

**Adequate Direct Aid
to Priorities Victims!**

— See Page 4 —

THE MILITANT

Official Weekly Organ of the Socialist Workers Party

VOL. V—No. 43

NEW YORK, N. Y., SATURDAY, OCTOBER 25, 1941

267

FIVE (5) CENTS

STALIN ORDERS GPU RULE FOR MOSCOW

Minneapolis Trial Is Postponed for One Week

Judge Joyce Postpones Opening Date to October 27 Because of Mother's Illness

MINNEAPOLIS, Oct. 21. — America's first peace-time prosecution for "sedition" since 1798 — the trial of the 28 anti-war defendants in the government's "seditious conspiracy" case against the Socialist Workers Party and the CIO motor transport workers Local 544 — which was originally scheduled to begin this Monday, has been postponed to next Monday morning, October 27. The case will be heard by Federal Judge M. M. Joyce in the federal court here.

The postponement, it was explained, was due to the illness of the judge's mother in Portland, Oregon.

A request by defense attorney Albert Goldman, who is also one of the defendants, that the trial be postponed until after November 4 to permit James P. Cannon, National Secretary of the SWP and a prominent defendant, to return to New York to conduct his Trotskyist Anti-War ticket campaign for mayor was denied by Judge Joyce last Wednesday. Judge Joyce coupled the denial of this request with the rejection of a defense motion that the list of veniremen, from which the jury is to be selected, be made public. His decision, the judge said, was based on "an unwritten law of this court."

CASE ATTRACTING WIDE ATTENTION

National and international interest is being focused on the case, which in the words of P.M. New York newspaper, threatens "to become labor's first 'cause celebre' of the war."

Arrayed against the defendants is the most imposing force of capitalist agencies and groups ever mustered in any American labor trial for the prosecutions have been instigated by Roosevelt himself, acting through his Department of Justice.

And running with the leaders of the capitalist pack in this vicious attack on civil liberties are the top officials of the AFL bureaucracy, who are betraying every union principle in their desire to smash the militant opposition to their dictatorial rule in the trade unions and prove their loyalty to the boss government and its war aims.

SUPPORT GROWING FOR THE DEFENSE

But organizing to beat back this reactionary united front is a

growing army of workers, unionists and progressives who have learned about the case and rightly view it as one of the greatest threats to civil rights ever to confront the American people.

Among the powerful labor and liberal groups which have denounced the prosecution are the CIO, Labor's Non-Partisan League, the United Auto Workers, CIO, the American Civil Liberties Union, and scores of CIO state and local bodies throughout the country.

The American Civil Liberties Union this week issued a 16 page pamphlet entitled "Sedition!", which denounced the prosecution (see Page 3 of this issue).

General organization of the defense, including the mobilization of public support and finances, is being carried on by the Civil Rights Defense Committee, with national offices at 160 Fifth Avenue, New York City.

The defendants have pledged themselves to an uncompromising fight in defense of their principles and of their right to freely propagate their working-class anti-war ideas.

THE ISSUES AT STAKE

The prosecution, in turn, is expected to employ every device of prejudice, framed testimony, distorted and falsified evidence, intimidation and extra-legal pressure to ensure a conviction. The whole motivation of the case is to smash the genuine anti-war opposition to the administration, and it is felt that the prosecution will resort to any means in an attempt to achieve this end.

Every worker must understand that this prosecution aims a blow at his own rights and liberties. In the Minneapolis court-room, in the next weeks and months, issues may be decided, precedents may be established, which will have far-reaching consequences for all American labor.

At stake is not merely the freedom of 28 individuals — important as that is — but the hard-won rights of the entire working class.

Biddle Attacks Our Program, Says Cannon

States Trial of 28 Is For Anti-War Stand

MINNEAPOLIS, Oct. 19. — James P. Cannon, indicted Trotskyist leader and anti-war candidate for Mayor of New York, tonight opened the fifth annual series of the Twin Cities Sunday Forum here at the Socialist Workers Party headquarters, 919 Marquette Ave., with a stirring address on "Why We Are On Trial", before an audience of 150.

Speaking one week before he is to go on trial with 27 others charged with sedition and conspiracy to overthrow the government by force and violence, Comrade Cannon said, "These prosecutions are primarily as a result of the revolutionary anti-war program of the S.W.P."

"Attorney-General Biddle in a statement on June 28 referred to the anti-war declaration in the party's principles as a cause for the action."

Cannon pointed out that Biddle, while dealing a death blow to civil liberties in the U. S. by this trial, at the very same time gave interviews to the press concerning his solemn determination to preserve civil liberties in war time.

Biddle, said Cannon, "is a symbol of the double talk of these capitalist statesmen. When these politicians talk of peace, they prepare for war. When they talk of defense, they mean aggression."

Cannon described the capitalist class as "so decayed that they no longer have any confidence in themselves . . . with no other means to solve their problems except war and no determination except to suppress all opposition to themselves and their system."

A generous sum was contributed by the audience. Grace Carlson, SWP state organizer and another of the defendants, was chairman.

Next Sunday's forum is to be on "Defense of the Soviet Union," with Max Goldman as speaker.

The Real Conspirator



Labor Gained Nothing From AFL Convention

Craft Union Tops Ignore Workers' Problems; Back Boss War Program 'to the Bitter End'

By DON DORE

The AFL convention, which ended its two-weeks session on October 17 in Seattle, marked a reactionary low point for the present AFL craft-union leadership.

Dominated by the iron rule of the AFL Executive Council, which is headed by such bureaucratic labor skates as William Green, Matthew Woll, Daniel Tobin and John Frey, the convention was devoted to the twin tasks of mobilizing American labor behind the war policies of the Roosevelt administration and of strengthening the AFL's bureaucratic machinery for crushing militant independent unionism.

The accomplishments of the convention were summed up after its adjournment by AFL President Green, who stated that the actions taken would "strengthen and develop the national defense program and result in carrying out the no-strike policy of the AFL in a more universal way."

In these final words, Green re-emphasized his declaration of unconditional surrender to the war aims and anti-labor demands of the American ruling class, made at the very beginning of the convention when he stated that he was prepared to drag the AFL "own the line with the war program of Roosevelt 'to the bitter end.'"

SOPS TO APPEASE DISCONTENTED RANKS

So eager were the AFL leaders to prove their loyalty and devotion to the interests of the boss

prices, wage freezing, speed-up, etc. This, taken in relation to the whole trend of the convention, was like handing out bread-crusts salvaged from a pile of slops.

The AFL convention might have passed more for a jingoistic gathering of the American Legion or Chamber of Commerce than a labor meeting but for the fact of these crumbs offered as a sop to the increasingly discontented AFL ranks.

Shot through the discussion and actions of the convention was the evidence of the grave concern of the AFL tops over the growing threat of revolt in the AFL ranks against the dictatorial rule and servile policies of the craft leadership.

This was the basis for the discriminatory proposal to reduce the per-capita dues to the AFL from two cents monthly to 1 1/2 (Continued on page 2)

SWOC Condemns Jim Crow Policy of the U. S. Army

Segregation and maltreatment of Negro soldiers in the United States Army were sharply condemned by the regional conference of the Steel Workers Organizing Committee (CIO), meeting in Gary, Indiana, October 5.

The conference of 550 delegates, representing 53 SWOC locals in the Chicago area, unanimously passed a resolution demanding that Roosevelt take immediate action to end the vicious army Jim-Crow system. The resolution also called on all CIO unions to organize action against discriminatory treatment of the

Negroes in the army. This action of the steel workers, is one further indication of the growing awareness in progressive union ranks of the undemocratic character of the army of American imperialism. It is an example also of the progressive efforts of the CIO unions, in contrast with the AFL, to fight for the rights of the Negro workers, both in industry and the army.

It is clear from the attitude expressed by these steel workers that there would be no Jim Crowism in military training if that training were under the control of the trade unions.

Turns To Open GPU Terror To Bolster Regime

Edict Aimed at Silencing All Those Who Criticize Or Oppose Kremlin's War Policy

As the German armies drive to encircle Moscow, the political and industrial nerve center of the USSR, Stalin's only answer is to intensify his already monstrous repressions. Moscow, which has been under martial law since the outbreak of the war, has now been placed in a 'state of siege.' However, the military authorities have not been left in control. Instead, it is the GPU which has now been openly invested with unlimited powers of life and death over Moscow's 4,500,000 inhabitants.

The text of the order issued by Stalin on October 19 reads as follows: "Responsibility for the most strict regulation of Moscow and suburban areas is entrusted to . . . special troops

Cannon Name On Ballot For Mayor of N.Y.

NEW YORK, Oct. 22. — James P. Cannon, candidate of the Trotskyist Anti-War Party for Mayor of New York City, is on the ballot! With only a few hours left before the time is up for the hearing of objections to the election petitions, the New York City Board of Elections has indicated no intentions of attempting to rule him off the ballot. This means that the workers of New York will be able on Election Day to cast a vote expressing their opposition to the Roosevelt-Willkie war program.

But while Cannon's name will be on the ballot, Cannon himself will be unable to appear in New York during the closing weeks of the campaign. Because of his consistent opposition to the war and fascism, and his defense of workers' rights, he has been indicted by the Federal government on charges of "seditious conspiracy" and ordered along with 27 other labor figures to face trial in a Federal Court in Minneapolis on October 27.

Efforts made by Cannon for a postponement of the trial to permit him to return to New York for active campaigning until November 4 were turned down by the Federal judge scheduled to try the case.

But the campaign for Cannon's election will continue in full swing, his campaign manager, Robert H. Chester announced.

"Cannon is being persecuted for his anti-war principles," Chester declared. "He is going to defend those principles in court, and the right of every worker to express them. It is on those same principles that the Socialist Workers Party is running Cannon as its candidate for Mayor of New York. The attempt of Roosevelt and Attorney-General Biddle to imprison Cannon on a charge of 'conspiracy' because of his anti-war stand is a flagrant attack on civil liberties and a challenge to every worker who, like Cannon, opposes the war."

Chester also requested, on behalf of the Cannon Campaign Committee, that all the friends and sympathizers of Cannon's views take an active part in bringing the message of the anti-war candidate to the workers of this city by contributing money to be used for the printing of election literature and by joining Cannon Campaign Squads in the distribution of such literature. Send your donations and report for assignments to Campaign Headquarters, 116 University Pl., N. Y. C.

belonging to units of the People's Commissariat For Interior." (Daily Worker, October 20). This People's Commissariat and its "special troops", i.e., the GPU, are instructed to shoot on the spot "provocateurs, spies and other enemy agents inciting breach of discipline." These are the names Stalin applies to all opponents of his bureaucratic regime.

Text of Stalin's order on P. 3 of this issue.

One need only recall that Stalin's "discipline" literally forbids Soviet people to talk about the war to realize that this order is specially designed to prevent any expression of opinion or concern — whether by civilians or soldiers — over the fate of the first workers state. Anyone who dares breathe about the full scope of disastrous defeats which Stalin's leadership has brought, now faces not jail (as was decreed on July 5, see Pravda for July 6) but the firing squad.

GENERALS PURGED AGAIN

At the same time Stalin's order reveals that he has secretly purged the Generals whom he had placed in high command a few weeks ago. Timoshenko, the former Commissar of War, is no longer the commander of the central (Moscow) front. He has been replaced by one Zhukov, who is suddenly invested by Stalin with the title of "commander of the western front." Repressions and scapegoats — this is the way in which Stalin — as he prepares to flee from Moscow — "encourages" the Red Soldiers and the Soviet masses in the hour of imminent catastrophe for the first workers state.

Stalin's order contains no directives for halting the imperialist enemy. It is devoted exclusively to measures designed "to secure the rear of Moscow's defenses and to strengthen the rear of troops defending Moscow and also in order to stop the activities of spies and saboteurs and other agents of German fascism. . ." (Daily Worker, October 20).

Not a word in the text to invoke the spirit of revolutionary struggle, the traditions of October and the Civil War, or to rally the Soviet workers for a supreme effort in defense of the chief city of the workers state.

OFFICERS ALSO HELD SUSPECT

Stalin's sole concern is to perpetuate himself and his clique in power. It would be impossible for his regime to survive for any protracted period if the true state of affairs, the full scope of the defeats, were made known to the masses. That is why Stalin must resort to ever more brutal and naked repressions. For this task, not even Stalin's handpicked officer corps can any longer be trusted.

(Continued on page 3)

Labor, Liberal Groups Donate Funds For 28

NEW YORK, Oct. 21. — The Civil Rights Defense Committee, which has been organized to aid the 28 defendants in the Minnesota "Seditious Conspiracy" prosecution, announced today that Robert Marshall Civil Liberties Trust has granted \$1,000 to the Committee to be used for the defense in this case.

The Robert Marshall Civil Liberties Trust was set up under the will of the late Robert Marshall, author and son of the famous attorney, Louis Marshall, to be used for the purpose of preserving civil liberties in the United States.

In making this contribution to the Civil Rights Defense Committee, the Trustees of this fund have recognized the importance of the Minnesota case to the cause of constitutional liberties and democratic rights.

UNIONS CONTRIBUTE TO DEFENSE

The Civil Rights Defense Committee has also announced the launching of a campaign for \$7,500 to defray the heavy costs of fighting this case. Numerous donations have already been received from sympathetic individuals, from trade unions and other labor

rights safeguarded. A court reporter and daily record of the proceedings may well cost as much as \$500 a week during a trial which may last from six to eight weeks. It is necessary to provide transportation and living expenses for most of the 28 defendants and their families, whose incomes are completely cut off during the duration of the trial. The \$7,500 our Committee is working to raise during the next six weeks will barely cover the anticipated expenditures. We call upon all friends of civil liberties and workers whose rights are directly imperiled by this prosecution to contribute to our defense fund."

PROMINENT FIGURES JOIN COMMITTEE

Those who have recently joined the Civil Rights Defense Committee include Edmund Wilson, famous critic; Frank Novve, noted labor attorney; Professor Henderson, of Physiology at Yale; Rev. Edward N. Jackson of New Haven; Ellouise Day, well

known Negro women's leader in Connecticut; Dr. Willard Uphaus, Executive Secretary of the National Religion and Labor Foundation; and Caesar Guazzo, CIO organizer, Clockworkers Union Local 359.

WORKERS' FORUM

Write to us—tell us what's going on in your part of the labor movement—what are the workers thinking about?—tell us what the bosses are up to—and the G-men and the local cops—and the Stalinists—send us that story the capitalist press didn't print and that story they buried or distorted—our pages are open to you. Letters must carry name and address, but indicate if you do not want your name printed.

Discuss Party's Military Policy

Editor: I have followed your paper for some time now. I was particularly interested in your stand on the war some time back. That is I thought that the peace parade in front of the White House was misconceived in that war was inevitable in our system. So your policy of accepting reality and struggling against it as outlined in the planks on the editorial page, trade union wages for soldiers, trade union control, seemed the most intelligent stand on the war I had seen.

Now you are for peace and the Stalinists are for war. Yet the same planks are still on the editorial page. Is this consistent? If so I should appreciate comment in your paper on the principles of consistency. How can you be against war and still in favor of accepting the reality of our intervention? It seems to me that you have made a typically Stalinist switch in policy without being shrewd enough to see that you must bury your past in order to stand for the exact opposite? Or am I wrong? I am sure that I am not the only one confused by your front and editorial page policies. By and large I like your paper and think it the best out, but you can't blow both hot and cold.

D. F., Washington, D. C.

(Editors' reply: The writer of this letter has the impression that prior to the Soviet-Nazi war we did not oppose the imperialist war because we thought it inevitable. This impression is erroneous.

The Socialist Workers Party and THE MILITANT have always recognized that war is inherent and inevitable in capitalist society, and have always struggled against the illusion that it is possible either to abolish or avoid war so long as the capitalist class remains in power. But we have conducted this struggle precisely in the interests of the real struggle against war, and because that struggle requires the greatest clarity about the dangers of pacifism and similar treacherous policies propagated by the Stalinists prior to the Soviet-Nazi war.

It does not follow that because war is inevitable under capitalism that we cease to struggle against the war, but rather that we utilize this truth to continue and intensify the struggle against capitalism which produces war.

Fascism, too, is an inevitable stage in the decay of capitalism unless the workers take power first. But we do not conclude from this that fascism should be "accepted", but rather that it is all the more necessary to struggle against the capitalist system which produces fascism.

For both these tasks our proletarian military policy, the struggle for trade union control of military training, provides the practical basis for agitation in the period of "shooting war". It serves, in the words of the resolution adopted at the Plenum-Conference of the S.W.P. in Chicago last week, "to educate the workers, to bridge the gap between their present confused but anti-fascist sentiments and our program for the extirpation of fascism and its capitalist roots." The Stalinists have changed their line from a demand for "peace" to wholehearted support of the imperialist war. But we have not changed our line at all. We stand on this fundamental question where we have always stood. It is not "peace" which we stand for, but the continuation of the struggle, in peace time and in war time, against the system which breeds war. All the demands our party raises reflect this aim, and we find nothing inconsistent or contradictory about them.

Corrects Mistakes In Editorial On Jim Crow

Editor: I would like to call your attention to a mistake in the editorial entitled "Whitewashing Jim Crow" in the October 18 issue of THE MILITANT.

In this editorial you declared that "while Elliot was dismissed from command of Fort Bragg, he was not dismissed from the army. He was only transferred to another fort, where he will be able to continue to carry out the same practices and policies he carried out at Bragg."

Colonel Elliot, who was in command at Fort Bragg the night of the shooting of Ned Turman, Negro draftee, and the terror that followed, was transferred from Fort Bragg, but not to another fort. He has been transferred to the job of instructor in the ROTC at Mississippi State College.

I make this correction in the interests of exactness, and not because I have any disagreement with the main point in your editorial.

For even if Elliot had been dishonorably discharged from the army, rather than transferred to a minor post, it would still be true that this is no "victory for Negro rights" as the Stalinists pretend. Elliot was only carrying out the official Jim Crow policy of the army, and he was dismissed to cover up the fact that this Jim Crow policy is maintained on orders from the White House itself. Regardless of who took Elliot's place, the Negro soldiers at Bragg will still be segregated and discriminated against.

Albert Parker
New York City.

No Gains From AFL Convention

Jurisdictional Wars, Racketeering Remain Biggest AFL Issues

(Continued from page 1)

cents for unions of over 300,000 members. This policy, from which the Teamsters and Carpenters alone would benefit, was adopted with the plea that these unions needed the additional funds to fight the threatened organization of drivers and construction workers by the CIO.

Daniel Tobin, czar of the AFL Teamsters, who is trying to head off a nation-wide revolt against his iron fist rule, led the fight for this proposal, complaining that his outfit was "fighting on every front in the country" against "subversive elements, not real union leaders but men with drunken, blind ambitions."

This was a reference to the movement of militant drivers, led by the motor transport workers of Minneapolis Local 544-CIO, out of the AFL into the CIO, which has already spread into Minnesota, North and South Dakota, Montana, Iowa, Illinois, and other states.

A special three-hour session of the AFL Executive Council was devoted to deliberations over a report on the Minneapolis central AFL body, which has been under "investigation" by the AFL leaders for alleged failure to properly assist the Roosevelt-Tobin-FBI to smash Local 544-CIO. This is but further evidence of how shaky the AFL tops feel.

By action of the convention, instigated by Tobin, the Brewers Union was suspended from the AFL for its refusal to turn over its driver members to Tobin's jurisdiction.

This action climaxed a long fight of the Brewers Union to maintain its industrial union structure against the jurisdictional demands of Tobin. It is possible that the Brewers may seek affiliation with the CIO.

Attention of the AFL convention was also concentrated on another section of the organization which has broken from the stranglehold of the AFL executive council. A special committee report, adopted by the delegates was devoted to the International Typographical Union, which by referendum vote last Spring decided against rejoining the AFL, from which it has been suspended in 1939 for refusal to contribute to a "war chest" to fight the CIO.

The report expressed "deep regret" at the decision of the ITU and reiterated the now classic appeal of the AFL tops to "come home" to the AFL.

This convention was perhaps even worse than previous ones so far as jurisdictional squabbles were concerned. The AFL leaders spent much of their time trying to patch up jurisdictional fights between the International Association of Machinists and the Carpenters and Joiners, the Building Trades Department and the Amalgamated Association of Street and Electric Railway Employees, and between the Painters Union and the teamsters, brewers, iron workers, electrical workers and linoleum layers.

This internal warfare, a direct consequence of craft-unionism,

belied the smug assertion of Green, in his acceptance speech on his re-election to the AFL presidency, that "We came as a united family. We have remained as a united family and we are going home a more firmly united family. There is no bitterness here."

In the face of this open evidence of incessant jurisdictional warfare within the AFL, Green had the gall to speak of the "rival, raiding organization" of the CIO and to condemn it for its willingness to offer effective and progressive industrial union organization to those militant elements within the AFL who are clamoring to escape from the strong-arm role of the reactionary craft leaders.

GREEN'S IDEA OF "UNITY"

The internal disputes and jurisdictional warfare within the AFL are the most certain guide to the fate of the CIO and its industrial unions if the CIO should accept Green's offer for "unity" and "come home" to the AFL on Green's terms. These terms, as Green indicated in the convention, include nothing less than unconditional surrender to the rule of the AFL craft leadership.

Under these terms, the jurisdiction of the CIO unions would be determined by such craft-union worthies as Frey, Hutchinson, Woll and Tobin. These AFL craft leaders are eagerly awaiting the chance to leap like a pack of wolves upon the CIO unions and tear them to pieces along craft lines.

That this menace to industrial

unionism, cloaked in the guise of "unity", is being seriously projected was indicated by the appearance of Sidney Hillman at a conference of the AFL Building and Construction Trades Council, held in Seattle just preceding the AFL convention.

Hillman and the AFL leaders got together to lay down a joint policy of defending the deal engineered by Hillman, whereby the AFL was guaranteed, by agreement, the exclusive jurisdiction over building trades workers on government construction. This move was made by Hillman and the AFL to cut the base from under the CIO United Construction Workers Union, led by A. D. Lewis, brother of John L. Lewis. Hillman is working overtime to weaken the Lewis forces in the CIO and lay the ground for a "unity" move at the coming CIO national convention.

It was notable at the convention that the AFL leaders directed all their fire at John L. Lewis and carefully avoided any unfavorable references to Hillman. One local AFL union had sent the convention a resolution attacking Hillman. This was quietly sidetracked in a committee.

DEMAND OUSTER OF THURMAN ARNOLD

Outside of its actions in support of the war program and against strikes, the most positive decision of the convention was a demand for the ouster of Thurman Arnold, head of the anti-trust division of the Department of Justice, for his "anti-trust" campaign against the AFL

unionism. This protest appears like spitting into a strong wind. Arnold is the appointee of Roosevelt and is carrying out Roosevelt's policies. After getting down on their hands and knees to Roosevelt, and vowing him support to the "bitter end", it is unlikely that the AFL leaders will get very far with their whines about Arnold.

The protest against Arnold, moreover, was limited to those actions which he is taking against the AFL. The resolution did not object to Department of Justice intervention and prosecution against the CIO. The AFL leaders are for that, as shown in the case of Local 544-CIO.

The convention also complained against the NLRB. The Executive Council did not charge any general anti-labor bias, but simply accused the NLRB of being "partial" to the CIO.

LILY-WHITE POLICY

One incident in the convention especially highlighted the reactionary character of the AFL leadership.

A. Philip Randolph, president of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, threw the convention into a turmoil when he denounced the policy of exclusion of and discrimination against Negroes in leading AFL unions.

He pointed out that Negro workers in the Ford plants "did not see why they should sign up with the AFL when the AFL admits it cannot do anything to remove discrimination practiced by some of its internationals." Randolph directly challenged

Frey, head of the AFL Metal Trades Department, to "give a statement to the American public on the exclusion of the Negro from shipyards." He demanded similar statements from the leaders of the carpenters, machinists, painters, etc.

The only response to Randolph's plea that the AFL cease its Jim-Crow policies was an abusive attack on Randolph by Frey, who declared that he "wouldn't be surprised if the indictment finds its way into pamphlet form and is distributed through those sections where prejudice is greatest, making our task of organization ten thousand times more difficult than in the past."

Frey's reply certainly will make it "ten thousand times more difficult" for the Greens, Hillmans and their Stalinist bootlickers to convince the tens of thousands of Negro CIO unionists that their interests would be served by "unity" with the AFL under the present conditions.

RACKETEERING ISSUE

As usual, racketeering was one of the major issues of the convention. And, as usual, the AFL leaders did no more than "deplore" its existence.

In the most widely publicized instance of racketeering, the AFL heads did not even dare confront the issue openly, but sneaked around it.

This was in the case of George E. Browne, head of the Stage Employes and Motion Picture Operators Union, who is now on trial in New York for extortion.

Browne has been one of the chief members of the AFL council, and the council members have not lifted a finger to aid the members of his union against his ruthless, racketeering rule. This would have meant opening a fight for union democracy within Browne's union — and union democracy is the last thing which Green and Co. crave. The AFL tops would be washed out of the labor movement on the first wave of genuine democratic expression within the AFL.

Forced by wide publicity given Browne's activities to disassociate themselves from him, the AFL executive council members did so in the most cowardly fashion, without reference to the issue involved. They simply reduced the number of vice-presidents from 15 to 13, under the pretext that the executive council was too "unwieldy", and thereby eliminated Browne by eliminating his post.

Thus the question of racketeering, as well as jurisdictional strife, played a constant accompaniment to the major theme of the convention, support of the war.

Once again, by their actions in this convention, the AFL craft leaders stand exposed as hopelessly bankrupt, without even the beginnings of a program in the interests of labor. It is easy to understand, in this connection, why the CIO, which is free of the internal organizational evils of the AFL, has become today the mainstream of organized labor.

New York Party Holds Spirited Convention

By LOU COOPER

NEW YORK, Oct. 20. — With the deep imprint of the National Plenum and Active Workers Conference decisions upon it, Local New York of the Socialist Workers Party held a strong City Convention of delegated branch representatives.

Comrade William Warde made a stirring speech on Sunday night calling for the defense of the party and the 28 defendants facing trial in Minneapolis. The delegates and guests resolved to go out and rally the workers of the city to a whirlwind finish of the Cannon Mayoralty campaign as an integral part of the defense of the 28.

The practical achievements of the Convention were vividly portrayed in the acceptance by Local New York of a \$3800 quota in the new Organizational-Press Fund, the evaluation and acceptance of formal plans for internal Marxist education, and the decision to concentrate the work of the party cadres in the trades unions on recruitment of the best worker militants.

There were 21 regular delegates from the branches of New York City represented. The invited activists and guests in attendance at the opening meeting numbered 125. The Convention was overwhelmingly proletarian in composition, with the delegates coming from important trade unions in the city, including electrical and radio, warehouse workers, maritime, food workers, paper workers, garment workers, machinists and other locals.

REACHING THE STALINISTS

The exuberant spirit of new recruits from the Young Communist League and Communist Party permeated the convention. These young workers were enthusiastic and certain about the possibility of recruitment from the rank and file of the Young Communist League and Communist Party. They reported that many YCLers and CPers were thinking about the big political questions of our time. "We must show them why Chur-

chill and the imperialists will not open up a Western Front, and how Stalin's policies are leading the first workers state to catastrophe." The Convention was told by a delegate who until recently had been a leading member in the Young Communist League in the Bronx. "We must break the hypnotism of Stalinism over the C. P. members and sympathizers."

The report on New York branch organization and propaganda by Lou Cooper stressed the significant increase in distribution of THE MILITANT by the New York organization. "We distribute thousands of copies of the best organizer we know, THE MILITANT, week in, week out, to factories, to union halls, to Stalinist rallies, in workers neighborhoods." Cooper pointed out, "However, we can and must double and yes, triple, our distribution in New York in the next period." The delegates enthusiastically agreed that the forces of the party must be further mobilized in the urgent task of distributing our paper to the workmen and women of this city. Forward to a consistent increase in the distribution of THE MILITANT, was the spirit of the delegates.

MAYORALTY CAMPAIGN DISCUSSED

Reporting on the mayoralty campaign of the party, comrade Robert Chester, campaign manager of the Trotskyist anti-war candidate, commended the comrades of the New York organization for their magnificent election petition drive. "15,000 signatures looked pretty tough at first, but we've

got a tough membership," said Comrade Chester. The delegates in discussion were emphatic in their determination to use every minute of the remaining two weeks of the campaign to bring the workers of New York the anti-imperialist program of the party and its fighting candidate, James Cannon.

Toward the close of the sessions the Presiding Committee of the Convention introduced Comrade Milton Alvin as a spokesman for the 12 comrades who had just come over to the SWP from the politically disintegrating sect known as the Workers Party. Comrade Alvin was warmly received by the delegates and friends. He declared that the 12 comrades were glad to be able

to resume their place in the movement that defended the Soviet Union. He compared the healthy, constructive spirit of this convention with the demoralizing atmosphere of the W.P.

It was a fine city convention of a great party. Sending revolutionary greetings to Natalia Sedov Trotsky in Mexico City and to the defendants in Minneapolis, the convention went steadily about its tasks of examining and strengthening the work of the party in the most important citadel of capitalism in the world. Determined to build a stronger party locally and defend the party nationally, the New York delegates ended the convention late Sunday night with the spirited singing of "The Internationale."

SOCIALISM IN ONE COUNTRY

STALIN (in 1924):

"For the organization of Socialist construction, the efforts of one country, particularly such a peasant country as Russia, are insufficient. . . For this the efforts of the proletarians of several advanced countries are necessary. Such on the whole are the characteristic features of Lenin's theory of the proletarian revolution."

Lenin and Leninism, 1924 edition, page 43.

TWELFTH PLENUM OF THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL (in 1932):

"That country (USSR) has completely established itself in the position of Socialism. The second five year plan provides for the final abolition of classes and for the conversion of the whole of the toiling population into active and conscious builders of classless Socialist Society."

Daily Worker, October 20, 1932.

Since 1932 Stalinism has boasted not only of having "irrevocably established socialism" but of having actually attained the "very threshold of communism." Today, when the fate of the USSR hangs in the balance, the Kremlin prohibits even the mention of socialism.



NEW HAVEN GOES FORWARD

The business of circulating THE MILITANT continues to blossom. The branch in New Haven, which has concerned itself seriously with the matter of increasing its sales and finding constantly new outlets for the paper, tells us this: "The enlarged New Haven branch met this afternoon and held a very good meeting. Please increase our bundle by 15 more copies. (This increase follows one of 50 copies made a couple of weeks ago.)"

"And just to show you we mean business, I am enclosing a money order for \$10. Also \$1 for a subscription."

THE NEW YORK CONVENTION

The branches in New York, at their city convention held this week-end, devoted a considerable amount of time and a big slug of enthusiasm to the matter of extending the influence of the party press, especially in the face of

the coming trial in Minneapolis. If they come through with all the promises made concerning increased circulation, the matter of a paper shortage is liable to become a fact rather than a scare tossed out by the war-mongers.

FROM ENGLAND

From a small industrial city in England we get this: "We have always been enthusiastic readers of THE MILITANT and the FOURTH INTERNATIONAL, that is, when we can get them. Unfortunately our normal source of supply has ceased since the war and we have received only odd copies from various sources."

"We should be more than grateful if you could let us have regular copies of your papers so that we may remain in touch with developments on your side. Unfortunately we cannot send money and we have no friends in the U. S. A., therefore we are solely dependent on your good will and ability to send us copies without payment by us."

New Pamphlet Just Off The Press!

WITCH HUNT IN MINNESOTA

The Federal Prosecution of the Socialist Workers Party and Local 544-CIO

by **GEORGE E. NOVACK**

foreword by

JAMES T. FARRELL

Author of "Studs Lonigan", etc.

- is it treasonable to oppose the war?
- has the Bill of Rights been abolished?
- what was the Minneapolis Union Defense Guard?
- how does the Administration fight the C. I. O.?
- how does the Justice Department serve Daniel J. Tobin?
- have workers the right to choose their own union?

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160 FIFTH AVENUE

NEW YORK CITY

Bell Aircraft Workers Vote To Go On Strike

BUFFALO, Oct. 20. — After four weeks of getting the run-around, the workers of Bell Aircraft have taken the bull by the horns and voted 30 to 1 for a strike. At a wildly enthusiastic meeting, the largest ever assembled by U.A.W. Local 501, Leo LaMotte, assistant director of aviation for the U.A.W., CIO, said in regard to the right to strike: "Rights are not given us; we must take them."

Speaker after speaker, officials and rank and file, arose to reaffirm labor's fundamental right to strike. National defense was spoken of many times, and Hitler was denounced. But defense of our standard of living was the real theme of every orator. Despite the patriotic howls of the

capitalist wolves, the workers said:

"National defense may be O.K.—but how do we live?"

Bell has been paying 50c. an hour to beginners and 70c. basic pay after four months. The union is asking for a 75c. beginners' rate, a 20c. general increase, and a union shop—very modest demands in view of the rapidly rising cost of living.

THE COMPANY'S "OFFER"

Negotiations have been going on for a month. After three weeks of stalling, the company offered a nickel raise and whined that they would raise the wages 15% whenever the cost of living should rise 17%!

The union rightly regarded the

GPU Rule For Moscow

GPU Terror Intended To Gag Workers

(Continued from page 1)

On October 21, the Moscow radio announced: "You must double and treble your vigilance and exterminate all the agents the enemy is sending into your lines. Remember, the enemy is using all kinds of disguises, including the uniforms of your own commanders." (New York Times, October 21).

If hitherto all Red soldiers were rendered suspect by the Kremlin's decrees, then today it is the turn of the officers of the Red Army. In this way Stalin seeks to discredit, gag and destroy all potential sources of information and opposition.

But despite his unprecedented ukases and all his execution squads, Stalin cannot cover up the facts. It is impossible to conceal from the population the huge losses in manpower, equipment, and territory. The enemy is at the gates of Moscow. Odessa has fallen. Leningrad is almost completely encircled. The Ukraine is over-run. The Don basin is almost completely lost. Crimea and the Caucasian oil wells are directly threatened.

The Kremlin itself claimed that the Red Army had an initial trained manpower superior to that of Hitler. It was in the beginning equipped with guns, tanks, planes to match in quantity and quality, the equipment of the German army. The morale of the Red soldiers was certainly higher than that of the German soldiers. The Red Army fought on familiar terrain, behind prepared and natural fortifications. In vain does the Kremlin now deny that there was ever such a thing as the "Stalin line!" Equally vain are all the other desperate ruses to evade the responsibility.

STALIN'S BOASTS

"Stalin must now resort to desperate measures to hide the truth because at the outset of the war he issued boast after boast — and his lies are still ringing in the ears of Soviet soldiers, workers and peasants. Lozovsky, vice-commissar of Foreign Affairs, prophesied: 'The Germans will never see Moscow except as prisoners of war.'" (Daily Worker, July 3).

"The mighty armament of the Red Army proved itself on the Mannerheim Line, which was considered impregnable. These first-class fortifications were swept away by the heroic attacks of the Red Army, armed with modern instruments of war," asserted a Moscow dispatch. (Daily Worker July 2).

Stalin himself declared in his radio speech of July 3: "Comrades, our forces are numberless. The overweening enemy will soon learn this to his cost."

Stalin's boasts were amplified by his hirelings abroad:

"The Hitler mechanized army is meeting with tanks and planes more powerful than his own, and with military generalship more skilled and more brilliant than his own staff." (Daily Worker, July 5).

All over the world, and above all in the Soviet Union, millions of workers, peasants and soldiers are asking themselves:

"Why, then, the terrible defeats?"

On July 3, Stalin attempted to answer this question by stating that the war "began under conditions favorable for German forces and unfavorable for Soviet forces. . . Soviet troops had little time to effect mobilization and move up to the frontiers." (Daily Worker, July 4).

"We weren't ready," was the brazen alibi of this self-appointed Premier, Chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme Council of the USSR, Chairman of the State Committee of Defense, Commissar of War, Commander-in-Chief of Soviet armed forces, etc., etc. After the full strength of the Red Army is mobilized, Stalin promised in July, the enemy will be crushed. Reality refuted the Kremlin liar.

OTHER EXPLANATIONS

Defeat followed upon defeat, each more costly than the previous one. New alibis, new boasts, new lies were needed to supplement the repressions and to conceal

the crushing evidence of the bankruptcy of Stalin and his clique.

The Moscow communiques began playing this endless refrain: "The Nazis are advancing over heaped mountains of their own dead."

"For every yard of advance," declared Lozovsky on October 12, "Hitler is paying with hundreds of lives. . . The Soviet Union possesses incalculable economic and manpower reserves. . . Hitler can win a hundred battles but he will lose the war." (Daily Worker, October 13).

The Soviet defeats and retreats were minimized. Hitler's forces were being decimated; soon, it was promised, the Red Army would turn on its mortally wounded foe and crush it.

The tales of heroic feats of guerrilla fighters were especially designed for internal consumption. The German armies appeared to be trapped between the regular Red Army and the vast formations of guerrillas operating in the rear of the enemy.

WHY THE GUERRILLAS WERE SACRIFICED

Unable to produce victories, unable to point to anything but a series of defeats and retreats, Stalin reverted to the guerrilla policy rejected by the Bolsheviks under Lenin and Trotsky in the Civil War days.

Guerrilla warfare is spectacular, it appeals to the imagination of people ignorant of the problems of warfare, it requires no general strategic plan and no trained military leadership. It takes place for the most part behind the main lines of battle, and gives the impression that

den. Moscow itself had to begin talking about losses.

"Pravda said the German losses were tremendous, but our losses are serious too." (Daily Worker, October 16).

"Both sides are sustaining heavy losses," announced the Moscow radio. (Daily Worker, October 17).

"Soviet defenses west of Moscow have deteriorated. . . dispatches from the various fronts said today" (Daily Worker, October 17).

LATEST PANACEA

As the losses and defeats mounted, the Kremlin tried to jull the masses with the poisonous illusion that the material aid from the imperialist "democracies" was the real salvation for the USSR. Roosevelt and Churchill would save everything by a flow of munitions and supplies!

Four weeks ago, Moscow boasted that the promised material aid from London and Washington had already dealt a "deathblow" to Hitler.

Today the American Stalinists, campaigning for Stalin's latest panacea, to open a "western front," forget what they themselves wrote yesterday, and admit:

"If every gun, tank and plane produced (in the United States) had been shipped to the Eastern Front, this would have been of tremendous assistance to the Red Army but it would have totalled but a fraction of the huge losses incurred" (Daily Worker, October 19).

Bankrupt, panic-stricken Stalinists can now see salvation only if it comes from the outside — but not from the workers of Ger-

many and the rest of the world. It is from among the ranks of the British and American imperialists that they now seek defenders for the Soviet Union. The editors of the Daily Worker declare:

"The Red Army, well-equipped and well-led though it be, cannot alone defeat Hitler with his resources drawn from an entire continent. The defeat of Hitler requires the opening up of a second front in Western Europe by Great Britain, with the full military support of the United States." (D. W. Oct. 19).

DOUBT PURPOSE This campaign to open a "western front" serves a two-fold purpose. On the one hand it provides Stalin with the most convenient alibi for defeats, and on the other, it prepares his alibi for a capitulation to Hitler. Roosevelt and Churchill, whom Stalin is now depicting as the champions and saviors of the USSR, will be branded on the morrow as "traitors," as those who are really responsible for the defeats, and whose "perfidy" made necessary the capitulation to the Nazis.

But Stalin will not be able to repeat this time the maneuver which he so successfully executed in 1939, when he signed the pact with Hitler, after the collapse of the People's Fronts. Stalin can no longer hide that his policies and leadership alone are responsible for the debacle. No raked terror of the GPU, no amount of

"orders" along the lines of the order of October 19, can cover up the crimes of Stalinism. The hammer blows of events are driving into the minds of the most glibly the real reason for the defeats, namely, the lack of a competent commanding staff, the absence of a unified strategic plan for the conduct of the war. The Red Army has been led to defeats by people without any revolutionary experience or outlook, without military knowledge, without real authority among the soldiers. The nonentities whom Stalin appointed and still appoints to high command have only one qualification — their 'complete subservience to Stalin.

CANNOT HIDE RESPONSIBILITY

Each defeat of the Red Army is directly ascribable to Stalin's purge of the Red Army in 1937-38. In the space of twelve months Stalin deprived the armed forces of the USSR of not less than 40,000 trained and experienced officers, the flower of the Red Army command.

Stalin dealt other grave blows which undermined the defense of the Soviet Union. He deprived the Soviet Union of its mightiest and most reliable ally — the European working class.

During the 22 months of the Stalin-Hitler pact, Stalin helped tear down the revolutionary defenses of the Soviet Union in Hitler's rear. He silenced the German Communist Party in order to retain Hitler's "good-will". He suppressed revolutionary tendencies in the occupied territories.

Now, when the peoples of these occupied countries are demonstrating in action their desire to aid the Soviet Union and strike blows for their own emancipation, Stalin continues his efforts to crush the revolutionary class struggle, this time for the sake of maintaining the "good will" of "democratic" imperialists who dread proletarian revolution more than they do a Hitler victory.

THE SOVIET UNION CAN STILL BE SAVED

It is a fatal illusion to believe that Stalinism is capable of defending the Soviet Union or leading it to victory over its imperialist enemies. But the Soviet Union can still be saved, the masses of Germany and Europe can still be mobilized for the overthrow of imperialism, the necessary leadership for the Red Army and Soviet industry and agriculture can still be provided.

But for this the Bolshevik policies of Lenin and Trotsky must be substituted for the treacherous, bankrupt policies of Stalinism.

Release all pro-Soviet prisoners. Revive the democratically-elected Soviets. Legalize all pro-Soviet parties.

These steps can provide experienced and trained leaders for the Red Army, industry and agriculture and arouse the initiative and support of the masses.

The Soviet Masses through the reconstituted Soviets must issue a revolutionary appeal to the German and European workers, calling on them to join in the struggle to create the Socialist United States of Europe and the world.

Such an appeal would help to disintegrate Hitler's army at the front and Hitler's rule in Germany and intensify the struggles

of the workers and peasants in the occupied countries.

This is the program for Soviet victory which the Soviet masses and the Red Army must rally around and struggle to achieve.

Stalinism is responsible for the defeats of the Soviet Union, for leading it to the brink of catastrophe. At the first favorable opportunity, therefore, under conditions that will not undermine the defense of the Soviet Union, the Soviet masses and the Red Army must rid the country of the bureaucratic regime which constitutes the chief internal obstacle to the victorious defense of the workers state.

Only this return to the policies of Lenin and Trotsky can save the USSR in its darkest hour.

450 Isolantite Strikers Firm

One Month of Picket Line Assaults Fails to Break Spirit of N. J. Workers

By ARTHUR BURCH

BELLEVILLE, N. J., Oct. 20. — After a month of bloody battles on the picket line, 450 strikers of Isolantite Inc., manufacturers of ceramic insulators, are holding their ranks firm.

Their morale is at its highest point even though arrayed against them are their bosses, the Belleville and Nutley police forces, the County Sheriff's office, the boss courts, the boss-kept press, the state and federal labor boards, and the AFL bureaucracy. These workers are striking for a union of their own choosing, and for the reinstatement of Joe Melchione, fired from the plant for CIO organizational work.

Up to recently, they were members of Local 22026, Chemical and Oil Workers, AFL, with a steadily mounting list of grievances which had been left unattended for the past year and a half. During that time there had been only three meetings of Local 22026, all of them presided over by an outside official who ran the meeting in a high handed manner, refused to heed the complaints of the workers or to present their grievances to the management. All demands for an accounting of union funds and for a democratic election of officers, as well as for other elementary union rights, were simply ignored. The only interest taken by the International seemed to be in the \$10.00 initiation fee and \$1.50 monthly dues extracted from girls making \$14.00 per week.

At the last of these three union meetings, held at the plant on June 17, the 75 workers attending were confronted with a contract signed behind their backs by the bureaucratic union officials. It provided for a mere one cent wage increase to be paid upon ratification of the contract, and a second penny increase in November. That was the full extent of wage gains, although a great majority of the girls were making only the legal minimum of 35c an hour (maximum being 45c), and most of the men were being paid only 50c an hour. Furthermore, the workers were deceived as to the duration of the contract, being told at the meeting that it would expire in a year, whereas its actual duration was

Maidenform Strikers See Victory Now After Forcing Dubinsky Recognition

BAYONNE, N. J., Oct. 20.

As they entered the fourth week of their strike, the 1500 workers of Maiden Form Brassiere Company of this city, members of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union, chalked up a major advance on the road to obtaining a decent contract.

The strike had originally been called by the local unionists at the expiration of the last contract on Sept. 30 without the sanction of the national office of the ILGWU, and the questions of local autonomy and union democracy had become almost as important in the strike as the problem of wage increases and improved working conditions. Late last week the national leadership of the ILGWU granted the strikers

ACLU Issues Pamphlet On The Minnesota Case

Civil Liberties Union Condemns Government Action In Prosecuting the 28 for 'Seditious Conspiracy'

NEW YORK, Oct. 20. — The American Civil Liberties Union has just issued a 12 page pamphlet on the Minnesota "Seditious Conspiracy" prosecution, sharply condemning the government's action in this case. The pamphlet, which is entitled "Sedition!", points out that this is the first Federal peacetime prosecution for utterances and publications since the Alien & Sedition Act of 1798.

After setting forth the principal facts in the case, the pamphlet draws the following conclusions on the issues involved.

"It appears from the indictment and the evidence leading up to it that the case presents the following essential issues:

"1. It constitutes the first trial in the courts under the first Federal peacetime sedition laws —

namely, those portions of the Alien Registration Act of 1940 which penalize advocacy of the overthrow of the government or incitement to dissatisfaction in the armed forces. As such, the issue is extremely important, and will doubtless be carried, in the event

of conviction, to the United States Supreme Court. The Court will be called upon to determine what it has never before in peacetime determined, whether a federal statute penalizing utterances and publications can be upheld in the light of the free speech guarantee.

"2. The Supreme Court may well be confronted with another issue—whether a conviction can be sustained in this particular set of facts on the ground of constituting a 'clear and present danger' of the acts which Congress has the right to forbid.

THE ALLEGED "OVERT ACT"

"3. The case raises the issue as to whether a union defense corps formed to protect union property against threats of violence can be construed to be part of a conspiracy of a political party to capture the labor movement and use it for the overthrow of government and the establishment of a workers' government. Every attempt obviously will be made to read that purpose into the one overt act charged.

"4. Whatever the motives of the Department of Justice in bringing the prosecution, the circumstances afford a reasonable basis for assuming that pressure by a national pro-Administration trade union leader was in part responsible for action against an anti-Administration local union brought just at the time that the union had switched its allegiance from the A.F. of L. to the CIO.

"5. The case represents in all its aspects a complete departure from the professions of the Administration concerning prosecutions for opinion and fidelity to the principles of civil liberty. In order to prevent its establishing a precedent it is essential that the case should be vigorously defended and that any conviction obtained should be appealed to the highest courts."

ASKS FOR FINANCIAL AID

The pamphlet concludes with the following appeal for funds to aid the defense. "The Civil Liberties Defense Committee has been created to raise funds for the twenty-eight defendants under indictment, with James T. Farrell as chairman and George Novack as secretary, with offices at 160 Fifth Avenue, New York City. Their appeal for funds has been endorsed by the American Civil Liberties Union, which has participated in the preliminary hearings and will participate in the case at all possible points."

WHY we Defend The Soviet Union

By ALBERT GOLDMAN

Pioneer Publishers
116 University Place
New York City

C. P. GOONS ASSAULT 'MILITANT' SALESMEN

SWP Members Brutally Attacked While Distributing Papers at Local Union

By TOM SILVERS

NEW YORK.—While peacefully distributing THE MILITANT to the workers entering one of the monthly section meetings of Local 65, United Wholesale and Warehouse Workers Union, at Manhattan Center, 34 St. and 8th Ave., on Wednesday night, Oct. 15, the members of the Central Branch

of the Socialist Workers Party were viciously attacked by Stalinist goon squads. The hoodlums physically assaulted the male and female distributors of the paper twice during the evening. After the second assault the greatly outnumbered members of the S.W.P. were forced to retreat.

This is not the first time that peaceful party distributors have been attacked by goon squads near Local 65 meetings. The Stalinist leaders of this large and powerful union, fear that many of the militant rank and file will find agreement with the anti-war program of THE MILITANT. Having had to force their new war-mongering line down the throats of the membership (not however without a good deal of rank-and-file dissent) the Stalinist leaders of the Local now are ready to go to any extremes to prevent the members from learning about the bankruptcy of Stalinism in the present war, and the Trotskyist program for Soviet victory.

The Central branch and the New York Party intend to stand on their democratic right to distribute MILITANTS to New York unionists. At this writing the American Civil Liberties Union is being informed of this outrageous attack. A formal protest has also been sent to the official leadership of Local 65.

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RESULTS OF THE FIRST YEAR OF CONSCRIPTION

Low Morale, Lack Of Competent Leadership Main Features Of Army

By ANTHONY MASSINI

What kind of Army has been produced as a result of the military training program carried out since conscription went into effect a year ago? Oddly enough, the supporters and opponents of the government's war program give pretty much the same answer to this question even though they approach it from entirely different points of view.

The two main faults of the draftee Army, it is agreed, are its low morale and its lack of leadership.

This is recognized by the general staff, the military experts and the draftees themselves, who draw their conclusions both from the experiences in the training camps in the last year and from the lessons of the second phase of the war maneuvers concluded in Louisiana at the end of last month, the greatest war games in the nation's history.

Typical of the conclusions expressed after these maneuvers was the critique issued by Lieut.-General Lesley McNair, G.H.Q. Chief of Staff and director of the maneuvers between the Second and Third Armies. Lack of discipline and effective command, he said, were the two major faults revealed.

A more detailed report, but one that makes essentially the same observations, was given by Hanson W. Baldwin, military commentator, who was in Louisiana at the scene of the maneuvers and had the opportunity to discuss the question with members of the general staff, officers active in the war games, regular army men and draftees (New York Times, Sept. 28 and 29).

"To speak of morale to the Army High Command is like waving a red flag in front of a bull," Baldwin says. "It is a sore subject. . . In our present Army it is best described as 'spotty' — poor in certain units, good in others. There apparently is not the same eagerness to serve as in 1917-18; most of the men are anxious to get out of the Army and think chiefly about going home. Of the one-year volunteers whose enlistments are now expiring few, indeed, are re-enlisting. . . Discipline can most charitably be described as informal, more realistically, as slack."

Nor is the leadership situation much better, according to Baldwin. Among the weaknesses he lists are "too much caution on the part of the higher commands; the exercise of too little initiative; . . . too many officers without officer-like qualities." In short, "The maneuvers were full of examples of officers who not only knew little, but displayed no initiative and little common sense."

Explanations of the Administration

Such a situation, needless to say, creates a good deal of concern in Washington and in the Army General Staff. If United States imperialism is to "police the world" or even defeat the Nazi army, more is required than a large army or plentiful production of armaments. The experiences of the second World War have shown that a winning army must have high morale and a leadership with initiative, experience, flexibility and the confidence of the ranks. That a trained and trusted military leadership is required has been demonstrated at great cost in the war between the Soviet Union and Germany, where in spite of the highest morale and the greatest courage the Red Army has been beaten back by the superior staff work of the Nazis.

How do the administration and its supporters account for this situation and how do they propose to remedy it?

While the administration forces are compelled, in the interests of a realistic understanding of what has to be done, to admit the low morale in the draftee army (it is generally well-known anyway), they dare not tell the truth about the cause of that low morale. For to do so would be to admit that they are incapable of doing anything basic about it.

The truth of the matter is that morale is low in the army because the draftees have no faith or confidence in the government's war program.

After 10 years of depression, they have been driven into the Army and told that now the government which denied them democracy and security is going to war to bring democracy and security to the whole world. They see that the Army which is supposed to win this democracy is itself based on harsh, dictatorial discipline under which they have no rights which the officers are bound to respect.

It is no wonder that all they are thinking about is to get home. Morale can never be high in an Army where the soldiers do not believe in the cause for which they are told to fight or in the honesty of the government conducting the war.

Of course, there are secondary reasons; but this is the main one. The government has on several occasions tried to explain low morale by charging that the men are being agitated and aroused from the outside. It is true that there is a definite connection between the feelings of the draftees and the sentiments of their families and fellow-workers at home, but only a police mind could believe that there is a deliberate undermining of morale and discipline as a result of this connection. When the population as a whole has no confidence in the government's war plans, this feeling is bound to be communicated in a thousand ways to the soldiers in the camps — it is a natural and

Adequate Direct Relief Is Immediate Necessity For Victims Of Priorities

By ART PREIS

Priorities unemployment is the major immediate problem confronting workers in the automobile, radio and electrical appliance, textile and other leading industries.

Hundreds of thousands of workers, who had been led to believe that the war boom would ensure them a measure of job security, are already walking the streets.

It is frankly admitted by government agencies that the dislocation of industry, because of material shortages and the resultant operations of the priorities rationing system, will shortly create a new army of no less than two or three millions of unemployed.

The industrialists and the government are doing little to relieve the situation. But the workers, who face the bleak prospect of repeating their experiences of the ten years of pre-war economic crisis, view the menace of priorities unemployment with growing concern.

A number of plans have been projected by union officials, both AFL and CIO, in an attempt to cope with this problem.

THE UNION PLANS

The major emphasis of all these plans — elaborated in detail for the auto, steel, radio and electrical, textile and other specific industries — is placed upon the need for the reorganization of the industries in order to expand production or to replace production of consumer goods by an equivalent production of war goods.

All of these plans, however, immediately bump up against the solid wall of the monopoly control of the basic industries by the handful of capitalist owners. It is these owners who now have the exclusive power to operate industry, regulate production, determine what is to be produced, and when, how, where and why.

They exercise this monopoly of industrial control for one end: Profits.

The very existence of priorities unemployment is the direct consequence of this profit motivation. The shortages in aluminum, steel and other vital materials, which have led to the application of priorities, result primarily from the unwillingness of the big monopoly corporations to expand

Unions Must Fight to Prevent Suffering of Workers Unemployed Because of Latest Results of Anarchy in Capitalist Production

their own production facilities or permit the government to build other facilities.

Above all, the trusts are determined to maintain their monopolies, to regulate prices and output, and thereby maintain their volume of profit and prevent the possibilities of competition.

The most technically-sound plans for reorganizing industrial production to eliminate priorities unemployment — and there is no lack of such plans — fail to surmount the key obstacle: the control of industry by the monopoly owners.

While every union plan attempts in some measure to deal with the question of control, their proposals end by leaving the control of industry intact in the hands of the owners.

In each case the success of these plans depends on the good will of the bosses or on the illusion that the government is a "neutral" agency which places the interests of the nation as a whole above the interests of the ruling capitalist minority.

THE QUESTION OF CONTROL

The employing class, on the one hand, will fight to the death against sharing the control of industry with the workers. The monopolists ruthlessly brush aside the suggestion that the workers might have even an interest in the control and management of industry. That is a "right" which the owning class reserves exclusively for itself.

On the other hand, the government, which is the agency for administering the state power of the ruling class, pigeon-holes or sabotages all plans for the reorganization of industry which involve infringement on the present monopoly of control and management by the private owners of industry.

Moreover, all the union plans are an attempt to solve the problem of the capitalist anarchy of production — which is just as much a fact in war-time as in peace-time — within the framework of the existing economic system.

ing one, is contained in the slogan of the Socialist Workers Party:

Expropriate the war industries and operate them under the control and management of the workers!

But in the meantime, the workers must be provided for when they become unemployed. They cannot sit idle waiting for long-term solutions to their problems and their immediate suffering, as a consequence of joblessness, must be alleviated.

AN IMMEDIATE DEMAND

Are the workers to suffer hunger and privation because of the mismanagement and greed of the ruling class?

Regardless of what the owning class and government do with respect to the management of industry, the workers must not starve or face the winter without decent homes, clothing, blankets, fuel.

If the government and the bosses cannot provide jobs for the workers, then they must nevertheless continue to provide the workers with the means of subsistence.

Every worker deprived of the right to work by priorities unemployment must receive from the government relief in the form of money equivalent to the wages he normally would receive in private industry, and no less than union wages.

This is the demand which the organized workers, all the trade unions, must raise and fight for. Regardless of what promises and plans the government puts forth for a future solution to the problem of priorities unemployment, the victims of such unemployment must be decently fed, clothed, and housed now.

To secure this demand, more will be required of the unions than a simple plea to the "humanitarian" instincts of the government officials.

Mass pressure and mass action of the workers alone will force the government to provide decent incomes for the millions of workers who will shortly be jobless.

This immediate program must be placed on the agenda of every union which is forced to deal with priorities unemployment.

Governor Stassen Of Minnesota Practices For The Presidency

Reactionary Republican Governor Stassen, of Minnesota, on October 16 joined Roosevelt and fifteen other states governors in a statement condemning racial discrimination in the defense industries.

"I . . . call upon Minnesota employers to provide suitable employment and participation in defense industries to all qualified workers, without regard to race, creed or color. . ." Stassen declared.

Just what Stassen proposes to do about enforcing his "call" is indicated by the fact that he recently informed a committee of Negroes that he would continue the policy of excluding Negroes from the existing regiments of the Home-Guards in Minnesota. To appease the anger of the Negro voters in Minnesota, Stassen offered, instead, to set up a special segregated Negro regiment. This proposal for segregation was turned down, and Negroes continue to be denied membership in the Home-Guard in Minnesota.

Stassen, like Roosevelt, enforces the most outrageous Jim-Crow system in the armed forces over which he has direct control, and then hypocritically "calls" upon the reactionary employers to cease discrimination in industry.

Stassen has his eye on the Republican nomination for President in 1944. But it can be taken for granted that like Roosevelt, he will do no more than issue statements, and these only under compulsion.

inevitable development which no threats and no rules can eliminate or prevent.

Effect of Leadership On Morale

Unable to tell the truth about the basic cause of low morale and indifference, the apologists for the administration resort to discussion and explanation of secondary factors.

Both McNair and Baldwin argue, for example, that poor leadership on the part of many officers is responsible for the low morale of the ranks of the army.

According to Baldwin, "if this be solved, the rest of the problems will in turn be solved." He says that in the opinion of officers at the maneuvers "from this problem (of leadership), all others stem. . . Good leaders produce good troops despite adversity. We have too few leaders in our military and the Army knows it. The units having poor leaders have poor morale; they are poorly trained and they make tactical mistakes. The good units stand out by reason of their leadership." Elsewhere Baldwin says the men "are resentful of what they consider lack of imagination and torpidity in training. . . Too often with inefficient officers and obsolete equipment, the men say they are wasting their time, and they do not like it."

To be sure, incompetent leadership plays an important part in preventing high morale — but it is ridiculous and false to pretend that this contributing factor is the main reason.

Men who have no faith in a cause are not going to take to it much more eagerly because they are given leaders who know their technical business. Soldiers who see no reason to lay down their lives for a war that they feel is not in their interests are not going to be transformed into eager and enthusiastic fighters only because they are provided with officers who will be efficient in leading them in such a war.

Baldwin claims that the men are discontented and indifferent because they don't know what is coming next. "Spotty morale stems from the present anomalous situation of being in a shooting war, but not of it; it is, in one sense, a reflection of the nation's attitude." And in another place: "If the country is going to fight Germany on land, they (the men) want to do the job and get it over with. If not, they want to go home, they say."

To believe Baldwin, it isn't the war the draftees object to, but the delay and indecision. Let's get it over with, is the attitude he ascribes to them.

The situation Baldwin describes is partially responsible for low morale — but only partially. Many draftees do express this viewpoint, but only in the way that a patient in a hospital, awaiting a dangerous operation, complains that he wishes it were over, whether he lives or dies; he doesn't really mean it. The men feel they are in a trap, they fear they will have to go to war even though they don't want to; this explains the "sooner the better" attitude.

To dismiss this as a major reason for low morale is correct, but to ignore it altogether as an indication of what may happen in the future would be a mistake.

The Army's 'Solution' of Morale

For the General Staff and experts like Baldwin — who are as expert in concealing facts as in revealing them — have noted that restless, discontented soldiers who want "to get it over with," show a much higher morale when "something is doing" than when they are just going through routine training in camp.

"The men are willing and eager in the field, yet they have little real interest in the Army," says Baldwin. "They have one

compelling desire, to get out and get home as rapidly as possible. The men are bored — not during maneuvers; these give them an outlet for their energies and natural initiative — but at home stations." Most of the officers praised the efforts of the soldiers in the field — efforts which contrasted strongly with their behavior at their home stations. "In these maneuvers the men have 'put out.'"

"The American soldier is at his best when he is given a hard job to do; the spirit of the troops is undoubtedly better in these tangled woodlands and muddy swamps of Louisiana than it is at their home camps."

And from this Baldwin and the General Staff draw an important conclusion for "solving" the problem of morale:

"The present difficulties would probably quickly be cured if the Army were to engage in active combat. . ."

"These faults are all curable; the Army recognizes them, and is trying to do something about them. And now that the service extension debate is past, now that the country is engaged in a shooting war at sea, now that the Army is procuring equipment and progressing to a more thorough study of modern war, it seems likely the worst of the morale troubles are over. Unless the present inaction should long continue, or the Army should fail to remedy the faults outlined above."

In other words, GET INTO THE WAR AS SOON AS POSSIBLE is the Army's answer to low morale.

Again, there is a certain amount of logic in this cold-blooded approach to the problem. Once the war has begun and the men's lives are in danger, there will be a much greater response to discipline. Much of the feeling of indifference will disappear. Men will, for a time at least, obey commands more quickly, for they will not want to be killed or bring danger to their comrades by errors or mistakes.

But this kind of morale can last only so long. It will be the kind of discipline slaves are taught; it will be a discipline imposed from without, by the exigencies of the situation. And it will be only skin deep. For it will not be based in any way on support or agreement with the war program, and it will never elicit enthusiasm or initiative. Aroused only by the desire for self-preservation, it will evaporate when the men feel safe from reprisals or when they feel that mere obedience is not enough to save them.

This is the program of the Army for raising the morale of the men. It is a confession of bankruptcy, an admission that the administration feels it cannot win the support of the draftees, that it has no ideal and no cause to offer them.

How They Will 'Improve' the Leadership

The General Staff recognizes the need for improving the leadership. "I feel emphatically," said McNair, "that leadership and command can and must be improved." He said that so far as he knew, "no drastic purge of weak leaders is contemplated" but "it seems reasonable and probable that leadership will be improved by removal of weak officers as developments warrant in each case."

But it would be a mistake to assume that the administration complaint against many of the officers is confined only to their technical ignorance or lack of leadership qualities. When they say some of the officers are "weak," they mean not only in experience and training, but also in their relations with the army ranks.

Baldwin concretizes these complaints: "Too often Guard officers and enlisted men can be seen drinking together. . . Saluting

is done on duty, rarely at other times. . .

"Particularly in many National Guard units, where, in some instances officers and men take their recreation together, and among Reserve officers who too often forget the inherent dignity of their rank, there is a tendency to regard an order casually.

"Top sergeants of the old Army are said to be in despair. If a sergeant or a company commander comes down too hard on the recruit, the recruit is likely to write to his Congressman, which used to be a court-martial offense. Today, as likely as not, it will be the top sergeant or the company commander who will get the official reprimand, not the 'rookie.'"

The "purge" is underway, according to Baldwin, although he warns that "a professional officer class in great numbers cannot be turned out overnight."

This purge will be directed as much toward increasing formal, harsh discipline as toward raising the military level of the officer leadership. No more officers will be permitted to deal with the men as though they were human beings; martinets will no longer be "in despair"; soldiers will learn not to write to their Congressmen; a real "professional officer class" — contemptuous of the interests of the men, concerned only with enforcing discipline to the letter of the law — will be in the saddle, and the problem of leadership will have been "solved".

Take care of the question of leadership, the Army officer caste says, and you will be taking care of everything else. By this they don't mean providing a leadership that the men will have confidence in because they take care of the men's interests wherever possible. They mean separating the officers even further from the men than they are now; punishing those who forget "the inherent dignity of their rank"; putting a premium on harshness.

And they really expect to improve the morale of the rank and file this way!

The Army has had a year of conscription. That experience has shown not only that the warmongers have no desire to build the kind of army that will destroy fascism, but also that it is incapable of building such an army.

S.W.P. Military Policy Has the Answer

The military policy of the Socialist Workers Party retains the full significance it had when first presented over a year ago. If anything, a year of conscription under Roosevelt has proved that ours is the only program of military training that can serve the interests of the working class.

Our program alone has the answer to morale and trained and trusted leadership.

It calls for: 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.

A system of such military training, controlled by the workers organizations, would evoke their complete support and their initiative. Feeling they would have something to say about what happened to them, the morale of the worker-soldiers would be high. With worker-officers selected from their own ranks, men whom they had learned to trust and respect as shop-stewards and factory committeemen, they would be prepared to support and follow their leaders in struggle.

Such a force would have none of the weaknesses of the draftee Army. It would be strong enough in every respect to wipe fascism off the face of the earth.

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The Negro Struggle
By ALBERT PARKER

Churchill and the Negroes

William Pickens, A. Philip Randolph and others who support the war program as a "war for democracy" leap into print every time something happens which shows that Hitlerism is a threat to the interests of the Negro people. But they never have a word to say any more about the British Empire and its attitude toward the Negro people.

Both Pickens and Randolph are leading members of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. The NAACP has just issued a letter addressed to Prime Minister Churchill describing five types of racial discrimination against Negroes being practiced by British agencies in this country.

But neither Pickens nor Randolph will make any attempt to answer this letter or deny what it says or to explain how it is that a government which is supposed to be fighting for "democracy" is guilty of the same kind of discrimination practiced by the Nazis against the racial minorities under their control. They will answer this indictment of British imperialism with silence — as they do all other questions which expose the fraud in their talk about a war for democracy.

The charges in the NAACP letter show that the acts of discrimination complained of are not isolated or accidental cases of Jim Crowism, but rather parts of a larger pattern which reflects the views of the British government. Let us briefly review them:

Five Kinds of British Jim Crow

1. Charles M. Ashe, fully qualified commercial pilot and instructor, was refused by the British Air Commission in Washington a job ferrying bombers from this country to England, solely because of his color. He was told that according to the regulations of the RAF Ferry Command, "all applicants must be of the white race."

2. Dr. Walter W. King of New York City volunteered through the American Red Cross, in response to recent appeals from England for American doctors, to serve in England. He was rejected solely because of his color. He was told by the Red Cross: "It is true that only white citizens of the United States are eligible for the Doctors for Britain project. The American Red Cross did not set the standards which are being followed. The American Red Cross is acting upon instructions and cannot deviate."

3. The NAACP letter continues, "Touching appeals have been made to Americans to contribute their blood to blood banks to be sent to save the lives of men, women and children in Great Britain who, without such aid, would die from grievous wounds inflicted by Nazi bombs. Instructions have come to the United States from Great Britain, we are informed, that only 'white' blood is wanted. Does this mean that English men, women and children would prefer dying to living, if the balance in favor of life is non-Aryan blood?"

4. The British government has asked the United States government to refuse to send any Negroes, regardless of qualifications, to help build naval and air bases in islands of the British West Indies, and "visas are denied by British consulates to highly qualified American Negroes who wish to work in the British Caribbean Islands." The NAACP letter, after pointing out that Negroes form 90 to 95% of the population of these islands, asks: "Does the British Government bar these American Negroes lest the example of qualified Negroes filling executive and other official positions arouse too great an ambition on the part of underprivileged Negro British subjects in these islands?"

5. The British Purchasing Commission in Washington has turned down all Negro applicants for employment, regardless of their qualifications, just as it has discriminated against Jews, South Irish and Germans.

The NAACP press release on its letter to Churchill concludes with the statement: "No answer has yet been received." We do not guarantee that no answer will be received in the future, but we are positive that no satisfactory answer will ever come from Churchill. For Churchill is in full accord with the policies being carried out by his agents in the United States.

Those who have any doubts on this score need only read what he had to say about his much-publicized Eight Point "Atlantic Charter" with Roosevelt.

Deputy Prime Minister Clement Atlee, head of the British Labor Party, who supports Churchill's war and tries to cover up its reactionary character, shot off his mouth that "Colored races, as well as white, will share the benefits of the Churchill-Roosevelt Atlantic Charter" and that after the war there will be "an ever-increasing measure of self-government in Africa and... an ever-rising standard of life for all the peoples of Africa..."

A few days later Churchill set the record straight on this question, for he would rather be honest than have the colonial people getting any false ideas and taking all the talk about democracy too seriously.

"At the Atlantic meeting," he said, according to a censored report from the London correspondent of the Pittsburgh Courier, "we had in mind primarily restoration of the sovereignty, self-government and national life of the States and nations of Europe... That is quite a separate problem from the progressive evolution of self-governing institutions in the regions and peoples which owe allegiance to the British Crown."

When Pickens, Randolph and Co. remain silent on such questions, they help only to conceal the reactionary character of the British imperialism they want the masses to defend. Treacherous politics of this kind leads in the end to betrayal of the interests of the masses in their struggle against Jim Crow at home.

Strikes Sweep Shanghai

Workers Demand Wage Increases To Meet Added Living Costs

By ROBERT L. BIRCHMAN

A wave of strikes swept the city of Shanghai during the entire summer and is still continuing, according to the reports appearing in the *China Weekly Review*, American-owned weekly news magazine published in that city. Nearly every day for several months there have been at least several hundred Chinese workers on strike in an effort to raise their wages to meet the increasing cost of living.

At the Shanghai Stevedoring Company, an American concern and one of the largest of its kind in the city, 6500 workers went on strike August 30 to enforce demands for higher wages. The strike followed a deadlock in negotiations between the workers and the management which had been carried on for some time.

This strike coincided with the ending of another of several thousand workers of the China General Omnibus Company, a Sassoon enterprise which holds the monopoly franchise for bus transportation in the International Settlement.

OMNIBUS WORKERS' FOURTH STRIKE

The omnibus workers secured a 20 per cent increase in their cost of living allowance and the company agreed to base future increases on the Shanghai Municipal Council's cost of living index. Other gains were a revision of the bus schedules to effect a reduction of working hours and payment of half their wages for the time they were on strike. The strike lasted for five days. This was the fourth strike of these

workers this year. A strike of workers at the French Club was settled early in September with substantial economic gains for the workers. The strike of several thousand workers in the printing industry, including the China Press, which was obliged to appear in abbreviated form for three days, was similarly settled.

A new strike followed when 2,000 art printers quit their jobs after failure to secure satisfaction of demands for higher wages. Several thousands workers at the Sassoon Hotels were still on strike the middle of September after having been out for three weeks. The strike started when eighteen of their leaders were arrested by the French police. The Sassoon interests, owners of the hotels, attempted to break the strike by employing several hundred German emigres as strike breakers.

The strike of the workers at the Shanghai and Hongkew Wharf was still in progress. The

strikers added to their former demands for increased wages to meet the cost of living, a demand for compensation to the family of a fellow-worker who was killed when the Shanghai Municipal Police, fired on them on August 20, also compensation for the five workers who were injured.

COST OF LIVING SKYROCKETING

The freezing of Japanese assets by Great Britain and the United States and the consequent further decline in the exchange value of the Chinese dollar brought about further sharp increases in the August cost of living indices for Shanghai as prepared by the Shanghai Municipal Council. According to the S.M.C. report, additional consequences were the flight of capital to commodities, speculative hoarding and household hoarding.

The general cost of living index of Chinese workers, with the 1936 base figure as 100, rose to 885.55 in August as compared with 800.32 for July, a rise of 85.23 points or 10.65 per cent. The purchasing power of the Chinese dollar slipped to 11.29 cents, the lowest yet. The food index, only 21 points short of the 1,000 mark, recorded a rise of 109.53 points. Housing went up 26.03 points and clothing 47.31 points. Items under the miscel-

Two Corrections

Two errors in proof-reading in the last issue of THE MILITANT were so serious that they lost the sense of the thought intended, and therefore require correction.

In the important political resolution adopted by the Plenum-Active Workers Conference of the Socialist Workers Party in Chicago last week, printed on page 3 of our Oct. 18 issue, the following corrections should be made:

Under point No. 6, the word italicized in the sentence "The party which aims at the conquest of power... cannot operate with casual members and dilettante members." should be changed to read "leaders".

Under point No. 13, where the sentence now reads "Only our program explains to the perplexed Stalinist workers... how Stalin beheaded the Red Army and left the Soviet Union leaders in industry and agriculture..." the word "leaderless" should be substituted for the word "leaders".

The staff of THE MILITANT is working under obvious handicaps, with some of its members immobilized in Minneapolis because of the trial. But it promises to take every safeguard in the future against such errors, which have appeared too often in our paper in recent weeks.

aneous heading rose 85.16 points.

In an editorial on the subject of the cost of living in Shanghai, the Chinese-American Daily News urged the authorities of the International Settlement to adopt effective measures to suppress profiteering. It attributed the further increases in commodity prices to curtailment of the supply of foreign exchange as a result of the freezing orders; anxiety over a possible Japanese

blockade of the International Settlement; the tense situation in the Far East which may lead to a disruption of the supply of imported goods.

The exchange factor, however, did not warrant general price increases, the paper asserted, because most daily necessities have no relationship to foreign exchange, being produced in China. The paper stated that the working classes "deserve deepest sympathy", but they must realize the importance of their mission and not let themselves be exploited by their real enemy, who has brought on them all their suffering.

This is a reference to the current wave of strikes, which the Wang Ching Wei puppet regime is endeavoring to exploit for political ends and which arose due to the failure of wages to keep pace with the rise in living costs.

the site of his previous operations. Before, he met gunshot from Soviet guerrillas. This time he receives a hero's welcome.

If Churchill sends troops into the Caucasus or Archangel, it is in order to place himself in a position to strike at both his imperialist rival, Hitler, and when the opportune moment comes, his class enemy, the Soviet Union.

The story of the eastern front is parallel. The Japanese imperialists are poised like jackals to spring upon Siberia when it appears safe to do so. Stalin hopes to secure this front with the aid of the American imperialists.

Roosevelt has plans of his own. Stalin can hardly be elated with the fruits of "complete collaboration" with the imperialist "democracies," but he has no choice in the matter. He is a captive of Churchill and Roosevelt. The dynamics of class collaboration have brought him inexorably to this state. In his desperate struggle to maintain himself in power at all costs, he has sacrificed all the vital interests of the Soviet Union. Stalinism is the greatest internal obstacle to the genuine defense of the USSR. Only if this obstacle is removed can the Soviet Union be saved from the abyss into which Stalin is now leading it.

'Allies' Won't Help The USSR

Stalin Calls On 'Democracies', Ignoring World Working Class

By MICHAEL CORT

No one can now deny that the Soviet Union has suffered catastrophic losses. No matter how the retreating forces of the Red Army may regroup themselves, their striking power has been blunted and their capacity for further resistance weakened.

Hitler is now in control of vast sections of western Russia, sections which constituted the most important industrial and agricultural centers. And, just as important in an immediate sense, the enemy has occupied sections equipped with the best defensive fortifications.

At this writing the Red Army has not yet checked the Fascist thrust. But whether it will or not, whether Hitler possesses untapped reserves or must soon halt, the remaining territories of the U.S.S.R. cannot possibly sustain and supply a military machine of sufficient strength and size to seriously challenge the might of occupied Europe.

Catastrophe has not yet overtaken the Soviet Union, but it draws closer daily. All this takes place in spite of the undeniable solidarity of the European workers with the Red Army; in spite of loud and frequent proclamations of support from the world's greatest imperialist powers — Great Britain and the United States. With such mighty and wealthy allies, how does it happen that the Soviet Union finds itself in the present military crisis? The answer is that neither the strength of the workers nor the wealth of the imperialists have actually been mobilized in support of the hard-pressed Red Army. From the imperialists, the Soviet Union has received nothing but lip service. And, tragically, this situation flows directly from the incumbent leadership in the Soviet Union itself — from Stalin and his Kremlin clique.

A large section of the working class of the world is for the victory of the Red Army. Likewise, a section of the class-conscious bosses of the world are hoping that Hitler fails at this particular juncture in his avowed plan of destroying the Red Army. Each class is interested in Hitler's defeat, but for different reasons. It is Stalin's crime that he has tied the workers' cause to the bosses' cause.

The Kremlin, through all its agencies, including the Third International, smothered independent workers action, harnessed proletarian energies into the boss apparatus and thus makes the Soviet Union dependent upon such aid as the bosses are willing to render. In other words, the Soviet Union will receive the type and amount of aid that serves the interests of the imperialists, not the interests of the workers. And, but, on the contrary, diametrically opposed.

WHAT THE IMPERIALISTS WANT
The aim of the imperialists is the defeat of Hitler, along with the simultaneous exhaustion of the Soviet Union. They will never allow the flow of materials in such volume as would strengthen the Soviet Union to the point where it could score a decisive victory over Hitler. In short, the American and British rulers are for the defeat of Hitler and the Soviet Union both!

That is the program that Stalin

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and his Comintern embrace and force upon the workers!

Understanding this simple class aim of the bosses, can there be any bewilderment at Churchill's "vacillation" in sending effective aid to his "ally"?

The Soviet-German war is four months old. What aid have the Red Armies received from their "allies" in this time? As to actual number of guns and planes there is no way of checking, though we know they are definitely few. However, the broad military strategy of the imperialists is something that is concealed only from the Soviet masses.

According to Stalin, the most effective aid that could be rendered the struggling Red Army would be the opening of a "western front." Churchill steadfastly refuses to do even this for the Kremlin. France and the low countries seethe with revolt against the Germans. Hitler holds these peoples with the fewest possible number of troops. Stalin and all his lackeys shout: "The moment is propitious! Invade Europe!"

Churchill resists pressure for such a move and pleads military impotence. Irrespective of the strength of Britain's military forces, Churchill will not save the life of a single Red soldier if he can help it. He has nothing but praise for Red heroism, and he "honestly hopes" Soviet res-

istance will continue. But the last thing he wants to see is a decisive victory for the Red Army. That would indeed be a nightmare for him.

The British talk much of the middle-east. Here the situation is slightly different. Their possessions in Suez and Syria and India are directly threatened and their cooperation with the Red Army is correspondingly closer.

Jointly with Soviet forces they occupy Iran and even talk of sending an expeditionary force to help defend the Caucasus. In such a maneuver they would be defending their own immediate interests in the middle-east. But there is another consideration that is of primary importance. The British forces would be fighting on strategic Soviet territory!

CHURCHILL STILL HATES THE WORKERS STATE

Once before, Churchill directed British operations upon Soviet ground—during the wars of intervention in 1919 and 1920. This time, however, Churchill desires to come dressed as an ally, to take up in earnest the task that he was forced to abandon in 1920 — the annihilation of the workers state, the restoration of Russian capitalism under the thumb of the British Empire.

The capitalist press tells of BEP landings in Archangel. Churchill knows Archangel well. That was

Help Fight The Federal Prosecution

29 people—members of the Socialist Workers Party and the leaders of Motor Transport and Allied Workers Industrial Union, Local 544-CIO have been indicted in Minnesota on charges of "conspiring to overthrow the government."

This sweeping attack upon civil liberties and labor's rights must be repelled! The job of defending the victims of this prosecution is up to the workers themselves. Roosevelt's administration isn't subsidizing this defense project.

Aid the defendants by giving promptly and generously to their Defense Fund.

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The Government prosecution has been condemned by the

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and other labor and liberal spokesmen

Social Patriots Call for 'Unity of Labor'-for War

By JACK WEBER

The Churchills Look Ahead

The social democrats of every land yield to no one in their hatred of Hitler. Their entire creed sums itself up around this platform — down with Hitler! So fierce is their hatred that it cannot contain itself, but extends to hatred of the entire nation over which Hitler now rules. The social patriots are fearful that the master class will not know how to treat Germany when Hitler is finally defeated by the democracies. Their great anxiety nowadays is therefore to advise the capitalists (beg pardon, the democrats!) on just what measures to adopt against a defeated Germany.

The Churchills are, however, quite foresighted when it comes to the game of politics. They view the problems of war and of the post-war era from a consistent class angle. They try to prepare the ground long in advance for all eventualities. One of the consequences of the defeat of Hitler worries them exceedingly. What will the workers and the masses of Germany do after such a defeat? The veriest tyro in politics is aware that revolution in Germany would then sweep all before it, and that such a revolution could not stop short of the taking of power by the proletariat to build a socialist society.

Churchill has no intention whatever of fighting Hitler in order to hand the power over to the working class. His concern is to preserve the capitalist system, but with English imperialism as top dog. Hence the English prime minister, looking ahead, attempts to psychologize the English masses in such a way that he will be able to use them not only against Hitler but against the German workers at a later date.

Function of Labor Lieutenants

This is the aim that is furthered by the social patriotic camp followers of the master class. All their discussions of war aims and of the arrangement and adjustment of the post-war world concede to the Allied imperialists the right, nay duty, to patrol all Europe after the war to prevent "chaos". In reality this concedes the right to continue chaos and to reestablish it as a system.

Support for the Roosevelts and the Churchills means support for this fundamental policy which flows inevitably from the aims of the capitalists in the war. Naturally, however, it would hardly do for the war-makers to state their aims in this bald fashion. These need re-interpretation and quite a bit of polishing-up before being served as mental food to the toilers. That is precisely where the social democrats come in. Their function is to talk capitalist ideas in working class language. That is why what they say sounds just like double-talk.

We have the perfect example of this in the message sent by the new Australian Premier, John Curtin, to his co-workers of the New Leader in this country. How proud they are to place his words at the top of their paper! The very last sentence of his cable is printed in bold, big letters: "The unity of labor in common purpose throughout the world alone will save civilization." And this leader of the Australian Labor Party sends his message — so he says — "on behalf of a solid, united labor movement." What is the common purpose? Labor "has been inflexible in its determination to play the fullest part in the maximum war effort by Australia. The Labor Government stands by Australia, just as Australia stands with the Empire and her Allies in resisting aggression wherever the rights and privileges of freedom-loving people are imperiled anywhere in the world."

Unity — On What Program?

Just in case you did not know what the war was all about, Curtin enlightens you. "Those rights and privileges (granted by whom?) include the right of association in trade unions, and of collective bargaining — enjoyed by British workmen for almost half a century. Those rights symbolize the democracy for which we are fighting."

Talking in terms of unity, the real achievement of the Curtins is to bring about disunity everywhere. They feel unity and act accordingly, not with the German workers (whom they helped betray to Hitler), but with the imperial British masters. Their unity is not with the Hindu and Indian masses ground into the dust, but with the oppressors of these masses. Every step the Curtins take (in and out of England) is calculated to keep the English workers and the colonial peoples apart, not to bring them together.

On what program would Curtin propose that the workers everywhere should unite to save civilization? Does he propose to the German workers that they fight Hitler in order to give the victory to Churchill? Yet that is the only purpose contained in all that the Curtins do and all that they say — victory for British imperialism. To the German workers that means only a worse Versailles and a worse form of slavery in Europe. Shall the European working class unite with the labor lieutenants to enable the Allied armies to patrol their lands and keep "order"?

It is absolutely correct to say that the unity of labor in common purpose throughout the world alone will save civilization. That unity can be achieved only on the basis of a working class program. But the very essence of such a program is its unalterable opposition to the schemes and actions of the capitalist class, at home and abroad. Unity can only be obtained by reaching across all borders, in spite of all the Churchills and all their assistants, to create solidarity of worker to worker in order to oppose and frustrate the oppressor aims of all the exploiters, whether in the fascist camp or in the "democratic" camp. The German workers must be assured of support in their coming struggles against their masters.

THE MILITANT

Formerly the SOCIALIST APPEAL

VOL. V—No. 43 Saturday, October 25, 1941

Published Weekly by
THE MILITANT PUBLISHING ASS'N
at 116 University Place, New York, N. Y.
Telephone: ALexandria 4-8547

Editor:
FELIX MORROW
Business Manager:
LYDIA BEIDEL

Subscriptions: \$2.00 per year; \$1.00 for six months.
Foreign: \$2.00 per year; \$1.50 for six months. Single copies: 1 cent in the United States; 4 cents per copy in all foreign countries. Single copies: 5 cents.

Registered as second class matter February 13, 1941 at the post office at New York, N. Y., under the Act of March 3, 1879.

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

—LEON TROTSKY

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2. Trade union wages for all workers drafted into the army.
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7. Workers Defense Guards against vigilante and fascist attacks.
8. An Independent Labor Party based on the Trade Unions.
9. A Workers' and Farmers' Government.

Concentration Camps and 'Democracy's' War

It may prove disturbing to some liberals who have been proclaiming that this is a war for democracy to learn that one of the preparatory steps for the war is the erection of concentration camps for the internment of anti-war elements when the war is in progress.

One of these camps, about the construction of which the War Department has attempted to maintain secrecy, is admitted by Brig. General Phillipson of the Second Corps Area to be near completion at Camp Upton. (New York Times, Oct. 18).

General Phillipson stated that the huge prison camp is "for the safeguarding of such aliens as the War Department may deem necessary to hold." No one is fooled by the use of the word "alien" in this connection. Hitler, too, claims that his concentration camps are reserved for "aliens," "enemies of the Reich," "Jews and other foreigners."

These camps are intended for political opponents of the Administration, particularly working-class fighters against the war, for militant unionists who lead struggles against the anti-labor consequences of the war—in a word, for all those whom the War Department "deems" an obstruction to the totalitarian conduct of the war.

Let us remind the naive liberal who may repeat that these camps are "only" for aliens, that many infringements on basic rights and liberties are first introduced as measures against "aliens."

Such is the history of the Smith Act of 1940, which, its authors declared, was directed solely at "aliens." Yet, the very first use of this act is in the government's "seditious conspiracy" prosecution of 28 union and working-class party leaders, only one of whom is considered a non-citizen. Indeed, most of the indicted anti-war labor leaders are native-born; some of them trace their ancestry in this country back for generations; several of them fought in the ranks of the U. S. Army during the last war.

No, the War Department's concentration camps are not intended, any more than was the Smith Act, for aliens "only." They are intended to serve the same purposes as Hitler's vile prison camps. They are for the suppression, above all, of militant workers who dare to oppose the ruling class and its aims.

A matter for further disquiet to the liberals should be the fact that the War Department will be the agency to determine who is to be confined in these camps. The War Department is not a normal judicial agency. It does not give trials. Those it selects as "guests" of its concentration camps

may simply be carted off, on a mere decree of the reactionary War Department officials, and confined without trial or appeal.

To liberal and progressive opinion the world over, the concentration camp symbolizes all that is most repressive of human rights, most characteristic of totalitarian terrorism.

It is not unnatural that the American ruling class, as it prepares to go to war for its reactionary imperialist interests, should at the same time adopt those vicious institutions like the concentration camp, which are the hall-mark of undemocratic regimes everywhere.

War for democracy? How is democracy served by a war whose immediate consequences are the destruction of civil liberties, the violation of the rights of free speech and press, arbitrary arrests, confinement without trial in Hitlerian concentration camps?

It cannot be argued that these things are an unnatural and temporary by-product of the war. They are, in the nature of the case, an integral part of the war, as the war itself is an integral part of the operations of capitalism.

Concentration camps! These are the realities of the war, and not the airy abstractions of "democracy" and "liberty" and "freedom" which the pro-war liberals prate about.

On Revolutions

The nation's capitalist press expressed considerable approval of the political revolution down in Panama.

Contrary to their usual tone, the boss papers did not greet this revolution with preambles about "orderly processes," "democratic procedure," "violence and bloodshed."

This revolution was simply the forceful deposition of the duly-elected president by an opponent political clique. The people did not vote him out. The people did not participate in the revolution in any way.

Still the boss press loudly applauded it. It seems that Arias, the deposed president, had banned the arming of American merchant ships under Panamanian registry. His successor, de la Guardia, has revoked this ban, an act manifestly in the interests of American imperialism and its war preparations.

So we see the ruling class is really not against all revolutions. It is only against those revolutions in the interests of the workers and common people.

Some revolutions, like the one in Panama, are approved by the bosses. The decisive question for them, in all cases, is: Whose ox is gored?

The Price of Men

One of the guiding concepts of the bosses is contained in their cynical axiom: Every man has his price.

Their own "principles" are weighed in a scale which measures values solely in terms of personal gain and material rewards. And they apply this measure of value, not only to themselves, but to all individuals.

Thus, it is usually possible to determine the regard which the bosses hold for any man, what he is worth to them, by what they pay him for his services.

Take, for instances, the case of Alfred P. Blair. He is the former Brewers Union official, who, as Minnesota state labor conciliator, recently carried out the instructions of the Minnesota bosses and reactionary Governor Stassen and denied the Minneapolis drivers the right to a democratic election to determine whether they wished to belong to the CIO or the AFL.

Blair rendered valuable service to the bosses, the Roosevelt administration and the Stassen state political machine which are seeking to smash the militant drivers Local 544 of the CIO.

The destruction of the union which has won from the bosses tens of millions of dollars in increased wages and inspired the growth of unionism throughout the entire Northwest, is worth a big price to the bosses. Any man who helps them in this kind of dirty work can pretty nearly name his own fee.

Alfred P. Blair has named his fee—not so much, when you consider the service he rendered the bosses—and he has been paid promptly. He has been given a managerial post as "labor relations expert," at a fat salary, for two of the most notorious anti-labor corporations in the country.

But if the bosses have rewards in terms of material gains for those who aid them, they likewise have "rewards" for those who render service to their opponent class, the workers.

That "reward" is paid in terms of persecution, physical violence, economic deprivation, slander. Measure the extent of this type of "reward" which the bosses give a union man, and one can fairly accurately determine his worth to labor.

This, for instance, is the "reward" which the boss class is now paying the leaders of Local 544-CIO, unpurchasable men of principle who are devoted entirely to the cause of the emancipation of the working class.

The viciousness of the boss persecution and terrorism, the foul depths of the slander being directed at these union leaders is a measure in the scale of workers values, of the priceless services of these labor leaders to the working class.

To the betrayers of labor, the bosses give money, soft jobs, easy advancement, prestige. The loyal fighters for labor they "reward" with frameup prosecutions, intimidation, and all the iniquitous practices which the ruling class so fully commands. In this fashion, the bosses themselves enable the workers to learn who in labor's ranks are loyal to the interests of labor and who are traitors.

Industrial vs. Craft Unionism



Reprinted from the Industrial Organizer.

British Stalinists Beg For A Western Front

Have Already Abandoned the Class Struggle in Hope of A Mere Promise That Britain May Be Induced to Open A Western Front

By LYDIA BEIDEL

According to a London dispatch of October 19, 1500 delegates to a convention of the Engineering and Allied Trades Shop Stewards have issued a memorandum to Prime Minister Churchill demanding the immediate opening of a "western front" and a reorganization of British industry in order to facilitate

an advance. Next the idea was circulated that the advances of Hitler's army were really a devilishly clever trap set up by Kremlin. Stalin's "bait" for this trap was—the vast areas of Soviet territory. Hitler, you see, would bleed to death by penetrating deeper and deeper into the heart of the USSR. Now that Hitler's armies are battering at the very gates of the Kremlin itself, Stalin has discovered a new panacea—a "western front."

The tragic thing is that under the spell of the old hypnosis—that is to say, their failure to distinguish between the Soviet Union and Stalinism—many workers still drag helplessly at Stalin's heels hoping against hope for miracles.

Stalin, the organizer of one defeat after another—for the USSR and for the world working class—is now telling his last lies, among them the lie that a "western front" will save the Soviet Union.

No bourgeois government will ever open a "western front" against Hitler for the purpose of saving the first workers state. Such a front, if and when opened by the "democratic" imperialists, would be designed to serve their interests and not to rescue the beleaguered Red Army. Only the international working class, acting independently of all capitalist political parties and conducting a struggle against the imperialist war, can or will open a front in the west—a class front—against imperialist reaction. That is the only real defense of the Soviet Union. The real "western front" is this class front. Open up this front, open up the fight for the Socialist United States of Europe, of the Americas, of the world—and the Soviet Union is saved!

Still more, the British government, as is well known, has yet to prove itself worthy of any confidence on the part of the masses of England. The Stalinists know this, they even complain about it not only in England but in the United States. Nowhere do they so much as imply that they intend to use even the threat of organized protest, of strikes, of any show of political and economic pressure upon the imperialists. No, they pledge in advance to curb the British working class. They are ready to leave the decision solely to the "good will" of Churchill and Co. Here is their pledge:

"Council members were told to do everything in their power by personal example to attain a threefold objective: namely, to assure for Britain a single plan for war production, the opening of a second front and the strengthening of the government so as to remove all existing doubts." (Our emphasis).

And, as if this pledge were not sufficient, they guarantee to help the British imperialists bind the workers hand and foot in advance of any promise by Churchill to open a "western front."

It is "no longer enough to discuss the waste, mismanagement and mistakes of the present methods of control and direction of production, but rather that men should apply themselves to the task of doing a better job."

This cry for a "western front," for which the Stalinists are ready to pay such a price,—not only in England, but in America and elsewhere—is only the latest of a series of panaceas which the Kremlin in its panic has been circulating.

Stalin began by promising that Hitler would suffer the fate of Napoleon. Then, it was the Soviet guerrillas that would halt the Ger-

man advance. Next the idea was circulated that the advances of Hitler's army were really a devilishly clever trap set up by Kremlin. Stalin's "bait" for this trap was—the vast areas of Soviet territory. Hitler, you see, would bleed to death by penetrating deeper and deeper into the heart of the USSR. Now that Hitler's armies are battering at the very gates of the Kremlin itself, Stalin has discovered a new panacea—a "western front."

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New CRDC Pamphlet Proves Anti-War Basis Of Minnesota Trial

By EDITH KANE

WITCH HUNT IN MINNESOTA. The Federal Prosecution of the Socialist Workers Party and Local 544-CIO, by George E. Novack. Foreword by James T. Farrell. Published by The Civil Rights Defense Committee. 23 pages. Price 5 cents.

On October 27 in the Federal Court at Minneapolis, Minnesota, Roosevelt, Biddle and Co. will place on trial 28 members of the Socialist Workers Party and militant trade unionists of Local 544-CIO who represent a set of ideas, a mode of life hateful and dangerous to the American ruling class. These men and women are being prosecuted today because their thoughts, words and actions are directed toward furthering the interests of the working class.

Who are these men and women, what have they done and what do they stand for that the full force of the government is now directed against them? What is the true story behind this unprecedented Federal prosecution? Why were the officers and members of Local 544-CIO indicted at this particular time? Who prompted the prosecution? What are the real views and activities of the Socialist Workers Party? Is there any basis to the charge that the defendants were "conspiring" to overthrow the United States Government by force and violence? What is the significance of this case for civil liberties and labor's rights?

In his pamphlet, "Witch Hunt in Minnesota", George Novack, secretary of the Civil Rights Defense Committee, answers these questions.

He tells in some detail the glorious history of Local 544-CIO of the Teamsters Union. The unwavering, progressive, fighting line of the leadership of that union in Minneapolis, thirteen of whom are now among the defendants, is a guiding beacon to all militant workers. The record of strike victories, of painstaking groundwork, of solidarity and assistance to other unions, the fights against the bosses on the one hand, and reactionary leaders like Tobin on the other—here is a picture of men and women translating ideas they believe in into practical action.

In peace-time, militant, class-struggle policies in unions are anathema to the boss class and its government. To wage war, Roosevelt must crush this. When the leadership of Local 544 refused to accede to Tobin's demand for unequivocal support of Roosevelt's war policy, the FBI was instructed to move against them.

Why the SWP Is Prosecuted

As stated in the pamphlet, "This case is by no means a simple trade union affair. It is essentially a political prosecution." The American Civil Liberties Union correctly says in its letter of protest to Attorney General Biddle: "It seems more reasonable to conclude that the government injected itself into an inter-union controversy in order to promote the interests of the one side which supported the administration's foreign and domestic policies." There can be no question about it. The leaders of the Socialist Workers Party and the leaders of Local 544-CIO are being prosecuted for their uncompromising, consistent opposition to Roosevelt's imperialist war policies.

That the Bill of Rights is violated by the administration is proved conclusively in "Witch Hunt in Minnesota". The imperialist bourgeoisie never hesitates to violate its laws when its interests are involved. This violation of elementary rights and freedoms is cloaked by a fraudulent charge of "seditious conspiracy."

George Novack says: "The Socialist Workers Party does not deny its revolutionary views nor its uncompromising opposition to war. It does deny, however, that the Government has any right to prosecute on that account. The S.W.P. has the same legal and constitutional rights as any other political party to advocate its ideas and propagate them. This position fully accords with our best democratic traditions and with the Bill of Rights. The right to express one's ideas by speech or in writing or through assembly is an elementary democratic right. Rights of opinion are specifically protected against Federal violation by the First Amendment to the Constitution."

In the foreword, James Farrell, noted author and chairman of the Civil Rights Defense Committee emphasizes the fact that civil liberties, and the rights of labor must be vigilantly protected from the onslaught of reactionary forces. He says: "Freedom of speech is meaningless if it is freedom to agree with those in power. No real social advance is ever attained in that manner. Unless this attack on our basic rights is checked, it will establish a precedent for subsequent ones. This is precisely the manner in which liberty dies. Inch by inch it is eaten away. One precedent after another is established. Repressive and reactionary tendencies are built up until they can, in time, resemble a tidal wave."

During the last war there were the mass trial of the I.W.W., the case of Eugene V. Debs, the frame-ups of Mooney and Billings. There is one lesson to be learned from all these cases. What the boss prosecution dreads most is aroused mass support for its intended victims. To win that support, it is necessary to give the widest circulation to the facts in the case. The bourgeois press will try to isolate the defendants from the great mass of popular support by erecting a wall of evasions, distortions, red baiting and jingoistic ballyhoo. A mass distribution of the pamphlet "Witch Hunt in Minnesota" is an immediate answer to the boss propaganda against the defendants.

Involved in this trial are issues which are of interest and concern to broad and diverse strata of the population. Here is a pamphlet that tells the story of people who are today on trial for carrying on the struggle for labor's rights, for freedom of opinion and speech. This pamphlet can wake up thousands of people who are being lulled by the lies of Roosevelt's regime which is dragging this country into the war, and which is bent on crushing, at all costs, every sign of opposition.

Our comrades in the Federal court will expose the criminals who seek to silence them. We, whose cause they so valiantly represent, have the task of gaining for them the mass support they need and deserve.

No better, single weapon for securing such support now exists than this pamphlet which briefly and clearly tells the truth about the Minneapolis case. It is now the job of every advanced worker and defender of civil liberties to assist in its distribution.

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