Ups Are Extended

One can now investigate with documents in hand all the stages of this preparatory work. On more than one occasion Stalin met with internal resistance, and had to retreat a few times, but on each occasion only in order to invest his work with a more systematic character. The political goal was — to create an automatic guillotine for every opponent of the ruling clique: whoever is not for Stalin is a hired agent of imperialism.

This rude schema, reinforced by personal vindictiveness, is wholly in the spirit of Stalin. Apparently he did not for a moment doubt that the "voluntary confessions" of his victims would succeed in convincing the whole world of the authenticity of the accusations, and thus solve once and for all the problem of the inviolability of the totalitarian regime. It turned out otherwise. The trials boomeranged on Stalin. The cause for this lies not so much in the crudity of the frameups as in the fact that the clutches of the bureaucracy had become completely intolerable for the country's development. Under the pressure of growing contradictions Stalin was constrained to extend the radius of his frameups day by day. No end of the bloody purge is in sight. As it devours its own ranks, the bureaucracy keeps shrieking in frenzy about vigilance. The howl of a mortally wounded animal can be detected in these cries.

Let us recall once again that the roll call of traitors is headed by all the members of the Political Bureau of Lenin's epoch — with the sole exception of Stalin. Among them are: the former head of defense in the epoch of the Civil War (Leon Trotsky); two former leaders of the Communist International (Zinoviev and Bukharin); the former chairman of the Council of People's Commissars (Kamenev); the former chairman of the Council of Labor and Defense (Rykov); and the former head of the Soviet Trade Unions (Tomsky). Next come the members of the Central Committee and of the Government. It turns out that the actual director of industry, Piatakov, stood at the head of sabotage; the deputy People's Commissar for Transport, Livshitz, turns out to be an agent of Japan and the organizer of train wrecks; the chief guardian of state security, Yagoda — a gangster and traitor; the deputy People's Commissar for Foreign Affairs, Sokolnikov — a German-Japanese agent, along with the chief publicist of the regime, Radek.

All the Military Leaders As Well

And as if that did not suffice, the whole summit of the Red Army is declared to have been in the service of the enemy. Marshal Tukhachevsky, who had only a short while ago been delegated to England and France to acquaint himself with the military technology of these friendly countries, sold the entrusted secrets to Hitler. The political leader of the Red Army, Gamarnik, member of the Central Committee, is avowed to be a traitor. The military representatives of France, Great Britain and Czechoslovakia had only recently paid tribute to the Ukrainian maneuvers held under the direction of General Yakir. It turns out that Yakir was preparing for the seizure of the Ukraine by Hitler. General Uborevich, the guardian of the western frontiers, was preparing to surrender Byelo-Russia to the enemy. Two former directors of the Military Academy, General Eidemann and General Kork, honored army commanders of the Civil War, were preparing their pupils not for victory but for the defeat of the Soviet Union. Scores of other lesser known but extremely important military commanders have been accused of treason. All these destroyers, saboteurs, spies and gangsters had been accomplishing their work not for a day or two but over a number of years.

But if Yagoda, Piatakov, Sokolnikov, Tukhachevsky and others were spies, then what good are Stalin, Voroshilov and other "leaders"? What value have these summons to vigilance which emanate from the Political Bureau that has revealed itself capable only of stupidity and blindness?

Stalinism Discredited by the Trials

Out of the latest "purge" the regime has emerged so covered with infamy that the organs of the world press have begun to speculate seriously whether Stalin has not lost his senses. Too simple a solution for this problem! First it was deemed that Stalin had emerged victorious owing to the exceptional qualities of his intellect. But when the reflexes of the bureaucracy become epileptic in character, those who worshipped the "leader" yesterday begin asking themselves whether he had not gone mad. Both appraisals are false. Stalin is no "genius". In the proper sense of the term, he is not even intelligent, that is, if by intelligence is meant the ability to view events in their connection and development. But neither is Stalin a madman. He was carried to the top by the wave of Thermidor. He came to believe that the source of his power lay in himself. But the caste of parvenus, who had proclaimed him genius, disintegrated and corroded within a short space of time. The land of the October revolution is in urgent need of a different political regime. The position of the ruling clique leaves no more room for any rational politics. "Insanity" is located not in Stalin but in the regime which has completely drained itself. This explanation, however, does not contain even a hint of any moral justification of Stalin. He will depart from the scene as the most tarnished figure in mankind's history.

COYOACAN, July 5, 1937.