

The Only Real Defense Of The Soviet Union

An Appeal To The Members Of The Communist Party

Fellow Workers of the Communist Party:

The defense of the Soviet Union against the Nazi imperialist attack is the task of every class-conscious worker. Nearly twenty-four years ago the Russian workers overthrew their capitalist rulers and nationalized the land and all other means of production. This was the greatest forward step taken by any people in the history of mankind. The Russian Revolution of October, 1917, set up the first fortress of the world revolution. If the workers of the world are to advance to a new socialist order, that fortress has to be defended, those great proletarian conquests have to be preserved.

But how is the Soviet Union to be defended by American workers? By British workers? By German workers? What is the road to follow? *What can be done?* If we answer this question correctly and act accordingly, the workers of the world can yet save the earth from the horrors of imperialist war and set it on the road to socialism.

This is an hour of the gravest danger for the Soviet Union and for the world revolution. This is an hour when every revolutionist must weigh his responsibilities and the policies of his leaders. You set the defense of the Soviet Union as your first task. We do likewise. On that basis we appeal to you to give sober consideration to the grave problems of this defense.

Your National Committee has issued a manifesto (*Daily Worker*, June 30) in which it sets out the road it asks you to follow in defending the Soviet Union. This turns out to be the road you travelled once before—the road of the People's Front. This was the road that led to disaster in Spain and France, the road that led to the Stalin-Hitler pact and the outbreak of the imperialist war and, finally, to the imperialist attack on the USSR.

We ask you to pause before making this blind turn in the dark. We ask you to stop and think: **Where will this lead us? How will this defend the Soviet Union?**

Your National Committee's basic proposition now is that "the involvement of the Soviet Union in the war has changed the character of the war." That is, it is no longer an imperialist war.

Last week Britain, the United States and Germany were at war for a redivision of the spoils of the world—fighting to exploit enslaved peoples and the wealth of the earth for the benefit of small groups of super-capitalists. Has this changed within a week?

Are Britain and the United States fighting one whit less for their imperialist interests than they were before June 22, the day Hitler invaded the U.S.S.R.? Has anything changed? Has Roosevelt ceased his anti-labor drive? Has he abandoned his steady progress toward a wartime dictatorship over the American workers, the stamping out of every hard-fought right of labor? On the contrary, during the past week, we have seen the FBI raid in Minneapolis, the most flagrant use so far of the FBI as a union-busting body.

Has Churchill suddenly ceased to be the representative of an imperialist empire which holds half a billion people in the chains of colonial slavery?

No, you cannot believe there has been a change. An imperialist power cannot wage any kind of war but an imperialist war.

Yet your National Committee calls now for a People's Front with the Roosevelts and Churchills. You are called upon to support the very people who, in the words of your own William Z. Foster less than two weeks ago, are "war-mongering imperialists" preparing "Hitlerite terrorism" against the American workers.

A week ago you were opposing this campaign of Roosevelt terrorism. Today you are asked to support it. You will have to go along with the vicious attack on unions, on the standard of living of the workers. You will have to go along with oppression of Negroes. You will have to go along with open and unashamed capitalist war-mongers. This is the policy of the "People's Front."

Do you think that by abandonment of the struggles of the workers you will facilitate Roosevelt's 'aid' to the Soviet Union? Don't be fooled. Any 'aid' that imperialist Britain and imperialist United States give to the Soviet Union now is not to bring about a Soviet victory over the Nazis. It will be given only to serve imperialist calculations in Washington and London. The last thing they want is a Soviet victory!

The Roosevelts and Churchills and their spokesmen do not conceal the fact that it is their dearest hope to see the Soviet Government overthrown as a result of this war. And don't make any mistake about it: the moment conditions are favorable to them they will help bring about such an overthrow. They tried it twenty years ago. They will try it again. And if you give them your support now you are helping them in their plans. You are not helping the workers of the Soviet Union.

The Soviet Union is now compelled to enter into temporary alliances with capitalist powers, but only the Soviet England and Soviet America of tomorrow will insure to the Soviet Union the international working class support it needs to survive. That means that only by helping to bring about the overthrow of capitalism right here at home will we be serving the interests of the Soviet Union. Any other road will lead to defeat for the workers of the U.S.S.R. and fascist enslavement over the face of the globe.

You are being asked to make another dizzy shift in policy because Stalin's situation has been changed by Hitler's attack. You are asked now to revert to your old disastrous policy as though nothing had happened in between.

But something has happened. Stalin's policies have alienated the sympathies of millions of workers everywhere. They have sown confusion and chaos. You won't help defend the Soviet Union now by obeying Stalin's command to throw your arms around the necks of the imperialist bosses. You won't win workers' support for the Soviet cause by abandoning their struggles and asking them to bend docilely to the capitalist yoke.

Comrades of the Communist Party—only by deepening the revolutionary struggle, fighting ceaselessly against the imperialist war, capitalist terror, can you march side by side with the Red Army in its defense against Hitler. Not a People's Front with the bosses, but a workers' front of struggle! This is the only real defense of the Soviet Union. And in this defense we stand ready to join you in any action that will advance our common cause.

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UNION-BUSTING FBI RAIDS TROTSKYIST HEADQUARTERS

Boss Paper Gives The Show Away



This headline in the St. Paul DISPATCH, June 28, gives the show away about the real reasons for the government's move to get indictments, on charges of "seditious conspiracy," against leaders of the Socialist Workers Party. Acting Attorney General Biddle said: "The prosecution is not in any sense an attack on organized labor." The bosses know better—as this headline in the local boss press shows.

Why The American Gestapo Attacks Socialist Workers Party

For the first time in American history the Federal Government, operating through its Gestapo-FBI, has openly taken sides in a dispute between two factions in the trade union movement—the fight between Local 544-CIO of Minneapolis, representing progressive industrial unionism, and Tobin's moth-eaten AFL craft setup.

For the first time before a formal declaration of war Federal prosecution, designed to silence the voice of protest against Roosevelt's imperialist war program, has been instituted—the raids upon the Socialist Workers Party headquarters in Minneapolis and St. Paul and the Acting Attorney General's move to indict the party's members and militant unionists.

These unprecedented actions have come as a shock to the entire labor movement, especially to its most progressive and now dominant sector, the CIO; and to all those who still retain a certain respect for democratic rights and civil liberties. There is, nevertheless, a profound logic in the persecutions and prosecutions instigated at this time and in this place and against the specifically-designated victims. This must be understood if the fight against these outrages is to be waged successfully.

The United States is on the eve of war. As part of his preparations for complete participation in the war, Roosevelt seeks to remove from the scene militant unionism and militant opposition to his war plans.

In pursuit of his starkly reactionary aims, Roosevelt has accurately chosen Minneapolis as the place to launch his attack. For Minneapolis is the home of Local 544-CIO, renowned for its militancy and its progressive union policies, and regarded as the spearhead of the most progressive forces in the trade union movement. Local 544-CIO has a capable and honest leadership. Its rank and file have been trained and steeled in battle. Since its famous strikes of 1934 electrified the nation, the bosses and all their agents have been unable to break that powerful union. The mighty bureaucratic machine of Tobin's Teamsters International, with its treasure-chest of six million dollars, could not tame 544. Even Roosevelt's public declaration of June 13—an action without precedent in the history of the American Labor movement—could not intimidate the rank and file of 544 or swing the tide in Tobin's favor. The workers held fast to their slogan: "We made Minneapolis a Union Town—Let's keep it that way!"

Nothing remained for Roosevelt-Tobin save to call upon the Gestapo-FBI. Far from being a disgrace, this is the greatest tribute that could be paid to the magnificent union which has become the cornerstone of progressive labor in Min-

neapolis and the Northwest. The sympathy of every honest trade unionist, the solidarity of every progressive body of labor, will go out to Local 544-CIO in its struggle against the union-busting activities of the FBI. The workers will rally to its defense, realizing that the prosecution against the Minneapolis motor transport workers is, as the Department of Justice brazenly announces, "only the first step" in the Federal government's nation-wide drive against "radicals"—a drive, in reality, against the independence of the trade unions.

Minneapolis is more than the vanguard of the American labor movement. It is also the traditional center of opposition to imperialist war. Thus Roosevelt has a double reason for starting his prosecutions in the capital of the Northwest where, in the last elections, the "Trotskyist Anti-War Candidate" received almost 9,000 votes.

The people against whom the FBI prosecutions are being directed are designated as members of the Socialist Workers Party—the Trotskyists.

This, too, is profoundly logical, as Roosevelt rushes into the war. The Communist Party, on behalf of its master, Stalin, has returned to support of Roosevelt. Now it becomes crystal-clear to all militant workers that the only consistent opponents of the imperialist war are the Trotskyists. All the slanders of the Stalinists, all the Moscow frameups, the assassination of Leon Trotsky, have failed to confuse either the capitalist masters or the workers of the United States. Both know the real truth about the Trotskyists. They know that the followers of the martyred Trotsky are the banner-bearers of the revolutionary ideas and traditions of the great Bolshevik movement of Marx and Lenin. That is why Roosevelt wishes to outlaw our party as part of his war preparations.

While the Communist Party is overnight transforming itself into an ultra-patriotic gang and showing its 'yellow colors,' we Trotskyists remain true to our red banner, our revolutionary program, our fight against imperialist war, our struggle for socialism.

We retract nothing, we repent nothing! We will not retreat an inch! We are going to carry forward to ever-wider sections of the working class population the fight in defense of our democratic rights. In doing so we shall be dealing a timely and telling blow to every reactionary move and measure against the rights and liberties of the entire labor movement.

We call upon every serious worker, every honest friend of democratic rights, to assist us in our fight. Together we shall beat back the attacks of reaction and go forward to a better world.

Moves To Indict Party Leaders, Union Militants

"Seditious Conspiracy" Charge Designed To Aid Minneapolis Employers And Tobin In Their Attempt To Crush Local 544-CIO

BULLETIN

MINNEAPOLIS, July 1—A federal grand jury convened today on instructions of the U. S. Department of Justice, as the government hastily moved to indict Socialist Workers Party leaders and militant unionists, on charges of "seditious conspiracy." Presentation of the prosecution's case, stated the Attorney General's office, will take "from ten days to two weeks."

The jury of twenty men and three women is almost entirely made up of residents from rural areas. Not a single resident of Minneapolis is on it.

The American Civil Liberties Union has sent a telegram of protest to Acting Attorney General Biddle, urging "reconsideration" of the prosecution and terming it "obviously dangerous to the preservation of democracy." As for the statutes under which the indictments are sought, the

Civil Liberties Union characterized them as "hostile to constitutional guarantees and in our judgment the statutes could not withstand a court test." Meanwhile the State Labor Board yesterday began holding hearings on the demand of Local

544-CIO that elections be held in every section of the trucking industry to establish the democratic wishes of the workers on what union they wish to belong to. Tobin's AFL crew is attempting to obstruct the holding of such elections.

MINNEAPOLIS, June 30—The Federal Government sliced into the tense and turbulent trade-union struggle in the Twin Cities when two separate squads of U.S. marshals and FBI agents raided the Minneapolis and St. Paul headquarters of the Socialist Workers Party last Friday.

The raiders carried off several boxes full of THE MILITANT, "The Fourth International" and other Trotskyist publications, two Socialist Workers Party flags, photos of Lenin and Trotsky, and literary material on public sale at the party offices.

These raids were made after Daniel J. Tobin, head of the AFL Teamsters, had called on his political boss, President Roosevelt, to help him crush Local 544-CIO, the Minneapolis truck-drivers. After Tobin's vicious red-baiting attacks, his 300 imported hoodlums, and his pack of International and AFL officials on the spot had failed to smash Local 544-CIO, Roosevelt, following up his public declaration of June 13 against the Minneapolis teamsters, ordered the Department of Justice to take action against the union and its leadership.

FBI MEN POUR IN

Accordingly FBI men were sent into the Twin Cities, followed by Henry A. Schweinhaut, special assistant U. S. attorney-general, who arrived early in the week to take charge of the raids and prosecutions. (Continued on page 3)

INDICTMENTS ARE NEXT

Immediately after the raids, Acting Attorney General Francis Biddle, who had authorized them, announced in Washington that criminal proceedings for alleged "seditious conspiracy to advocate overthrow of the government of the United States by force and

SWP Demands Stalin Release Political Prisoners

The release of all the Trotskyist and other pro-Soviet political prisoners, so that they may be able to take their rightful place in the front ranks of the defenders of the Soviet Union, was demanded of Stalin by the Socialist Workers Party, in a telegram sent Tuesday.

Addressed to Constantine Oumansky, Soviet Ambassador at Washington, the telegram asked

him to convey the following message to Premier Joseph Stalin:

"Trotskyists all over the world, now as always, are solidly for the defense of the Soviet Union. In this hour of grave danger to the achievements of the October revolution, we demand that you release all Trotskyist and other pro-Soviet political prisoners who are now

in jails and in concentration camps, to enable them to take their proper place in the front ranks of the defenders of the Soviet Union. Your crushing of workers' democracy has increased the terrible danger to the Soviet Union. We demand the revival of Soviet democracy as the first step in strengthening the struggle

against German Nazi imperialism and the capitalist world.

JAMES P. CANNON,
National Secretary,
Socialist Workers Party

Among the political prisoners in Stalin's concentration camps are thousands of Red Army officers trained by Marshal Tukhachevsky (shot in 1937), who ably reorgan-

ized the Red Army on Blitzkrieg lines.

The best of the Bolsheviks are dead, murdered by Stalin. The most supreme tragedy of all for the Soviet Union is that Leon Trotsky, founder of the Red Army, was murdered on August 20, 1940 by Stalin's GPU. The rest of Lenin's Political Committee was destroyed by Stalin in the Moscow Trials.

But those political victims who survived and who are now in concentration camps and jails are available and willing to defend the Soviet Union. They must be released! Every worker should raise his voice to demand that these, the best defenders of the Soviet Union, be permitted to take their place in the front ranks.

