

## New GPU Plot to Free Trotsky's Assassin

By Natalia Trotsky

— See page 3 —

# THE MILITANT

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# SWP, 544-CIO DEFENDANTS ARRAIGNED

One Year Passes...

## Trotskyism Leads Workers' Anti-War Fight

One year ago, on August 21, 1940, Leon Trotsky fell, a victim of the pickaxe blows of a GPU assassin. The capitalist world could scarcely conceal its exultation at the invaluable service Stalin had rendered to it. The murder of Trotsky, they thought, meant the end of Trotskyism.

But Trotsky was a mason who built on firm foundations for the future. His power sprang from the power of his ideas, and in the year since Trotsky's death, these imperishable ideas have reached broader circles of the oppressed in many lands. Our party, founded upon Trotsky's teachings, thrives amidst adversity and brings Trotsky's program of revolutionary struggle to wider sections of the American working class.

Both by words and by deeds do the chief political representatives of American imperialism give testimony to the living power of Trotskyism. Last week Senator Barkley, Roosevelt's Democratic Majority Leader in the Senate, explained to his less enlightened colleagues why the capitalist masters of the world can place confidence in Stalinism but can never make their peace with the uncompromising Trotskyist revolutionists.

Speaking in defense of Stalin as a trustworthy ally of American imperialism, Barkley declared:

"When they (the Russian people after the revolution of 1917) started out, they had a vague, fantastic notion that they could socialize or communize the world; and the fundamental difference between Stalin and Trotsky was over that question. Trotsky, as I understand the matter, was a world revolutionist, while Stalin took the position that the Russian Government owed its first duty to the Russian people... the fight between Trotsky and Stalin revolved around the question whether they should undertake to revolutionize the world or should concentrate on Russia. Stalin won, and Trotsky had to leave the country." (Congressional Record, Aug. 5, 1941, P. 6908)

The political heads of the War Party appraise Stalinism and Trotskyism very soberly amongst themselves. They understand the main difference between them very well. Stalin's program is quite congenial to them. This renegade, they assert, has abandoned the "vague, fantastic notion" that other peoples than the Russian should overthrow their capitalist oppressors; and, in accordance with this policy, Stalin is easy to deal with. Barkley may confuse Stalin's concern for his bureaucratic regime with a sense of "duty to the Russian people," but he knows full well that Stalin is ready to barter away the independence and interests of the working class upon the demand of his imperialist allies.

It is quite otherwise with the Trotskyists. We stand forth, today as always, irreconcilable enemies of imperialism and its wars. Our program for defending the Soviet Union calls upon the workers in all capitalist countries to continue their struggle for workers' power.

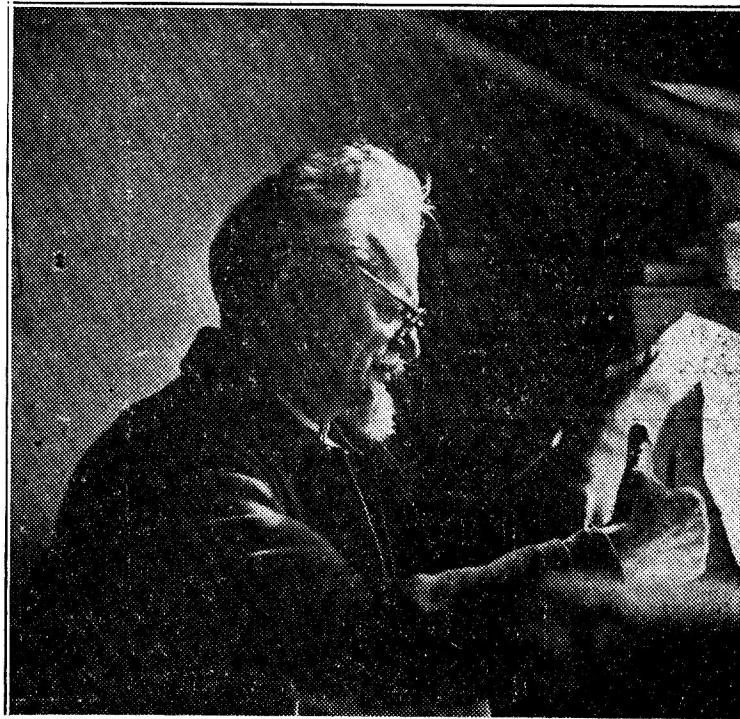
On Monday in St. Paul, Minnesota, the leaders of our party were arraigned, together with members of Motor Transport and Allied Workers Union, Local 544-CIO, before a Federal court on charges of "conspiracy to overthrow the Government." Our party is persecuted and its leaders arrested on trumped-up charges for our uncompromising fight against Wall Street's war. The militant leaders of Local 544-CIO are there beside them because they could not surrender to Dictator Tobin the independence, democratic rights and militant policies of the Minneapolis teamsters' movement.

By this outrageous prosecution, Barkley's boss, Franklin D. Roosevelt, recognizes in his own reactionary way the living force of Trotskyism. In hounding the Trotskyists, Roosevelt follows in the footsteps of Stalin, Hitler, Mussolini, Petain and all the other autocrats who seek to suppress revolutionary socialism. The watchdogs of American imperialism pay involuntary tribute to our party as the only irreconcilable opponent of the moneybags, their system of exploitation, and their war.

The indictment charges the Socialist Workers Party with advocating the principles of Lenin and Trotsky and with holding up the October revolution, led by Lenin and Trotsky, as a model for the workers of the world to follow. To this "charge," we proudly plead guilty.

We are Trotsky's disciples, as Trotsky was a disciple of Marx and Lenin. Trotsky's heroic life, his unyielding devotion to the workers and their cause, his unyielding stand before ceaseless persecution, his contempt for his persecutors, his measureless confidence in the ultimate victory of world socialism inspires the ranks of our party. We honor Trotsky by remaining true to his teachings and by imitating his example. As soldiers of the proletarian revolution, we remain at our posts under fire and will not cease our struggle until the cause of world socialism is won.

Leon Trotsky, Nov. 7, 1879-Aug. 21, 1940



(Above) Lenin and Trotsky, co-leaders and organizers of the October Revolution of 1917, shown reviewing a Red Army parade during the early days of the Soviet Union when Trotsky, as head of the Soviet Army, led it to victory.

(Left) Trotsky, working on the manuscript of his book on Stalin, finished shortly before his death on August 21, 1940, at the hands of a GPU assassin.

## Auto Convention Groups Line Up Around North American Issue

Delegates Reject Hillmanite Report; But Addes Compromises With Frankenstein

BUFFALO, August 12—The character of the two main contending groups among the leadership of the United Automobile Workers (CIO), the Addes-Lewis and the Reuther-Hillman forces, was clearly outlined this week as the auto workers' convention here fought out the issue of the North American Aviation strike on the west coast.

By an unprincipled deal with Richard Frankenstein, the strikebreaking director of the aviation section of the union, who dictatorially jerked the charter of the North American Local 683, and welcomed the troops which broke the picket lines, the Addes caucus basic issues, and sown confusion and not a little disgust among the ranks of the militant delegates

who hoped to rally behind Addes against the pro-Hillman, pro-OPM Reuther.

Addes, who had spoken before of a "basic fight against the OPM and for the principles of a union which will fight for the interests of the workers independently of OPM control" has now adjusted his line to his bloc with Frankenstein and watered down his program.

The North American case was brought on the convention floor by the Grievance Committee. The committee was divided into three groups. The majority report, reflecting Reuther's group, demanded that Lew Michener, California Regional Director and In-

ternational Board member of the UAW, be barred from holding any office, elective or appointive, for one year, and that the Executive Board of the International supervise the affairs of California Region 6.

"SUPER-MINORITY" REPORT  
A minority report, reflecting the extreme right wing, demanded that Michener be expelled from the International, and that all union representatives who defied Frankenstein be barred from elective or appointive office for five years.

A "super-minority" report projected by one member of the grievance committee asked that Michener be deprived of the right to run for the International Board for one year, but be allowed to hold appointive posts.

The super-minority report was supported by the Addes caucus.

None of the reports supported the North American workers who went out on a perfectly justified strike. None of the reports exposed the strikebreaking role of Frankenstein. The Addes caucus, having made a deal with Frankenstein, could not attack him by telling the truth about the North American strike.

RANK AND FILE BRINGS OUT REAL ISSUES

But more than one rank-and-file delegate insisted on bringing out the real issues. Everett (Continued on page 2)

## Cannon-for-Mayor Petition Drive Wins Anti-War Workers' Support

The campaign to place the name of James P. Cannon, National Secretary of the Socialist Workers Party, on the ballot as the Trotskyist Anti-War candidate for Mayor of New York City is moving at blitzkrieg pace.

Less than two weeks after the start of the campaign, the members and sympathizers of the New York Local of our party have secured over 40 per cent of the required minimum of 7,500 signatures.

The campaign committee has called for an extra effort in order to get 7,500 signatures by August 21, the first anniversary of the death of Leon Trotsky.

The total quota set by the Local is 15,000 signatures, double the required amount. This is to allow for signatures which may be disqualified.

Our candidate, J. P. Cannon, is one of the 29 defendants now under federal indictment on a frame-up charge of "planning to overthrow the government by force and violence." The campaign to place him on the ballot for mayor of the largest city in the country is our party's answer to the vicious attempt of Roosevelt and his War Party to stifle the voice of the militant anti-war forces in America.

Each day brings in encouraging reports of the tremendous anti-war sentiment in this city and of the wide-spread sympathy and response to our program. In all five boroughs, and among all nationalities and races, workers are signing the Cannon petitions eagerly.

Many workers in the garment area are taking the MILITANT and listening to our canvassers. One truck-boy, who wheels little hand-trucks loaded with goods through the heavy traffic all day, signed the petition and spoke up: "We know what it's all about. We sweat and slave for peanuts and they sit in their swivel chairs and drink all day. We got to have

called and it looks as if this will be my last chance to express my opposition to the war. I have faced a lot of discrimination here, but from what I've heard, the Army is going to be a lot worse."

Friends and sympathizers of the party, who want to help our anti-war fight, are urged to come to the Cannon-for-Mayor campaign headquarters at 116 University Place, secure petition blanks, and start work to place the name of James P. Cannon on the ballot.

## Navy May 'Seize' Kearny Shipyard

KEARNY, New Jersey, August 11—Acting at the wired request of L. H. Korndorff, president of the Federal Shipbuilding and Drydock Company, the Navy Department has indicated that it will take over the company's huge plant here "within the next 48 hours" in an effort to resume production on \$500,000,000 of war orders tied up by the strike of 16,000 workers. The strike was called at midnight August 6 by Local 16, Industrial Union of Marine and Shipbuilding Workers (CIO).

This move of the company, undoubtedly initiated after an understanding with the Navy Department, is intended to halt the strike and forestall the signing of a union contract on terms recommended by the National Mediation Board and accepted by the union.

Korndorff's telegram to Secretary of the Navy Knox—who had already indicated that preparations to "seize" the plant were virtually completed—"of-

ferred our shipyard" to the government for "immediate possession and operation."

The telegram declared that the company would rather "give" the plant to the government than yield to a strike which "involves no issue but the maintenance of the open shop."

This refers to the modified union-shop clause which the union demands in its contract. This clause would require that workers who have joined or will join the union continue in good standing in the union or face dismissal. The National Mediation Board, in its recommendations following weeks of negotiations in Washington, agreed to the inclusion of this clause in the contract.

The company turned down not only the union's original demands but the Board's watered-down proposals, and thus precipitated the strike. Although the old contract expired June 24, the union first submitted its case to the NDMB, and even cut down its

original demands to avoid a strike.

It is clear that the company stands to gain by the Navy Department taking over the plant, since the owners are assured by law of "just compensation" and the Navy Department follows a strict policy of granting no union contracts and upholds the open-shop in all plants and shipyards under its management.

The union made a serious mistake in asking the government to take over the plant shortly after the strike was under way. The idea that the government, which broke the North American Aviation plant strike with regular army troops, would "seize" the plant in the interests of the workers is completely false. The only way in which such "seizure" could operate to the workers' benefit would be if the plant were placed under the control and management of the workers themselves. The Navy Department will, in effect, "seize" the plant here for the identical purpose

## Early Trial Is Being Demanded By Government

Prosecution Insists On Rushing Trial Date To Railroad Anti-War Fighters; Seeks To Deny Defendants Time To Prepare Case

— BULLETIN —

MINNEAPOLIS, August 11—Tonight, eleven hours after the leaders of Local 544-CIO were arraigned on the charge of "conspiracy to overthrow the government," the unholy alliance of Tobin-Roosevelt-bosses got a plain answer from the truck-drivers of Minneapolis to the government's attempt to intimidate them by hounding their leaders. The answer was the regular monthly membership meeting of the union.

The union hall was packed with over 1,000 members. After sixty days of Blitzkrieg by government and Tobin's thugs, despite all the enormous pressure put on them, these men came out and showed where they stood.

That's only half the story. The other half is that at the same hour the Tobin AFL "union" was also meeting. Including Tobin's thugs, all the noses you could count in Tobin's hall amounted to 56.

Count them: 1,000 for the CIO against 56 for the AFL.

There's the answer to Tobin and the Department of Justice!

MINNEAPOLIS, August 11—The 29 defendants in the U.S. Department of Justice's "seditious conspiracy" case against the Socialist Workers Party and Local 544-CIO were arraigned here today before U. S. District Court Judge Robert C. Bell, and pleaded not guilty.

"The government insists that this trial be the first on the docket when court convenes on September 23rd," said U. S. District Attorney Victor Anderson, as he interposed objections to the request of the defendants' attorneys for adequate time to prepare oral argument on motions seeking dismissal of the indictment.

The defense had asked for ninety days in which to prepare for argument of the motions. Judge Bell gave the defense three weeks—up to Sept. 1—in which to file its motions in written form, and the date for oral argument will be set by Judge M. M. Joyce, who will be sitting here during September. Federal Prosecutor Anderson indicated he

will get in touch with Judge Joyce even before the latter arrives here, Sept. 8, and seek an immediate date for the oral argument. After hearing the argument, if the judge upholds any part of either count of the indictment — there are two counts — he will then set the date of trial.

Prosecutor Anderson's insistence upon rushing the trial indicates the determination of the U.S. Department of Justice to railroad to prison at the earliest possible moment the indicted anti-war fighters and

militant unionists. Gilbert E. Carlson and D. J. Shama, counsel for the 16 defendants who are members of Local 544-CIO, pointed out to Judge Bell that the 90-day period requested was necessitated by the struggle between the CIO and AFL out of which this case arose.

The CIO union — which disaffiliated from Tobin's AFL Teamsters and accepted a CIO charter on June 9 — is occupied with numerous hearings before the state labor board, in which it is demanding that elections be (Continued on page 2)

# Auto Convention Groups Are Lining Up

## Grouping Around Issue of the North American Strike

(Continued from page 1)  
Francis, a delegate from Fisher Body Local 581, of Flint, said: "I am not so sure the California boys were wrong or made a mistake. They went out on a justified strike. You talk about unauthorized strikes. Why wasn't it authorized? In Flint in 1937 we built this union with unauthorized strikes. The Ford workers went out on an unauthorized strike; that's how they built their union."

**REUTHER POSITION IS VOTED DOWN**

As a result of the pounding given the Reuther position by militant delegates, the convention finally voted by a slim margin of 97 votes to support the "super-minority" report which laid the least severe penalty on Michener. The Addes caucus looks upon it as a great victory. But many militant delegates bitterly complained at having to vote on a report which admitted that the North American strike was a mistake. They felt that the strike was fully justified, and that the International Board had made a costly mistake when it failed to authorize it, and when it allowed Frankenstein to break it.

The vote, however, proved the fluidity of the convention. The Addes group picked up about 200 more votes on the North American issue over what it had mustered on the question of seating ten delegates from Allis-Chalmers. On this point the Addes group was defeated by the Reuther group, which won by a vote of 1700 to 1200 against seating the delegates.

Hundreds of delegates are not committed either to the Reuther or the Addes caucus. They vote their convictions. With the basic issues now buried in a quagmire of blocs and combinations, these delegates sense the purely opportunist character of the fight on top, and must dig and search for the key issues, which are hidden and camouflaged by the leaders.

To the more informed delegates, however, the leading groups have now been exposed for their true worth. Frankenstein's almost comic flip-flop from the Reuther group into the arms of Addes has clearly exposed him. He knows no principles, even reactionary principles. His whole career has been one of a cynical combina-

tion artist, playing his "big" politics in search of a good job and a sure hold on the International Board. It is a weird scene to watch Frankenstein, the man who said he would bring strikebreakers and scabs to the West Coast to break the North American strike, get up and try to pay off Addes for his bloc by asking for mercy for Michener, preaching about "man's inhumanity to man" and self-righteously condemning Reuther for playing politics.

This unsavory politician, Frankenstein, has fully revealed himself for what he is at this convention, and as a result of his super-clever and super-shrewd maneuvering, has succeeded in discrediting himself with hundreds of delegates. The left wing delegates had no use for him before and still despise him. The Reuther caucus hates him as a renegade.

Reuther with his hard and firm caucus of conservatives has for the most part kept the offensive. He represents that section which seeks to harness the labor movement to the Wall Street war chariot. The North American issue saw him lose support among the wavering elements, but his main bloc is firm on its pro-Hillman stand.

**MIDDLE-MAN THOMAS**

R. J. Thomas, blustering president of the UAW, is trying to play a role similar to that of Philip Murray in the CIO, namely, that of the impartial arbitrator between the warring groups. But Thomas is having dubious success. On the floor he performs as the unbiased and independent representative of the union as a whole. Behind the scenes, however, under a buffeting from both sides, he staggers from camp to camp, depending upon which side puts the most pressure upon him. Thus far his sole contribution has been oratory in the Baptist minister tones of William Green.

The Addes group, which all along has reflected John L. Lewis's policy in half tones, is an unorganized, confused outfit without a basic program, and is now hopelessly compromised by its unprincipled deal with Frankenstein. Although, in their desire to struggle against the Reuther program and to defend the independence and militancy of the union, the most progressive elements are to be found in the Addes group, their desire to fight along basic lines has been frustrated by their leadership.

Typical of the politics of the

UAW's leading bodies, the Addes group is whitewashing Frankenstein, burying the North American issue, beclouding the decisive questions, and has left the rank and file without a real choice between the groups. All this has come about because the whole leadership is concerned mainly with personal power and not with the basic issues which will decide the fate of the union.

But the militant delegates have demonstrated in this convention that they are eager for a fighting leadership which is hostile to the OPM school of unionism, which will struggle against all attempts to house-break the UAW and which will battle against all attempts of those who, like Reuther, are trying to sap the vital militant independence of the UAWA.

This is clearly shown by the enthusiastic acclaim given to all resolutions calling for the organization of the unorganized aircraft workers in the face of governmental opposition. It is shown by the militant speeches against the OPM and against the freezing of wages such as provided for in Hillman's coastwise shipyard contract.

**RANK AND FILE READY FOR REAL FIGHT**

On every concrete issue the militant delegates have proved their readiness for a fighting independent program, and their distrust of the whole leadership. When a committee, sent by the convention to Milwaukee to hold another election of Allis-Chalmers delegates, returned with a report that an election could not be held, the convention repudiated the report of its own committee, enlarged it with rank and file members, and sent it back again to hold a democratic election.

When the whole top leadership of the UAW proposed and supported a proposition to discontinue yearly conventions and to hold them biannually, the rank and file, suspecting an attempt to bureaucratize the union, turned this proposal down overwhelmingly.

When the leadership proposed to raise the dues, the convention overwhelmingly defeated the proposal, after militant delegates flatly stated that the union heads wouldn't know what to do with the money when they got it.

In general, all attempts to push the UAW along the line of "respectability" and the

## Largest Union Convention



A general view of the 1,000 delegates at the Sixth Annual Convention of the United Automobile, Aircraft and Agricultural Implement Workers Union (CIO), which began in Buffalo, New York, August 4. This is probably the largest convention of an international union ever held in this country. The UAW-CIO has doubled its membership in the past year and is the third largest union in the country.

# Wages, Not Profits Were Frozen in 1917

By MICHAEL CORT

Recently Roosevelt engaged in one of his periodic and vague fulminations against war profiteering. By now we know that such noises always serve to smoke screen the real action—a move against the workers' wage scales.

No curtailment of profits has ever been seriously envisaged by the administration for the simple reason that it does not have the power to enforce such limitations. The government is an agent of the bosses—not their master. Does anyone seriously expect the industrialists to voluntarily reduce their incomes? Moreover, while capitalist wars are fought to insure future profits, doubts this has but to turn to the record of World War No. 1.

By comparing the profits of the peace year of 1914 with those of

the war year of 1918, one can obtain an accurate idea of the war profits:

DuPont (gross revenues):	1914—25 millions	1918—390 millions
Standard Oil of N. J. (net profits):	1914—7 millions	1918—137 millions
United States Steel (net profits):	1914—23 millions	1918—137 millions
Anaconda Copper (net profits):	1914—9 millions	1918—40 millions

From 1914 to 1918 President Wilson talked continually of limiting prices and profits. But he only succeeded in limiting wages.

All the time the industrialists were making these huge profits, the government itself was going further and further in debt. The national debt in 1914 was \$9.88 per person; in 1918 it was \$228 per person. Why was this? Because of the war effort, of course, but, more precisely, because of a fancy system of bookkeeping the bosses used to saddle the war costs on the small shopkeepers and workers. Here is how it worked:

In 1914-18 J. P. Morgan and Company were the war financiers. That is, they had a monopoly on private financial dealings for Britain and the allies. From the moment the war started, Morgan supplied money to Britain and France. This money belonged to American bosses. Thus it was partly to secure the recovery of this money that the bosses and Morgan later demanded our entry into the war. Only an Allied victory would assure them they would get it back.

Once America officially entered the war, the government itself took up the job of loaning money to its European allies. Liberty Loans, largely squeezed from the workers, financed the war from this point on. And out of the proceeds of the very first Liberty Loan, \$400,000,000 was paid to J. P. Morgan in satisfaction of the debts owed him by Great Britain. In other words, the boss investment in the war was liquidated (at a profit) and the workers were forced to take up the burden—at a loss.

Today's situation is like that of World War I. Again the government talks of controlling prices and profits but really aims against wages, against the workers who are paying the cost of the war, and again the bosses are making a profit out of the whole thing.

The net profits (1940) of a few war industries are:

General Motors	— 195 millions.
A. T. & T.	— 188 millions.
U. S. Steel	— 162 millions.
Du Pont	— 86 millions.

Roosevelt has no illusions about his ability to control profits. He could only do so if the bosses allowed him to. To expect the bosses to voluntarily reduce their profits is as sensible as to expect a thief to return part of his swag on the theory that maybe after all his victim needs it.

**SOMETHING NEW!**  
No more scavenger hunts!  
**HARLEM announces!**  
**NEW YORK'S first!**  
**PETITION PARTY!**  
Put Cannon on the ballot FOR MAYOR!  
**A Free Drink for every 20 names, A Grand Prize for the most!**  
**Saturday Night, Aug. 16**  
**HARLEM HEADQUARTERS**  
72 West 125th St.  
Dancing and drinks  
Admission 25c

# War Chest Hits 85% Only One Week To Go

This week the branches of the Socialist Workers Party had achieved 85% of their quota in the \$10,000 War Chest Drive. Rochester fulfilled its quota this week, and additional contributions lifted Boston and Chicago above the 100% category. This means that now twenty-three branches have achieved or more than achieved their pledge fulfillment.

It must be recorded, however, that the total sum received this week was lower than that of any previous week in the drive. So far as we can make out, there are two reasons for this: The first is that as more and more branches achieve their quota, the total amount yet to be sent, and therefore the weekly amounts, naturally grow smaller.

The second is that from all indications the branches are getting ready for a last minute spurt to take them over the line this week, and getting up energy for it.

At any rate, the still delinquent branches have only one week more to reach their quota by the deadline August 21, the first anniversary of Comrade Trotsky's death.

We hope that this week was the lull before the storm that will wind us up 100% by next week.

## Contributions This Week

Branch	Amount
Los Angeles	\$41.50
Boston	50.00
Chicago	28.00
South Chicago	35.00
San Francisco	25.00
New York City	73.00
New Haven	3.00
Rochester	3.75
TOTAL	\$259.25

## \$10,000 War Chest SCOREBOARD

Branch	Quota	Amt. Pd.	%
BUFFALO	\$ 60.00	\$ 100.00	167
READING	25.00	38.30	153
CLEVELAND	150.00	186.50	124
BALTIMORE	10.00	12.00	120
AKRON	50.00	60.00	120
BOSTON	350.00	403.75	115
ST. PAUL	300.00	325.80	108
ALLENTOWN	25.00	27.00	108
YOUNGSTOWN	150.00	160.00	107
SEATTLE	25.00	26.00	104
FLINT	200.00	207.00	103
CHICAGO	1200.00	1238.12	103
San Diego	100.00	100.00	100
Portland	30.00	30.00	100
St. Louis	25.00	25.00	100
Quakertown	25.00	25.00	100
Toledo	10.00	10.00	100
Detroit	500.00	500.00	100
Louisiana	25.00	25.00	100
Newark	500.00	500.25	100
Philadelphia	125.00	125.00	100
Pittsburgh	40.00	40.00	100
Rochester	50.00	50.00	100
New Haven	50.00	45.00	90
Milwaukee	55.00	46.00	84
San Francisco Bay Area	1100.00	908.83	83
Los Angeles	500.00	386.50	78
South Chicago	125.00	90.00	72
New York City	2500.00	1799.28	72
Texas	20.00	10.00	50
Minneapolis	1200.00	516.54	43
Fresno	30.00	0.00	00
Members-at-Large	475.00	511.30	108
TOTALS	\$10,000.00	\$8528.17	85%



The work of our movement goes on in a slow, steady grind. It is carried on through the years, here and there, quietly and persistently. Those who carry it on work steadily and quietly, sometimes alone, sometimes with help, always with a degree of self-sacrifice which makes those outside wonder.

The reward for that persistent effort comes once in a while when some event tests the depth to which the ideas of the movement have penetrated into the working class. When that test shows growth and increased understanding, every Jimmy Higgins in every part of the country is gratified and his spirit is reinforced for further work.

Such a test came last week when our papers were distributed to the historic Automobile Workers convention in Buffalo. Here is our report:

"Two issues of our paper were distributed to the delegates and received very well. Tens upon tens of the delegates were acquainted with the MILITANT. We could tell by their comments when they took it.

"This is a concrete answer and a reward to those patient Jimmy Higginses of our movement who over a period of months have faithfully and loyally covered the auto and accessory plants in Detroit, Flint, Cleveland, Toledo, etc.

"The MILITANT was taken into the convention hall and read with interest by hundreds of delegates. Evidently what we had to say about the situation was of value to them.

"Some of the comments were as follows: 'Well, you people here, too?' 'What does the MILITANT have to say about the convention?' 'It's the MILITANT. Give me one, too!'

"One delegate told me upon taking the paper, 'You guys tell the truth, at least, although I disagree with your ideas!' A Fisher Body delegate from Cleveland was so gleeful at getting the MILITANT that when he saw one of our friends in the hall, he waved the paper above his head and shouted, 'We got it!'

"It sure does make a comrade feel proud of our party and its paper when he goes through such an experience. Also, let me state that such an experience only confirms once more that THE FUTURE BELONGS TO OUR PARTY!"

# SWP, 544 DEFENDANTS ARRAIGNED

## Early Trial Is Being Demanded By Government

(Continued from page 1)  
held in the various sections of the trucking industry to establish which union the men wish to belong to. CIO requests for similar hearings for elections are now pending before the National Labor Relations Board.

The CIO union and its attorneys are also occupied in fighting a series of cases in which they are defending the right of the union to keep its own treasury, against AFL teamsters' chief, Tobin's claim that, upon disaffiliation from the AFL, the Minneapolis truckdrivers' union should have surrendered its treasury to Tobin. In addition to civil suits, Tobin has instigated several "embezzlement" and "grand larceny" indictments on this issue against Miles B. Dunne, President of Local 544-CIO and Kelly Postal, the union's secretary-treasurer. Trial on these indictments is scheduled to begin on August 20.

In view of all these hearings and cases, Local 544-CIO's leaders and attorneys were entitled to the 90-day period to prepare for oral argument in this case, said the union's attorney.

But it is scarcely the government's strategy to give Local 544-CIO more time!

On the contrary, this "seditious conspiracy" case is being pushed so hard precisely in order to aid AFL chieftain Tobin in his desperate attempt to crush Local 544-CIO. This case is the Roosevelt administration's brazen method of helping Tobin, Roosevelt's closest labor lieutenant, against a union which has not only opposed Tobin's rotten union policies but has also opposed Roosevelt's war-mongering.

Albert Goldman, one of the Socialist Workers Party leaders indicted, speaking as attorney for the 13 defendants who are not

members of Local 544-CIO, pointed out to the judge that time is needed to study the indictment because the two statutes under which they are brought have never before been used.

One of these statutes was adopted in 1861, designed for use against the Confederacy. No case has ever been brought in this country under the section of this statute referring to "conspiracy to overthrow the government by force and violence," which now appears in the federal indictment of the Socialist Workers Party.

The other statute is the Smith Act, adopted only a year ago, and whose constitutionality — it violates the free speech provision of the Bill of Rights of the constitution — has been challenged by the American Civil Liberties Union and other organizations.

These constitutional questions must be thoroughly gone into, declared Goldman, before argument can be had on the motions. Opposing the granting of more time, Prosecutor Anderson said the gov-

ernment "had spent a long time" preparing its case and was ready to defend its indictments at any time.

After the defense attorneys had pleaded for more time, they were supported in this request by Vincent Johnson, Minneapolis attorney for the American Civil Liberties Union, who informed Judge Bell that his organization was also studying the constitutional question involved, and would present a brief as "friend of the court," attacking the constitutionality of the indictment. The American Civil Liberties Union felt that the time requested by defendants' attorney was necessary for adequate preparation.

Judge Bell's decision on this point, apart from fixing August 1 as the date for filing written motions, leaves it up to Judge Joyce to decide how much time the defense and the American Civil Liberties Union will have to prepare to show that the indictment should be dismissed.

## August 'Fourth Int'l' Trotsky Memorial Issue

The August issue of **FOURTH INTERNATIONAL**, appearing this week, commemorates the first anniversary of the death of the great proletarian revolutionary, Leon Trotsky.

Outstanding among the articles in this issue is one by Trotsky's widow, Natalia Sedov, entitled **Father and Son**. It discusses the revolutionary activities and personalities of Leon Trotsky and his son, Leon Sedov and includes some reminiscences of Lenin.

An article by Trotsky deals with the armed assault upon his home and the attempt upon his life perpetrated by the GPU in

Coyoacan, Mexico on May 24, 1940.

One of Trotsky's closest collaborators during the years of his exile contributes a personal portrait of the Old Man.

The rich content of this issue is completed by an article on the Soviet Union at war, written by John G. Wright, and two pieces on the Federal prosecution of the Socialist Workers Party in St. Paul, Minnesota.

The magazine sells at 20c and is available at headquarters of locals of the Socialist Workers Party or at the publication offices, 116 University Place, New York City.



# Trotsky Showed How To Fight War and Fascism And The Only Way To Defend The Soviet Union

## We Cannot Wipe Out War And Fascism Until Capitalism Is Destroyed

Trotsky, the great warrior against capitalism, taught the workers how to fight against the two most malignant evils of capitalism, war and fascism.

He taught that fascism is not something unaccountable. It is not the result of the wicked will of certain men or certain governments. Rather, it is the result of conditions that arise out of the decay of capitalism in the period of imperialism.

Political democracy of the kind known to the world in the last hundred years or so was itself an outgrowth of the rise of capitalism. The bosses found from experience that such a political system was suitable for their purposes: industrialization, development of production, exploitation of "free labor" in new and rich countries. It was adopted both because of pressure from the masses and because it helped promote capitalist production.

The decay of capitalism, however, produces a crisis in all capitalist institutions. The political regime of bourgeois democracy also undergoes a crisis.

Under these conditions bourgeois democracy cannot go on as before, because its material foundations have been washed away and the capitalists can no longer afford it.

This crisis makes it imperative that the workers take power to preserve and extend democracy. If they fail in this, the capitalists will use fascist movements to erase its last remnants.

For the successful prosecution of this struggle joint action of the workers' organizations through the united front is essential.

When Hitler was becoming a threat in Germany in the early 30's, Trotsky worked ceaselessly for the formation of such a united front to coordinate the struggles of the 13,000,000 workers who voted for the Communist and Socialist Parties.

themselves and fought the fascists in the only language they understand. Workers' committees took over the factories, peasants took the land, and the masses were on the way to destroying fascism and its breeder, capitalism, as well.

Again the People's Front prevented the definitive defeat of fascism. If you seize the factories and the land, Stalinists, Socialists and Anarchists all lectured you will antagonize the Spanish capitalists and landlords who are willing to fight with us against Franco; you will also repel the British and French governments, who will help us if we protect bourgeois democracy — and capitalist property. Where lecturing did not do the job, they did not hesitate to jail and murder revolutionary workers.

But the foreign "democracies" did not do what the People's Fronters promised they would, even though the revolution was suppressed. Instead, they followed the policy of "non-intervention," which effectively blocked off all material aid to the Loyalists while it covered the aid given Franco by Hitler and Mussolini.

WHAT AMERICAN WORKERS CAN DO

The workers in the United States have an instinctive hatred of fascism and an understanding of what it means if it were established here. In addition, the workers in this country have a powerful labor movement which has demonstrated its strength as a fighting force on a thousand picket lines.

To these weapons of the anti-fascist fight must now be added a thorough understanding of the German, Spanish and French lessons. American workers must hitch their militancy to a program that can insure victory. The program of Trotskyism stands for class unity and independence, and the spirit of bold revolutionary struggle which strikes at the roots of fascism as well as at the fascists.

The workers cannot rely upon anyone but themselves and their own fighting forces to defeat fascism of native or foreign origin — that is the essence of Trotsky's teachings.

War, like fascism, is inseparable

from capitalism in its death agonies. Trotsky taught us that capitalism in its present stage means permanent reaction, regardless of the wishes of individual capitalists. As long as capitalism rules wars are inevitable. Only the creation of a world federation of socialist republics will usher in an era of lasting peace.

All attempts to combat the symptoms of capitalist decay without combatting its fundamental cause are doomed to failure. The pacifists, the liberals, the "men of good will," who claim to explain war, only confuse the question, because their answers are based on the idea that war can be "outlawed" while the political and economic power of the capitalists to wage war remains untouched.

THE SLOGANS OF FUTILITY AND BETRAYAL

Disarmament? But who will disarm whom? Trotsky asked. The only effective disarmament is the disarmament of the bosses by the workers. And to disarm the bosses, the workers must themselves take power.

Pacifism? But the bosses are not pacifists, and they are the ones who profit from war, not the workers. The bosses will not become pacifists until their power is taken away from them. Since the pacifists cannot show us how to do this but preach submission to capitalism, they hinder the real struggle against war.

National defense? The defense

of democracy against fascism? By this the bosses mean defense of their profits and plunder. The workers will defend the nation when it belongs to them, when it is not controlled by a tiny minority of exploiters. They have first to defend democracy against the government that is attacking it here. When they have real democracy under a workers' and farmers' government, no one will have to plead with or put pressure on the workers to defend it.

These are the answers Trotsky gave to the slogans of the confusionists and betrayers.

TROTSKY'S MILITARY POLICY

In the last months of his life Trotsky fused the struggle against war and fascism into one single program, outlining a proletarian military policy.

Trotsky recognized that the democratic bosses are not fighting a war to defeat fascism, and that the workers can smash fascism only by a force. His program to meet both these problems was the demand for military training under trade union control to educate workers to be soldiers and officers. Thus would be created an armed force that would be serious about defeating fascism, of both native and foreign varieties, and that would be responsible to the workers and responsive to their interests.

## Extension Of The October Revolution To Other Lands Alone Can Save the USSR

"Workers of the World Unite!" This slogan from the Communist Manifesto was the guiding line of Trotsky's revolutionary policies, including his policy for the defense of the Soviet Union.

Together with the other great Marxist leaders, Trotsky taught that the struggle of the workers and oppressed peoples for emancipation from capitalism could be waged and won only on a world scale. The action of any single national section of the working class must harmonize with the interests of the workers elsewhere. If opportunist leaders set the workers in one country against those of other countries, the interests of all are bound to suffer.

This revolutionary internationalist outlook applies with particular force to the burning problem of defending the Soviet Union today. Stalin's regime seeks to defend the Soviet Union (in reality, to protect its own position and privileges within it) by the most conservative nationalist methods. Instead of appealing to the Bolshevik traditions of the Red Army which brought victory under Trotsky, the Stalinists invoke the departed spirits of the feudal military regime of Suvorov and the Russian Knights of the 12th Century. Stalin dares not revive the crusading spirit of the October revolution.

The bulk of Hitler's army consists of workers, many of whom remain true to the ideas of working class solidarity. How can these workers within Hitler's ar-

single goal: the Socialist United States of Europe.

Such was the program advocated by the Bolsheviks under Lenin and Trotsky. Defend the isolated workers' state by extending the revolution and creating new workers' republics!

But Stalin has no confidence in the independent power of the international proletarian revolution. He fears, almost as much as Hitler and Churchill, that the revolutionary fire of the European proletariat will consume him in its sweep. Now he stakes his bets upon the alliance with the Anglo-American imperialists, who are as unreliable as his Fascist partners of yesterday. In line with this treacherous policy, Moscow has discarded the slogan: "Workers of the World Unite!" for the imperialist lie of the Holy Crusade of the "democracies" against fascism. Instead of driving a wedge between Hitler and the German workers, this kind of reactionary propaganda serves to bind them closer together, for the German people fear above all a second Versailles dictated by England and the United States.

Trotsky taught that, regardless of the temporary alliances and agreements entered into by the Soviet state, the workers in capitalist countries should not support their capitalist governments. In war as in peace, they must continue their struggle for improved conditions and enhanced power. The stronger the labor movement in every country, the more militant and revolutionary its character, the more the ranks of labor could aid the Soviet Union in its hour of danger.

The Stalinist parties in the U.S. and Great Britain pursue an altogether different policy. They follow the policy of the Social-Democrats in the last war. They have abandoned all pretense of opposition to the imperialist war, all resistance to attacks upon the workers. The net result of such subservience to the capitalists and their governments is to weaken the power and self-confidence of the working class, as they were crippled in France during the days of the Stalin-Laval Pact.

The Stalinists justify their collaboration with the capitalists by the necessity of obtaining aid for the Soviet Union. But the stronger and more militant the working class movement becomes, the more likely the government is to give arms and material aid to the Soviet Union, and the better the workers' position to frustrate any secret designs the imperialists may have in sabotaging its defense.

Now, more than imperialist arms and ammunition, the Soviet Union needs for its defense the revival of Soviet democracy at home and a return to the revolutionary internationalism of Trotsky and Lenin on the world front.

## Trotsky Told Workers How To Save The Unions

No small part of the political genius of Leon Trotsky was his ability to apply his theoretical ideas to the concrete developments within the labor movement of any country. His grasp of Marxist theory enabled him to analyze the trends and movements of the working class, to foresee the direction in which these movements would travel under the impact of the imperialist war, and to pose the essential and practical program for the organizations of the working class to pursue in this period.

Trotsky left in manuscript form the rough notes of an article, "Trade Unions in the Epoch of Imperialist Decay" (FOURTH INTERNATIONAL, February 1941), which contain the basic ideas he intended to develop in a more finished form.

Trotsky showed how in every capitalist democracy the trade union leadership in times of peace attempts to adapt the unions to a policy of collaboration with the capitalist government; and in times of war to fuse the unions with the machinery of the imperialist state.

Trotsky wrote in his uncompleted article: "In the eyes of the bureaucracy of the trade union movement the chief task lies in 'freeing' the state from the embrace of capitalism, in weakening its dependence on trusts, in pulling it over to their side. This position is in complete harmony with the social position of the labor aristocracy and the labor bureaucracy, who fight for a crumb in the share of the super-profits of imperialist capitalism. The labor bureaucrats do their level best in words and deeds to demonstrate to the 'democratic' state how reliable and indispensable they are in peace-time and especially in time of war."

This role of the trade union bureaucracy, as predicted by Trotsky, becomes clearer each day, as the American ruling class hastens to complete its preparations for war. The AFL leadership, representing the most privileged layers of American labor, has long since given its unqualified assurances to the Roosevelt administration that it is prepared to sacrifice every interest of American labor as a token of "how reliable and indispensable they are" to American imperialism. These leaders do not wait for no-strike governmental decrees, but declare in their own name a no-strike decree within the unions of the AFL. They leap to the aid of government strikebreaking at every opportunity, maintain a treacherous silence, or at most whimper a feeble protest, in the face of attempts to enact anti-labor legislation, and plead for the opportunity to sit on government boards together with the Wall Street dollar-a-year men.

As Trotsky pointed out, the subservience of the trade union bureaucracy to the bosses is most openly expressed during war:

is the essence of the fight now raging at the convention of the UAW-CIO.

The conflict in the UAW, as in every other trade union, is fundamentally over the basic question of the unions' survival in wartime: Shall the unions continue as independent instruments of workers' struggles, or will they be transformed into mere agencies of the capitalist government, for the conduct of the imperialist war?

An outcome favorable to the workers in this fundamental struggle, according to Trotsky, is possible only if the fight is based on these two major points: "The primary slogan for this struggle is: complete and unconditional independence of the trade unions in relation to the capitalist state. This means a struggle to turn the trade unions into the organs of the broad exploited masses and not the organs of a labor aristocracy."

"The second slogan is: trade union democracy. This second slogan flows directly from the first and presupposes for its realization the complete freedom of the trade unions from the imperialist or colonial state."

It is precisely around these two slogans, formulated by Trotsky prior to his death, that the rank-and-file of the trade union movement in America is beginning to rally in defense of its organized existence against the totalitarian demands of the capitalist war machine.

If the Greens and Hillmans have their way, American imperialism will completely wipe out the independence of the union movement by converting it into a mere appendage of the capitalist state.

If the program of Leon Trotsky prevails, the workers of America will control their own trade-union organizations and operate them in a free, democratic, and militant manner for the promotion of their own class interests.

## DEFEND CIVIL LIBERTIES! PROTEST FBI PERSECUTION OF SWP!

Members of the Socialist Workers Party and the leaders of Motor Transport and Allied Workers Union, Local 544-CIO—a total of twenty-nine defendants—have just been indicted in Minnesota on charges of "conspiracy to overthrow the Government." Not since the infamous Palmer cases following the last war has the Federal Government conducted such a persecution against members of a working class party for their opinions or trade unionists because of their activities in the labor movement.

The defendants urgently need funds to defray the heavy costs of fighting this case. DO YOUR SHARE!

### THE AMERICAN CIVIL LIBERTIES UNION

"The American Civil Liberties Union went on record in opposition to the Smith Act when it was introduced in Congress and after its passage in 1940 the Union announced its intention to test the constitutionality when and if the occasion arose. Such an occasion, we believe, is at hand now, in these first cases under the law.

### THE C.I.O.

"It is deplorable that the functions of the U.S. Department of Justice have been perverted in this reprehensible manner...The National C.I.O. will not be deterred by the indictments but will continue to carry forward with all the resources at its command the campaign to organize the Motor Transport and Allied Workers in Minneapolis and the nation."

### THE NATION

"For the first time in peace since the Alien and Sedition Laws of John Adams a mere expression of opinion is made a federal crime. Under these provisions a man might be sent to jail for ten years because he circulated such un-American documents as the Declaration of Independence and Lincoln's Second Inaugural, for both 'advocate, abet, advise, or teach the duty, necessity, desirability, or propriety of overthrowing or destroying any government' by force...If the leaders of Local 544 can be convicted for their opinions, so can others."

### THE NEW REPUBLIC

"This is one of the most serious issues involving civil liberties to arise in the United States in many years...That the Minneapolis case is tremendously important goes without saying. President Roosevelt and Acting Attorney General Francis Biddle have repeatedly promised that there would be no such violations of civil liberties as stained the honor of America in the last war. For a country preparing to fight for the principles of democracy, now to violate those principles...would be unforgivable; it would be worth ten divisions to Hitler."

## SEND YOUR CONTRIBUTIONS TO

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## TROTSKY MEMORIAL MEETINGS

<b>IN NEWARK</b> <b>Speaker: William F. Warde</b> <i>Editor, "Fourth International"</i> <b>Time:</b> Friday, August 22, at 8:30 p.m. <b>Place:</b> Krueger's Auditorium, 25 Belmont Ave.	<b>IN YOUNGSTOWN</b> <b>Speaker: George Schraum</b> <i>Cleveland Organizer SWP</i> <b>Time:</b> Friday, August 22, at 8 p.m. <b>Place:</b> Ukrainian Hall, 525 W. Rayen Ave.	<b>IN PHILADELPHIA</b> <b>Speaker: John G. Wright</b> <i>Translator of Trotsky's Works</i> <b>Time:</b> Sunday, August 24, at 8 p.m. <b>Place:</b> 431 Pine Street
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