

**CANNON'S TESTIMONY
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CANNON ANSWERS 'SEDITION' CHARGES

Defends Socialist Ideas On Minneapolis Witness Stand

SWP Leader Gives Program For Labor's Emancipation

By Felix Morrow

MINNEAPOLIS, Nov. 21. — During the last three days James P. Cannon, National Secretary of the Socialist Workers Party and one of the 23 defendants in the "sedition" trial, has been on the stand as the first defense witness. When his cross-examination was concluded today and he stepped off the stand, Jim Cannon had written into the history of the American working class one of its most glorious pages.

He had gone on the stand, presumably, as a defendant on a criminal charge — plotting to overthrow the government by force and violence. But not for a moment was Jim Cannon on the defensive. From the first he took the offensive, his testimony constituting a detailed indictment of the decaying capitalist system which resorts to war and fascism and to such frame-ups as this prosecution.

Throughout, Jim Cannon spoke as the tribune of the people, chronicling their terrible grievances against America's Sixty Families, and proudly depicting the Marxist program for transforming this war-torn world into a socialist world of peace and plenty.

Jim Cannon's testimony, both on direct and on cross-examination, will undoubtedly go down in history as a new landmark in the coming of age of the American labor movement. Many courageous and class-conscious working class leaders have stood up in a capitalist court, bravely defending themselves and refusing to betray their fellow-workers and their principles — the Haymarket martyrs, Sacco and Vanzetti, Eugene V. Debs, Bill Haywood, Tom Mooney, Warren K. Billings, etc., etc. But Jim Cannon's testimony did much more than that.

His testimony constitutes perhaps the most persuasive American presentation of the case for socialism that has ever been uttered, deriving terrific power of convincing hearers and readers from the fact that the man who is urging it is doing so while facing possible conviction and a sentence up to sixteen years.

SPOKESMAN FOR THE TROTSKYIST PROGRAM

Jim Cannon could do this not only because of his own personal qualities, but because he is the spokesman for the richest, most comprehensive program of socialism that has yet been formulated — the program of Trotskyism. As Lenin rose, thanks to the fact that he stood on Marx's shoulders; as Trotsky built on Marx and Lenin; so Cannon built on the foundations of all the great teachers who have preceded him.

In this Cannon was more fortunate than his American predecessors. Parsons, Haywood, Vincent St. John, Gene Debs were mighty men — but how meager their socialist doctrine! The workers' movement of their time had hardly sensed the broad historical significance of the socialist thought of Europe — of Marx, Engels and their disciples. Although they were splendid agitators, men like Debs and Haywood knew pitifully little about scientific socialism. Hence they were unable to develop significant



James P. Cannon, SWP National Secretary

generalizations from the rich experience of the American labor movement.

Moreover, the lawyers retained in the labor trials of the past were perhaps able criminal lawyers, but ignorant of or essentially not sympathetic with the proletarian views against which the trials were really aimed. At most the defense counsel might have been a civil libertarian like Clarence Darrow, sincerely desiring to win for his client the right to espouse his views, but not himself sharing those views or even really understanding those views in any detail. Guided in direct examination by such defense counsel, even a Bill Haywood or a Gene Debs could explain his views in court in only a half-formed and chopped-up version. Reading the stenographic record of those trials, it is hard to see how even a fair observer could make out precisely what these men stood for.

In this, too, Cannon was far more fortunate than his American predecessors. He was able to expound his testimony under the guidance of an attorney who was not only skilled and learned in the law, but one who has also been a comrade in the revolutionary movement for more than two decades — Albert Goldman. With perfect harmony of purpose joining them, the questioner and answerer wove their thoughts together in a magnificent fabric.

Long after this trial is settled one way or another, long after this particular battle of the class-struggle has receded into the past, the stenographic record of this courtroom dialogue between Albert Goldman and Jim Cannon will be read as a

Effectively Answers All Distortions Of Prosecution

primer by new generations in the socialist movement.

Perhaps even more dramatic interest came when the dialogue ended; when Goldman, having concluded his direct-examination, turned the witness over for cross-examination to Assistant U. S. Attorney-General Schweinhaut, who came from Washington, sent by Attorney-General Biddle to supervise this case. The local prosecutor, U. S. District Attorney Victor Anderson, had handled most of the presentation of the government's case. When, however, it came to making the supreme attempt to prejudice the jury against the chief witness for the defense, Schweinhaut himself took over the cross-examination.

From then on it was no longer dialogue. Now it became debate. The spokesman for capitalism and the tribune of the people crossed swords.

SCHWEINHAUT'S TRICKS

The technical rules of the court were all in favor of the prosecutor. He could ask questions well-nigh at random, shifting from subject to subject, filling his questions with broad innuendos in an attempt to prejudice the jury against the defendants. He could interrupt Cannon at almost any point, and he did, seeking to break down the effect upon the jury of what Cannon was saying. He suddenly produced, torn out of context, sentences and half-sentences from Marx, from Lenin, from Trotsky, from the 1929-1941 files of the Trotskyist press, from forgotten pamphlets — and demanded that Cannon answer, yes or no, whether he agreed with the quotations.

Yet, despite all these advantages on the side of the prosecutor, Schweinhaut was worsted in the great debate. Perhaps not in the eyes of jaundiced observers. Perhaps not in the opinion of those hostile or prejudiced against the labor movement. Perhaps not to a jury chosen under a reactionary method which weeded out of the jury venire all trade unionists, all industrial workers, and made inevitable this jury composed predominantly of small-town businessmen. But any observer present who was at all ready to listen to both sides had to concede that Jim Cannon had pulverized Schweinhaut's trumped-up case.

It was not mere debating skill that enabled Jim Cannon to triumph over the Assistant U. S. Attorney General. Mr. Schweinhaut was undoubtedly the best that Attorney-General Biddle and official Washington could produce for this unsavory assignment. But the prosecution foundered on the rock which splits all frame-ups eventually: the rock of the truth.

What, indeed, could Schweinhaut do to bolster the indictment on which this trial is being held?

CANNON'S ANSWER TO THE CHARGES

The central charge in the indictment, from which all the other charges flow as corollaries, is that "the said defendants and their co-conspirators would, and they did, accept as the ideal formula for the carrying out of their said objectives the Russian Revolution of 1917, whereby the then existing Government of Russia was overthrown by force and violence."

Cannon's answer to this fundamental charge was completely conclusive. Yes, he declared, those defendants who are members

BULLETIN! Defense Closes Case

MINNEAPOLIS, Nov. 26. — The defense in the government's "seditious conspiracy" trial of the Socialist Workers Party and Local 544-CIO ended the presentation of its evidence yesterday at noon.

Closing arguments for the prosecution and defense start today. It is expected that the jury will have received its instructions from the judge and will retire to consider its verdict by Saturday.

Attorney Albert Goldman, defense counsel and one of the 23 defendants, concluded the defense testimony with a dramatic presentation of his own article published in THE MILITANT on March 29, 1941, months prior to the indictment, which completely refuted government allegations that the Socialist Workers Party advocated against Hitler in the hands of armed overthrow of the government Roosevelt and Churchill representing the American and British capitalists. That is unfortunate, and we are trying to convince the majority of the working class that they should take the power of government and the conduct of the war into their own hands, but we defy anybody to show that we are doing a single thing that helps Hitler, the greatest enemy of the working class. . . . We do not believe in individual action nor in the action of small groups. . . . Until we gain a majority to our ideas there is nothing for us to do but to educate workers until we get a majority."

The article, written in question and answer form, states in part:

"Both our members and the workers whom we influence must go to war and do what they are told by the rulers of this country. So long as we do not have a majority behind us we are in no position to do anything except obey orders. It is true that we do not assume responsibility for this war in any way whatever, but to draw from that fact the conclusion that we thereby help Hitler win, lacks logic and common sense. The conduct of the war

of the Socialist Workers Party proclaim that the Russian Revolution is the greatest event in history; it is the great example for the working class in every capitalist country of the way out of capitalism toward socialism. But the government is lying, when it says that the Russian Revolution was accomplished by force and violence on the part of the working class.

The full implications of the prosecution's indictment of the Russian Revolution were brought out in the government's presentation of its case. Its contention was that the Russian Revolution had been made by an illegal conspiracy of an armed minority. That contention could scarcely be proved by the socialist literature introduced by the government and admitted as evidence by the judge. These government exhibits included the Marx-Engels "Communist Manifesto" of 1848! (The presumed effect of the name of it on ignorant jurors was probably why it was introduced.) It could not be proved by the literature of the Socialist Workers Party.

So . . . the government resorted to proving that the Russian Revolution was an illegal conspiracy of an armed minority. . . . proving it by testimony of government witnesses that various of the defendants had said words to that effect in private conversations! That was the heart of the prosecution's case: one government witness after another taking the stand to testify that V. R. Dunne, or Carl Skoglund, or Max Goldman, etc., in a barroom or in a parked automobile or in a union clubroom, in a personal conversation, had stated that the Socialist Workers Party was plotting an armed revolution soon — i. e., by a minority — just like the Russian Revolution.

TESTIMONY DEFENDS THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTION

In the direct testimony Cannon punctured all this clap-trap by an elementary recital of the unquestionable historical facts. He gave a chronology of the main events in Russia in 1917 from the fall of the Czar in March to the establishment of the Soviet government on November 7, 1917. Those indisputable facts established that, with the collapse of Czarism, all the labor and peasant parties and organizations united to set up the Soviets; that the Soviets were from the first the most authoritative body in Russia; that the Lvov-Miliukov and the Kerensky cabinets derived their sole authority to govern from the consent of the Soviets, which during most of the February-November period gave a majority to the Social Revolutionary and Menshevik parties; and that only when the Soviets gave a majority to the Bolsheviks and the authority to do so, did the Bolsheviks set up the Soviet government on November 7, 1917.

In short, the Soviet government was legally established by the authority of the overwhelming majority of the people, and the violence came, not from the workers and peasants but from the reactionary, outlived minority which refused to abide by the decision of the majority.

Against these unassailable facts Schweinhaut could throw himself only in vain. In cross-examination he could only try, by dishonest questions, to foist upon the jury an impression that Cannon's recital of the history of the Russian Revolution was not really the whole story. Typical of the corrupt methods used by Schweinhaut was his rapidly reading, with a "triumphant" expression on his face, some ten pages from Leon Trotsky's "Lessons of October", and concluding with: "Now doesn't that disprove your story, Mr. Cannon?" Schweinhaut knew better, but obviously hoped, by his reading to rural jurors a text full of strange expressions, that he would confuse them and they would accept his deliberately false conclusion.

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'Captive' Mine Workers Forced To Arbitrate

Government Strikebreaking Threats, Lack of Full CIO Support Lead to Ending of Strike

By ART PREIS

Overwhelming government and employer pressure, aided by the refusal of the Hillmanite-Stalinist leaders of the CIO to give more than lip-service to the fight of the United Mine Workers, CIO, has forced the "captive" coal mine workers to end their strike for the union shop with an agreement to submit the issue to binding arbitration.

Faced with the threat of large-scale military intervention — 50,000 fully-equipped regular army troops were mobilized for strike-breaking duty — and lacking the assurance of decisive support from the pro-war leaders of the CIO, representatives of the "captive" mine locals met last Sunday and agreed to the settlement approval by the UMW policy committee at the demand of Roosevelt.

It is possible that Dr. John L. Steelman, "resigned" director of the United States Conciliation Service who was named as the decisive arbiter on Roosevelt's three-man arbitration board, may finally vote the union shop or some compromise to the "captive" miners as an attempt to revive faith in the government's "impartiality." But there is no question that labor has suffered a blow with respect to those basic issues — the right to strike and to oppose compulsory arbitration — that developed out of the mine controversy and far transcended the immediate union shop demand directly involved.

Roosevelt used the strike to in-

action which involved almost 200,000 commercial mine workers by the time of the settlement, that they were ready and willing for a last-ditch fight. They held their picket lines in the face of the murderous violence of the companies, whose agents shot and knifed over a score of strikers, and against the almost unprecedented pressure of the government, big business forces and the propaganda barrage of the capitalist press.

MINERS FACED TREMENDOUS ODDS

If the miners retreated it was because they felt that they were confronting insuperable odds against which they would be smashed to pieces in a continued frontal assault. They had to withdraw to a defensive line which they continue to hold.

This position was forced on them in part by the attitude of the Hillmanite-Stalinist leadership of the CIO, which ran hog-wild in the recent CIO national convention in its sycophantic demonstrations of support for Roosevelt's war program. They were restrained from openly backing the Administration against the miners only by the tremendous pressure from the CIO ranks and the fear that their own union base would be undermined by a ruinous defeat of the mine union, the very heart of the CIO.

The action of the CIO convention in voting unanimous support

to the miners unquestionably was the decisive factor in staying the hand of Roosevelt from an immediate and violent strikebreaking attack on the miners.

But this action was so far nullified by the unqualified political support accorded Roosevelt by the vast majority of CIO leaders, that the CIO resolution of endorsement for the mine strike constituted no guarantee of continued united

CIO backing should the strike have eventuated in a real showdown.

STRIKE BROUGHT OUT CONTRADICTIONS

The mine strike brought into sharpest focus the insoluble contradiction in the policies of the CIO and the trade union leadership generally. The necessities of Roosevelt's imperialist war program, which the Hillmanite-

Stalinist CIO leaders support unconditionally, demand a totalitarian organization of the economic and political life of the country.

The boss war economy comes into inevitable conflict with the needs of the workers, whose rights and freedom of action the government seeks to stifle at all costs. The trade union leadership wants to reconcile this fundamental con-

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Libyan Front Is Of No Use To Defense Of USSR

It Serves Interests Of British Empire, Not The Workers State

By HENRY KELLER

The Nazi offensive against Moscow, Rostov and the Caucasus goes relentlessly forward. With utter disregard of the cost in human lives the Hitlerite high command throws millions of men into the conflict to gain even the smallest ground in their advance. Hitler is ready to incur these losses to achieve the conquest of Moscow, even though it may not be decisive for winning the war, because he hopes that the hated swastika flying over the spires of the Kremlin will have

a demoralizing effect on the Soviet population.

For more than two months the Red Army and the Soviet workers before Moscow and Leningrad have stayed the march of a military machine that routed and dispersed the forces of the great western powers, France, Britain and Belgium in less than two months. The Soviet workers have been building a barricade of human bodies to keep the arch-representative of world capitalist reaction out of Moscow. It is not for want of courage or valor or stamina or any of the fighting qualities that constitute the morale of an army of victory, that the Red Army has been beaten back for the Soviet soldiers

have exhibited these qualities in superabundance. The Soviet workers lack qualified leadership and allies — to these glaring defects, the fruits of Stalin's policy, Hitler owes his victories. IMPERIALISTS WILL NOT SAVE USSR

Even today, as the war approaches a fatal climax, Stalin's policy is one of dependence on the treacherous capitalist rulers of the British and American Empires, on Roosevelt and Churchill. It was a foregone conclusion that the chiefs of Anglo-American imperialism would promise much and give little, that they wanted not a Soviet victory but a new battlefield to give them

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Pro-War Stand Imperils CIO Organizing Drives

Leadership's Support for War Conflicts With Need For Militant Campaign Methods

By JOE ANDREWS

DETROIT, Nov. 22. — The first major step toward reducing the dynamic Congress of Industrial Organizations to a mere agency of the government's war machine was taken at the Fourth Constitutional Convention of the CIO, where the entire top leadership, with few exceptions, enlisted as recruiting sergeants for Roosevelt's imperialist war.

A resolution endorsing, without qualification, the war program of Roosevelt, applauding the abolition of the Neutrality Act, and calling for convoys on all seas, placed the CIO on record for the first time in favor of another "war to save the world for democracy." All the convention's resolutions and speeches demanding protection of labor's rights, were thus submerged by their political support of the war. This basic political stand implied that so far as CIO leaders are concerned, labor's rights would have to be sacrificed, along with the lives of millions, to satisfy the imperialist lust of Wall Street.

CIO delegates, led by the Hillmanite-Stalinist bloc, demanded "national unity" and struck a harsh note of reactionary intolerance and frenzied warmongering, denouncing as agents of Hitler all who would not support Roosevelt and Churchill.

WARNONGERS READY TO "SHELVE THINGS"

Few delegates openly admitted that their pro-war stand would inevitably mean the shelving of the rights and just demands of labor. But Leo Krzycki, of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, gave voice to the underlying feeling of the pro-war CIO leaders, when he said, "Let us say that in these extraordinary times we are willing for the time being to shelve the things we are entitled to."

Most of the other leading CIO spokesmen avoided such a direct admission of the consequences of their support of the war, and tried to reconcile their "all out" support of Roosevelt's foreign policy with the maintenance of the rights and the conditions of labor.

CIO President Philip Murray's speeches expressed the dilemma of the CIO leadership. His closing speech before the convention was a mass of confusion and contradictions.

"I say to the government of the United States of America," he said, "the National CIO is here with its heart, its mind, its body, its everything, its life, its blood, and its limbs, prepared to make whatever sacrifices may be necessary to protect this thing we call democracy."

At the same time, he had to indicate that all is not milk and

Delegate Reid Robinson of the Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers, a Stalinist fellow-traveler, described the situation in Canada, where he recently was held prisoner by the government.

"At the present time," he said, "there are some 4,000 miners on strike in the Kirkland Lake area. The eyes of all Canadian labor are upon this situation because it means the difference between recognition and non-recognition of labor in Canada. Under the present conditions in Canada, restrictions that are almost of a Fascist nature are placed upon organized labor. IN THIS RESOLUTION WE ARE NOT ASKING FOR ALL-OUT SUPPORT FOR THE STRIKE OF THE MINERS IN CANADA, but ask individual organizations for their support."

AN AMAZING RESOLUTION

"It is not the strongest resolution in the world," he admitted. The resolution follows in full: "WHEREAS: This convention has noted with regret and disfavor the frequent and unjustified attacks on the CIO and its affiliated unions in some sections of the press of Canada, and

"WHEREAS: These attacks are particularly unwarranted at this time when all the energies of the millions of workers in the CIO in the United States and the National CIO itself are directed towards production of war materials for Canada and Great Britain, in this war, NEVERTHELESS

"BE IT RESOLVED: That in spite of these attacks, the CIO will steadfastly continue in the determination to give every assistance to Great Britain and Canada and all their allies in the present struggle against Hitler and all that he stands for.

This resolution informing "fascist-like" Canada that in spite of its blow against the CIO, the organization will nevertheless give its full support to that government, reveals to the core the real meaning of all-out support of the boss war. "Break our strikes..." Reid Robinson is saying. "We support you all the same."

HILLMANITE AND STALINIST COMPETITION

In this surrender to the war interests of the Morgans, Duponts and Rockefeller, the Hillmanites and Stalinists attempted to outdo each other, in the spirit of friendly contest.

No sooner would someone like

Poll-Tax Court Sets Date For Execution Of Waller

December 12 is the date set for the execution of Odell Waller, 24 year old Negro share-cropper sentenced to die for the self-defense shooting of his white landlord.

A stay of execution is being asked so that the defense may have time to file a petition for

habeas corpus on sworn evidence that non-payers of poll tax are systematically excluded from jury duty in Pittsylvania County, Virginia, where Waller was tried. Waller was deprived of a jury of his peers because of the poll tax.

If the Virginia courts refuse, on a writ of habeas corpus, to set aside Waller's conviction, Waller's attorneys, John F. Finerty and Thomas H. Stone, plan to immediately ask review by the U. S. Supreme Court, thus bringing the whole poll tax issue before the nation's highest court.

The Workers Defense League, one of the organizations defending Waller, declares that it "sees the death penalty applied in this case as if Waller's action had been a cold-blooded and malicious murder. The evidence of self-defense seems to have been disregarded. Waller felt himself involved in a web of oppression, unjustly evicted from his home and deprived of his family's share in the crop which they had worked to raise. The League asks for him the opportunity for a new trial by a jury which can view his case without prejudice."

WHAT THE WORKERS WANT

The CIO workers hate Hitlerism in all its manifestations and wish to oppose it. Nevertheless they have not given up their right nor their intentions to fight for decent living conditions. They are not prepared to accept the inevitable consequences of this imperialist war as expressed in wage-freezing, speed-up, longer hours, abolition of their civil rights, etc. On the contrary, the advanced sections of the 5,000,000 workers who have built the CIO into the greatest labor organization in American history, identify the struggle against fascism abroad with a struggle for their economic rights and political liberties at home.

A second article in this series analyzing the results of the CIO convention will appear in THE MILITANT next week.

New Forces Supporting Defense Of 23 On Trial

Women's Group Hits Trial

ST. PAUL, Nov. 19. — The Minnesota State Board of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom yesterday heard a report on the "seditious conspiracy" trial going on in Judge Joyce's court in Minneapolis. After some discussion they unanimously adopted the following resolution, addressed to Attorney General Biddle:

"We, the State Executive Board of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, Minnesota Branch, deplore the action taken by the Federal Department of Justice in the prosecution of 23 members of the Socialist Workers Party now under indictment in Minneapolis. To all intents and purposes this trial has become a prosecution for holding and advocating opinions about government — an unprecedented trial of a legally constituted political party.

SUPPORT RIGHT OF FREE SPEECH

"We wish to make very clear that we do not in any way approve or defend the labor tactics of the leaders of Local 544, Motor Transport and Allied Industrial Workers Union, CIO, or the political theories of the Socialist Workers Party. We do, however, maintain

unreservedly the right of the defendants to hold and advocate their opinions. Such right is guaranteed to all citizens of the United States in the first amendment to the Constitution under the Bill of Rights — the right of free speech.

"It ill behooves our government, in this hour of crisis for democracy in the world, to strike a fatal blow at the very roots of democracy in our own land."

Dorothy Schultz Starts On Tour

Dorothy Schultz, one of the five defendants released last week when Federal Judge M. M. Joyce directed that they be acquitted, has started on an extensive speaking tour in behalf of the other 23 defendants.

Graduate of the University of Minnesota and a member of the American Federation of Teachers, Mrs. Schultz is secretary of the Twin Cities Workers Defense League and St. Paul organizer of the Socialist Workers Party. A noted speaker and writer, she has for many years been prominent in the fight for improvement of relief to the unemployed.

Mrs. Schultz began her tour in Chicago where she spoke on Tuesday, Nov. 25. Other meetings at which Mrs. Schultz will speak are

being arranged for Detroit, Cleveland, Buffalo, Boston, New York, Philadelphia, Reading, Allentown and Trenton.

"We remain in complete solidarity with the defendants," declared Mrs. Schultz after the directed verdict of acquittal for the five defendants. "We must redouble our efforts to save our co-defendants and friends."

Noted Figures Join Committee

New members are joining the National Committee of the Civil Rights Defense Committee almost daily. The National Committee now numbers 65 men and women, all well-known liberal and labor leaders.

Among those who joined the National Committee last week are the following:

- LOUIS NELSON, mgr. of N. Y. Joint Board of Knitgoods Workers, ILGWU; Rev. OWEN D. KNOX, former chairman, National Federation for Constitutional Liberties; Mrs. CAROLYN STORLIE, member Minneapolis Board of Public Welfare; M. A. Y. N. R. KRUEGER, professor at Chicago University and member of the National Committee of the Socialist Party; Rt. Rev. D. T. HUNTINGTON; F. O. MATTHIESSEN, professor at Harvard University; MARGARET WEST, well-known liberal Minneapolis school teacher; W. E. B. DUBOIS, leading Negro educator, professor at Atlanta University; DEWEY ALBINSON, former head of Minnesota WPA Project.

CP-FRANKENSTEEN FORCES PROPOSE AID TO FBI HOUNDING OF UNIONS

By MURRAY WEISS

LOS ANGELES, Nov. 22. — The Stalinists have found a new way to aid the Gestapo-FBI to hound militant union men. Last week at the North American Aircraft local of the United Automobile Workers, CIO, in Los Angeles, they attempted to push through a resolution calling for the establishment of a

union "Fact Finding Committee" of ten to ferret out all information concerning activities of workers which "hamper the progress of national defense."

The information thus gathered could then be distorted by the FBI and other anti-labor forces to persecute the union and its members. Regular union activity could be lumped indiscriminately under the heading of activities obstructive to "national defense," and linked with "subversive activities."

It will be recalled that the Stalinists who led the North American

strike last June were themselves victims of the FBI and the Army officials who took over the plant. Some of the secondary Stalinist leaders in the North American local are still being victimized, by being denied their jobs, for their participation in that strike. They have been charged with being "subversive."

Highly significant was the action of a group of young Stalinists who split openly with the Stalinist fraction on this issue. They fought side by side with the militants in defeating this vicious resolution.

The Stalinist-Frankensteen machine in control of the local was forced to retreat. This obviously reactionary plan for an FBI "Fact Finding Committee" within the

union aroused such a storm of protest that the chairman quickly suppressed all discussion and adjourned the meeting. The resolution was referred to a committee of three for "study."

Progressive unionists in all industries must be on guard against this campaign which represents the latest treachery of the Communist Party. Under the guise of innocuous sounding "fact finding committees" the Stalinists are seeking to assist the FBI in its efforts to strait-jacket the labor movement.

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Cannon Answers 'Sedition' Charges

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But to any halfway disinterested observer, it was clear that Cannon had built on the granite foundation of facts while Schweinhaut was banking on evoking backward prejudices in the jury. Newspapermen who had written none-too-friendly articles up to that point; lawyers attending the trial purely out of professional interest; conservative but fair-minded unionists — all indicated afterward that Cannon had convinced them that the prosecution's picture of a cellar-plot to use force and violence was a fraud.

THE PARTY'S PROLETARIAN POLICY

Likewise with the government's attempt to picture the Proletarian Military Policy of the party as constituting investigation of disobedience by soldiers in the armed forces. Here, too, the government could find nothing in the anti-war literature of the Socialist Workers Party to substantiate its charge. And here, too, the government filled in the gap with testimony of government witnesses about what this or that defendant had said in private conversations in bars and house-parties.

Cannon broke this down with a clear exposition of the party's legislative program to secure government appropriations for special military training camps where, under the control of the trade unions, workers would be trained in the military arts and outstanding workers would be trained as officers. This form of conscription, Cannon explained, would make impossible such catastrophes as the treachery and capitulation to Hitler of the French general staff; it would be a bulwark against both domestic and foreign fascism. Perhaps the worst defeat was suffered by the government on the

question of the Union Defense Guard. The government contended that the Local 544 leadership, seeking to overthrow the government, set up the Union Defense Guard in Minneapolis in the fall of 1938 under the direct instigation of Leon Trotsky, who sent his "plans" for it through Emil Hanson, a union member who had served as a bodyguard for Trotsky.

COMIC-OPERA STORY BLOWN UP

Cannon blew this comic-opera concoction out of the courtroom when he cited, with a copy of the 1929 bound-volume of *The Militant* in his lap, a dozen news-accounts of that year reporting setting up of Workers Defense Guards to protect working class meetings from Stalinist hoodlums. These accounts included the setting up by the IWW and the Communist League (Trotskyist) of a workers Defense Guard in Minneapolis in January, 1929 to protect a meeting at which Cannon spoke. Trotsky was then in exile in Asia, cut off from any contact with his associates.

When the Trotskyists and other radical groups successfully established their right to hold meetings without interference from the Stalinist gangs, the Workers Defense Guard was dissolved. Likewise, in 1939, when the Silver Shirt menace died down, the Union Guard of Minneapolis ceased functioning. In short, Cannon established, such guards serve the specific purpose of protecting labor organizations against hoodlum or fascist violence, and no other purpose.

To continue summarizing the specific points on which Cannon refuted the trumped-up charges of the prosecution would be a poor substitute for the verbatim text

of Cannon's testimony. Such a summary would give only a thin indication of the authoritative quality of the original. Every serious worker must read Cannon's own testimony. It must be published, not only in THE MILITANT, but in pamphlet form and made available throughout the capitalist world. For it gives the message of socialism not in the drab form of a textbook but in the dramatic form of struggle which, though decorously conducted in a courtroom, is nevertheless one of the great battles of the class struggle.

CONTRAST BETWEEN DEFENDANTS AND GOVERNMENT WITNESSES

Perhaps one of the most dramatic aspects of this courtroom battle must inevitably be lost to those who are not here personally watching it — the contrast between the defendants on the one side and the government witnesses on the other. What a contrast! I can at least indicate its extent.

In the three weeks which the prosecution took to present its case, the prosecution had attempted to describe the 23 defendants as skulking plotters, furtively scheming to shoot their way into power. The 23 are a particularly vicious variety of gangster-conspirators, according to this tale. Who tells this tale? The bulk of the prosecution witnesses, all the important ones, are on the payroll of Daniel J. Tobin, AFL Teamsters President. Add to these the widow, sweetheart and brothers of the deceased leader of Tobin's forces here, and others of their supporters who have testified, and you have 21 government witnesses!

Who are the most important of these Tobin hirelings, by their

own testimony? Because Trotskyists played a leading role in the trade union movement here, these key witnesses testified they had joined the Socialist Workers Party. They joined for a short time: they joined without any belief in or hope for socialism. They said they joined because of promises by party members (in reality, this was the hope of these would-be careerists) that they would thereby be in line for jobs as union officials. They didn't get the jobs, so they quit the party. And when Tobin launched an assault on Local 544-CIO and hired any scoundrel who would help him, these job-hunters went on Tobin's payroll and now appear as prosecution witnesses against the leaders of Local 544-CIO and the Socialist Workers Party. On such scum has the government built its frame-up! It is impossible to convey what these individuals, mostly in their twenties and thirties, many of them obviously sub-normal, look like on the witness stand.

JIM CANNON'S APPEARANCE

What a contrast between these people and Jim Cannon! He is 51 years old now and has behind him thirty years of hard battles as a proletarian leader. His hair is iron-gray and he is slightly stooped. But otherwise the years of hardships and penury have left few harsh traces. His face is young with the youth of the revolutionary spirit. "Revolution is the springtime of humanity," he once said, and it is certainly true of him. The years have not tired him, but have clothed him with the unassuming authority of a leader who has led men so often into battle that it has become second nature.

This fall he celebrated the thirtieth anniversary of his joining the revolutionary labor move-

ment. This is the third time that he has been indicted, each time in connection with the mass workers' movement. The first time in 1913 in Peoria, Illinois, for organizing the workers in the farm equipment plant there. The second time in 1919 in Kansas, for participating in the strike of the coal miners. Those two times he was in jail before bail was placed, but never was tried on the indictments.

This, the third time, he is being tried for advocating socialism as the solution for the most terrible crisis in the history of mankind. He sits in the witness stand,

courteously answering questions. The scene is quiet enough. But to those who have eyes to see and ears to hear, the air is full of the sound of clashing arms and powerful warriors colliding in this arena. Decaying capitalism is here like a dying dragon which in its last agonies can still wreak terrible damage on the vanguard of the coming socialist world. The monster may strike down Jim Cannon. But look at him! Radiant as a youthful warrior, he fights on to the end. He knows, beyond doubting, that we may lose the battle, but that we shall win the war.



The end of the second week of the drive for special fifty-cent subscriptions for the MILITANT and Fourth International brings us the promising but not exciting total of 27, as follows:

- Flint 8
- New York 7
- Newark 2
- Pleasantwood 2
- Detroit 2
- Cleveland 2
- Milwaukee 1
- Allentown 1
- Rochester 1
- Stockton 1
- Boston 1
- New London 1
- Chicago 1
- Duluth 1

One of the New York branches this week pledged to secure a minimum of 75 of these subscriptions before the end of the year, and with the interest we have

seen developing in our publications since the beginning of the trial the realization of this goal should be no job at all.

Flint really went to town this week on the subscription business. Not only did it send in eight of the special subs but accompanied them with 8 six-month subscriptions besides. Here's the pace; let all the rest follow.

We urge the branches and individual members of the party to plunge into the sub-gathering work without delay. We want to see really big results before the termination of the trial. Now that the defense is presenting our side of the case, it is more than ever important that THE MILITANT, carrying full details, should get into the hands of as many workers as possible on a subscription basis. We know it can be done.

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James P. Cannon On The Witness Stand

The presentation of the government's case against 28 members of the Socialist Workers Party and Local 544-CIO ended on Monday, Nov. 17. The government had used 37 witnesses, 22 of whom were hired agents or followers of AFL Teamsters President Daniel J. Tobin, who had called on Roosevelt to take action against the defendants after Local 544 voted to disaffiliate from the AFL and accept a charter from the CIO. Two witnesses were FBI agents, one was an employee of the Associated Industries, reactionary employers association of Minneapolis, and the other 12 were of minor significance.

Motions by the defense asked for a directed verdict of acquittal for the 28 defendants, principally on the ground that the prosecution had failed to prove the existence of a "conspiracy" on the part of the defendants. Judge M. M. Joyce denied the defense motions the next day; in the course of his ruling he denied that the defendants had the constitutional right to publish and circulate their beliefs. He ordered five of the defendants released on grounds of insufficient evidence, and ordered the trial continued.

The first witness for the defense was one of the leading defendants, Comrade James P. Cannon, National Secretary of the Socialist Workers Party. His testimony, printed below, was at the same time a crushing refutation of the charges that the defendants were guilty of a "conspiracy" and a masterful exposition and defense of the program, tactics and history of the revolutionary party.

Tuesday, November 18, 1941
Afternoon Session

JAMES P. CANNON

was called as a witness on behalf of the defendants, having been first duly sworn, testified as follows:

DIRECT EXAMINATION

By MR. GOLDMAN:

Q: Will you please state your name for the reporter?
A: James P. Cannon.
Q: Where do you live, Mr. Cannon?
A: New York.
Q: And your present occupation?
A: National Secretary of the Socialist Workers Party.
Q: How old are you, Mr. Cannon?
A: Fifty-one.
Q: Where were you born?
A: Rosedale, Kansas.
Q: How long a period is it since you began your career in the Marxist movement, Mr. Cannon?

THE FORMATION OF THE SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY

Q: Tell us the reasons why you severed your connection with the Communist Party, Mr. Cannon.

A: Well, at the time of the controversy that developed in the Russian party between Trotsky on the one side, and Stalin and his group on the other, a controversy that touched many of the most fundamental principles of Socialism, this controversy gradually became extended in the Communist International, and became the subject of concern in the other parties of the Communist International and I and some others here took a position in support of Trotsky and that led to our expulsion from the Communist Party of the United States.

Q: Can you give us in brief an idea of the nature of the controversy?

A: It began over the question of bureaucracy in the governmental apparatus of the Soviet Union and in the staffs of the party in Russia. Trotsky began a struggle for more democracy in the party, in the government and unions and the country generally. This struggle against what Trotsky — and I agree with him — characterized as an increasing bureaucratization of the whole regime, this controversy originating over this point, gradually developed in the course of years into fundamental conflicts over virtually all the basic principles of Socialist theory and practice.

Q: And as a result of this controversy, the expulsion took place?

THE SPLIT IN THE COMMUNIST PARTY

A: As a result of that, the expulsion of our group took place here in the United States, as was the case also in Russia.

Q: In what year was that?
A: 1928.
Q: Tell us what happened to the group, that was expelled.
A: We organized ourselves as a group and began to publish a paper called *The Militant*.

Q: And give us some idea of the size of that group, Mr. Cannon.

A: Well, there were only three of us to start with. Eventually we got supporters in other cities. Six months later, when we had our first conference, we had about 100 members in the country.

Q: And subsequent to that, was there any party organized by this group?

A: Yes, this group called itself originally the Communist League of America, and considered itself still a faction of the Communist Party, attempting to get reinstated into the party, with the provision that we would have a right to hold our views and discuss them in the party. This proposal of ours was rejected by the party, so we developed as an independent organization.

In 1934 we came to an agreement with another organization, which had never been connected with the Communist movement, which had grown out of the trade unions. This organization, originally known as the Conference for Progressive Labor Action, took the name of the American Workers Party. In 1934, in the fall of that year, we had a joint convention with them and formed a common organization which we called the Workers Party of the United States.

Q: And how long did this Workers Party exist?

A: From the fall of 1934 until the spring of 1936.

Q: And what happened then?

A: At that time our party joined the Socialist Party as a body.

The Socialist Party had had an internal discussion and controversy, which culminated in the last month of 1935 in a split,

THE FUNDAMENTAL AIM OF THE PARTY

A: Well, the most important tasks of the convention were to set up its organization, adopt a Declaration of Principles, and some collateral resolution on current questions, and elect a National Committee to direct the work of the party on the basis of the Declaration of Principles.

Q: Did it elect some committee to take charge of the party during the interval between conventions?

A: Yes, that is the National Committee.

Q: Now, you say that it adopted a Declaration of Principles. I show you Prosecution's Exhibit 1, being the Declaration of Principles and Constitution of the Socialist Workers Party, and I ask you whether that is the same that was adopted at the Socialist Workers' Party convention?

(Document handed to witness)

A: Yes, yes, that is it.

Q: Who presented the Declaration of Principles to the convention, do you remember?

First Witness For The Defense Gives Masterful Exposition Of Principles and Tactics Of The SWP

A: Thirty years.
Q: What organization did you first join that was part of the working class movement?

A: The I. W. W., Industrial Workers of the World.
Q: And did you join any other organization subsequent to that one?

A: The Socialist Party.
Q: And after that?

A: In 1919, at the foundation of the Communist Party, I was one of the original members, and a member of the National Committee.

Q: How long a period did you remain in the Communist Party?

A: Until October, 1923.

Q: Now, will you tell the court and jury the extent of your knowledge of Marxian theory?

A: I am familiar with all the important writings of the Marxist teachers — Marx, Engels, Lenin, Trotsky, and the commentators on their works.

Q: Have you ever read any books against the Marxian theory?

A: Yes. In general I am familiar with the literature against Marxism, particularly the most important book.

Q: Which one is the most important book?
A: Hitler's "Mein Kampf."

Q: Have you ever edited any labor papers, Mr. Cannon?
A: Yes, a number of them. In fact, I have been more or less a working journalist in the movement for about 25 years.

Q: Do you recollect the names of any of the papers that you edited?

A: The *Workers' World* in Kansas City. The *Toiler*, published in Cleveland, Ohio. I was at one time editor of *The Militant*. I was editor of the paper called *Labor Action* published in San Francisco, and I have been on the editorial board of numerous other papers and magazines published in the movement.

Q: Have you ever delivered lectures on the theory of Socialism and other aspects of the Marxist movement?

A: Yes, I have done that continuously for about thirty years.

Q: And you have written pamphlets that were published?

A: Some, yes.

DIFFERENCES WITH THE SOCIALIST PARTY

A: Well, the Socialist Party began to impose upon us the same kind of bureaucratism that we had suffered from in the Communist Party. There were great questions disturbing the minds of Socialists in that period, particularly the problems of the Spanish Civil War.

Q: And that was in what year?

A: That was in the year 1936, but it became very acute in the spring of 1937. We had a definite position on the Spanish question. We studied it attentively and we wanted to make our views known to the other party members. This was permitted for some time, and then the National Executive Committee issued an order prohibiting any further discussion, prohibiting even the adoption of resolutions by branches on the subject, and we revolted against that provision and insisted on our rights.

At the same time, a big dispute arose in New York over the election campaign, — this was the second campaign of LaGuardia, and the Socialist Party officially decided to support the candidacy of LaGuardia. We opposed it on the ground that it was a violation of Socialist principles to support the candidate of a capitalist party. LaGuardia was a candidate of the Republican and Fusion Parties, as well as of the Labor Party.

We also insisted on making our views on this question known and this led to the wholesale expulsions of our people.

Q: When was the Socialist Workers Party organized?

A: The last days of December, 1937 and the first day or two of January, 1938.

Q: Who participated in its organization?

A: The branches of the Socialist Party which had been expelled — these were banded together under a committee of the expelled branches and this committee was instructed by a conference to arrange a convention, prepare it, and the expelled branches of the Socialist Party sent delegates to the foundation convention of the Socialist Workers Party.

Q: Did this committee of the expelled branches publish any paper?

A: Yes, it published a paper following the expulsions, which began in May or June, 1937. We published the *Socialist Appeal*, and that became the official organ of the party after the convention. Later, about a year ago, we changed the name back to our original name, *The Militant*.

Q: To the best of your recollection, how many delegates were present at the founding convention of the Socialist Workers Party?

A: I think about a hundred.

Q: And they came from all over the country, did they?

A: Yes, from about thirty cities, I think, — twenty-five or thirty cities.

Q: Now, what did that convention do?

A: Yes, it was presented by the Committee, the National Committee of the expelled branches, which had been selected at a previous conference of the group.

Q: What did the convention, the founding convention of the Socialist Workers Party, adopt as the fundamental aim of the party?

MR. SCHWEINHOUT (Prosecutor): When?

Q: (By MR. GOLDMAN) At that time, and subsequent to that time, up until the present, when you are sitting in the stand here?

A: Well, I would say the fundamental aim of the party then and now is to popularize the doctrines of Marxian Socialism and to aid and lead in the work of transforming society from a capitalist to a communist basis.

Q: Give us the meaning of the term Socialism.

A: Well, Socialism can have two meanings, and usually does among us. That is, Socialism is a name applied to a pro-

jected new form of society, and it is a name also applied to the movement working in that direction.

Q: What is the nature of that projected society?

A: Well, we visualize a society that would be based on the common ownership of the means of production, the elimination of private profit in the means of production, the abolition of the wage system, the abolition of the division of society into classes.

Q: With reference to any government for the purpose of instituting such a society, what would you say is the purpose of the Socialist Workers Party?

A: Well, we set as our aim the establishment of a Workers' and Farmers' Government, in place of the existing government which we term a capitalist government. The task of this government would be to arrange and control the transition of society from the basis of capitalism to the basis of socialism.

Q: When you say "capitalist government," what do you mean?

A: Well, we mean a government that arises from a society that is based on the private ownership of the wealth of the country and the means of production by the capitalists, and which in general represents the interests of that class.

Q: And in counterdistinction to this government you propose to establish a Workers' and Farmers' Government?

A: Yes, we propose in place of the capitalists a Workers' and Farmers' Government which will frankly represent the economic and social interests of the workers and the producing farmers.

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THE BOSSES AND THE MIDDLE CLASS IN A WORKERS STATE

Q: Well, what would happen to the capitalists?

A: Well, under a Workers' and Farmers' Government, the task of the government will be to carry out the transfer of the most important means of production from private ownership to the common ownership of the people.

Q: Well, what would happen to the individual capitalists who would lose their wealth?

A: Well, what do you mean, "happen to them," in what way?

Q: Well, would you kill them or put them to work, or what?

A: Well, under our theory, citizenship participation in the benefits of society would be open to everybody on a basis of equality. This would apply to former capitalists as well as to workers and farmers.

Q: When you use the term "productive wealth," do you mean any property that an individual owns?

A: No — when we speak of the means of production, the wealth of the country, we mean that wealth which is necessary for the production of the necessities of the people. The industries, the railroads, mines, and so on. We don't propose — at least, Marxist Socialists have never proposed anywhere that I know, the elimination of private property and personal effects. We speak of those things which are necessary for the production of the people's needs. They shall be owned in common by all the people.

Q: What would happen to small businesses, the owners of which do not have labor to hire?

A: Well, under our theory, citizenship participation in the benefits of society would be open to everybody on a basis of equality. This would apply to former capitalists as well as to workers and farmers.

Q: When you use the term "productive wealth," do you mean any property that an individual owns?

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OUR ATTITUDE TO THE MIDDLE CLASS

A: Well, the best Marxist authority since Engels is that small proprietors, who are not exploiters, should be in no way interfered with by the Workers' and Farmers' Government. They should be allowed to have their farms, their small possessions, their small handicraft shops, and only in so far as they become convinced, by the example of socialized collective farming and, voluntarily would agree to pool their land and their resources, in a collective effort, only to that extent can collectivization of small farming enterprises take place.

In the meantime, it is a part of our program that the Workers' and Farmers' Government should assist such enterprises by assuring them reasonable prices for their implements, for fertilizers, arrange credits for them, and in general conduct the

THE INTERNAL LAWS PUSHING CAPITALISM TO BANKRUPTCY

A: Well, capitalism is a state of society that didn't always exist. Like preceding social systems, it went through a period of gestation in the womb of the old feudal society. It grew and developed as against feudal society, eventually overthrew it by revolutionary means, raised the productivity of mankind to undreamed of heights —

MR. SCHWEINHOUT (prosecutor): Well, now, just a moment, Mr. Cannon. It seems to me this question could be answered much more simply than this. I suspect the gentleman is going to make a speech now, and I don't see that the question calls for it at all.

Q: (By MR. GOLDMAN) Well, as briefly as you can, describe the social forces —

A: Well, I did not want to make a speech. I wanted to say in a few words what are the social forces that are pushing capitalism to bankruptcy. The laws by which —

MR. SCHWEINHOUT: That was not the question that was asked you, Mr. Witness. You were asked what were the social forces that would make socialism inevitable, or some such thing. Well, I give up. Go ahead.

THE WITNESS: I assure you that I am as anxious to compress the explanation as much as possible.

Capitalism operates by certain internal laws which were analyzed and laid bare for the first time by Karl Marx in his great works, first in the *Communist Manifesto* and then in *Capital*.

THE PROBLEM OF OVERPRODUCTION

Now, the two internal laws of capitalism which are making inevitable its decline and its replacement by Socialism are these: One, the private ownership of the means of production and the employment of wage labor at wages less than the value of the product produced by the wage laborer. This creates a surplus which the capitalist proprietor has to sell in the market. It is obvious that the wage worker, who receives for his labor less than the total value of his product, can be a customer only for that amount of the value that he receives in the form of wages. The balance is surplus value, as Marx explained it, for which the capitalist must find a market.

The more capitalism expands within a given country, the more productive becomes the labor of the worker, the greater is this surplus, which cannot find a market because the great mass of the people who produce the wealth do not receive enough wages to buy it. And that leads capitalism into periodic crisis of what they call over-production, or as some popular agitators call it under-consumption, but the scientific term is over-production.

Capitalism from its very inception, for more than a hundred years, pretty nearly two hundred years, has gone through such crises. Now, in the past, capitalism could solve these crises eventually by finding new markets, new fields of investment, new



JAMES P. CANNON addressing a mass meeting in New York City.

government as a government which is concerned for them and wants to represent their interests.

I am speaking now of small producing farmers, not of big landowners and bankers, who exploit a lot of people, or who rent land out to share croppers. We certainly intend to socialize their land in the very first stages of the Workers' and Farmers' Government, turn it over to the administration of the people who actually till the soil. That also, I may say, is the standard Marxist doctrine since the earliest days, and the doctrine of Lenin and Trotsky in the Russian Revolution.

THE WITHERING AWAY OF THE STATE

Q: How will this Socialist society be controlled and directed?

A: Well, Socialism naturally would have to grow out of the new situation. After the social revolution has been effected in the political arena, and the capitalist government has been replaced by a Workers' and Farmers' Government, which proceeds to the socialization of the industries, the abolition of inequalities, the raising of the level of the income of the masses of the people, and the suppression of any attempts at counter-revolution by the dispossessed exploiters, the importance and weight of the government as a repressive force would gradually diminish.

Because as classes are abolished, as exploitation is eliminated, as the conflict of class against class is eliminated, the very reason for the existence of a government in the strict sense of the term begins to diminish. Governments are primarily instruments of repression of one class against another. According to the doctrine of Marx and Engels and of all the great Marxists who followed them, and based themselves on their doctrine, we visualize, as Engels expressed it, a gradual withering away of the government as a repressive force, as an armed force, and its replacement by purely administrative councils, whose duties will be to plan production, to supervise public works, and education, and things of this sort. As you merge into socialist society, the government, as Engels expressed it, tends to wither away and the government of men will be replaced by the administration of things.

The government of a Socialist society in reality will be an administrative body, because we don't anticipate the need for armies and navies, jails, repressions, and consequently that aspect of government dies out for want of function.

Q: What is the Marxian theory as to the social forces making socialism inevitable?

fields of exploitation, and as long as capitalism could find new areas for the investment of capital and the sale of goods, the capitalist system could extricate itself from this cyclical crisis which occurred about every ten years, and go on to new heights of production. But every time capitalism experienced a new boom, and began to develop some new territory, it narrowed down the world. Because every place that capitalism penetrated, its laws followed it like a shadow, and the new field of exploitation began to become also surfeited with a surplus.

For example, the United States, which was a great reservoir for the assimilation of surplus products of Europe and gave European capitalism a breathing spell, has itself developed in the course of 150 years to the point where it produces an enormous surplus and has to fight Europe for a market in which to sell it. So this tremendous contradiction between the private ownership of industry and wage labor presents capitalism more and more with an insoluble crisis. This is one law of capitalism. **CAPITALIST COMPETITION LEADS TO WAR**

The second law is the conflict between the development of the productive forces and the national barriers in which they are confined under capitalism. Every country operating on a capitalist basis produces a surplus which it is unable to sell in its domestic market for the reasons I have given you before.

What, then, is the next step? The capitalists must find a foreign market. They must find a foreign market in which to sell their surplus and a foreign field in which to invest their surplus capital. The difficulty that is confronting capitalism is that the world doesn't get any bigger. It retained the same size, while every modern capitalist nation was developing its productive forces far beyond its own domestic capacity to consume. Or to sell at a profit. This led to the tremendous explosion of the World War in 1914. The World War of 1914 was, in our theory and our doctrine, the signal that the capitalist world had come to a bankrupt crisis.

Q: What would you say about the law of competition working within the capitalist system?

A: The law of competition between capitalists results inevitably in the bigger capitalists, the ones with the more modern, more efficient, and productive enterprise, crushing out the small ones, either by destroying them or absorbing them until the number of independent proprietors grows continually less and the number of pauperized people increases by leaps and bounds, until the wealth becomes concentrated in the hands of a very few people; and the great mass of the people, especially of the workers, are confronted with ever-increasing difficulties of an economic and social nature.

I mentioned the World War of 1914 as the signal that capitalism on the world scale wasn't able to solve any of its problems peacefully before. They had to kill eleven million men,

(Continued on Page 4)

What We Seek To Accomplish By Our Agitation

(Continued from page 3)

and then make a peace and prepare to do it all over again the second time. That, in the view of the Marxian Socialists, is the sign that capitalism has outlived its possibility to solve its own problems.

THE ROLE OF OUR AGITATION

Q: What would you say, then, with reference to the relative importance of the economic factor moving toward Socialism, and the agitation for socialism of the various parties, including the Socialist Workers Party?

A: Well, now, if I could just explain here, Marxian socialism is distinct from what is known in our terminology as Utopian socialism — that is, the socialism of people who visualize a better form of society, and think that it is only necessary to see that a better society could exist, and to persuade the people to adopt it and solve the problem. Marxian socialism proceeds from the theory that the very internal laws by which capitalism operates drives society to a socialist solution.

I mentioned the war — I mentioned the conflict between the various capitalist nations which are always now in either a state of war, or of an armed truce preparing for war. I should mention also the experience of the 1929 depression, as it is called, with its fifteen million able-bodied American workers who were willing to work, unable to find employment. That was another sign of a terrible unhealthyness in the social organism called capitalism; and that unemployment scourge operated on a world scale.

Now, these are the forces that are driving society to a rational solution, in our opinion, by the nationalization of industry, the elimination of competition, and the abolition of private ownership. Now, agitation could not effect the transformation of one social order to another unless these powerful internal economic laws were pushing it.

The real revolutionary factor, the real powers that are driving for socialism, are the contradictions within the capitalist system itself. All that our agitation can do is to try to foresee theoretically what is possible and what is probable in the line of social revolution, to prepare people's minds for it, to convince them of the desirability of it, to try to organize them to accelerate it and to bring it about in the most economical and effective way. That is all agitation can do.

SIGNIFICANCE OF FASCISM

Q: What role does the factor of fascism play?

A: Fascism is another sign that unfailingly appears in every capitalist society when it reaches that period of decay

THE PARTY'S NEW DECLARATION OF PRINCIPLES

A: Concerning what?

Q: Concerning anything at all.

A: Well, do you mean with regard to doctrine?

Q: Yes, with regard to doctrine, tactics, or principles.

A: No, no — everything we stand for we put in the Declaration of Principles. We couldn't do it otherwise.

It is impossible to build a political movement on the basis of one program, and expect that it will serve another program. That, I could tell you, is a political law that is known to every serious politician; a political party or a political man is bound by his own slogans. If a party puts forward a slogan or a program —

MR. SCHWEINHOUT: Well, now, please, Mr. Cannon. You have answered —

THE COURT: Don't you think this is argumentative?

MR. GOLDMAN: All right!

Q: Now, how long was the Declaration of Principles in effect?

A: From the first week in January, 1938, until the last month in 1940.

Q: And what happened in December, 1940?

A: A specially called convention of the party adopted a resolution to suspend the Declaration of Principles and to instruct the National Committee to prepare a new draft for the consideration of the party at a subsequent convention or conference.

Q: What were the reasons for this action of the convention?

A: The principal reason, I may say, was the passage by Congress of a bill known as the Voorhis Act, which penalized parties belonging to international organizations. That was the principal reason.

Subsidiary reasons were that in the meantime the party had changed its position on the question of the Labor Party. Some questions had become out-dated by the passage of events, and in general we felt the necessity of a new draft.

THE QUESTION OF THE LABOR PARTY

Q: So that the Declaration of Principles did not remain as originally adopted during the period when it was in effect?

A: No, in the summer of 1938, we changed the position of the party on the question of the Labor Party.

Q: What was the original position and what was the new position?

A: The original position, as stated in the Declaration of Principles, was that we did not support the proposals of some elements in the trade unions for the organization of a Labor Party.

Q: By the way, what is a labor party?

A: Well, in our terminology, we speak of a Labor Party as a broad mass organization that is based on the trade unions.

THE COURT: Mr. Goldman, I wonder if you will be good enough to identify, or have the witness identify, in the Declaration of Principles, this feature of the labor policy or principle that was changed?

MR. GOLDMAN: Thank you for the suggestion.

OUR PRINCIPLES HAVE NOT CHANGED

Q (By MR. GOLDMAN): Does the Declaration of Principles that was originally adopted, and subsequently suspended, teach the necessity of social revolution, Mr. Cannon?

A: Yes.

Q: What do you mean by "social revolution?"

A: Well, a social revolution —

MR. SCHWEINHOUT (prosecutor): Was that question directed at this new draft which the conference adopted in 1941?

MR. GOLDMAN: No, I said, "What do you mean by 'social revolution?'"

MR. SCHWEINHOUT: I mean, the question that preceded that.

(The record was read by the reporter.)

Q (By MR. GOLDMAN): Does the new Declaration of Principles, the draft that was adopted, teach the necessity of social revolution?

MR. SCHWEINHOUT: Don't answer that, please. I object to that.

MR. GOLDMAN: He will answer in your favor.

MR. SCHWEINHOUT: I wanted to object if you were referring to the new one. That is not in evidence, your Honor.

THE COURT: I don't suppose he can talk about that until you introduce it.

MR. GOLDMAN: Well, if he knows.

THE COURT: Unless you are going to assure us that you will introduce it; it is a time-saving device.

"To Convince Masses Of Desirability Of Socialism, And To Organize Them... To Bring It About"

Albert Goldman, defend-

ant and Attorney for the

Defense in the Minnesota

"Sedition" Trial.



and crisis, and isn't any longer able to keep an equilibrium of society on the basis of democratic parliamentarism, which has been the governmental form of rule of capitalism in its heyday. Fascism grows, becomes a terrible menace to mankind, and a terrible warning to the workers that if they don't bestir themselves and take things in their own hands, they will suffer the fate for years that has befallen the people of Germany and Italy and other countries now in Europe.

Q: Now, what was the purpose for the adoption of the Declaration of Principles?

A: Well, the general purpose was to put down in written form a clear statement of our principles, to inform the world what our party stood for, and to guide the party in its actions following the convention, to lay down a body of doctrines and ideas which could govern the work of the party and guide its National Committee, in editing its paper, and so forth.

Q: Were there any secret agreements entered into by this committee that formulated the Declaration of Principles, agreements which were not revealed to the convention or to anybody else?

Q (By MR. GOLDMAN): Now, I show you Government's Exhibit 1, and ask you to point to the pages and the sections dealing with the Labor Party question which were subsequently changed.

A: Well, on Page 17, Section sub-head No. 3, entitled "Labor and Farmer Labor Parties".

Q: Can you tell us in brief the nature of the change?

A: Well, it was a change in the opposite direction. At the time of the adoption of the Declaration, we refused to support these proposals for the organization of a labor party — that is, a party based on the trade unions. By the summer of 1938, we changed our mind about that and came to the conclusion that this movement would have more progressive potentialities than otherwise.

Q: And tell us what the method used was in adopting that change.

A: The National Committee adopted a resolution setting forth its changed position. This resolution then was sent to the party members in the internal bulletin, and a discussion period, I think of 60 days, was opened up in which anybody could express his opinion for or against the change. It was discussed very thoroughly in the party. In fact, not all members of the National Committee agreed with the change. At the end of the discussion period a referendum vote was taken of the membership, and a majority voted in favor of the amended resolution.

THE PLENUM-CONFERENCE OF OCT., 1941

Q: Were there any other changes made, either in the Declaration of Principles or in the Constitution during the period when it was in effect?

A: Some minor changes were made in the Constitution at the convention in 1939. I don't recall what they were.

Q: But not affecting the main trends of the Constitution, the main bases?

A: No, I don't recall any changes in the Declaration, other than the one that I have mentioned.

Q: Could the National Committee have changed the position of the Declaration of Principles without authority from the party?

A: No, the Declaration of Principles and the Constitution specifically limits the authority of the National Committee to the interpretation of party policy in the light of the Declaration and the Constitution. So, in order to change any position taken in the Declaration, the Committee was obliged to submit it to a referendum vote.

Q: What, if anything, was done subsequent to the suspension of this Declaration of Principles with reference to the adoption of a new set of principles?

A: We appointed a committee to make a new draft of a Declaration.

Q: And was that draft made?

A: The draft was made. We held a conference in Chicago just on the eve of this trial — I think October 10, 11 and 12 — we held a conference of the party in connection with a meeting of the National Committee, where the new draft was submitted and accepted by the conference, for submission to the party for discussion and possible amendment.

MR. SCHWEINHOUT: I will object to introduction, if your Honor please, of a new Declaration which has been adopted since this indictment. I would submit certainly that couldn't be offered by the defendants.

MR. GOLDMAN: Well, I thought that Mr. Schweinhaut introduced documents subsequent to the indictment.

MR. SCHWEINHOUT: Of course, to show a continuing conspiracy. But can a defendant, after he is indicted, then say, "You were wrong about what you have said because I have done this other thing since I was indicted?"

MR. GOLDMAN: We will stipulate, your Honor, that the basic principles of the new Declaration are the same as the old, but we ought to give to the jury an idea, since our old Declaration of Principles was suspended, of the nature of the new. If you want to, upon instruction, they can disregard it, but they ought to know about it.

THE COURT: I think you ought to wait until you have the new Declaration ready to introduce, and pass on to some other item.

MR. GOLDMAN: All right.

WHAT IS A SOCIAL REVOLUTION?

Q (By MR. GOLDMAN): What is meant by "social revolution?"

A: By social revolution is meant a transformation, a political and economic transformation of society.

Q: And the nature of the transformation is what?

A: Is fundamental and affects the property system, affects the method of production.

Q: Is there a distinction between political and social revolution?

A: Yes.

Q: What is the distinction?

A: Well, a political revolution can occur without any radical transformation of the underlying economic structure of society, the property basis of society.

A social revolution, on the other hand, affects not only the government, but effects the economic system.

Q: Can you give us any examples of both the social and political revolutions?

A: Yes. The great French Revolution of 1789 —

MR. SCHWEINHOUT: Was that a political or social revolution?

MR. WITNESS: That was a social revolution, because it

PREREQUISITES FOR THE REVOLUTION

Q: Enumerate the conditions under which, according to Marxist theory, the social revolution against capitalism will occur.

A: Well, I can give you quite a number.

The first one is that the existing society must have exhausted its possibilities of further development. Marx laid down as a law that no social system can be replaced by another until it has exhausted all its possibilities for development and advancement. That is, you may say, the fundamental prerequisite for a social revolution.

Then I can give a number of collateral prerequisites which have been accepted by our movement.

The ruling class must be unable any longer to solve its problems, must have to a large degree lost confidence in itself.

The misery and desperation of the masses must have increased to the point where they desire at all costs a radical change.

Unemployment, fascism, and war become problems of increasing magnitude which are patently insoluble by the existing ruling class.

There must be a tremendous sentiment among the masses of the producers for socialist ideas and for a successful revolution and, in addition to these prerequisites I have mentioned, it is necessary to have a workers' party that is capable of leading and organizing the movement of the workers in a resolute fashion for a revolutionary solution of the crisis.

Q: Now, what would you say as to the actual existence at the present time of the factor of the decline of capitalism and the fact that it has exhausted the possibilities of further growth at the present moment, as far as the United States is concerned?

A: Well, on a world scale, capitalism had exhausted its possibilities of further development by 1914. On a world scale, capitalism has never since that time attained the level of productivity of 1914. On the other hand, America, which is the strongest section of world capitalism, experienced an enormous boom in the same period when capitalism as a world system was declining. But American capitalism, as was shown by the 1929 crisis, and now by the war preparations, has also definitely entered into the stage of decay.

Q: And what are the symptoms of that decay?

SYMPTOMS OF CAPITALIST DECAY

A: The symptoms were the army of fifteen million unemployed, the decline of production from 1929; the fact that the higher productive index of the present day is based almost en-

'PREDICTIONS' ON THE SOCIAL REVOLUTION

Q: Has the party, or any responsible member of the party, made any prediction as to the length of time that it will take before the masses reach a stage of misery and suffering where they will look for a way out by accepting Socialism?

MR. SCHWEINHOUT: Just answer that yes or no.

MR. GOLDMAN: You can answer that yes or no and then I can proceed further.

MR. SCHWEINHOUT: Here is what I want to know, whether it was in writing, or verbally, and under what circumstances?

MR. WITNESS: I don't recall any prediction in terms of years, but the question has been raised and debated, and different opinions prevail. I can tell you very briefly about that, if you wish.

MR. SCHWEINHOUT: I object to that.

MR. GOLDMAN: The evidence is full, your Honor, on the side of the Government, as to what the defendants said about when the revolution will come, and under what conditions, and I want an authoritative statement from the head of the party.

MR. SCHWEINHOUT: I will withdraw the objection.

THE WITNESS: I don't recall any prediction as to the number of years. We are trained in the historical method, and we think in terms of history.

MR. SCHWEINHOUT: Please answer the question. You said that you don't remember anybody's prediction in terms of years, but it has been debated. Tell us who debated it, and where, instead of what you think about it.

THE WITNESS: All right. Trotsky advanced the thesis in the early days of our movement that America will be the last country to become Socialist, and that the whole of Europe, Socialist Europe, would have to defend itself against the intervention of American capitalism.

At a later stage, in the time of our 1929 crisis, Trotsky modified his prediction and said it is not by any means assured that America cannot be the first to enter the path of revolution.

Different opinions of that kind have been expressed in our ranks, but there is no settled opinion that I know of — no settled decision.

Q (By Mr. Goldman): Calling your attention to that factor that you enumerated as a prerequisite for the social revolution here in the United States, namely, the one of acceptance by the majority of the people of the Socialist idea, what would you say with reference to that factor at the present time within the United States?

A: Somewhat lacking, I would say.

Q: Well, explain that.

A: The great mass of American people are still unfamiliar with Socialist ideas. That is shown by various ways — by our election results, by attendance at our meetings, circulation of our press, and so on. It is shown that a very small percentage of the American people are interested in Socialist ideas at the present time.

Q: How many votes did you receive as candidate for Mayor in New York?

A: I don't know whether they counted them all or not —

THE COURT: We will have our recess.

(AFTERNOON RECESS)

THE COURT: Proceed.

transformed the property basis of society from feudal property to capitalist property.

Q (By MR. GOLDMAN): What do you mean by "feudal property?"

A: That was the whole economic system of society that was based on rights and privileges and restrictions, and serfdom, and so forth. Capitalist private property, which transformed the farms into privately owned enterprises of individual farmers, eliminated entirely all vestiges of serfdom and substituted wage labor, made a fundamental change in the economy of France.

Q: And can you give us an example of a political revolution?

A: Two of them occurred in France subsequent to the great social revolution. They occurred in 1830 and 1848. — that is, revolutions which were designed merely to change the ruling bureaucracy of the country and without touching the property system.

A revolution such as occurred in Panama the other day, a simple replacement of one regime by another in a palace coup d'etat, that is a political revolution that doesn't affect the economic character of society at all.

We consider the American Civil War was a social revolution, because it destroyed the system of slave labor and property in slaves, and replaced it by the complete domination of capitalist enterprise and wage labor.

tirely on armament production, which is no possible basis of permanent stability.

Q: What would you say as to the existence at the present time of the second factor that you enumerated as a prerequisite to a revolutionary situation, namely, the inability of the ruling class to solve the problems?

A: Well, I don't think it has by any means reached the acute stage in this country that it must necessarily reach on the eve of a revolution. They can't solve their problems here, but they don't know it yet.

MR. ANDERSON (prosecutor): What was the last of that answer, Mr. Reporter?

THE WITNESS: I say, the American ruling class cannot solve its problems, but is not yet aware of it.

MR. ANDERSON: I see.

THE WITNESS: I didn't mean that as a wise-crack, because as I stated previously, the ruling class must lose confidence in itself, as was the case in every country where a revolution occurred.

THE ROLE OF THE NEW DEAL

Q (By Mr. Goldman): What is the position of the party on the attempt of Roosevelt to improve the social system in this country?

A: How do you mean, "improve the social system?"

Q: To set capitalism into motion again, after the depression of 1929.

A: Well, all these measures of the New Deal were made possible in this country, and not possible for the poorer countries of Europe, because of the enormous accumulation of wealth in this country. But the net result of the whole New Deal experiment was simply the expenditure of billions and billions of dollars to create a fictitious stability, which in the end evaporated.

Now the Roosevelt administration is trying to accomplish the same thing by the artificial means of a war boom; that is, of an armament boom, but again, in our view, this has no possibility of permanent stability at all.

Q: With reference to the misery and suffering of the masses, what would you say as to the existence of that factor in the United States?

A: In our view, the living standards of the masses, have progressively deteriorated in this country since 1929. They haven't yet reached that stage which I mentioned as a prerequisite of an enormous upsurge of revolutionary feeling, but millions of American workers were pauperized following 1929; and that, in our opinion, is a definite sign of the development of this prerequisite for the revolution.

THE CLASS STRUGGLE IN MODERN SOCIETY

Q: Will you tell the court and jury what is meant by "class struggle" as used by Marx?

A: Well, I can't do it in two sentences, of course. Do you refer to the class struggle in present society?

Q: Yes, confine yourself to the class struggle in present society.

A: Marx contended that present day society is divided into two main classes. One is the capitalists, or the bourgeoisie. The bourgeoisie is a French designation which is used by Marx interchangeably with the expression "the modern capitalist." The other main class is the working class, the proletariat. These are the two main classes in society.

The workers are exploited by the capitalists. There is a constant conflict of interests between them, an unceasing struggle between these classes, which can only culminate in the eventual victory of the proletariat and the establishment of Socialism.

Q: Whom would you include under the term "working class?"

A: Well, we use the term "working class," or proletariat, to designate the modern wage workers. Frequently it is broadened in its application to include working farmers, share croppers, tenant farmers, real dirt farmers, and so on, but that is not a precisely scientific use of the word as Marx defines it.

Q: What other classes, if any, are there outside of the working class and the capitalist class, according to Marxian theory?

A: Between these two main powerful classes in society, is the class which Marx describes as the petty bourgeoisie — that is, the small proprietors, the small operators, people who have their own little shops, small stores, the farmer who owns a small farm — they constitute a class which Marx called the petty bourgeoisie.

Q: What would you say with reference to the professional classes?

A: Yes, roughly, they are included also in this petty-bourgeois category in Marxian terminology.

Q: And what is the attitude of the party towards this middle class?

A: It is the opinion of the party that it is not sufficient for the wage working class alone to successfully effect the social revolution. The workers must have the support of the decisive majority of the petty bourgeoisie and, in particular, of the small farmers. That, reiterated time and time again by Trotsky on

(Continued on page 5)

Cannon Charges That It Is "Always The Ruling Class" That Initiates Violence

Rulers 'Want to Hang Onto Their Privileges, to Reinforce Them by Violence Against Majority'

(Continued from page 4)

the basis of the Russian and German experiences, is an absolute prerequisite for success in a revolution — that the workers must have the support of the petty-bourgeoisie. Otherwise, the fascists will get them, as was the case in Germany, and instead of a progressive social revolution, you get a reactionary counter-revolution of fascism.

Q: Define the term "dictatorship of the proletariat."

WORKERS DEMOCRACY IS OUR AIM

A: Dictatorship of the proletariat is Marx's definition of the state that will be in operation in the transition period between the overthrow of capitalism and the institution of the Socialist society. That is, the Workers' and Farmers' Government will, in the opinion of the Marxists, be a dictatorship in so far as it will frankly represent the workers and farmers, and will not even pretend to represent the economic interests of the capitalists.

Q: What form will that dictatorship take with reference to the capitalist class?

A: Well, you mean, what would be the attitude toward the dispossessed capitalists?

Q: Yes, how will it exercise its dictatorship over the capitalist class?

A: That depends on a number of conditions. There is no fixed rule. It depends on a number of conditions, the most important of which is the wealth and resources of the given country where the revolution takes place; and the second is the attitude of the capitalist class, whether the capitalists reconcile themselves to the new regime, or take up an armed struggle against it.

Q: What is the difference between the scientific definition of "Dictatorship of the Proletariat" and the ordinary use of the word dictatorship?

A: Well, the popular impression of dictatorship is a one-man rule, an absolutism. I think that is the popular understanding of the word "Dictatorship." This is not contemplated at all in the Marxian term "dictatorship of the proletariat."

Q: And how will the dictatorship of the proletariat operate in so far as democratic rights are concerned?

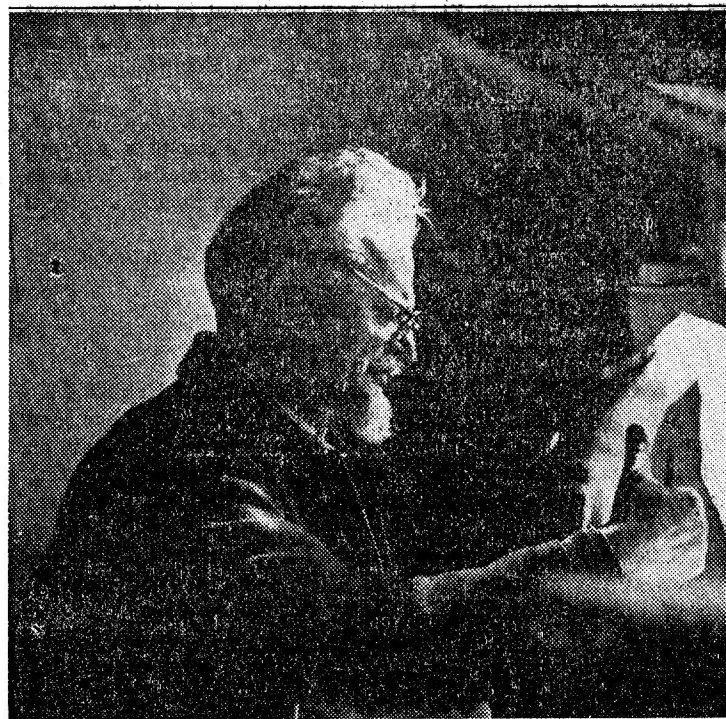
A: We think it will be the most democratic government from the point of view of the great masses of the people that has ever existed, far more democratic, in the real essence of the

matter, than the present bourgeois democracy in the United States.

Q: What about freedom of speech and all the freedoms that we generally associate with democratic government?

A: I think in the United States you can say with absolute certainty that the freedoms of speech, press, assemblage, religion, will be written in the program of the victorious revolution.

Q: Now, what is the opinion of Marxists with reference to the change in the social order, as far as its being accompanied or not accompanied by violence?



LEON TROTSKY, photographed shortly before his death at the hands of Stalin's GPU, in a familiar working pose.

WHAT CLASS IS RESPONSIBLE FOR VIOLENCE?

A: Well, it is the opinion of Marxists that it will be accompanied by violence.

Q: Why?

A: That is based, like all Marxist doctrine, on a study of history, the historical experiences of mankind in the numerous changes of society from one form to another, the revolutions which accompanied it, and the resistance which the out-lived classes invariably put up against the new order. Their attempt to defend themselves against the new order, or to suppress by violence the movement for the new order, has resulted in every important social transformation up to now being accompanied by violence.

Q: Who, in the opinion of Marxists, initiated that violence?

A: Always the ruling class; always the out-lived class that doesn't want to leave the stage when the time has come. They want to hang onto their privileges, to reinforce them by violent measures, against the rising majority and they run up against the mass violence of the new class, which history has ordained shall come to power.

WINNING A MAJORITY TO SOCIALISM

Q: What is the opinion of Marxists, as far as winning a majority of the people to Socialist ideas?

A: Yes, that certainly is the aim of the party. That is the aim of the Marxist movement, has been from its inception. Marx said the social revolution of the proletariat — I think I can quote his exact words from memory — "is a movement of the immense majority in the interests of the immense majority." He said this in distinguishing it from previous revolutions which had been made in the interest of minorities, as was the case in France in 1789.

Q: What would you say is the opinion of Marxists as far as the desirability of a peaceful transition is concerned?

A: The position of the Marxists is that the most economical and preferable, the most desirable method of social transformation, by all means, is to have it done peacefully.

Q: And in the opinion of the Marxists, is that absolutely excluded?

A: Well, I wouldn't say absolutely excluded. We say that the lessons of history don't show any important examples in favor of the idea so that you can count upon it.

Q: Can you give us examples in American history of a minority refusing to submit to a majority?

AN EXAMPLE IN AMERICAN HISTORY

A: I can give you a very important one. The conception of the Marxist is that, even if the transfer of political power from the capitalists to the proletariat is accomplished peacefully, — then the minority, the exploiting capitalist class, will revolt against the new regime, no matter how legally it is established.

I can give you an example in American history. The American Civil War resulted from the fact that the Southern slaveholders couldn't reconcile themselves to the legal parliamentary

FOR VIOLENCE?

victory of Northern capitalism, the election of President Lincoln.

Q: Can you give us an example outside of America where a reactionary minority revolted against a majority in office?

A: Yes, in Spain — the coalition of workers' and liberal parties in Spain got an absolute majority in the elections and established the People's Front Government. This government was no sooner installed than it was confronted with an armed rebellion, led by the reactionary capitalists of Spain.

Q: Then the theory of Marxists and the theory of the Socialist Workers Party, as far as violence is concerned, is a prediction based upon a study of history, is that right?

A: Well, that is part of it. It is a prediction that the out-lived class, which is put in a minority by the revolutionary growth in the country, will try by violent means to hold onto its privileges against the will of the majority. That is what we predict.

Of course, we don't limit ourselves simply to that prediction. We go further, and advise the workers to bear this in mind and prepare themselves not to permit the reactionary out-lived minority to frustrate the will of the majority.

FASCISM AND VIOLENCE

Q: What role does the rise and existence of fascism play with reference to the possibility of violence?

A: Well, that is really the nub of the whole question, because the reactionary violence of the capitalist class, expressed through fascism, is invoked against the workers. Long before the revolutionary movement of the workers against the majority, fascist gangs are organized and subsidized by millions in funds from the biggest industrialists and financiers, as the example of Germany showed — and these fascist gangs undertake to break up the labor movement by force, raid the halls, assassinate the leaders, break up the meetings, burn the printing plants, and destroy the possibility of functioning long before the labor movement has taken the road of revolution.

I say that is the nub of the whole question of violence. If the workers don't recognize that, and do not begin to defend themselves against the fascists, they will never be given the possibility of voting on the question of revolution. They will face the fate of the German and Italian proletariat and they will be in the chains of fascist slavery before they have a chance of any kind of a fair vote on whether they want Socialism or not. It is a life and death question for the workers that they organize themselves to prevent fascism, the fascist gangs, from breaking up the workers' organizations, and not to wait until it is too late. That is in the program of our party.

Q: What difference is there, Mr. Cannon, between advocating violence and predicting violent revolution?

MR. SCHWEINHAUT: I object to that.

THE COURT: Is this man qualified to answer that question? Is that a question for him to answer?

MR. SCHWEINHAUT: It is for the jury to determine.

MR. GOLDMAN: I will rephrase the question.

THE POSSIBILITY OF PEACEFUL REVOLUTION

Q (By MR. GOLDMAN): What is the attitude of the Socialist Workers Party as far as advocating violent revolution is concerned?

A: No, so far as I know, there is no authority among the most representative teachers of Marxism for advocating violent revolution.

If we can have the possibility of peaceful revolution by the registration of the will of the majority of the people, it seems to me it would be utterly absurd to reject that, because if we don't have the support of the majority of the people, you can't make a successful revolution anyhow.

Q: Explain the sentence that I read from Page 6 of the Declaration of Principles, Government's Exhibit 1:

"The belief that in such a country as the United States we live in a free democratic society in which fundamental economic change can be effected by persuasion, by education, by legal and purely parliamentary method, is an illusion."

A: That goes back to what I said before, that we consider it an illusion for the workers to think that the ruling class violence will not be invoked against them in the course of their efforts to organize the majority of the people.

Q: What is meant by the expression "overthrow of the capitalist state?"

A: That means to replace it by a Workers' and Farmers'

REVOLUTION

Government; that is what we mean.

Q: What is meant by the expression "destroy the machinery of the capitalist state?"

GOVERNMENT IN A WORKERS STATE

A: By that we mean that when we set up the Workers' and Farmers' Government in this country, the functioning of this government, its tasks, its whole nature, will be so profoundly and radically different from the functions, task, and nature of the bourgeois state, that we will have to replace it all along the line. From the very beginning the workers' state has a different foundation, and it is different in all respects. It has to create an entirely new apparatus, a new state apparatus from top to bottom. That is what we mean.

Q: Do you mean that there will be no Congress or House of Representatives and Senate?

A: It will be a different kind of a Congress. It will be a Congress of representatives of workers and soldiers and farmers, based on their occupational units, rather than the present form based on territorial representation.

Q: And what is the meaning of "Soviet"?

A: Soviet is a Russian word which means "council". It is the Russian equivalent for council in our language. It means a body of representatives of various groups. That is what the

term meant in the Russian Revolution. That is, the representatives — they called them deputies — I guess we would call them delegates. The delegates from various shops in a given city come together in a central body. The Russians called it the Soviet of Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies.

Q: Now, what is meant by "expropriation"?

EXPROPRIATION OF THE SIXTY FAMILIES

A: No, it is not a question of principle. That question has been debated interminably in the Marxist movement. No place has any authoritative Marxist declared it a question of principle not to compensate. It is a question of possibility, of adequate finances, of an agreement of the private owners to submit, and so forth.

Q: Would the party gladly pay these owners if they could avoid violence?

A: I can only give you my opinion.

Q: What is your opinion?

A: My personal opinion is that if the workers reached the point of the majority, and confronted the capitalist private owners of industry with the fact of their majority and their power, and then were able to make a deal with the capitalists to compensate them for their holdings, and let them enjoy this for the rest of their lives, I think it would be a cheaper, a cheaper and more satisfactory way of effecting the necessary social transformation than a civil war. I personally would vote for it — if you could get the capitalists to agree on that, which you wouldn't.

Q: What attitude does the party take toward the ballot?

A: Our party runs candidates wherever it is able to get on the ballot. We conduct very energetic campaigns during the elections, and in general, to the best of our ability, and to the limit of our resources, we participate in election campaigns.

ELECTION CAMPAIGNS AND THE SWP

Q: What campaigns do you remember the party having participated in in the last few years?

A: Well, I remember the candidacy of Comrade Grace Carlson for the United States Senate last year. I have been a candidate several times of the party for various offices. In Newark, where we have a good organization, we have had candidates in every election for some time. I cite those three examples. In general, it is the policy of the party to have candidates everywhere possible.

Q: Does the party at times support other candidates?

A: Yes. In cases where we don't have a candidate, it is our policy, as a rule, to support the candidates of another workers' party, or of a Labor or a Farmer-Labor Party. We support them critically. That is, we do not endorse their program, but we vote for them and solicit votes for them, with the explanation that we don't agree with their program. We support them as against the candidates of the Republican and Democratic Parties.

For example, we have always supported the Farmer-Labor candidates in Minnesota in all cases where we didn't have a candidate of our own party. We supported the candidates of the American Labor Party in New York in similar circumstances.

Q: What is the purpose of the party in participating in these electoral campaigns?

A: Well, the first one, I would say, is to make full use of the democratic possibility afforded to popularize our ideas to try to get elected wherever possible, and, from a long range view, to test out the utmost possibility of advancing the Socialist cause by democratic means.

Q: What purpose did you and associates of yours have in creating the Socialist Workers Party?

A: The purpose was to organize our forces for the more effective propagation of our ideas, with the ultimate object that I have mentioned before, of building up a party that would be able to lead the working masses of the country to Socialism by means of the social revolution.

HOW THE PARTY ARRIVES AT DECISIONS

Q: Will you describe briefly how the party works, as far as arriving at decisions is concerned?

A: We have already discussed the convention which, according to the Constitution, is the highest body of the party. It meets at least every two years, and is made up of delegates elected by the branches in proportion to their membership. The decisions of the convention become the party's guide to action in the next ensuing period. The party is organized into branches, and these branches are connected with the National Committee through their officers, correspondence, field organizers, and so on.

Between conventions, if the National Committee wants to advance a new idea, as frequently occurs, or if someone else in the party wants to make a proposal that hasn't been answered or dealt with, we provide internal bulletins for discussion where the proposals can be discussed. If they meet with sufficient response, they are put on the agenda of the next convention for decision by the delegates.

'INTERNATIONALIST TO THE VERY CORE'

Q (By MR. GOLDMAN): What is the position taken by the party on the question of Internationalism?

A: The party is Internationalist to the very core.

Q: And what do you mean by that?

A: We believe that the modern world is an economic unit. No country is self-sufficient. It is impossible to solve the accumulated problems of the present day, except on a world scale; no nation is self-sufficient, and no nation can stand alone.

The economy of the world now is all tied together in one unit, and because we think that the solution of the problems of the day — the establishment of socialism — is a world problem, we believe that the advanced workers in every country must collaborate in working toward that goal. We have, from the very beginning of our movement, collaborated with like-minded people in all other countries in trying to promote the Socialist movement on a world scale. We have advocated the International organization of the workers, and their cooperation in all respects, and mutual assistance in all respects possible.

OPPOSITION TO RACIAL PREJUDICES

Q: Does the party have any attitude on the question of racial or national differences?

A: Yes, the party is opposed to all forms of national chauvinism, race prejudice, discrimination, denigration of races — I mean by that, this hateful theory of the fascists about inferior races. We believe in and we stand for the full equality of all races, nationalities, creeds. It is written in our program that we fight against anti-Semitism and that we demand full and unconditional equality for the Negro in all avenues of life. We are friends of the Colonial people, the Chinese, of all those that are victimized and treated as inferiors.

A: Expropriation we apply to big industry, which is in the hands of private capitalists, the Sixty Families — take it out of their hands and put it in the hands of the people through their representatives, that's expropriation.

Q: Is it a question of principle that there should be no compensation for property expropriated from the Sixty Families?

A: The party, then, permits differences of opinion, does it?

A: Yes, it not only permits them — differences of opinion are continuous in the party.

Q: So periodic discussions occur prior to conventions, is that right?

A: Well, that is the party law. Prior to a convention, the National Committee is required to publish an agenda, and to allow sixty days for discussion, and to open an internal bulletin for the use of the members of different views, and all branch meetings in that sixty days period have to be open for discussion from the floor, so that for sixty days every member who has an opinion, no matter how it conflicts with the majority, has his say.

Q: Do you recollect any discussion that has taken place since the formation of the Socialist Workers Party about violence?

A: No, I don't recall any discussion on that point at all.

ATTITUDE TO THE CAPITALIST GOVERNMENT

Q: What is the attitude of the party, and the opinion of the party, with reference to the Government, as it exists now, being capitalist?

A: Yes, we consider it a capitalist government. That is stated in our Declaration of Principles; that is, a government which represents the economic interests of the class of capitalists in this country, and not the interests of the workers and the poor farmers; not the interests of all the people, as it pretends, but a class government.

Q: What opinion has the party as to differences within the ruling class from the point of view of more liberal or more reactionary?

A: We don't picture the capitalist class as one solid, homogeneous unit. There are all kinds of different trends, different interests among them, which reflect themselves in different capitalist parties and different factions in the parties, and very heated struggles. An example is the present struggle between the interventionists and the isolationists.

Q: Does the party take an attitude as to whether or not the Roosevelt administration is more or less liberal than previous administrations?

MR. SCHWEINHAUT: I object to that as irrelevant.

THE COURT: Sustained.

MR. GOLDMAN: Very well.

DIFFERENCES OF OPINION IN THE PARTY

Q: Is it possible for a difference of opinion to exist in the party on the question as to whether the transformation will be peaceful or violent?

A: I think it is possible, yes.

Q: So that there is no compulsion on a member to have an opinion as to what the future will have in store for the party or for the workers?

A: No, I don't think that is compulsory, because that is an opinion about the future that can't be determined with scientific precision.

Q: What steps, if any, does the party take to secure a correct interpretation of party policy by individual members?

A: Well, we have, in addition to our public lectures, and press, forums, and so forth — we have internal meetings, educational meetings. In the larger cities we usually conduct a school, where we teach the doctrines of the party. Individual comrades, unschooled workers who don't understand our program, or who misinterpret it, — all kinds of provisions are made to try to explain things to them, to convince them of the party's point of view. That is a frequent occurrence, because, after all, the program of the party is a document that represents pretty nearly one hundred years of Socialist thought, and we don't expect an unschooled worker who joins the party to understand all those doctrines as precisely as the professional party leaders.

Q: What can you tell us about the differences and degree of knowledge of various members of the party?

A: Well, there is a big difference of various members and of various leaders.

Q: Is it always possible to correct every mistake that every member of the party makes?

MR. SCHWEINHAUT: I object to that.

THE COURT: It seems to me the answer to that is obvious.

MR. SCHWEINHAUT: I will stipulate that it isn't always possible.

MR. GOLDMAN: That is fine.

THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL AND THE SWP

Q: Did the party ever belong to an International organization?

A: The party belonged to the Fourth International. It was designated that way to distinguish it from the three other international organizations which had been known in the history of Socialism. The first one, the International Working Men's Association, was founded under the leadership of Marx in the 1860's, and lasted until about 1871.

The Second International was organized on the initiative of

(Continued on page 6)

The Role Of The Trotskyists In The Trade Unions

(Continued from page 5)

the German, French and other Socialist parties of Europe about 1890, and continues today. It includes those reformist Socialist parties and trade unions of Europe, or at least did until they were destroyed by the Hitler scourge.

The Third International was founded under the leadership of Lenin and Trotsky after the Russian Revolution. It was founded in 1919, as a rival of the Second International, the main motive being that the Second International had supported the imperialist war of 1914 and, in the view of the Bolsheviks, had thereby betrayed the interests of the workers.

The Fourth International was organized on the initiative of Trotsky as a rival of the Stalinist Third International. We took part in the initiation of that movement, and we participated in its work up until last December.

WHY WE HAD TO LEAVE THE INTERNATIONAL

Q: And what caused you to cease belonging to it?
A: The passage by Congress of the Voorhis Act, which placed penalties upon organizations that have international affiliation, made that necessary. We called a special convention of the party, and formally severed our relation with the Fourth International in compliance with the Voorhis Act.

OUR INTEREST IN THE TRADE UNION MOVEMENT

A: Well, we view the trade union movement as the basic organization of the workers, that should include the great mass of the workers, and must include them in the struggle to defend their interests from day to day. We are in favor of trade unions, and participate in organizing them wherever we can.

Q: And what is the fundamental purpose of the party in trying to strengthen the trade unions and organizing them wherever they are not organized?

A: Well, we have a double purpose. One is that we are seriously interested in anything that benefits the workers. The trade unions help the workers to resist oppression, possibly to gain improvement of conditions; that is for us a decisive reason to support them, because we are in favor of anything that benefits the workers.

A second reason is that the trade unions, which are big mass organizations, offer the most productive fields for us to work in to popularize the ideas of the party, and the influence of the party.

Q: What instructions, if any, are given to party members with reference to their activity in trade unions?

A: Yes, our party members are instructed to be the best trade unionists, to do the most work for the unions — be most attentive, most active in the union work, — to be the best mechanics at their trade, to become influential by virtue of their superiority in their abilities and their actions in behalf of the workers in the union.

Q: Does the party take a position with reference to the CIO and the AFL?

MR. SCHWEINHAUT: I object to that as immaterial, if your Honor please.

THE COURT: What is the materiality of that, Mr. Goldman?

MR. GOLDMAN: Well, it would explain the fight here in Local 544-CIO, about which the witnesses for the Government testified.

THE COURT: He may answer.

THE WITNESS: Yes, we take a position.

Q (By MR. GOLDMAN): And what is that position, Mr. Cannon?

THE CIO AND THE AFL

A: In general we are in favor of industrial unionism. That is, that form of unionism which organizes all the workers in a given shop or given industry into one union. We consider that a more progressive and effective form of organization than craft unionism, so we support the industrial union principle.

The CIO has found its greatest field of work in the big mass production industries, such as automobile and steel, which hitherto were unorganized, where the workers were without the protection of any organization, and where experience proved it was impossible for the craft unions, a dozen or more in a single shop, to organize them. We consider that a tremendously progressive development, the organization of several million mass production workers, so that, in general, we sympathize with the trend represented by the CIO.

But we don't condemn the AFL. We are opposed to craft unionism, but many of our members belong to AFL unions and we have, in general, the same attitude towards them as to CIO unions, to build them up, to strengthen them, improve the conditions of the workers. And we are sponsors of the idea of unity of the AFL and the CIO; it was written in our Declaration of Principles; so that while we are somewhat partial to the CIO as a national movement, we are in favor of unity on the provision that it should not sacrifice the industrial union form of organization.

Q: What would you say as to the extent of the influence of the party in the trade union movement at the present time?

A: Well, it isn't very great; it isn't very great.

Q: Are there any unions now where a majority of the ex-

THE DEFENSE OFFERS SOME EXHIBITS

WEDNESDAY, NOVEMBER 19
MORNING SESSION

JAMES P. CANNON

DIRECT EXAMINATION (Continued)

MR. GOLDMAN: If your Honor please, I offer in evidence a resolution on the Labor Party, concerning which there was testimony yesterday, that it modified the Declaration of Principles on that particular subject. I do not think it is of sufficient importance to read it to the jury. The jury can have it.

MR. SCHWEINHAUT: Is it marked as an exhibit?

MR. GOLDMAN: Yes, it is Defendants' Exhibit D.

MR. GOLDMAN: I now offer in evidence, Your Honor, the draft of the revised Declaration of Principles, submitted to the plenum conference, the one concerning which the witness testified as having been held about six weeks ago, at the conference in Chicago, to substitute for the Declaration of Principles suspended in December, 1940. This is Defendants' Exhibit E.

MR. SCHWEINHAUT: We object to it on the ground that no change in policy of the Party since the date of the indictment should be pertinent to the issues here.

GOLDMAN EXPLAINS

MR. GOLDMAN: We do not claim there was a change in policy. Your Honor. We submit it, simply for the jury to read it, and see what light it can throw on the general issues raised by the indictment. There was no change in fundamental policy. There may have been changes in formulations, but there was no change in fundamental policy. We do not claim that there was.

THE COURT: Well, what other legal effect would that have, than a self-serving declaration indulged in long after the date of the indictment?

MR. GOLDMAN: On the same theory that counsel for the prosecution offered articles subsequent to the indictment; on their theory that this is a continuing conspiracy, we are entitled to offer documents and articles subsequent to the indictment, showing that there is no continuing conspiracy, Your Honor. There

We Try To Strengthen The Trade Unions, Organize The Unorganized And Popularize Our Ideas

Q: What role do Fourth International resolutions play in the party?

A: Well, they have a tremendous moral authority in our party. All the sections of the Fourth International have been autonomous in their national decisions, but the programmatic documents of the Fourth International, wherever they are applicable to American conditions, have a decisive influence with us.

Q: So you accept them, in so far as they are applicable to American conditions?

A: Yes — it is not the letter of the law for us in the sense that our Declaration of Principles is, but it is a general ideological guiding line for us.

Q: Now, does the party interest itself in the trade union movement?

A: Oh, yes, immensely.

Q: And why?

A: Well, we view the trade union movement as the basic organization of the workers, that should include the great mass of the workers, and must include them in the struggle to defend their interests from day to day. We are in favor of trade unions, and participate in organizing them wherever we can.

Q: And what is the fundamental purpose of the party in trying to strengthen the trade unions and organizing them wherever they are not organized?

A: Well, we have a double purpose. One is that we are seriously interested in anything that benefits the workers. The trade unions help the workers to resist oppression, possibly to gain improvement of conditions; that is for us a decisive reason to support them, because we are in favor of anything that benefits the workers.

A second reason is that the trade unions, which are big mass organizations, offer the most productive fields for us to work in to popularize the ideas of the party, and the influence of the party.

Q: What instructions, if any, are given to party members with reference to their activity in trade unions?

A: Yes, our party members are instructed to be the best trade unionists, to do the most work for the unions — be most attentive, most active in the union work, — to be the best mechanics at their trade, to become influential by virtue of their superiority in their abilities and their actions in behalf of the workers in the union.

Q: Does the party take a position with reference to the CIO and the AFL?

MR. SCHWEINHAUT: I object to that as immaterial, if your Honor please.

THE COURT: What is the materiality of that, Mr. Goldman?

MR. GOLDMAN: Well, it would explain the fight here in Local 544-CIO, about which the witnesses for the Government testified.

THE COURT: He may answer.

THE WITNESS: Yes, we take a position.

Q (By MR. GOLDMAN): And what is that position, Mr. Cannon?

DEMOCRACY IN THE TRADE UNION

Q: What is the party policy with reference to the existence of democracy in trade unions?

A: The Declaration of Principles, and all of our editorials and speeches, are continually demanding a democratic regime inside the unions, demanding the rights of the members to speak up, to have free elections, and frequent elections, and in general to have the unions under the control of the rank and file through the system of democracy.

Q: And what is the policy of the party with reference to racketeering and gangsterism in the unions?

A: Similarly, the Declaration of Principles denounces racketeers, gangsters, all criminal elements — summons our members and sympathizers to fight relentlessly to clean them out of the unions, and forbids under penalty of expulsion any member of the party to give any direct or indirect support to any gangster or racketeering element in the unions.

Q: Is there such a policy of the party as controlling the unions?

A: No, a union is an independent, autonomous organization and —

MR. SCHWEINHAUT: Well, now, you have answered the question. He asked you if there was a policy with respect to controlling the unions, and you said, "No."

MR. GOLDMAN: Let him explain.

MR. SCHWEINHAUT: Why does it need explanation?

MR. GOLDMAN: Well, there are at least, I should say, 25 or 50 pages of evidence about the party controlling unions.

MR. SCHWEINHAUT: And the witness has said that there is no such policy. That disposes of it.

THE COURT: Well, he has answered this question, certainly.

OUR ACTIVITIES INSIDE THE UNIONS

Q (By MR. GOLDMAN): In what way does the party try to win influence in the unions?

A: We try to get our members in the union the leading influence in the unions.

Q: How?

A: First of all by our instructions to our members in the unions that they must be the best trade unionists in the union, and they must be the best workers on the job. That is first, in order that they may gain the respect of their fellow workers and their confidence.

Second, they have got to be active in the propagation of our ideas to their fellow workers. They have got to be busy and active in all union affairs — try to get subscriptions to our paper, try to influence union members to come to our lectures and classes and, in general, work to gain sympathy and support for the party and its program. We do say that, surely.

Q: What policy does the party have with reference to placing party members in official positions of the unions?

A: Yes, whenever they can be fairly elected, we certainly encourage them to try.

Q: But through elections?

A: Through elections, yes. Also if they can be appointed by some higher body and the work is not inconsistent with our principles, we advise them to accept the appointment, as in the case, for example, of Comrade Dobbs.

Q: Appointment for what?

A: Dobbs was appointed International Organizer of the Teamsters' Union at one time.

THE COURT: Ladies and gentlemen of the jury, you will please keep in mind the admonitions of the court. We will recess until ten o'clock tomorrow morning.

MR. ANDERSON: I understood that counsel withdrew his objection as to the date of the government exhibits that were after the date of the indictment.

THE COURT: As I recall, your objections were withdrawn, and a record was made — I called particular attention to it, that your objections were withdrawn as to documents rendered after the date of the indictment.

MR. GOLDMAN: Yes.

THE COURT: And the indictment was returned on the 15th day of July, 1941.

MR. GOLDMAN: By the way, Your Honor, a committee was appointed, of course, to draw the revised Declaration up before the indictment. That is the testimony.

THE COURT SPEAKS

THE COURT: But they did not do anything about it, so far as the indictment here is concerned. About six weeks ago, I suppose about the time this case was set for trial, there was a plenum held with reference to some new principles. These defendants are to be measured, as I see it, in the light of their activities as they existed as of the date of the indictment. With reference to the reception of evidence showing a continuing course of conduct after the date of the indictment, the authority is universal to the effect that they may be shown to have continued that course of conduct. That is as far as the prosecution is concerned. Now then, if a man is charged with committing an offense, and long after the date when he is charged with committing the offense, he does something else, and he says, "That proves that I did not commit the offense which in the indictment I am charged with" — he then was advised, and he knew what the charges were. He cannot modify it by some subsequent act. I will sustain the objection.

MR. GOLDMAN: I want to urge one point, Your Honor.

I do not offer this, Your Honor, to show that we changed. On the contrary, I offer this to show that our principles remained the same. However, I am not taking any exception to Your Honor's ruling. I will let it stand as it is. I just wanted to show the prosecution and everybody else concerned that we did not think we committed a crime, and we continued to do the same thing.

THE COURT: Well, that is argument.

MR. ANDERSON: Yes, we have heard that before.

MR. GOLDMAN: I want to offer in evidence, Your Honor, Defendants' Exhibit F, the resolution on international relations, adopted at the special National Convention of the Socialist Workers Party on December 21, 1940 and published in the Socialist Appeal of December 28, 1940.

MR. SCHWEINHAUT: No objection to Exhibit F.

THE COURT: It will be received.

MR. GOLDMAN: I offer in evidence Defendants' Exhibit G, being a resolution on the Declaration of Principles, adopted at the Special National Convention of the Socialist Workers Party, December 21, 1940, and published in the Socialist Appeal of December 28, 1940.

MR. SCHWEINHAUT: No objection to Defendants' Exhibit G.

THE COURT: It will be received.

DISAFFILIATION FROM INTERNATIONAL

MR. GOLDMAN: I will now read Defendants' Exhibit F:

"Whereas, federal legislation (the Voorhis Act, etc.) has been adopted by Congress which imposes burdensome requirements on political organizations affiliated to international bodies, including the formal periodic registration of lists of individual members; and

"Whereas, such regulations could be of service only to the enemies of the workers, the Fourth (Special) National Convention of the Socialist Workers Party hereby resolves:

THEY
TOO
ARE
ON
TRIAL



Miners Forced To Arbitrate

(Continued from page 1)

flight of interests. This is impossible.

An example of this is the policy of that group in the CIO which is centered around Philip Murray, CIO President and former right-hand man of John L. Lewis. At the CIO convention, Murray initially took a strong stand in support of the mine strike. But this support became increasingly weakened as his political support of the war became the dominant expression of his position. He could not reconcile the irreconcilable contradictions between his support of the strike and the war. His political line determined his final attitude, which was a clear readiness to capitulate on the mine issue.

Murray's position was distinguishable from that of the Stalinists and Hillmanites only to the extent that he still reflected some desire to attempt to reconcile the basic contradictions. The Hillmanite-Stalinist leaders have since abandoned the attempt. They are unreservedly for the war and have openly made their choice with the bosses as opposed to the workers.

As for John L. Lewis and his

followers, their position in the mine strike was weakened basically by the failure of Lewis during the past two years to mobilize the CIO forces around a program of fundamental opposition to the war.

As a result there was an absence of sufficient pressure from the ranks of other unions upon the CIO leaders to fully support the strike.

IMMEDIATE CONFERENCES

As an immediate consequence of the advantageous position Roosevelt has achieved through the outcome of this strike, the Administration is now pressing ahead with its plans for legislative curbs on labor. It is a virtual certainty that Roosevelt will

demand the enactment of anti-strike and compulsory laws despite the opposition of the unions, confident that this opposition will not express itself in militant and effective forms.

This does not at all mean that Roosevelt has already succeeded in shackling labor. It merely means that he is in a more favorable position to do so. On the other hand, the actions of the Administration in this union struggle have made the labor policies of the government more suspect than ever to millions of workers.

Roosevelt's open partiality to the steel corporations, his strikebreaking threats, the exposure of the anti-labor role of the National Defense Mediation Board, have immeasurably reduced the prestige

of the government in the eyes of important sectors of the workers.

Moreover, as the war progresses, Roosevelt will attempt to make greater and greater inroads into their living standards and impose ever severer regimentation. Inevitably, the conflict between the needs of the war and of the workers must flare up into renewed and fiercer battles.

The mine strike crisis has revealed the crisis of organized labor as a whole. It is a crisis of program and leadership. Defense of the interests of the workers is predicated squarely on opposition to the war. Only that leadership can successfully lead the workers in defense of their rights and conditions which upholds a program of uncompromising opposition to the imperialist war.

New Pamphlet!

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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The Negro Struggle
By Ernest Williams

The Mine Strike and the Negro People

The appeal of Representative Mitchell of Illinois, only Negro member of Congress, for Negroes to repudiate the struggle of the United Mine Workers of America and remain "loyal to their government," is typical of the Negro misleaders whose careers depend on quieting down the militancy of their people.

"Negroes could make no greater mistake," stated Mitchell, "than to allow John L. Lewis to influence and persuade them to follow him in his wild tirades against the interests of the United States Government. Up to this time the Negro has a record of loyalty to this government unsurpassed by any racial group in the world."

Obviously Mr. Mitchell chooses to ignore the fact that Negro miners have a vital stake in the fight between the United Mine Workers and Big Steel over the closed shop for the "captive" coal mines. He deliberately distorts what the Pittsburgh Courier pointed out in the November 15 issue — that the struggle is of great significance for all Negro workers. A large proportion of these miners are Negroes, and they provide a large percentage of the union membership and leadership.

History of the UMW

When the United Mine Workers of America was first organized in 1890, it already had about 1,000 Negro miners among its members. The official attitude of this union has always been to encourage the active participation of Negro workers. Its constitution made provisions to insure equality between black and white members. Many Negro miners were sent into the field as organizers, and many became officers in various locals.

In the words of one old Negro miner, who has been a member of the union for twenty-one years and is secretary of one of the locals, "the United Mine Workers of America has done more to remove hatred and prejudice in the labor movement and to restore harmony and good will between man and man than any other agency in the country."

During the strikes of 1908 and 1919 the Negro miners fought faithfully for the union. The race issue was never raised by the miners or by the union — but always by the mine owners, the newspapers, and the community. In both these strikes, the Ku Klux Klan was used in an attempt to break up the unity of Negro and white workers.

A similar attempt to raise the race issue was made in the recent strike in the "captive" mines. The entire Negro membership of the UMW is estimated at between 50,000 and 100,000. The Courier estimated that approximately half the miners affected by the strike were Negroes, and that nearly all are union members.

Yet the newspapers featured articles and pictures showing Negroes as scabs who refused to support the union. If a Negro scab was beaten up, or if he fought with the pickets, immediately the race aspect was stressed. No indication was given that the great majority of Negro miners belonged to and actively supported the strike of the UMW.

Pressure Against Strike

The full pressure of the capitalist class was hurled at the miners in an attempt to break their strike. The Roosevelt Administration, the National Defense Mediation Board, the newspapers, etc. — all openly refused to consider the miners' demands or to give them a sympathetic hearing.

And they were aided in their crushing blows against the UMW, against the CIO, against the interests of the white and Negro coal miners, as well as workers in other industries, by "misleaders" such as Representative Mitchell! This "representative of the Negro people" betrays those whom he supposedly represents by helping the forces of reaction, those who are responsible for the whole Jim-Crow set-up in the navy, the army, etc., who do nothing to prevent discrimination against Negroes in industry. Instead of fighting for the interests of his own people, he calls upon the Negroes to support those who forced them to abandon their March on Washington for jobs, those who try to crush every attempt of the Negro people to improve their conditions. This Judas calls upon his people to demonstrate "their loyalty to this United States Government," to forget their own interests!

Loyal to Union

It is only through the labor movement which encourages the organization and participation of Negro workers that Negroes can win an equal place for themselves in industry, and improve their working conditions. Many years of bitter struggle have taught the Negro people that they must fight militantly for all their gains.

Most of the Negro coal miners have already set an example by becoming loyal union members, by participating in the task of building locals, by helping to organize other sections of coal miners. During the strike, always a crucial period for a union, they demonstrated their faith in the union, and in the fact that both Negro and white workers must fight together for their mutual interests, — in this case, against Big Steel. They deserve the fullest support of the Negro people, and all workers throughout the country.

The soothing and misleading advice of men like Mitchell can only lead to defeat. For a program of victory, Negro workers must lead and participate in all union struggles, all political struggles, which will further the interests of all workers, black and white.

Complaints That Draftees Make

General Staff Itself Is Forced To Print Some Of Their Letters

By JOSEPH HANSEN

As part of its drive to stifle all opposition to Wall Street's war plans, the Roosevelt administration is now attempting to brand the well-known facts about low morale in the armed forces as nothing but "Axis propaganda."

The New York Times for November 12, in its story concerning Armistice Day celebrations at Washington, reports that General George C. Marshall, Chief of the United States Army Staff, in a broadcast on Civilian Week declared that "an Axis propaganda attack has been started to disrupt Army morale, and by clever methods the families of soldiers have been upset, and members of Congress misled."

But what are the real facts? So great is the dissatisfaction expressed by men drafted into the armed forces of the United States over the quality of training and the type of officers in charge of this training that General Headquarters itself has been forced to give their complaints official cognizance!

This fact is made clear by the appearance of an article entitled, "Complaints by Soldiers," printed in the Army and Navy Journal for November 1, 1941, giving a summary of complaints written by men in the service. This summary was made by General Headquarters of the United States Army and sent to commanding generals in the field.

SUMMARY OF COMPLAINTS

The Journal, a reactionary military magazine which lays claim to having been "spokesman of the services since 1863," makes no editorial comment. However, its excerpts from the summary provides us with proof passed by General Headquarters of the United States Army itself that military training as conducted by the bourgeois officer caste is incapable of preparing the workers for a real struggle against fascism.

- "a. Wastage of training time.
- "b. Poorly trained exercises.
- "c. Inadequately explained maneuvers.
- "d. Lack of confidence in officers.
- "e. Illiterate and unintelligent non-commissioned officers.
- "f. The need of educational instruction in units to build up and maintain patriotic zeal and enthusiasm of soldiers in the Army.
- "g. Lack of opportunity to progress.
- "h. Assignment to duty not in keeping with technical, professional, or special training."

"TREATED AS MACHINES"

The paragraphs from the following letter are "memorandum of observations and suggestions based on ten weeks' experience as a Selectee":

"Regimental maneuvers are not explained" before, while, or soon after they take place. Explanations would vastly increase the interest of the men in the rather arduous work of the maneuver.

"Men should be familiarized to some extent with the organization of the Army. No instruction in this has been given in 11 weeks, though it would clearly help men to visualize their place in the scheme of things. They are treated as machines rather than as intelligent Americans.

"Men are ignorant of America's immediate interest in relation to the current war and explanation of this would increase morale. Men are not too stupid to understand lectures and talks on the present war; explanations of its strategic significance to American defense; and discussion of the possibilities that may be in store for this country."

The above letter indicates that all the propaganda of the Roosevelt administration about fighting for the "four freedoms" has proved utterly unconvincing. The soldiers want something "additional." Their desire for "lectures and talks" is but the first manifestation of a deep thirst for the truth about this war.

"INEFFICIENT, HIDE-BOUND . . ."

The next letter, according to the Journal, is to a mother from a soldier "purportedly a non-commissioned officer, who had had no previous military training, who volunteered for service before he was drafted, and who got a 'big kick' out of the first weeks of training."

"Everyone is at this point fed up with the Army — not so much

at the present rate of progress will go to seed. The big cry around here is, 'If you are going to keep us in the Army, at least teach us that we are supposed to do.'"

"GOD KEEP US . . ."

From another letter which the Journal says is "typical of many," we are given a graphic description of the inefficiency of the officer caste:

"After four and one-half months in camp, I have great misgivings as to the way we are going about our defense program.

"Discipline and morale aren't at all reassuring. There is too much 'Boy Scouting' and sloppy planning going on. No industrial concern would tolerate the inefficiency of organizational operation which we are up against. Every man, from general to private should know in detail what he will be up against the next day and knowing should plan for every contingency. As often as not things 'just happen' and God keep us if this goes on. Even with an unlimited supply of the finest equipment, no army will amount to a nickel's worth if the men don't know definitely that they are doing their job under powerful and demanding leaders, who know what they want accomplished, have a plan in detail and

demonstrate their right to faith on the part of the men."

"CHAOS . . ."

This impression of the bourgeois officer caste is amplified by extracts from a letter sent to his Congressman by a draftee who is a "university graduate and practicing lawyer."

"You have asked me to forward you some of my impressions gained of the Army since my induction. I do not look forward to the recounting with enthusiasm, whatever original interest I possessed has been dulled by my experiences and observations. I speak not of the physical hardships or discomforts — these I expected. What I did not expect was that stupidity and inefficiency would intensify these difficulties to the extent they have.

"My general impression is this: This Army is as unprepared as one could conceive. There is chaos and a muddling and confusion beyond any expectation in an undertaking of this size. You would expect problems and some errors and omissions, but you would not expect the unintelligent, inflexible and unthinkable approach which is made toward solution. Morale is low . . ."

"A great many non-commissioned officers are illiterate and unintelligent. When they are in command of men who surpass

them in every respect, the result is to permanently injure the interest and ambition of the men under them . . ."

"The thing is not only that things go wrong, but that it is the rule and not the exception. They go wrong in companies and in divisions — from the higher brackets on down there is confusion which spreads and multiplies as it goes . . ."

The effect of the type of training and officers described above is outlined in the final letter quoted by the Journal:

"I am summarizing some significant reactions of about eight selectees with whom I have conversed in the past month. They are all between 26 and 33, with college and, in most instances, graduate school educations.

"None of them were exactly enthusiastic about being drafted but all of them went into service gladly and without resentment. I set forth the principal observations as I recall them: Lack of morale. By this is meant an utter lack of enthusiasm for what they are doing and a lack of understanding as to why they have been drafted, particularly the latter. They have few complaints about their food, living conditions or recreation . . . But there is no spirit, no elation, no feeling of service and no will to sacrifice — merely resignation and, sometimes, resentment . . . Invariably the men I have talked to speak of the inordinate waste of time, not a waste of their own time in the sense of a year lost, but a waste of the time that could be used for accomplishment in the creation of a veteran army. After some months of training, or what has somehow passed as training, they feel the average selectee has learned little that would equip him to be a fighting soldier . . ."

Libyan Front Is Of No Use To Defense Of USSR

(Continued from page 1)

ill quiets his easily-quieted loyal Laborite opposition and disconcerts the Stalinists.

Moreover, the war in Libya is a necessary part of the war for the preservation of the British Empire, and for the Churchills this is a thousand times more important than saving the Red capitals of Moscow and Leningrad.

Churchill politely declined: it did not conform to the tasks or the policy of the British Empire. The very conference on the high seas between Roosevelt and Churchill, hailed by the Stalinists as an inspiring and liberating event for the masses of the world, was reported to have considered the question of opening a Western Front and to have turned it down. Only two weeks ago, Churchill announced that nothing need be expected in the way of decisive overseas action until 1943.

Now when the Nazis hammer at the very gates of Moscow, we learn that the British have opened a "new front" — on the desert sands of North Africa! What is this "new front"? By no stretch of the imagination can a revival of the whip-saw situation in North Africa be considered a military diversion for the Red Army. Hitler's campaign in the Soviet Union can drive to a successful conclusion without regard for the shifting tides of war in North Africa. The conquest of Russia is Hitler's main business today — to win this war Hitler can well afford a British victory in the desert.

This is no diversion for the Red Army and Churchill knows it. It is rather a "diversion" for the British masses whose sympathies are ardently with the embattled Soviet masses, who have been clamoring for real assistance to the Soviet Union. The new desert war is Churchill's reply to this clamor. By this diversion, Church-

ill quiets his easily-quieted loyal Laborite opposition and disconcerts the Stalinists.

Moreover, the war in Libya is a necessary part of the war for the preservation of the British Empire, and for the Churchills this is a thousand times more important than saving the Red capitals of Moscow and Leningrad.

MARXIST SCHOOL
Irving Plaza
Irving Pl. and 15th St., N. Y. C.

MONDAY, DEC. 1
7:10 P. M.

History of 3rd and 4th Internationals
LYDIA BEIDEL

8:50 P. M.
Dynamics of Fascism
C. CHARLES

WEDNESDAY, DEC. 3
7:10 P. M.

Permanent Revolution in American History
WM. F. WARDE

8:50 P. M.
American Unionism Today
C. CHARLES

JACK McDONALD

News reached us this week of the untimely death of Comrade Jack McDonald, well-known Trotskyist leader in Canada ever since the expulsion of the Left Opposition from the Communist International. His burial on Monday, Nov. 17, was the occasion for a demonstration in his honor, with speakers from the trade union movement, the C.C.F., and the Socialist Workers League of Canada (Trotskyists), and with many of his friends in the labor movement turning out to pay their respects to a fallen fighter for the working class.

To the last, Comrade McDonald never wavered in his belief in the eventual triumph of the workers. He looked at this war as the beginning of the end for the present system and believed that it would end for Canada with the union of returned soldiers and workers united with the farmers to put an end to the system that has meant only war and breadlines for them.

FIRST SECRETARY OF CANADIAN C. P.

He was one of the founders of the Communist Party in Canada, and served as its first general secretary. He was among the first to be expelled from the Communist Party for "Trotskyism." But his activity in the labor movement commenced long before that, and lasted, despite ill health because of stomach ulcers during the last year, to the day he died.

Born in Falkirk, Scotland, he first became active politically at the age of 19 when he ran for the office as school trustee on a labor party ticket. Soon after he came to America. At the time of his death he was still a member

of the executive board of his union, the Pattern Makers' Association of Canada, from which he was a delegate to the Toronto and District Trades and Labor Council.

He was one of the outstanding leaders of the 1919 strike in Toronto, and a leader in the fight for free speech in the early 1930's.

His comrades in Canada and throughout the world mourn his loss as a real blow to the working class, and pledge themselves anew to the realization of the society of the future, to the struggle for which he devoted the greater part of his life.

The Truth About the Minneapolis Trial of the 28'

Speech for the Defense by Albert Goldman

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British Bosses Are Worried About Aims Of U. S. Imperialism

By Jack Weber

British Export and the Lease-Lend Act

The Lease-Lend Act has been quite useful to American business in more ways than one. The English manufacturers and exporters do not accept it as an entirely unmixed blessing for this very reason. The finished products of British make which require steel or metals or other materials that are being shipped to England by the United States, bear no sign which labels them as made of strictly English resources. American business used this simple fact to exert pressure on England to stop exports for the duration of the war.

This export policy change has been far from palatable to English exporters. The English government set up a special Export Council at the beginning of 1940 before the passage by Congress of the Lease-Lend Bill. This board was created to encourage export in every possible way, since this was the only way by which England could mobilize foreign exchange with which to pay for its tremendous imports of war materials. But Churchill was forced to yield to American pressure and the board has become a mere ornament, designed to maintain a kind of "token" export so as to keep in touch with the foreign markets.

British business has not failed to recognize the implications of the export situation. A great debate has been carried on in the press and in the English journals over this issue. The wording of some of the articles on the subject has been quite cautious, as the writers did not dare to make a frontal attack on the United States in view of British dependence on her fellow-democrat. But it is not difficult to read between the lines and see the real fear of future subservience to the American colossus. The sub-title of one article of discussion is, in fact: "Must Victory Be Bought at Cost of Economic Subservience?"

They Have 'Two Enemies to Fight'

Under this title we find the following remarks: "To the oft-repeated statement that we must win the war first, we must say that defeating Germany is not all that is meant by the phrase 'winning the war.' We must also defeat Germany's object, which is to destroy the British Commonwealth of Nations. We have two enemies to fight — Germany and destitution. After beating German arms, must we face defeat by an equally destructive enemy, accompanied by German derision, namely, economic subversion?"

German derision has indeed been aimed straight along at the fact that England is becoming the forty-ninth state of the United States. It is clear, from the very nature of the discussion — the suppression of major exporting for the duration of the war — that it is the chafing of British capitalism under the yoke of its new taskmaster, the United States. The English fear that they will not be able to recover the markets which they are forced by their kindly ally to give up for the time being. But there is nothing for it but to endure American aid for the present. The stage of revolt is hardly practical at this juncture.

Nor is the field of exports the only one eyed with utter mistrust by the realistic Britisher. He can feel nothing but misgiving at the influence exerted by this country inside the British Empire. He notes that Australia and New Zealand have indicated a certain independence by sending their own ministers to Washington. In the negotiations being carried on with Japan, Secretary Hull has met not only with Halifax to keep this Ambassador informed, but with Casey of Australia as well.

What Will Happen to Canada?

Then there is Canada to which the United States pledged military aid the very first thing. The setting up of a joint defense board of the Ogdensburg Conference meant the bringing of Canada all the more closely into the orbit of United States imperialism. The English conservative magazine, Round Table, comments on this situation in the most frank manner imaginable: "It is a common observation that Canada is steadily becoming more North American. . . Canada's continuance in the British connection (that is, in the British Empire) may therefore depend on the capacity of British statesmen to build a new Europe with a reasonable chance of peace ahead of it."

This magazine sees the tight spot in which the Empire finds itself. Everything depends on the further course of the war, of course. "A very long war into which the United States eventually entered and which caused it to put forth every ounce of its strength, might well burn out American isolationism entirely, but it would almost certainly replace it with Imperialism. Any peace that would follow such a war would be an American peace, with Great Britain influential, but far from dominant. The way would then, as has been hinted above, be open for a new English-speaking synthesis about the Republic."

This conservative organ is under no illusion about "Union Now" or any kind of federation of the Republic and the Empire on a world scale. It recognizes cold-bloodedly that such a federation would in actuality be nothing but the domination of the empire by American imperialism. The war threatens to become precisely the kind of war feared by the British; namely, a long war in which victory by the allies can be achieved only by the actual entry of the United States with the sending of another AEF wherever necessary in the world to defeat the Axis. Already writers envision the first American force being sent to the Near East to help England meet the threat to its life-line through the Mediterranean. The British are quite right. The peace after such a war will be a peace imposed on the world by American imperialism. Unless, of course, the working class of the world says its word about the whole matter.

A CORRECTION

The article on Page 2 of last week's MILITANT declared that "It is estimated that the trial will last six weeks more." This was a mistake. It should have read "the trial will last two weeks more."

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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.

Free Speech On Trial

As the Minneapolis "seditious conspiracy" trial of the Socialist Workers Party and Minneapolis Local 544-CIO draws to its close, it becomes more evident than ever that the government is fully determined to carry through its frameup of the defendants and railroad them to prison for terms up to 16 years.

Five of the 28 defendants were released last week by a directed verdict of the judge. But this should not lead to the illusion that the remaining 23 defendants can expect similar treatment. On the contrary, as Dorothy Schultz, St. Paul organizer of the SWP and one of the defendants released, has declared: "We must redouble our efforts to save our comrades and friends. The rest of the judge's ruling today means we must prepare for the worst."

That ruling of the judge, M. M. Joyce, which denied the defense motion for a directed acquittal of all the defendants, included the statement:

"I am unable to conclude that any group of defendants under either count of the indictment possesses the constitutional right to circulate and write material that is seditious and revolutionary in character. . . I am unable to conclude that when confronted with the consequences of such conduct, the defendants may successfully rush to the protection of the Constitution they would not amend but would absolutely destroy."

This ruling is in accord with the argument of the prosecution, which has based its case virtually on the contention that the mere expression of socialist and Marxist ideas constitutes "seditious conspiracy" and is a criminal offense.

In order to give an impression of substance to its case, the prosecution is upholding a position, fraught with most dangerous implications for the civil rights of all labor, that the government has the right to impose limits on the exercise of free speech, press, assembly and political opinion. In this instance, the prosecution contends that those who oppose capitalism are automatically deprived of the protection guaranteed by the Bill of Rights.

No such limitations or exceptions are contained in the United States Constitution itself. All genuine guardians of civil liberties recognize that the moment limits are fixed to the exercise of civil rights, such rights no longer exist. Every judicial and policy agency would then have the power to determine its own arbitrary limits on the expression of opinion. Such a power, in the hands of reactionary interests, would soon lead to the abolition of all civil liberties.

The prosecution has taken the unprecedented position that it need not show evidence of any overt acts in furtherance of the alleged "conspiracy". Thus, it argues that what the defendants said or wrote, or more precisely what admittedly hostile witnesses falsely claimed they said, constitutes a "felony". Thus, this prosecution is clearly an attack on freedom of press and speech. The prosecution has even contended that it does not have to show any conscious agreement or common action between the defendants in order to prove its charge of "conspiracy". It claims it has only to prove that the defendants expressed the same ideas.

The trial judge has supported this contention in his statement that: "The unlawful agreement

need not have been in any form. . . It is not necessary to prove that the defendants agreed in terms to adopt the unlawful purpose and to pursue it by common means. . ."

It is apparent from the prosecution's cynical flouting of all legal and traditional concepts of civil rights, as well as its resort for "proof" to the flimsiest type of unsubstantiated reports of alleged private conversations, that the government is in dead earnest about obtaining convictions by any means it can command.

The defendants are in the gravest danger. Their conviction would constitute an equal danger to the rights of every trade unionist and every progressive opponent of Roosevelt's imperialist war policies.

There must be no let-down in the fight to free the Minneapolis defendants. Now, as never before, the militant workers and progressives everywhere must rally to their defense. They must be given the greatest possible moral and financial support — and at once. One of the most infamous frameups trials in all American history is coming to its end in Minneapolis. It is equally a frame-up against the rights and liberties of the common people of America.

Working-class and liberal public opinion must be prepared, in the event of convictions in this case, to rally to the defense of the 23, and to oppose the tide of reaction which will be the inevitable consequences of a conviction in this case.

Imperialism And Dutch Guiana

The United States Government this week continued its military occupation of strategic colonies in the Western Hemisphere by moving troops into Dutch Guiana on the Caribbean coast of South America.

Commenting on this latest expansion of American economic and military domination in South America, the *New York World-Telegram*, November 25, stated that "the action is in co-operation with the Netherlands government, which is the sovereign, and with Brazil, which is the largest neighbor. Thus our Latin-American critics cannot well raise the false issue of Yankee imperialism."

The *World-Telegram* certainly presents a novel definition of "imperialism". It would appear that all that is needed to remove the taint of imperialist motives from the occupation of colonies by a powerful monopoly capitalist nation is that these seizures be conducted "in co-operation" with the imperialist robbers who originally occupied these colonies and with the "permission" of those "largest neighbors" which began to be satellites of the dominant nation.

According to this conception of imperialism, Roosevelt presumably would not have occupied Dutch Guiana if the Netherlands government-in-exile and the Brazilian dictatorship had objected. Merely to pose this idea is to reveal its absurdity.

Of course, the *World-Telegram* does not mention nor do all the other apologists for American imperialism, that the one group of people whose consent Roosevelt did not seek in his occupation of Dutch Guiana, were the people most involved, the native population.

Moreover, the official White House explanation for the occupation of Dutch Guiana reveals imperialist motivation on the very face of it. It is claimed that the step was necessary to "protect" the bauxite deposits which supply 60 percent of the ore for the aluminum industry in this country.

In this respect, Roosevelt is just as imperialist as Hitler. The Nazi dictator also is "only" interested in "protecting" the sources of raw materials required by the German capitalists when he seizes the continent of Europe and fights for control of the African colonies.

The United States is controlled by monopoly capitalists, who, like all capitalists everywhere, are struggling for control of the world's markets, sources of raw materials and fields for economic exploitation.

The ruling capitalists in this country are not concerned with "defending" the interests of the American people. They are concerned with defending and advancing their own interests, which, like those of the Nazi capitalists, are bound up with bigger profits and greater opportunities for the exploitation of labor.

No doubt, Hitler would like to have access to the bauxite deposits in Dutch Guiana. And no doubt, he would offer arguments just as fine sounding as those of American imperialism to establish his "right" to control these bauxite deposits. But all the fine sounding arguments in the world cannot conceal the essential fact: German and American capitalism are both fighting for the "right" to control and exploit colonial territories for their own profit.

Hitler justifies his imperialist ventures in the name of "defending" the peoples he oppresses from the "plutocratic" nations. Roosevelt justifies his imperialist exploits in similar hypocritical terms.

All the capitalist nations in this war are imperialist. All are fighting for the "right" to rob the colonial people. That is why the workers cannot support their wars and must oppose them. The workers must fight instead for the rights of the colonial peoples to live in freedom from all imperialist exploitation.

Administration Backs Anti-Labor Law Drive

Flood of Anti-Labor Bills Being Introduced in Congress Presents Preview of Labor Provisions Planned by President

By DON DORE

The present Congressional drive to enact anti-labor legislation has openly received sanction and inspiration from the Roosevelt administration itself. Using the excuse of the mine strike — as the chairman of the House Labor Committee says, "Labor has forced this thing upon us" — Roosevelt has declared his readiness to sponsor laws to prevent strikes and impose governmental controls over the unions.

Scores of anti-labor bills, resolutions, etc., have been flooding into the various Congressional committees in the past months. Northern and Southern, Republican and Democratic legislators alike have sponsored these bills. The proposals contained in these bills are of three major types.

Most numerous of the measures are those aimed at limiting or banning the right to strike and establishing compulsory arbitration of labor's demands.

Another proposal, looked on with particular favor by the administration, is designed to give added powers over labor to the governmental executive agencies and to re-inforce government strikebreaking machinery.

Going beyond these measures intended to limit union action and extend the government's strikebreaking powers, are bills which attempt to define the demands which labor may legitimately raise and which declare certain demands to be illegal.

Most of the bills and resolutions now pending in Congress duplicate each other in many particulars, differing merely in degree of severity, and almost all combine at least two of the basic types of proposals.

THE "EXTREME" PROPOSALS

Greatest publicity has been given to those anti-strike bills which are of an extreme character. While bills making advocacy or participation in strikes a felony are unlikely to be passed at present, the fact that they have been introduced at all and have received a certain amount of support is an indication of the extreme reactionary tendencies in Congress.

Examples of these extreme proposals are those made by Senator Bailey, Representative Hoffman of Michigan and Representative Russell of Texas.

Bailey has introduced a resolution which would impose a \$10,000 fine and ten years in jail for those who "direct, order or encourage any employer or employees . . . to do any act or fail to do any act which has the effect of stop-

ping, delaying or retarding defense production."

Hoffman's bill would impose compulsory military service on all strikers; those strikers found unfit for combat service would be assigned to forced labor on war production at army pay.

Russell's bill makes "fomenting" of strikes a treasonable offense, subject to the death penalty.

"HARD COP-SOFT COP"

The administration utilizes the introduction of bills of this type for its own purposes. These enable Roosevelt to play the game of "hard cop-soft cop" with labor. He points to these bills and attempts to intimidate the workers with the threat of the "hard cop" and thereby hopes to induce them to accept his own "soft cop" measures.

Most important of the "hard cop" anti-strike measures being seriously considered in Congress, and having wide backing, are the Smith amendments to the Vinson "cooling off" bill.

These would impede and limit strikes by giving statutory authority to the NDMB to compel a thirty-day "cooling-off" period before a union can strike, with strikes permitted only after the union has submitted its demands to government arbitration. The Smith amendments would also prohibit mass picketing; direct the government to "protect" scabs from "violence"; ban strikes altogether except when voted for by a majority of all workers involved, including non-union men, in a secret ballot supervised by the government; and would make boycotts, sympathetic and "jurisdictional" strikes illegal.

The administration, acting through Representative Norton, Chairman of the House Labor Committee, is tacitly backing a "soft-cop" measure which includes the main points of the Vinson bill and Smith amendments. It calls for giving statutory authority to the NDMB with power to establish a 30-day "cooling off" period before strikes.

THE CONNALLY BILL

The leading bill aimed at implementing the government's strikebreaking powers is Senator Connally's, which authorizes the

President to "seize" any struck plant or mine and re-establish production under military control. This bill is intended to legalize government strikebreaking intervention in industries not working directly on war orders, such as the "captive" coal mines.

The Worley Amendment to this bill makes the added proviso that the government must "freeze" the existing conditions in any "seized" plant or mine, thus automatically preventing the workers from securing their demands after the government takes over.

This amendment is a modification of Representative Hoffman's bill which would make the demand for the closed or union shop illegal, and would even prohibit employers from voluntarily signing closed or union shop contracts.

One of the most serious measures proposed to limit labor's legitimate demands is the wage "ceiling" amendments to the price control bill. This would set an arbitrary limit to wages, and would, in effect, make it illegal to strike for higher wages.

WHAT ROOSEVELT WANTS

The Administration undoubtedly plans when it is feasible to put over legislation which combines the three main features of all the anti-labor bills. It will contain the anti-strike "cooling-off" and compulsory arbitration features of the Railway Labor Act, plus the establishment of an administrative agency modeled after the War Labor Board of the last war which would have virtually dictatorial powers to settle labor disputes and regulate labor relations by decree. These would be supplemented by wage "control" and compulsory open shop laws.

The success of the Railway Labor Act and the War Labor Board of 1917-19 in curbing and hamstringing labor makes these the most attractive models for the Administration to follow in this war period.

Unless organized labor fights with all its power against all laws abridging its right to strike limiting its legitimate demands, invoking compulsory arbitration, and giving the administration added strikebreaking powers, it is a foregone conclusion that Roosevelt, with the aid of Congress, will shortly impose legislative restraints on labor which will take away freedom of action and lay the basis for the annihilation of independent unionism.

The Real Criminals In Harlem 'Crime Wave'

Landlords, Employers, City Administration Blamed for Economic Conditions Which Drive Harlem Youth to Crime

NEW YORK, Nov. 24. — Sam Fitzgerald, Harlem labor and unemployed leader, spoke on the so-called Harlem 'crime wave', and the real criminals who are behind it, at the reopening of the Friday Night Forum held in the Harlem headquarters of the Socialist Workers Party, 72 W. 125 St., last Friday night.

He blamed Mayor LaGuardia, who just prior to the elections a few weeks ago made a campaign tour through Harlem as "a great friend of the Negro people," the city officials, the landlords, and employers who force the Negro people to live under such criminal conditions.

INSULT TO NEGRO PEOPLE
Fitzgerald told stories of the police and detectives who line the streets of Harlem at night. Negroes passing by are stopped and searched, asked where they work, where they are going, and where they are coming from.

If they cannot prove that they are working, if they have any sort of a penknife in their pockets, or even if the cop or detective "feels like it," Negroes are kicked, beaten, and often sent

off to jail. Of course this only increases their resentment, and adds insult to injury in the minds of the Negro people.

NEXT WEEK

The next issue of THE MILITANT will contain another in the series, "The Crimes of Stalin" with Lydia Beidel, dealing with the Stalinist Third Period.

needs. They must become acquainted with the revolutionary program, and be shown the willingness of the advanced workers to aid them, by helping them to understand their part in the struggle of the entire working class against the oppressive system of capitalism.

A lively discussion on the problems of Harlem, and the problems of the Negro workers in relation to the struggle of the entire working class followed. The next forum will be held on Friday, Dec. 5.

New York Mass Meeting Protesting The Minneapolis Trial

Hear

DOROTHY SCHULTZ
one of the 28 defendants
ROGER BALDWIN

Director, American Civil Liberties Union
JAMES T. FARRELL
Noted Author

GEORGE NOVACK
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Weygand's Ousting Marks New Stage In France's Development

By MARCEL LETOURNEUR

The Role of Weygand

The ousting last week of General Maxime Weygand as delegate general of France in Africa — poorly camouflaged as a retirement — opens a period of new important developments not only in North Africa but also in France.

Weygand had been appointed with full powers in September 1940, when the French colonial empire seemed threatened with disintegration. By appointing the former commander-in-chief of the French Army, the French government showed how highly it valued the preservation of its colonies.

Weygand checked the DeGaulist movement, and the unity of the French colonies in Africa was, for the most part, preserved. However, a difference in tone developed between Vichy and Algiers. Weygand always remained lukewarm toward collaboration with Germany and kept silent on all the schemes of integration of France in Hitler's "new order".

Moreover the traditional opposition between the army and navy kept him apart from Admiral Darlan, who had risen to prominence and had gained the confidence of the Germans. Weygand's silence contrasted with the more and more active collaboration of Vichy.

This gave rise to innumerable talks about the possibility of Weygand's siding with the "democracies". No doubt great pressure was exerted upon him, and Washington was not the least active in that task. Many American "observers" visited North Africa in the last year and we can be sure that their interests were not touristic. An economic agreement had been arranged between Washington and Weygand, according to which the United States had in recent months been sending to North Africa a few supplies such as food, cotton, oil, parts for small farm tractors, etc. Needless to say, Washington was not motivated by immediate economic interests, but by purely political objectives. Some reports even mentioned the conditions Weygand had stipulated for changing sides: a large supply of armaments and the sending of an American expeditionary force to Africa. Publicly, Weygand went no farther than to declare to an American journalist that he would defend North Africa "against any invader," which might be interpreted as meaning either England or Germany.

The silent retirement of Weygand shows how chimeric the hopes of the "democracies" were. Of course it was not easy for a commander-in-chief to follow, after a delay of almost a year and a half, the path of a general such as De Gaulle.

The seventy-five year old Weygand is also reported to have declared, "I am too old to become a rebel." But the fundamental reason for Weygand's submission is not the matter of prestige or of age. It is a direct social and political reason. In June, 1940, Weygand had been one of the foremost proponents of immediate armistice with the Germans. His main reason was his fear of any social trouble in case of further resistance. He saw in an agreement with the German Generals the best way to preserve France's social order.

At the same time he hoped that by silence and submission France could find refuge in a kind of neutrality between England and Germany. But armistice is not peace. England was not crushed and war went on.

Hitler's Demands Upon Europe

With the difficulties of the war in the USSR, Hitler has to ask more and more of conquered Europe. France cannot escape from the whirlpool of war and has to participate more and more actively in the struggle on the side of Germany. Hitler asks not only submission but initiative in that submission. Weygand, the traditional Frenchman, could not adapt himself to this task, but, at the same time, he could not break with the system he had himself helped to establish. So he retired silently.

It would be naive to think that the armistice could prevent Hitler from marshalling all the French colonial empire in the struggle against England. The tempo will be determined by the strategic plans and also the difficulties of Germany, but there is no doubt that in the near future we will witness great advances in that direction. The ousting of Weygand is only a preface.

This is clearly understood by the two real adversaries, Berlin and Washington. The first, commenting on Weygand's dismissal, declared that a "clear and unequivocal decision" was necessary, especially in view of approaching military developments in North Africa.

As for Washington, the State Department has already stopped every economic assistance to North Africa, and Sumner Welles has informed the French ambassador that the Weygand ousting can mark the end of the shipments of Red Cross foodstuffs and medicines even to unoccupied France. There are reports of a possible break of diplomatic relations and of a British ultimatum. No doubt Weygand's retirement is not a small personal incident.

As for Vichy, its explanations are miserable as always. An official communication stated that Weygand "would be returning in a few days to his post at Algiers." Forty-eight hours later Weygand was ousted. The same official denial declared that "there would be nothing to gain by precipitating matters." But Hitler's pressure was quick to force the hand of the senile Petain.

Hitler Makes Preparations

Commenting on the British offensive in Libya, Berlin declared that "it had been anticipating the new British move for a considerable time and had made the necessary preparations to meet it." The Weygand ousting is only one of those preparations. Vichy and its African colonies will be dragged out of the precarious equilibrium they try to maintain. But imperialist plans of one camp or another are not the only telling factors. In North Africa there are millions of natives oppressed and exploited. Their revolt may bring some trouble in the imperialist calculations. In France itself the servility of the bourgeoisie and its active collaboration with Hitler will find more and more opposition in the popular masses. Weygand's ousting may presage new violent developments not only outside but also inside of France.