How Labor Can Strike Hitler Mortal Blow

An Editorial

When asked: "Is an internal collapse of Germany likely?", the answer of British Prime Minister Churchill at his White House press conference on Dec. 23 was: "Don't let us bank on that. We have got to bank on an external knockout.'

And from his point of view, from the point of view of capitalist politicians, this answer was the only one he could give. Churchill is unable to bank on a revolution against Hitler in Germany. He speaks the truth when he says that he can hope for a victory over the Axis by superior military force alone.

Right now the military initiative is with Hitler. Churchill has already admitted that it may be two or more years before the Allies will be able to engage the Axis with an equal or superior military force. Thus the military advantages are with Hitler. And according to Churchill, they will remain with him for some time.

But wars are not settled on this field alone. The successful struggle of the Soviet government in the days of the Civil War and imperialist intervention of 1918-20 is proof of this. While Hitler still has the military preponderance, at the same time it is generally recognized that the morale of the German soldiers and the German people is probably lower at this time than at any time since the beginning of the war, and the possibilities for an "internal collapse" greater than at any time since Hitler Consequently, when Churchill conducts the kind State Council

of war against Hitler that has to depend for the outcome solely on the military arena, and is unable to HISMINNESOTA benefit from the political difficulties and internal contradictions of the enemy, he is conducting just Convictions the kind of war that Hitler wants him to, and that Hitler at this stage of the war fears least of all.

We do not mean by this that Churchill would not like "ar internal collapse" in Germany under certain conditions that would be favorable to the Allied war aims. Churchill is after all fully aware of the gravity of Britain's position in the war and he is not an idiot. Nevertheless he has to conduct the war on the plane where Hitler wants it for two very good reasons.

The first is that he is incapable of arousing the German Jersey State Industrial masses to revolutionary action against their own oppressors. They do not trust Churchill and the other Allied spokesmen and they feel from their experiences of the last war that they have no reason to trust them.

They remember from the last war that even after they had overthrown the Kaiser and the German war government, the Allies imposed a crushing peace settlement on them which starv- night vigorously pledged ed their children, bled their industries white and created the its support to the 18 labor *conomic and political conditions which made possible the seizare of power by the fascists.

And even if they did not have the experiences of the last war to go by, they would still have the declarations of Churchill in this war. How can they cialist Workers Party. trust him when he told the world in the eighth point of the Atlantic Charter that after the war the Allies the Council had been favorably will disarm Germany and thus reduce it to the status of a secondary power?

His proclamations on paper that he stands for "the right of all peoples to choose the form of government under which they shall live" do not impress them very much as long as they see that in fact he refuses to grant freedom to the people of nouncement that war had broken

They fear, when he says the Allied governments will teach "them" a "lesson which they and the world will never forget, that he means the German people as well as their oppressors And as long as they do, they will also fear to take any steps including the overthrow of their oppressors - which may place the German people at the mercy of the Allies.

In addition to being unable to arouse the German revolution, Churchill is afraid of it. That is the second reason why he does not "bank" on it.

Churchill would not be afraid of a "safe" revolution; on the contrary, if the German General Staff would overthrow Hitler and establish their own military dictatorship and sue for peace, or if the German capitalists decided to get rid of Hitler because are the first convictions under they felt he was no longer able to safeguard their interests, he would welcome them with open arms.

But Churchill knows that these variants are extremely unlikely. He knows that when the German workers overthrow Hitler in spite of all the sacrifices, bloodshed and dangers that that will entail, they will be in no mood to re-establish a government of the people who were tarred with the Nazi brush or of the people who fought for the victory of the Allies and another Versailles. For then the German masses will establish their own Workers and Farmers Government, and appeal to the masses in the Allied countries to follow their example and together build the Socialist United States of Europe and the world, thus forever sweeping away war, fascism, imperialism

Churchill would prefer a war that would last a hundred years to such a German revolution, and to the effects such a revolution would have on the workers in England and the masses in the British Empire.

This is why Churchill does not "bank" on a German revolution, and this is why the Allies dare not take advantage of the internal difficulties of Hitler, and this is why the war may last another two years - at least - and probably much longer.

And this is also why we Trotskyists, who want the destruction of Hitlerism and a "lasting peace" that will really last, continue to call on the masses in Britain and the United States to join the fight for Workers and Farmers Governments.

Such Governments would have nothing to fear from a liberating socialist revolution in Germany, and would do everything they could to bring it about. The masses in Germany, having observed the example of their British and American brothers in establishing such Governments and in granting independence to the colonies, and on being assured of a just peace and true collaboration from such Governments, would begin at military and political problems gotiators had produced a unity once and with confidence the struggle for their own socialist revolution against Hitler.

That is how a Workers and Farmers Government would spell the doom of fascism and war everywhere!

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CHURCHILL URGES CREATION NEW LEAGUE OF NATIONS

N.J. CIO Votes Support of 18 Proposes Plan

Calls On Affiliates To Aid in the Appeal And Fight to Free 18

Dec. 30 — The New Union Council of the CIO, representing more than a quarter million organized workers in the state, last defendants convicted for violation of the 1940 Smith Gag Law in the Minneapolis prosecution of Local 544-CIO and the So-

The resolution adopted by recommended to the State CIO Convention on Dec. 7 by the Resolutions Committee and then referred for action to the incoming State Council upon the anut in the Pacific

The resolution declared that the New Jersey CIO "condemns the convictions in the Minneapolis case and protests the use of the FBI to interfere in the democratic procedure of the labor novement."

It calls upon its affiliates to give "support in this case, to aid in the appeal of this case to the Supreme Court to test the constitutionality of the Smith Act and to free the eighteen defendants."

It points out further that "these the Smith Act which was spon-'this law is a dangerous weapon against labor and the democratic rights of the American people." The Council also recognized other CIO leaders.'

By ANTHONY MASSINI

place on the front. It took

place in the Kremlin where

Stalin and Anthony Eden concluded an agreement between

the Soviet and British govern-

viet Union, Stalin has placed a

security of Europe."

The most important develop-

Protesting Priorities Lay-Offs



Detroit's streets once more resounded to the marching feet of thousands of auto workers, as these members of the United Auto Workers, CIO, last week picketed the Chrysler plant in protest against priorities lay-offs. Refusal of the auto corporations to effect speedy re-adjustment of their plants and machinery to war work was held responsible for the situation.

War Labor Policy Favors Interests Of Employers

Despite No-Strike Agreement, Economic Pressure Will Force Workers to Strike

By DON DORE

Still holding to their position that the open shop must be employers did not give up their 'frozen" for the duration of the war, the employer representa- expressed aim of continuing to tives at the labor-industry conference unwillingly yielded last week to a direct request of President Roosevelt and accepted union closed shop issue as a propa three-point proposal for the handling of labor disputes during er dispute for consideration by

the implied attack in the case on open-shop demand. the right of workers to belong sored by Representative Howard to unions of their own choice already gained their main imme-Smith Slave-Labor Bill" and that ment in this case followed "after | finally accepted included the sur-Local 544 transferred its affilia- render of the right to strike, the approval of Philip Murray and through negotiation, mediation

Stalin And Eden Reach

putes. In accepting these terms, the

fight for the elimination of the the war that did not contain the the War Labor Board.

lishment of a War Labor Board

empowered to handle all dis-

A few hours after accepting The employers, however, had the agreement, the employer representatives joined in a formal Smith, author of the vicious when it declared that the indict- diate objectives. The proposals statement which declared that: "We believe that, in determining the procedure of the board, contion from AFL to CIO with the settlement of all labor demands sideration should be given to the principle we have consistently maintained - namely, that the bitration or consideration the is- in 1940, a trifling increase of 195 quished." sue of the closed shop. . ." OPEN SHOP STILL ISSUE

The fact that the War Labor Agreement On War Policy not mean that it will use this Times, Dec. 22, has reported a materials. power. The board is not compel- net income after taxes for the FALSE ARGUMENTS led to consider such cases, it will merely have the right to do so. 427. This is a "meagre" increase If the board should refuse to con- of 30 per cent over the not-tosider any closed-shop demands, be-sneezed-at take of \$8,652,607 (Continued on page 3)

That Failed To Halt Present War

Discredited System That Grew Out of First World War No Hope for Lasting Peace

British Prime Minister Winston Churchill resurrected the ghost of the League of Nations in his address before the United States Congress on Dec. 26.

His answer to the growing demand of the masses for some permanent solution to the problem of war was to reach into the trash barrel of history and pull out the tattered remnants of the League of Nations idea. What failed to prevent World War II was offered as a means of preventing World War III.

It is necessary, Churchill stated, that "an adequate organization be set up to make sure that the pestilence (war) can be

Auto Profits

priorities unemployment and

for unemployment relief any-

tions have shown no little forc-

rubber shortages.

last year!

per cent.

profits in 1940.

controlled at its earliest beginnings before it spreads and rages throughout the entire world." What that "adequate organiz-

ation" is to be is bluntly stated Soar; Workers by Edwin L. James, political commentator for the New York Times on Dec. 28. "It may be called the 'League' or it may be called something else; that makes small difference. But it is plain that both Mr. Churchill and Mr. Tens of thousands of auto Roosevelt look forward to the fair and rubber workers are being day when they can take up where Woodrow Wilson left off." laid off this month because of

EXPLAINING PAST FAILURE

Anticipating the skepticism But still their employers are that would undoubtedly greet his not worrying about it too much. proposal, the Prime Minister sought to give some explanation Even though it means less autos for the failure of the past League and less rubber products for of Nations to prevent the presthem to make profits from for ent war. a time, they haven't yet applied

"If we (America and Britain) had kept together after the last war, if we had taken common "As a result of the steadily in- measures for our safety, this recreasing proportion of national newal of the curse need never defense production," reports the have fallen upon us. . . Five or New York Times, Dec. 23, the six years ago it would have been third quarter net incomes of 11 easy without shedding a drop of leading auto companies repre- blood for the United States and sented an increase of 278.9 per Great Britain to have insisted on cent over the third quarter of the fulfillment of the disarmament clauses of the treaties As for increased taxes, all which Germany signed after the that's been taken care of. The Great War. And that also would four leading automobile corpora- have been the opportunity for assuring to the Germans those sight. They sank away a total materials, those raw materials, of \$247,908,000 as federal tax which we declared in the Atlanand "contingency" reserves for tic Charter should not be denied board should not accept for ar- 1941, as compared to \$83,997,000 to any nation, victor or van-

The failure of the League, ac-The rubber industry is also cording to Churchill, was due to managing to stagger along under the failure of the United States Board will have the power to con- the burden of the war. The Fire- to participate in it, to enforce sider cases involving the question stone Tire and Rubber Company, the disarmament of Germany, to of the union or closed shop does according to the New York afford Germany access to raw

year ending Oct. 31 of \$11,262,-

These are specious arguments on the face of it.

Is it reasonable to believe that that the old League, which con-(Continued on page 3)

Pope Offers A Peace Program

| in the New York Times, Dec. 28, | ism in the future Europe. . . "It was suggested that there Stalin and Eden came to an ments of the Soviet-German agreement on a policy for "postmight be something like a 'Conwar last week did not take war reconstruction along the gentinental Charter' for Europe that eral lines laid down by the At-(Continued on page 3) lantic Charter declaration of

and arbitration, and the estab-

ments on the conduct of the ner." war and the kind of peace to But while the eight points of be established by them after the Roosevelt and Churchill were vague on the all-important ques-The effects of this agreement tion of revolution in Europe, Staon the war will be far-reaching. lin and Eden were quite specific. Instead of strengthening the So-

President Roosevelt and Prime

Minister Winston Churchill in

their conference at sea last sum-

ALLAYING FEARS OF REACTIONARIES

powerful weapon in the hands of Hitler and Goebbels. For the "It was also emphasized," says conference dealt not only with the London report, "that the nerelating to the conduct of the of British and Russian views conwar, but also with the "post-war | cerning postwar Europe - a de-

To the half-billion Catholics | comfort." Indeed, the sights on | to the wise and unshakable | France, England and America, who awaited his Christmas Eve which his pontifical eyes dwelt norms of the social order. . ." the Catholic clergy, or important

the words of Pope Pius XII conveyed little comfort and even less hope. The New York causes of the war and give guid-Times. Dec. 25, with all due ance for the future. respect described the message as has uttered since the war began." | they have cast aside "moral prinorganization of the peace and velopment expected to be of spe- eminence, the Pope surveyed the war and all social evils, de- ler, Mussolini, Petain, Roosevelt

message as a divine revelation, caused him "depressing anguish." However, the Pope offered to enlighten mankind on the

"Men have rebelled" against "the most pessimistic speech he the true doctrines of the Church; Gazing down from his spiritual ciples". That is the reason for lays claim to them. Indeed, Hit- ral principles.

more than consolation. He sought to the nature of these moral prin- spective nations, ciples and "wise and unshakable rorms"

SOME EXAMPLES OF "MORAL PRINCIPLES"

tian ruler and statesman already ers on what constitutes true mo-

The Pope may be forgiven if sections of it, have blessed the he failed to be more specific as arms and aspirations of their re-

Thus it would seem that the moral principles of the Church differ according to national boundaries, or that there is a division For it seems that every Chris- of opinion among Church lead-

cial importance in view of fears the bloody conflict among na- clared the Pope. "... There is no and Churchill do not lack Catho- have been more convincing had According to first London re- in some circles that an attempt tions. He confessed he could other remedy than that of a re- he sanction for their respective he been able to point to some ports on the conference, printed might be made to spread bolshev- "scarcely find any reason for turn to the altars. . . a return causes. In Germany, Italy,

Albert Goldman Explains To The Jury The Conditions Under Which The Unionists Organized Defense Guard

This is the third installment of the historic final argument delivered at the Minneapolis "sedition" trial by Albert Goldman, chief defense counsel and one of the leading defendants.

I shall now deal with the question of the Union Defense Guard of Local 544. What relationship did the existence of this Union Defense Guard of the Minneapolis truck drivers have to our proposal for a Workers Defense Guard? The idea of a Workers Defense Guard, as has been explained to you, is not something new. It has not only been propagated by us, but we have actually, on certain occasions, created a defense guard to defend our meetings against Stalinist and fascist hoodlums. As a matter of fact, there have been defense guards ever since the socialist movement began, because there have always been elements who wanted to use violence against socialists.

And when a situation arose in Minneapolis which demanded the formation of some kind of defense organization to defend the right of union men to hold their meetings undisturbed and to protect the halls and property of the union, our members, trained in the idea of having defense guards, naturally thought of creating such a guard to protect the interests of Local 544.

Members of our party are superior to the average worker, if they are superior at all, because they have a certain theory as to the basis of their activities, and this theory enables them to predict and act upon their predictions. The average worker lives from day to day - he works, earns his living, is thrown out of his job, goes on relief, has children and tries to feed them. He is unable as yet to generalize the reasons for his difficulties. A member of the Socialist Workers Party thinks in general terms about the situation of the workers in society. He is trained to understand that his life is bound up with the life of his class.

WHY LOCAL 544 FORMED A UNION DEFENSE GUARD

Why did Local 544 and not any other union in Minneapolis organize a Union Defense Guard? Everyone knows that Local 544 is the most important union in Minneapolis. It was considered the arch-enemy of the reactionary employers and of the fascists, and everyone with any common sense understood that when fascists were organizing in Minneapolis, they would attack 544 first of all. Our members understood that and that is why Local 544 took the initiative and organized the Union Defense Guard. But it must be remembered that they invited the members of other unions to participate in this defense guard.

THE UNDISPUTED FACT ABOUT THE GUARD

The government witnesses practically proved everything we wanted to prove to the jury on the question of the Union Defense Guard. The evidence on that question was the greatest dud that the government produced. I am only amazed that the prosecutors still insist on injecting the question of the Union Defense Guard into this case. Were they really fair-minded, they would openly state to the jury that the Union Defense Guard is not to be considered by the jury as evidence against the defendants. Their failure to do so is another indication to me that the prosecutors are unable to act independently in this case, and must follow orders of people higher up.

By the testimony of the government witnesses it has been proved that the Union Defense Guard was organized at the time the Silver Shirts became active in Minneapolis late in the summer of 1938. Our evidence that the Minneapolis newspapers carried news items describing the activities of the Silver Shirts has not and cannot be denied. All the government witnesses, with the exception of one, testified that at the Union Defense Guard meetings Vincent Dunne and other defendants explained the necessity of organizing the Guard against the possible attacks of the Silver Shirts.

The only one who testified that Vincent Dunne told 150 members of the Union Defense Guard that the purpose of the organization was to overthrow the government was Elmer Buckingham. If you remember that witness, you remember that he was slouching and constantly looking at the floor. He testified that he did not remember anything about the Silver Shirts, but that he remembered Vincent Dunne, in the presence of about 150 men, state that the purpose of the De-- fense Guard was to overthrow the Government of the United

All I ask is that the jurors ask themselves one question: Is it credible that Vincent Dunne, an intelligent individual, if he actually organized the Union Defense Guard to overthrow the government, would state this purpose at an open meeting in the presence of 150 men? When one takes that factor into consideration and in addition remembers that no other government witness heard Vincent Dunne say anything of the kind, then it becomes clear how much credence can be placed in the testimony of Buckingham.

It is not denied by us that the Union Defense Guard had target practice. One government witness testified that target practice was decided upon as a form of entertainment. I do not even deny that there is a possibility that the members

The prosecution was very anxious to prove two things about the Russian Revolution — one, that we consider it a great event and were consequently interested in it and, two, that we studied it in order to imitate here the tactics that were used by the Bolshevik Party under the leadership of Lenin and Trotsky.

I simply want to emphasize the one fact that should by this time be clear, even to the prosecution. The Russian Revolution was not the result of a conspiracy organized by a minority. It was the work of the immense majority of the workers and peasants supporting the Bolshevik Party led by Lenin and Trotsky.

Conclusive evidence of the fact that the vast majority of the people of Russia supported the Bolshevik Party is the successful struggle of the Red Army, organized by Leon Trotsky, against a powerful combination of forces consisting of Russian White Guards, the Czecho-Slovak army, Japanese, English and even American soldiers. Had the Bolshevik Party not been supported by 95 per cent of the Russian people, it Everyone Knew That Fascist And Vigilante Groups Were Preparing To Attack Union And Its Leaders

As I said, we have a theory of society, and on the basis of that theory we are able to predict that certain people will act in a certain way. We know, for instance, that the fascists will at one time or another make an attempt to destroy the unions. When our members saw in the Minneapolis newspapers in 1938 reports that the Silver Shirts were organizing, they also understood that the Silver Shirts were not organizing to benefit the trade unions, but to destroy them. Our members immediately considered what to do to defend the union hall, the union property and the union meetings against the attacks of the Silver Shirts. Whereas the average worker does not think of the future, our members do.

Yesterday, in his argument, Mr. Anderson made a very peculiar remark. "What business," he asked, "is it of theirs to bring the history of the Russian Revolution into the United States?" I am sorry that Mr. Anderson is puzzled by that, but our party members are taught to study everything that happens in the world. What happens in Russia, in England, in Africa, is our business. We do not believe that the United States can be separated from the rest of the world. It is part of the world, and whatever happens in any section of the world affects us. We studied what the fascists did in Germany and in Italy, and because we studied the activities of the fascists there, we know what the activities of the American fascists will be here. And we teach the workers not to wait until the fascists succeed here, as they succeeded in Germany and Italy. We teach workers to organize their Workers Defense Guards and prevent the fascists from doing here what they did in other countries.

of the Guard wanted target practice with the idea in mind of training the members to shoot so that they could defend themselves against any armed attack. They had a perfect right to have target practice even if the intention was to learn how to shoot so that they could defend themselves against any armed attack.

WAS THE GUARD NECESSARY?

Mr. Anderson asks why the leaders of Local 544 did not ask the government authorities for protection. Why was it necessary to organize the Guard? In the first place, even if a person notifies the authorities and asks for protection against a possible attack, he is not thereby prevented from preparing to defend himself. Local 544 could have notified the authorities and then proceeded to organize a Union Defense Guard. There was no attempt to conceal the fact that a Union Defense Guard was organized. The organization met openly. Many people in Minneapolis knew about the existence of the Guard. The Northwest Organizer, official organ of all the Minneapolis Teamsters unions, was full of news about it. And there can be no question but that the police knew about it.

Indeed the leaders of Local 544 did not have very great confidence in the authorities and did not rely upon them very greatly for protection against the Silver Shirts. It is evident to everyone that neither the city, nor the state, nor the federal government was favorably inclined to Local 544. Under such conditions the leaders of Local 544 would have been derelict in their duty had they not taken steps to organize a Guard to protect the members and their union.

That the Guard was organized, not for the purpose of overthrowing the government but to defend the union against the Silver Shirts, is proved conclusively by the fact that it was organized when first the Silver Shirts came to Minneapolis, and that it ceased to exist as a functioning organization in the spring of 1939 when the Silver Shirts no longer held meetings in Minneapolis. After 1939 the Union Defense Guard was called together only for the purpose of policing picnics or Christmas parties. Only the prosecuting attorneys can draw from that fact the conclusions that the Union Defense Guard still exists as a functioning guard organization.

Undoubtedly the members of our party in Local 544 took the initiative in organizing the Union Defense Guard. They prepared for any eventuality; and the fact that the Silver Shirts did not attack does not prove Mr. Anderson's point that the Union Defense Guard was not organized to defend the union against the Silver Shirts, but simply proves that "an ounce of preparation is worth a pound of cure." As a result of the readiness of the members of Local 544 to defend themselves, the Silver Shirts did not dare launch any attack.

The Union Defense Guard, the one issue which the government announced with great fanfare before the trial as indicating that there was a real conspiracy to overthrow the government by force, has been completely shattered, and by the government's own witnesses. That the government has not honestly and frankly admitted its mistake is an indication, as I said before, that in this case the government wants a conviction regardless of the evidence.

RUSSIAN REVOLUTION?

could never have withstood such a powerful attack.

The second lesson to be drawn from the Russian Revolution, as far as this case is concerned, is that it was a minority of capitalists and landlords who began the civil war in order to prevent the majority from trying to establish the foundations of a new social order.

For us, the Russian Revolution is all-important because for the first time in history the masses of people actually took the productive wealth away from the capitalists and landlords. The foundations of socialism were created by the Russian Revolution. Unfortunately, historic conditions, which I am unable to discuss because they are not germane to the case, permitted a bureaucratic clique under the leadership of Stalin to usurp power and to crush every form of democracy in the Soviet Union.

Mr. Anderson advises the defendants to go to Russia if we are so interested in that country. It should be known, even to Mr. Anderson, that Trotskyists have no chance at all to live in the Soviet Union; thousands of them have been

executed. The best army and naval officers have been executed and this is why the Russian soldiers, in spite of the most heroic resistance, have sustained defeats at the hands of the Nazi army.

MR. SCHWEINHAUT: Is that evidence?

MR. GOLDMAN: No, that is not part of the evidence in this case. It may be disregarded by the jury. It is in evidence, however, that the Trotskyists in the Soviet Union struggled for democratic rights in that country just as we struggle for democratic rights here. Mr. Anderson should know that most of the defendants were born in this country and he above all should know that this country was built by so-called foreigners, by the Irish, Swedes, the Russians, the Hungarians, the Italians, by the foreign workers who slaved in the mines, who built the railroads, who created the most powerful country in the world, now in the hands of the Sixty Families and their satellites. He should know that the Swedes and Norwegians were the ones who settled in Minnesota and helped build up this state. It is indeed a shame that people who were born here or who were raised here and who worked here should be told to get out of this counuy by the prosecution.

The defendants, of course, as I indicated yesterday, are internationalists. We make no distinctions between races and nationalities. Wherever we are, there we fight to the best of our abilities for liberty and democracy:

"History repeats itself" is a phrase that is frequently heard. But that is true to only a very limited extent. History actually never repeats itself. We do not know what the conditions will be under which the masses of this country will decide to establish a socialist regime. We do know that they can never be exactly the same that existed in Russia in November, 1917. Russia was largely an agricultural country with 80 per cent of the people illiterate, without any tradition of democracy. The farmers in the United States are not the same as the peasants of Russia. We have a right to hope that the higher standards of education in this country and the democratic traditions of the people will prevent the great tragedy that occurred in the Soviet Union subsequent to the revolution — I refer to the usurpation of power by the Stalinist clique that has crushed every form of democracy.

WE WILL DO WHAT THE BOLSHEVIKS DID

What did the prosecution succeed in doing by introducing our articles dealing with the Russian Revolution? Has it succeeded in proving a conspiracy on our part to overthrow the government by force and violence? It has succeeded only in proving that we, like the Bolsheviks in Russia, aim to win a majority of the people of this country to our ideas. If that is a "conspiracy", it will be a conspiracy of the vast majority of the people to change the present social order and to organize a government that will best protect their economic, political and social interests.

And should the minority attempt to use violence to thwart the will of the majority, then I hope that the masses will organize their Workers Defense Guard, just as the Russian workers organized their Red Army and just as the workers of 544 organized their Defense Guard to put down the violence of a minority.

It may be of some interest to note that this indictment was written subsequent to June 22, 1941, the date when Hitler invaded the Soviet Union. Since then there has been a very close and friendly relationship between the present administration and Stalin's government. It so happens that the former American ambassador to the Soviet Union, Mr. Davies, wrote an article recently in a popular magazine wherein he claims that the Trotskyists were fascists and that Stalin did well to have them executed. It is indeed peculiar that whereas Stalin accused the Trotskyists of being fascists, we here are accused of being revolutionists. Different governments have different ways of framing the Trotskyists.

PROSECUTION IS FORERUNNER OF FASCISM

I did not know whether to laugh or to weep when Mr. Anderson, in his opening address, accused us of being Marxists. I was tempted to laugh because throughout this country in every institution of learning there are people teaching history, sociology and even the physical sciences who consider themselves Marxists.

There are many people who claim to be Marxists. We may not agree that they are but at least they claim to be. And for Mr. Anderson to get up in a court of law in the United States and accuse people of being Marxists as if that were a crime is, to say the least, somewhat absurd.

But that accusation also had a very serious connotation. For it is in Germany and Italy that Marxism is considered a crime and where Marxists are exterminated.

I wonder if counsel for the government understood the full significance of their introduction into evidence of the "Com munist Manifesto". Their purpose in introducing the "Communist Manifesto" was, of course, to get the jury to convict the defendants. But that means practically banning a book which is being sold in every good bookstore in the United States, which is on the library shelves of every decent library, and which is studied in every university. For if we can be convicted for circulating the "Communist Manifesto" then, in effect, a ban is placed upon it. Hitler started the practice of burning books distasteful to him; and among the first books that he ordered burned were the books of Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, including the "Communist Manifesto". I do not mean Mr. Schweinhaut actually wants the "Communist Manifesto" burned but, in effect, by introducing the book into evidence, he condemns it and warns the world not to read or circulate it.

We, of course, must plead guilty to the charge of being Marxists. We are Marxists because we believe that the economic structure of society is the determining factor in social development and that man is a product of his social environment. We are Marxists because we believe that the productive forces of society have reached a stage where it is possible to produce everything necessary to satisfy the reasonable needs of the people; because we believe that capitalist society has reached a point when the people must either progress with Socialism or perish through Fascist barbarism. In essence this is now the meaning of Marxism and to this charge we plead guilty.

Lenin as well as Marx was dragged into the case by the prosecution. And again we must admit that we consider Lenin as one of the great men of all times. His greatness lies in that fact that he was willing to stand alone with a few people supporting him in his opposition to the first World War when the vast majority of the Socialists betrayed their principles and supported their own imperialist governments. Lenin in Switzerland and Trotsky in Vienna, in Paris and New York (he was expelled from Vienna and Paris during the war) both raised their voices against the first World War which they designated as imperialistic. Lenin predicted that the war would result in a revolutionary situation in Russia. His prediction came true and when that revolutionary situation actually came into existence, Lenin and Trotsky took advantage of it and led the masses in the revolution that destroyed capitalism in Russia.

THE PROSECUTION ON LEON TROTSKY

The arch conspirator in this case, according to the government, is Leon Trotsky.

How absurd is the idea of designating Leon Trotsky as a conspirator! He has written three thick volumes on the history of the Russian Revolution; he has written innumerable books and pamphlets explaining his ideas about society and current events. Critics have recognized his history of the Russian Revolution as the greatest history penned by any man at any time. He is the type of man who, in addition to being a great theoretician and writer, could and did also organize and lead a great army.

We guarded his life because he meant so much to the movement that the defendants represent. Five or six secretaries gave their lives to guard him. We spent thousands of dollars in an effort to shield him from an attempt on his life that we were certain would some day be made by the Kremlin dictator. We do not deny that he was the one who guided our movement in its general aspects. Many of us visited him in Mexico many times. We asked for his advice and he gave it to us, not on minor questions such as the organization of a Union Defense Guard in Local 544, but on major questions of world importance. He discussed with us the role that the United States is playing and will play in world affairs. His analysis of evidence and his predictions on the basis of that analysis will always remain as evidence of his remarkable intellect. To call him a conspirator is an insult to human intelligence.

YES, WE ARE INTERNATIONALISTS

and, of course, we must plead guilty to that charge. For us internationalism is the very heart of socialism. We conceive of the world as an economic unit. No nation, no matter how wealthy or powerful, can separate itself from the rest of the world. We are not isolationists. We do not believe that it is possible to isolate this country from the rest of the world.

As I indicated to you before, socialism is a world system under which all nations and all peoples will cooperate to produce enough goods to satisfy the reasonable needs of every human being. Every country will produce that which it is best fitted to produce. If a country can produce good machinery then let it not busy itself with producing agricultural products. Let some other country best fitted for the production of agricultural products produce those products and exchange its products for the machines produced by another country. Peace will come to a world cooperating in this way, which will be made possible only by socialism, which will do away with imperialist cliques fighting for colonies and

We reject the idea that one nation or one people is superior to any other nation or any other people. To us all human beings are equal. The prejudices that exist are a product of the social system and not inherent in human nature. The brotherhood of man will be made possible and real under a socialist society which will do away with economic conflicts.

Our party belonged to the Fourth International. But when the Voorhis Act was enacted making it illegal for any organization in this country to belong to an international organization, we obeyed the law and severed our connection with the Fourth International. We did not like the law; we were opposed to it, but as a minority there was nothing for us to do except to obey it and try to have it repealed.

NEXT WEEK - GOLDMAN ON THE TRADE UNION QUESTION.

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New York City

The prosecution charges us with being internationalists

Negro Struggle By Ernest Williams

Jim Crow in the Blood Bank

Many Negroes have volunteered in response to the call for blood donors -- only to find their services rejected. The Red Cross has openly stated that it does not wish, nor will it accept, Negro blood.

The aim of the Red Cross is to collect a blood bank for use by the Army and Navy. The blood is contributed by healthy volunteers, and a large supply is stored for use during war time. Of course there is no limit to the amount which will be necessary as the war progresses.

Protests arose, it is said, from the Southern bourbons against the use of Negro blood. In spite of the scientific fact that there is absolutely no difference between the blood of whites and Negroes, these prejudiced Southerners insist on interfering in an important phase of defense

The Army and Navy then issued a memorandum saving that only blood of white people would be acceptable and that if a Negro soldier needed blood and did not wish to use the white blood which was stored in the bank, then live, Negro blood would be provided. The Red Cross then issued its statement, repeating the same sentiment.

"In some chapters Negroes have generously offered to act as donors in supplying blood for plasma for the army and navy. The Red Cross deeply appreciates their desire to participate in this project.

"However. . . the American Red Cross is acting pursuant to the requests and instructions of the army and navy and up to this time the Red Cross has been asked to supply only plasma from white donors."

Even in a project such as collecting blood for the Army and Navy, race prejudice rears its ugly head. As usual, there is no scientific or factual basis for this discrimination. To allow the continuation of such practices means to further insult the already mistreated Negro people.

... And in the Nurse Corps Too

Jim Crow in the Army Nurse Corps exists as flagrantly as in the Army, Navy, and Air Corps, although comparatively little attention has been given to it.

The American Red Cross currently issued a request for 50,000 recruits for its First Reserve. Last week the announcement was made that there would be a quota of "about 50 colored nurses."

Widespread protests against limiting the opportunities for trained nurses solely on the basis of color have already been made. Statements have been made to the Pittsburgh Courier by the NAACP, the National Urban League, Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, YWCA, as well as many leading individuals, placing these organizations on record against this discrimination.

Protest Meeting for Ex-Soldiers

The committee which has been set up to free Negro and white soldiers who were court-martialled during the last World War, and are still in United States prisons today, announces a protest meeting Wednesday night, January 7. Many of these soldiers were imprisoned on vague charges of rape, misbehavior, etc., and attempts to investigate the charges, or free these men have met with failure.

The meeting will be held at the Abyssinian Baptist Church, 138th Street, near 7th Avenue. Nat J. Humphries is chairman of the committee, and various other organizations will be represented at the meeting.

Where Is This "New Order"?

In his Dec. 2 column in the New York World Telegram, Major Al Williams, Scripps-Howard aviation writer, asks and answers an interesting question about the difference between the "new order" of Hitler and the ordinary old order of capitalism:

"Politicians have been shouting about some new order for Europe. Well, looking over the aviation financial reports from that Continent, I find reason to wonder why and where this new order differs, if at all, from the present order - or disorder — at least as far as money is concerned.

"British, German and Italian aircraft stocks are booming. The German Bruno Arms Works has recently increased its capital and paid a 6 per cent dividend, after allocations to reserves and bonus payments to labor. The Italian Societe Anonima Moto Garelli, manufacturers of aircraft accessories, has increased share capital from 1,000,000 to 2,450,000 lire. Daimler-Benz, German aircraft engine company, reports a customary dividend of 71/2 per cent. The Rheinmetal Borsig, A. G., of Berlin (Goering's concern), manufacturers of aircraft armament, declared a dividend of 7 per cent after allocations to reserves and bonuses to labor, and also reported an authorized capital increase of 25 million reichmarks. The Continental Gummiwerke, a German rubber company, declared a 5 per cent dividend.

"British aircraft manufacturers are running along on some 10 per cent dividends, although the government has attempted to limit excessive war profits by higher taxes. Up to about last July, German profits from munitions had been running so high that Hitler got busy with decrees attempting to limit profits to 6 per cent.

"The boys evidently aren't working just for

"On top of all this come reports that the Berlin Stock Exchange is getting along briskly and London and American bankers are complaining that several Nazi banks are establishing branch offices in occupied territory. Where is this new order, and wherein is it new?"

CHURCHILL URGES NEW LEAGUE

War Labor Policy Favors Pope Offers Interests Of Employers The World His the United States could not enforce its own Kellogg Pact which "outlawed" war, it could no more Interests Of Employers

(Continued from page 1)

tained all the present warring

powers save the United States, was disrupted only because one

nation did not participate? If

have enforced the Covenant of

the League of Nations. If the

United States, together with

Great Britain and France, could

not enforce sanctions against

Italy during the aggression on

in it would have prevented the

As for the failure to disarm

the question naturally arises:

That is a question which Win-

ston Churchill is not likely to

answer. Great Britain itself help-

ed to re-arm Germany. The Brit-

poured arms and war material

into Germany. No group would

have fought against the disarm-

ament of Germany five years

ago more vigorously than the

British industrialists and their

And why didn't the League of

Nations, with or without the par-

ticipation of the United States.

assure Germany access to raw

Because that was the exact op-

posite of the intent of the

League. The very purpose of the

League was to ensure the eco-

Britain Agree

(Continued from page 1)

would answer any fears that de-

feat of the Axis would result in

a Russian attempt to spread com-

the Kremlin to the masses of Eu-

rope and particularly Germany

with the Allies in the imposition

of a second Versailles Treaty and

the formation of a second League

of Nations, but that he will also

join them in the suppression of

all social revolutionary move-

Thus Stalin, in return for

been promised from the Allies for

everything in his power to dis-

Europe, which alone in the final

The German workers who hate

fascism and are awaiting a fa-

vorable opportunity to overthrow

Hitler's regime, the workers who

always looked to the Soviet Union

as a workers state which would

aid them when a revolutionary

situation arose in Germany, will

feel that they are alone and have

little chance of securing aid from

outside of Germany for a revolu-

tionary struggle against Hitler.

To the extent that Stalin's new

agreement discourages revolu-

and the chances for success in

the war against the Soviet Union.

In this way Stalin, in the name

of defending the Soviet Union,

repels the kind of action which

will really save the workers state.

The Soviet Union has been af-

forded tremendous advantages by

the victories of the last month,

d decisively.

analysis can save the USSR.

This amounts to a warning by

Stalin And

munism in Europe."

political agents.

materials?

Why wasn't it done?

present war.

the employers will have won their point just as much as if last week's conference had adopted it.

Ethiopia, there is no basis for the argument that a League of The employers are likewise Nations with the United States contemplating legislative means to impose their open-shop "freezure" program on labor. There is renewed activity in the Senate Germany five or six years ago. for the passage of anti-labor legislation. Open dissatisfaction with the outcome of the conference is being expressed by laborbaiting Senators.

An intimation of what the employers and Congressmen are ish steel and munitions industries cooking up is given in the New York Times, Dec. 26, which re-

> "One Administration supportby name, said the failure of the

instrument to safeguard the will." spoils of war for the victorious European powers of World

Did the British Empire offer materials to prevent its industhe economic war to exploit the world markets.

materials, it is true. But at the same time it sought with every means at its command to nullify the efforts of the German capthat not only will Stalin go along italists to gain that international market for the sale of German products which would have provided the purchasing power for League of Nations alter this con-

Not a word or line in Churchwhatever material aid he has the war against Hitler, is doing by England and America instead an admission of bankruptcy. of England and France - will be I courage the independent revolumore effective or serve different tionary struggle of the masses of ends than the discarded and discredited model of the past.

> ors of the capitalist press, however, are trying to fill in some of the blank spaces in Churchill's speech. James, in the Dec. 28 Times, gives us an additional interpretation for the failure of the and France conducted their international affairs outside the conflict that existed between the economic aspirations of the big powers and the economic dependence of the small.

But "with good will" all this tionary action or disorients the masses, to that same extent does could have been altered and Hitler feel all the more confident shaped and changed." about the stability of his regime

Then he goes on to state: "We Japan signed the Kellogg pact the peace. and so did Germany. It was worth nothing because it reposed

Allies, serve only to intensify that which will enable it to offer to defend the Soviet Union must powerful resistance when the next | do everything they can to assist German big push starts. But the development of that independent revolutionary movement of it would be foolish to believe that the masses which will forever deas a result of these victories the stroy imperialism and permit the relationship of forces has chang-Soviet Union to go ahead, to-The Soviet Union is still in gether with the workers of the grave danger. Stalin's policies, rest of the world, to world soof dependence on aid from the cialism and lasting peace.

Steel Workers Strike **Against Pay-Cut Plan**

Struthers. This is a bonus system aimed at establishing more Organizing Committee, CIO, figured that under this system they orders of SWOC officials. would receive as much as eight cents per hour less pay, so they turned it down.

time, the company used the beeral anti-strike sentiment rose, cry "treason" and "fifth column- coroner's jury of killing Bruce Sapp was charged with having compelling Dan Davis, an officer, to put over its plan.

YOUNGSTOWN, Ohio, Dec. 19 | This was met by a strike which - Last spring the Youngstown began Wednesday morning, call- tims. Bob White was shot by W. partment was said to have been Sheet and Tube Company tried ed originally by 200 workers in S. Cochrane, wealthy Texas land- making an investigation. There for peace, freedom and security to introduce the "incentive" sys- the electric weld conduit mill. owner, June 10, when White was has been no report of the results in the system of world socialism. tem at its rod and wire plant in These were joined by 1600 other workers, who were also aroused time. Flournoy was stabbed in The mob rode in Gaston Counwork for less pay. The workers, settle grievances. The strike end- 23. members of the Steel Workers ed this morning when the men voted to return to work at the This is a good example of how

the bosses use the war situation to take advantage of the workhow strikes are and will be pro-

ly to result in immediate legis-, at the idea of writing into the lative action to take this ques- agreement the principle that the tion out of the realm of uncer-

The failure of the employers to put over their most extreme demand at the conference in no wise constitutes a victory for labor. In giving up the right to strike under the threat of antistrike legislation, the AFL and CIO leaders at the conference received not a single guarantee that labor's rights and conditions would be safeguarded during the

Significantly, the final agreement did not include a chief point of the AFL-CIO original declaration of war labor policy which stated that "all workers have a er, who asked not to be quoted right to a living wage, as a minimum, sufficient to maintain full industry-labor conference to ar- efficiency, good health and wellrive at a specific agreement on being for themselves and their the closed shop question was like- families." The employers balked

nomic hegemony of Britain and on nothing else. It was needless France on the European contin- among nations of good-will and ent. It operated exclusively as an worthless among nations of ill-

But it is precisely "good-will" which is proposed as the cement for another League of Nations, that is, "good-will" plus a com to yield any of its domination bination of overwhelming armed over the sources of raw mate- force. The nations of "good-will" rials? The contrary is true. It will police those of "ill-will" until tightened its grip upon these the third world war breaks out.

An international police agency trial competitors in other lands of the democratic powers is exfrom gaining any advantages in actly what Churchill now means by a new international organization, a new League of Nations It offered to sell Germany raw to ensure that "the germ centers of hatred and revenge (the defeated nations) should be constantly and vigilantly curbed and treated in good time."

This raises no vision of lasting peace, but a vista of continuing armaments and armies, of "goodwill" exercised with the threat of raw materials. Would a new bombs and shells. That is a far cry from the kind of peace the masses of the world want.

To offer the masses at this ill's address gives any reason for late date nothing more assuring believing that a new League of for the future than a replica of Nations — this time dominated the shoddy League of Nations is

Now more than ever it is apparent that the peace of mankind cannot be preserved within the framework of the old economic established will strive to keep Seasoned political commenta- and social order, whose only stock-in-trade is insubstantial 'good-will".

A lasting peace of freedom and security for the masses of the world can come only from an in- speed-up. Fatigue is bound to ternational cooperative social or- take its toll. The accumulated League. He admits that "Britain der, in which the conflicts over the domination of the weak na- not be as eager as they now are League." He admits the eternal tions by the strong, will cease to to work over-time. exist.

alone can ensure to all peoples the no-strike agreements, is access to necessary raw materi- something that cannot be doubtals. It alone will be free of the economic rivalries that pave the doubted that the efforts of the read to wars. World socialism workers to defend their rights alone will permit that true "as- and living standards will be tremproduced the tin nickel known as sociation of nations" which will endously hampered by the nothe Kellogg Pact. What bathos! need no "policing" to preserve strike program accepted by the

workers have a right to a living

The three-point agreement interests of the employers. The no-strike policy is entirely in acmost insistently by the industrialists. They know that labor gives right to strike. This virtually eliminates the possibility of the Tiso. workers winning their just detions with the employers, who will be able to stall and delay

Moreover, the experience of the ticularly the pro-employer attitude of the present National Defense Mediation Board indicates to the employers that they will have little to worry about from any similar agency which the government will set up.

TROUBLED PEACE

However, the labor industry peace initiated in Washington is not likely to be untroubled. W. H. Lawrence, Washington political commentator, states in the New York Times, Dec. 28, that "there was no disposition in official quarters to believe that all work stoppages would be eliminated" by the conference agreement.

"Experience during World War I and in England since Dunkerque," writes Lawrence, "indicates that scattered stoppages. . . may be expected here in the months ahead. . ."

When the workers learn that the possibility of gaining favorable decisions through a board is decidedly limited, there will be increasing sentiment and pressure for strike action among the rank and file union men.

The rising cost of living is bound to be a constant factor in driving the workers to demand more wages. The bosses recognize this and are pushing for a wage-freezing policy as well as the stabilization of the open shop. If past experiences are any indication, the board soon to be wage adjustments to the very

Another problem which will loom ever larger for the workers is that of longer hours and strain of speed-up and long hours markets and raw materials, over will be felt. The workers will

That there will be labor strug-The system of world socialism gles during this war, despite all indicates on this point is that the ed. But it likewise cannot be labor leaders at Washington.

on the good-will of nations and Five Men Were Lynched In danger. The workers who want to defend the Soviet Union must 1941, Says NAACP Report NEW YORK, Dec. 26 - | a fight. The verdict was report- as well." Peace everlasting is to

Five known lynchings and two ed Feb. 22. fatal attacks on Negroes in Texas courtrooms marked the United States record of mob violence for 1941, the National As-

The NAACP sees the beginning of a new lynching technique in the killing of Bob White in a Tex., court by allegedly aggrievon trial for his life for the third of the "investigation."

ed by the NAACP in conjunction | tercation with a white man. with Tuskegee Institute, Ala., oc-

Tisdale, a local mill worker, after stolen money from the safe of to open the cell doors.

STILL WEARING AN

ARMY UNIFORM

On April 3, Private Felix Hall, sociation for the Advancement a colored volunteer, was found of Colored People announced | hanging to a tree, clad in the uniform of the U.S. Army, in a wooded section of Fort Benning. The NAACP and the Negro press tablishment of a classless intercourtroom at Conroe, Tex., and demanded investigation and punof Mott Flournoy in a Lufkin, ishment of the guilty persons, but the last report of any action was ed husbands of so-called rape vic- early in May when the War De-

y the refusal of the company to the chest by Roy Morehouse, Nov. ty, N. C., April 13, when Robert Walker was shot to death in his of Quincy, Fla., was found dead Other known lynchings record- home by four men after an al- on a creek bridge, his body rid-

PeaceProgram

(Continued from page 1) living embodiment of those principles among the earth's rulers especially to those who have had must be viewed as wholly in the the benefits of Catholic teachings. There is no lack of devotees of Catholicism among the cord with the objectives sought rulers of men. We can point to that Austrian Catholic, Hitler, to Mussolini, Petain, Franco, and up its most effective bargaining that Nazified man of the cloth, weapon when it sacrifices the the priest and Gauleiter-President of Slovakia, Father Joseph

Is it these men to whom the mands through direct negotia- Pope addresses his appeal to "return to the altars?" Perhaps he addresses himself to Emperor any negotiations without fear of | Hirohito, whose own claim to God-hood and "moral principles" goes back three thousand years. 1918 War Labor Board and par- Or it may be that the Pope has hopes of converting those who tread in the paths of Protestant heresy, like Churchill and Roosevelt. But on all this, the Pope was perhaps necessarily vague. We can see what problems arise

when we seek for the causes and solution of social evils, such as war, in the moral attitudes of individuals. Where and how shall we begin the moral transformation? As the Pope himself recognizes, eliminating war through the establishment of a "new social order within the limits of moral principles" is a task requiring "almost superhuman strength and good-will."

Moreover, it is doubtful that anyone - not excluding the Pope -anticipates that any or all of the temporal rulers will re-examine their hearts in the midst of the war, or within a reasonable time thereafter.

WAR DOES NOT STEM FROM WICKED MEN

But even if they should chance to glance within themselves, they would fail to find there the roots of social evil. These evils would continue to exist even should every statesman and dictator attain to a state of moral grace tomorrow. For these evils are not the product of wicked individuals but of the social system itself.

The Pope did cite certain material conditions which must prevail if a lasting peace is to be established. He maintained that the powerful nations must respect the rights of the weaker nations, and particularly, that they must not "hoard the economic resources and materials destined for the use of all to such an extent that the nations less favored by nature are not permitted access to them."

This is a noble sentiment; but just how are the weak nations to go about convincing the strong of their rights? All the Pope weak must trust to the benevolence of the strong.

BENEVOLENT IMPERIALISM

There must be no change, however, he says, in the status of nations, nor the dependence of the small upon the large states. "It is inevitable", declares the Pope, "that the powerful states should, by reason of their greater potentialities and their power, play the leading role in the formation of economic groups comprising not only themselves but also smaller and weaker states be dependent simply upon the exercise of sweet charity by the leading powers.

For our part, we are not as pessimistic as the Pope. We believe that long before that millenium transpires, the masses of the world will have eliminated the causes for economic rivalries and national conflicts by the esnational social order. They will have found the roots of economic chaos and war within the social mechanism itself, and will have built an indestructible foundation

his employers.

On May 13 A. C. Williams, 22, dled with bullets from a band of Three white fellow employees masked men. Williams had been curred at Fort Benning, Ga.; of Robert Sapp, a mechanic's arrested for an alleged attempt-Quincy, Fla.; Blakely, Ga.; helper in Blakely, Fla., took him ed assault on a 12-year-old white Georgetown, S. C.; and in Gaston | a short distance out of town and | girl. The New York Times, May After being forced to bide its ers. It is a perfect example of County, near Cherryville, N. C. beat him with a club and a heavy 14, reported that four masked In Georgetown, S. C., five white piece of machine belting. On May men armed with pistols took Wilvoked by the bosses, who then youths were found guilty by a 12 he died from "pneumonia". liams from the county jail after

Increasing Pressure Draws Vichy Regime Closer to Nazis

The France of Petain and Weygand

The attitude taken by the democracies to Vichy France, and more particularly, to Weygand, has been attributed to the desire to encourage Vichy to resist Hitler's ever-increasing pressure. There cannot be any doubt that Hitler would like Petain to give up the French fleet and the naval and air bases in North Africa. The acquiescence on Vichy's part to any such demands would mean that France had reentered the war, but on Hit-

The Nazi strategy with respect to French "collaboration" has been to win over the French bourgeoisie on the basis of economic interests. The earlier stripping of French factories in order to supply needed machine replacements in Germany, was discontinued or at least not carried out universally. The big plants of French monopoly capitalism (Renault, Citroen) were left more or less intact. Germany has given these plants tremendous orders for the production of all kinds of munitions and war material. In this way the interests of French big capital thave been tied to those of the Nazis. Petain is thus under pressure of these interests to "collaborate" more and more fully.

Then too, the same motives exist that caused the French generals and the reactionary bourgeoisie to capitulate quickly to Hitler. If anything. these motives are all the stronger now. The capitalists feared a social revolution more than they feared Hitler. But this fear has not disappeared. The defeat of Hitler would raise the whole question of sovereign power in France. Who can doubt, for example, that defeat for Hitler would bring also the instantaneous disappearance of Petain and the collaborationists?

A Division of Labor

The French defeat in such rapid and stunning fashion left the political situation more or less suspended in air. The first impulse of the capitalists to place themselves under the protection of Hitler, gave way to doubts only when it became clear that England was still in the war. There then took place a division of labor in which the capitalists cautiously pushed out two wings to be ready for all eventualities. Laval-Darlan and Company became the outspoken proponents of collaboration with Hitler who, in their opinion, was certain to win the war. De Gaulle and his followers took their stand with England and the democracies. Petain tried to sit on the fence, facing first one way, then the other, but inclining more and more towards fascist Germany. Weygand was Vichy's timid tentacle reached out towards England, just in case. . .

The removal of Weygand unquestionably marks another step towards compliance with Hitler's demands. Petain would probably move faster in the direction of the Axis if he did not feel that an outright policy of this kind would arouse mass opposition in France. The policy of sitting tight and forcing concessions first from one camp and then from the other, has become out-dated. The contact-man with the democratic allies who could gain such concessions, Weygand, has gone. Furthermore Hitler can no longer afford patience with the defeated foe. His needs have become more urgent with the prolongation of the war. The defeats in both Libya and Russia demand a partial revision of strategy and greater pressure for French cooperation.

The war does not stand still. It continues to spread to ever new sections of the world. The west coast of Africa will probably become a new battle-ground. If it does, then South America may also be dragged into the maelstrom far more actively than was thought possible. United States entry into the struggle has made the issue of control of Dakar a critical one for both camps.

Political, Plus Military, Considerations

The question arises as to whether the role of Weygand is finished for both the French bourgeoisie and for the democracies. It does not necessarily follow that Weygand has been retired for good. It is strange to those who do not understand politics that there should have been any regret on the part of those who believe in democracy at the ousting of Weygand. He was the firmest supporter of all the reactionary and fascist elements of France before the war. It would be a mistake to think that it was only military considerations that motivated Churchill and others in their relations with the general.

Military considerations can never be completely divorced from political ones. The old aphorism of Clausewitz must always be remembered, that war is the extension of politics but by other means. The democratic allies have given recognition to a whole series of "free governments in exile" who represent for the most part only a hope in the future. But the question of such recognition is of great importance. It establishes "legitimacy" for the victorious allies. The aims of the war in the democratic camp include the reestablishing of capitalist governments in the conquered countries of Europe. The nuclei of such governments are maintained at the expense of the allied governments. Not only will they be set up again by force of allied arms-but they will be kept in power by that force of arms. That has been made clear by the Polish-Soviet treaty.

Weygand represented one possibility for legitimist succession in France. De Gaulle represents another such possibility. The allies withheld recognition from De Gaulle so long as there remained any way of influencing Vichy to resist Hitler. Should Petain capitulate completely, the allies will lose no time in giving complete recognition to De Gaulle and aiding him to seize as much of the French colonial possessions as possible - before Hitler does so.

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"Reentered as second class matter February 13, 1841 at the post office at New York, N. Y., under the Act of March 3, 1879."

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. Confiscation of all war profits. Expropriation of all war industries and their operation under workers' control.
- 5. For a rising scale of wages to meet the rising cost of living.
- 6. Workers Defense Guards against vigilante and fascist attacks.
- 7. An Independent Labor Party based on the Trade Unions.
- 8. A Workers' and Farmers' Government.

AFL Workers And **Our Military Policy**

The Navy Department has announced that on Dec. 7 and afterwards, hundreds of members of American Federation of Labor building trades workers at Guam, Midway and Wake Islands participated in actual fighting alongside of the regular armed forces.

The AFL Weekly News Service reports that these workers, "sent out to the Pacific outposts to build fortifications and airplane bases", "flung down the tools of their trade, picked up whatever weapons were at hand and fought valiantly. . ." The fate of the more than 400 AFL workers at Guam and Wake, captured by the Japanese, is still

The Trotskyist proposal for a system of "military training for the workers, financed by the government, but under the control of the trade unions," has met opposition from many corners. But if ever there was a verification of the correctness of a policy, it is the case of the AFL workers who came to erect buildings and found themselves fighting for their lives in the mid-Pacific.

We have pointed out again and again our opposition to sending workers into battle, ill-trained and equipped.

In modern, total warfare, the old distinction between the soldier and the civilian is rapidly diminishing. The workers cannot hide from the war. Where they do not go to it, it comes to them. We are opposed to exposing workers, as well as soldiers, to conditions of warfare for which they are totally unprepared.

Our answer is: Train the workers in the military arts. Teach them how to protect themselves. Introduce a bill into Congress appropriating money for this purpose. And let the workers get this training under the direction and control of their own organizations, the trade unions.

Island In Dispute

Loud were the howls of "shame" and "appeasement" from the liberal press when the State Department harshly protested the occupation of the Vichy-governed islands of St. Pierre and Miquelon by De Gaulle's "Free French" forces and rushed assurances to Hitler's puppets in Vichy that matters would soon be settled to their satisfaction.

The De Gaulle government is an officially recognized ally of the Allies. The Administration recently extended lease-lend aid to it. Canada recognizes it as the government of France. Above all, the Allied leaders have hailed General De Gaulle as the coming democratic liberator of France.

Moreover, the people of the islands voted by a 90 per cent majority in a plebiscite for the government of De Gaulle. True enough, this plebiscite was held with four warships in the offing and armed guards all around - not the most democratic way to decide questions - but not even Vichy has argued that the results are not a genuine expression of the sentiments of the population of St. Pierre and Miquelon.

However, the State Department is not moved by abstract sentiments. The people of the islands may hate the fascist-dominated Vichy government. They may prefer the De Gaulle government. But back under the control of Petain and Darlan must go the fisher-folk of St. Pierre and Miquelon, insists the State Department.

For the Vichy regime still has a navy. And it

is obvious that the State Department would like to have Vichy - and its navy - on the side of the Allies. In its conduct of this war for democracy, the State Department is most anxious to maintain friendly relations and even secure a formal war alliance with the regime which ruthlessly abolished the democratic rights of the French people.

It appears that the "so-called Free French", as the State Department calls them, are to be only a reserve, to be utilized in case Vichy, despite all the blandishments of the State Department, decides to definitely cast its lot with Hitler.

Truly this war for democracy seems to be moving in a mysterious way its wonders to perform.

Enemy Of Production

A Gallup Poll report issued Dec. 27 reveals the startling fact that sicknesses due largely to food deficiency caused an estimated loss of 24,000,000 man-days of work during the four week period Nov. 24-Dec. 20. 3,200,000 man-days of work were lost in direct war production.

The survey, which covered a cross-section of the entire working population, brought out the direct connection between the standard of living of the workers and their health. "A high proportion of people in poor health have poor diets," states the report, and adds:

"More than one-third of American families, or a total of approximately 12,000,000 families, say that lack of money for food impairs their health."

Here is glaringly revealed the great enemy of production. That enemy is capitalism itself, which breeds poverty and malnutrition and terrific loss of working energy even in so-called boom times.

But where is the whoop and the holler from irate Congressmen about this "defense sabotage?" They're too busy protecting the employers from strikes - strikes which have resulted in a fiftieth of the loss in working time due to sickness - to fight the ravages to health, life and production that stem from the ruthless exploitation of labor by the employers.

Navy Jim Crow

"With the announcement that Navy voluntary enlistments have fallen so far below par that it may be necessary to draft men for service, the first question that occurs to Negro Americans is, 'What will the Navy do about colored draftees?'

"If Secretary of the Navy Frank Knox thinks he has solved the race problem by putting colored sailors below stairs and holding them to servants' jobs he is going to have to change his mind. Far from solving anything, like all forms of segregation, this policy on the part of the U. S. Navy has served only to emphasize the hypocrisy in the appeal for national unity and the glowing pictures of the Navy as "democracy's' first line of defense."

Strong words? Certainly these words in the December issue of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People Bulletin are strong. But who is there to argue that they are not wholly justified?

Like everyone else, the Negro people in this country have been asked to make sacrifices in the name of a war for democracy. But the term democracy means different things to different people. To the employers it usually means the right to exploit labor and amass huge profits and to control the rich markets of the world. To some politicians it means the right to misrepresent the interests of the majority of the people who elected them. To the Southern poll-tax Congressmen it means the right to rule and legislate in the name of people who are not permitted to vote for or against them. Obviously when such people talk about fighting for democracy, they do not mean the same thing as a worker who wants to protect his living standards, his trade union, his civil

But what must it mean to the Negro people to be told that they must be ready to give up their lives for a democracy and at the same time to be told that they must fight for this democracy on the ships of the United States only as mess stewards, seagoing dishwashers and bootblacks?

What must it mean to them to be told that not only must they be second-class citizens in time of peace, so far as jobs and political and social equality are concerned, but that they must also be second-class sailors, not trained to fight but only to serve meals to the fighters?

What must they think about this kind of democracy, and what must they think about the kind of democracy they will have to go back to after the war is over?

The indignation of the Negro people and the N.A.A.C.P. on this score is so obviously justified that no one - neither Secretary Knox, nor his Bureau of Navigation — has ever dared to try to convince them that the Jim Crow policy of the Navy is correct and in the interests of democracy.

All Knox ever said on this question before the war was that these are not times in which to conduct experiments. And all his Department has said since the war began is that "there has been no change (in this policy). . . and for the time being no change is contemplated."

Since receiving this reply, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People has asked President Roosevelt, as Commander-in-Chief of the Army and Navy, to issue an immediate order to the Navy to abandon its Jim-Crow policy.

It is a request which will be fully supported by all those forces to whom democracy is not just a slogan or an abstraction, but an objective truly worth fighting and dying for. It is a request which must be supported above all by the labor movement, which together with all minorities has the most to lose from Jim Crowism, segregation and discrimination, wherever they exist.

On Guard Against The Stalinist Provocateurs!

Whole Labor Movement Must Be Alert to Oppose Stalinist Moves To Incite Lynch Terror Against Their Working Class Opponents

By ALBERT PARKER

The lewish Morning lournal, a newspaper published in ments to lynch violence and gov-New York, on Dec. 24 printed the following account of the con- ernmental repressions. Stalinism nection between the Stalinists and the attacks of the most reactionary forces in Britain on the revolutionists:

"Since the former Ambassador to Russia, Joseph E. Davies, came out with his well-known Trotsky of being in alliance with fication of previous slanders Japan and Germany to attack the against the Trotskyists, a new reactionary newspapers in London have begun a strong attack

"The Sunday Dispatch, one of the most reactionary newspapers in the country, which is also not free from anti-Semitism and formerly carried on a scurrilous campaign against the Communists, has now come out with a demand to intern all the Trotskyists because they are Stalin's enemies and kidden friends of Hitler's."

JUSTIFIED SUSPICION

The Morning Journal is not a radical paper; as a matter of fact it is probably the most conservative of the Jewish dailies. Yet it cannot help feeling suspicious of the motives of the Sunday Disfor its attacks on the labor movement and the Jewish people.

But the Morning Journal tells only part of the story. The Stalinists play a much more direct and recent part in these provocations than the mere authorship of the slanders retailed secondhand now by capitalist spokesmen such as Davies and Harry

Not only do the Stalinists provide the reactionaries with lies about the Trotskyists from the Moscow frameup trials of 1935-37, but they also manufacture FOR THEIR OWN ENDS new lies and incitements for use by the reactionaries today. The Sunday Dispatch of Nov. Stalinist frameups, lies, incite- Stalinists.

attack accusing the late Leon | 16, for example, printed, as veri-Soviet Union, several of the more | Communist Party manifesto which declared in part:

LYNCH INCITEMENT

against the English Trotskyists. "Don't be deceived by traitors who call themselves 'Socialists' to cover up their Fascist activi-

> "They aim to create disunity among the British people when all must pull together for the common good.

"They have nothing in common with the Labor, Trade Union or Communist organizations. They are doing Hitler's work in Britain. They are more deadly than paratroops. . ."

The manifesto concludes with the admonition: "Treat the Trotskyist as you would a Nazi."

Thus do the Stalinists provide lynch-inciting arguments for the patch in its attacks on the Trot- very same anti-labor newspaper skyists. For the Dispatch, part which only a few months ago was of the Tory Rothermere chain, is calling for the complete supprestruly one of the most reactionary sion of the Stalinists and urging newspapers in Britain, long noted its readers to treat the Stalinist as they would a Nazi!

Thus do the Stalinists, whose wn "Daily Worker" was suppressed and still is suppressed by the government which they are now supporting, appeal for suppression of the anti-fascist revolutionists by the same government and reactionary forces whose repressive measures were directed at themselves only yesterday and will most likely be directed at them again at the next turn of the wheel!

USE WAR HYSTERIA

country must be on guard against lagainst the provocations of the

is the syphilis of the labor movement not only in Britain but everywhere throughout the world. Its frameup and slander machine operates not only in the Soviet Union, but in the capitalist countries as well. Especially now, in the spirit of

general hysteria created by the war situation, militant workers everywhere must be on the alert to prevent the Stalinists, who cover their most reactionary policies with loud protestations of patriotism, from arousing lynch spirit against working class opponents of Stalinism.

Undoubtedly their provocations against the Trotskyists will be the fiercest because the Trotskyists are the most uncompromising opponents of their treachery and degeneration. But it would be a mistake to assume that such incitement will be directed at the Trotskyists alone.

Already in this country they have launched the most vicious attacks against the Norman Thomas Socialists, in no way connected with the Trotskyists or their policies. And they will not stop there. In their drive for totalitarian repressions against all opponents of their policies, they will stop at nothing. Trotskyists and Socialists are likened to the Nazis today, and tomorrow it will be any militant worker or group who wants to offer resistance to the attacks on their rights or living standards launched by employers who, like the Stalinists, are only too ready to utilize the war situation and hysteria to achieve their anti-labor objectives.

That is why all organizations and all workers who sincerely want to defend civil liberties and workers' rights in war time as well The labor movement in this as in peace, must rally together

How British Bosses Get Rich On Cost Plus 10%

(How the leading British industrialists have been milking huge profits out of the war program and safeguarding their monopolies at the expense of production is told in the following excerpts from the pamphlet, "Production Committees and the Soviet Union", published by the Revolutionary Socialist League, British Trotskyists.)

The British Iron and Steel Federation includes all the biggest armament firms and before the war was built up with the aid of the banks into "one of the tightest and most restrictive monopolies this country has ever known." (Economist, May 10, 1940) It is directly represented in the War Cabinet by Sir

Andrew Duncan, its former exebanks and the industrialists are cost plus 100 per cent or more. all implicated.

The industry was built chiefly on imported iron ore from Scandinavia and Spain. These sources are no longer available but there is a determined resistance to developing home produced ore. This would involve a change of technique and reduced profits. The steel monopolists also hope that foreign ore-fields in which they are financially interested will resume paying them dividends.

Monopolization and Government subsidies have prevented the modernization of the notoriously out-moded British blast furnaces. The number in operation dropped from 394 in 1922 to 200 in 1937. Even as compared with 1937, the Daily Mirror ted as costs and profits allowed firms which the monopolies want estimates that present production is less by 20 per cent. It can is paid before the dividend is declearly be seen that this "restric- clared. Other huge sums are put tive monopoly" is responsible for aside for exceptional war risks. the shortage of steel.

COST PLUS 10 PER CENT

In the transformation of the steel into armaments the profit motive is still more glaringly demonstrated. The "cost plus 10 per cent" contract is no worse than the "Target Price" or "fixed price" contracts but it is the hole for increasing profits. This best known and will serve for the purpose of illustration.

Ten per cent is indeed a high ed entirely for capitalists. rate of profit and when we recognize that 20 per cent of the excess profits is to be refunded sub-contract much work. Several to the capitalists after the war, different sub-contracting firms it becomes even more generous. complete one part in the process

cutive head and director of the But on the face of it there ap-Bank of England. If, therefore, pears to be a limitation of profprofiteering and inefficiency are its. In practice this is not so. established, the Government, the Cost plus 10 per cent becomes

The capitalist intentionally increases costs so that his profit will increase. This is done in a great variety of ways, open and obscure. Additional directors are created and the fees of the older ones increased. Members of the family or friends are enabled to avoid military service and are paid a princely sum for doing after the war there will be a re- so. All sorts of additional exeturn to the old methods, and the cutive posts are created for nonentities whose only function is to get in the way or run around in powerful cars paid for from "costs of production."

Excessive sums are put aside for "depreciation" with Government sanction. Money spent on extending or improving the fac- fact, several prosecutions have tory (thereby adding to the real assets of the owners) is calculaon it. All income tax and surtax All modifications to new types of | be exempted from publishing acarmaments are included in costs. Production is held up for months the workers in the war industries while ridiculous modifications who are becoming suspicious of suggested by so-called experts the orgy of profiteering. Despite are piling up costs. Expert legal all the tricks of the legal experts advisers are engaged to falsify the books and seize on every loopis called "robbing the National Exchequer". It is a game reserv-

But this is not the end of the profit making. The big firms

of production. These smaller firms are usually subsidiaries of the larger one. At each stage in the manufacture the same process is gone through and the cumulative profit piles up to record heights. And the representatives of this gigantic swindle occupy directing posts in the govern-

THE CHAOS EXTENDS

Even the scrap iron merchants have their federation which insists that no scrap can be sent directly to the factories. This means that hundreds of trucks and wagons are engaged in centralizing scrap before taking it back again, often to the district from which it came. It is also a common practice for firms controlling various stages in different plants to have their steel supplied only by their own subsidiaries. These may be located hundred of miles away and adds to the chaos in the transport and railway systems. It may be that ample supplies are quite close at hand but this would mean yielding some of their profits to a rival and that is out of the ques-

The government, of course, has power to prosecute firms for gross mismanagement and, in taken place. But these prosecutions have been against small to drive out of business.

And now, in the interests of witholding information from the enemy, a number of firms are to counts. The enemy in this case is and accountants the published figures show a continual rise in profits. This, plus the inefficiency and mismanagement of which every engineering worker has experience, is causing deep dissatis-

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Goldman's Article In The March 29 Militant

(In the recent Minneapolis "sedition" trial, Albert Goldman's article in the Mar. 29, 1941 MILITANT was introduced as evidence of the Socialist Workers Party position on war and fascism. During Goldman's final argument to the jury, now being printed in this paper, he made numerous references to this article. In response to numerous requests, we are reprinting

QUESTION: When you say that this is an imperialist war both on the side of Britain and Germany do you mean to say that you don't care who wins and that you contemplate a victory of Hitler without being disturbed by it?

ANSWER: It means nothing of the kind. When we characterize the war as imperialist, and say that all of the imperialist countries involved are fighting for their imperialist interests and not for or against democracy, we thereby simply indicate that it is impermissible for us as revolutionists to support either

QUESTION: But then it means, does it not, that you are willing to sit back and permit Hitler to conquer Britain and the United States?

ANSWER: No, it does not. It simply means that our task in this war is different from the task of the imperialists. They want to defeat their rival to protect their imperialist interests. We cannot and must not support them in such a task. Our task is to organize the working class for the purpose of taking over power and transforming this war into a real war for democracy.

QUESTION: But you claim to be revolutionary defeatists and that means that you want your country defeated by Hitler, isn't that so?

ANSWER: Not at all. Any one who says so either does not understand what revolutionary defeatism is or he is simply a vicious slanderer. We are more interested in defeating Hitler than is Churchill or Roosevelt. Both of these representatives of the capitalist rulers of their country can easily come to terms with Hitler.

QUESTION: But are you not helping Hitler win by not supporting the war?

ANSWER: Not in the least. All that we are doing now is educating the workers to our point of view. We are telling them the truth as to the character of the war and what to do to win the war against all the capitalists. Both our members and the workers whom we influence must go to war and do what they are told by the rulers of this country. So long as we do not have a majority behind us we are in no position to do anything except obey orders. It is true that we do not assume responsibility for this war in any way whatever, but to draw from that fact the conclusion that we thereby help Hitler win, lacks logic and common sense. The conduct of the war against Hitler is in the hands of Roosevelt and Churchill representing the American and British capitalists. That is unfortunate, and we are trying to convince the majority of the working class that they should take the power of government and the conduct of the war into their own hands, but we defy anybody to show that we are doing a single thing that helps Hitler, the greatest enemy of the working class.

QUESTION: But I am given to understand that, if the U.S. went to war against Hitler or against Japan, your party would try to prevent war materials from being shipped for the purpose of fighting the Japanese or the German armed forces.

ANSWER: I don't know who gave you to understand such a nonsensical idea, but I can tell you that there is absolutely nothing to it. We do not in individual action nor in the action of small groups. As I said before, until we gain a majority to our ideas there is nothing for us to do but to educate workers until we get a majority.

QUESTION: Then there is nothing to the idea that your policy of revolutionary defeatism has anything to do with sabotage?

ANSWER: Absolutely nothing. Reactionary redbaiters and those who know nothing about our program try to connect us with sabotage. Revolutionary defeatism to us is a political concept. It simply indicates that we do not support the war and that we carry on the class struggle at home regardless of the fact that it might have some effect on the front.

QUESTION: Doesn't that mean, then, that you would do certain things which interfere with the conduct of the war?

ANSWER: It means that we advise the workers to continue their struggle against the bosses at home, and if that affects the conduct of the war the blame is entirely on the bosses and their government. Why should the workers not take advantage of the increase in production due to war orders in order to organize themselves and better their conditions? The bosses are making huge profits; the cost of living is going up. It would be extremely foolish for the workers to be influenced by the propaganda of the bosses and refrain from demanding better conditions because such demands interfere with the conduct of the war. Let the capitalists grant the demands and then there will be no interference.

QUESTION: But then, if you will succeed in getting a majority of the workers behind you and try to take over the government, the capitalists will resist and will that not give Hitler a chance to win

ANSWER: I don't think so, but if we have a majority of the workers behind us, we must take that chance. Because if the workers take over power, Hitler is sure to be defeated, while if we let the capitalists stay in power, Hitler's chances of victory are much greater. Look what happened to France. The capitalists were in control. And they led the war in a miserable manner and capitulated in a miserable manner. Why? Because important sections of the French capitalist class sympathized with Hitler and other sections were afraid that a French victory would lead to a workers' revolution. In general, the capitalist class cannot inspire the masses with the confidence and the determination to fight to the death against fascism. A workers' government has a thousand times better chance to win the war against Hitler. If the capitalists resist the attempt of the working class to take over power they will, to that extent, interfere with our struggle against Hitler; but it is far better for us to take that risk than to let the capitalist class continue to rule. For if the workers let the capitalists rule we will be conquered by fascism - either by a victory of Hitler or of the fascists in our own country.

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