# Socialist Appeal

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TROTSKY'S MONUMENT

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# RYING TO 'LIQI

NEW YORK WORKERS HONOR TROTSKY



# Clenched Fists Bid Farewell To Trotsky

### More Than 1,500 At Memorial Meeting

Denied the opportunity to honor Leon Trotsky with a great funeral demonstration, advanced workers of New York flocked through rain-swept streets to the New York Memorial Meeting of August 28th. For those who came, this last good-bye to Trotsky was as poignant an occasion as the funeral itself would have been.

The Roosevelt administration successfully prevented a repetition of Mexico City's mass procession and workers' guards of honor at the bier of the martyred Bolshevik leader. But it could not prevent Trotsky's closeness to the minds and hearts of the fifteen hundred who crowded the impressively decorated main hall of the Hotel Diplomat, in mid-town New York for the meeting of tribute that Wednesday evening.

One by one outstanding members of the American movement took the platform and addressed the audience, drawing from their pain-filled hearts the words with which they sought to express fitting farewell to so great and so noble a leader.

The same aching sense of inestimable loss which choked the voices of the speakers visibly stirred the audience as well. Many wept as the strains of the Workers Memorial Song filled the hall. and as Trotsky's comrades spoke of him.

Never, despite the absence of his body, was the presence of a man more deeply felt by an as- army . . . with clenched fists!" semblage than was Leon Trotsky's presence at that meeting to appears on page 2 of this issue.) honor his memory. "All of us feel that he is here in this hall tonight," said Comrade Cannon, -not only in his great ideas, but also, especially tonight, in our memory of him as a man."

# Hear the Old Man

This feeling, sharp and alive, was heightened as Trotsky's own words were heard-in the Old Trotsky is alive and will never Man's last recorded address, made die!" in Mexico in 1938 on the occasion catch each word as he explained: mourn him with grim determina-"Dear friends, we are not a party tion to carry on!" as other parties . . .

sounded the keynote of the even- had been invited to speak, stated: ing: rededication to the revolu- "Trotsky taught us how to fight lettered plaque, in honor of each tionary tasks ahead.

James P. Cannon, National Secretary of the Socialist Workers theoretician of our era."

The text of the telegrams sent by the New York memorial meeting to Natalia Trotsky and President Cardenas, and the reply of Cardenas, follow below:

August 29, 1940

August 29, 1940

NATALIA TROTSKY AVENIDA VIENA 19 COYOACAN, D. F. MEXICO

From this gathering to honor his memory, we, comrades and friends of Leon Trotsky, send to you, his devoted companion in triumph as in adversity, our most heartfelt sympathy at his untimely death. Your loss is our loss-humanity's loss. We rededicate ourselves at his grave to the achievement of the great task for which he lived and died.

FARRELL DOBBS, Chairman

PRESIDENT LAZARO CARDENAS MEXICO. D. F.

The comrades and friends of Leon Trotsky assembled in a memorial mass meeting in honor of his memory express their gratitude and thanks to the Mexican people and their courageous President for the generous hospitality accorded the great persecuted exile during the last years of his life. This honorable deed will forever remain to the credit of your country and to you its President.

FARRELL DOBBS, Chairman

FARRELL DOBBS 116 UNIVERSITY PLACE

NEW YORK CITY

I have received your courteous message of the 29th. I thank you for your thoughts on the hospitality that Mexico sought to extend to Senor Leon Trotsky. Greetings

PRESIDENT CARDENAS

Party stated, "Ours is not the grief of prostration, the grief read the message of condolence that saps the will. It is tempered by rage and hatred and de- Party and to Natalia Trotsky termination. We say farewell from Chile, Great Britain, Can like good soldiers of Trotsky's ada, China and other parts of the

(Full text of Cannon's address

Antoinette Konikow Speaks Though her voice was broken with pain, Dr. Antoinette Konikow, who has devoted 51 of her more than seventy years to service in the vanguard of the labor movement, yet could say, "What a fool Stalin is to think that by this

Farrell Dobbs, S. W. P. Na-

Stalinism. In fact he taught us

Farrell Dobbs, who presided wired to the Socialist Workers globe and from this country. He also read, for the approval of the Comrade Natalia, and one to Pres former of heartfelt condolence and solidarity, the latter of gratitude. Upon unanimous approval,

### these were sent. Hall a Tribute

The decoration of the meeting act be has killed Trotsky! To us hall was a deeply felt tribute in as a journalist! Or, for that matplatform surmounted a vast banof the Founding Conference of the tional Labor Secretary declared ner upon which his final message Fourth International, and the "Trotsky was last in the United was lettered: "Please say to our tenth anniversary of the Ameri- States in 1917, yet he clearly un- friends I am sure of the victory can movement. His firm, patient derstood our problems. He gave of the Fourth International. Ge voice inspired mourning listen- us his advice . . . In fact he gave forward!" Three red flags dip ers. All strained their ears to us a complete program. We ped at each end of the platform. black crepe draped their bases Albert Gates of the Workers upon the walls, "Fourth Interna-Thus the Old Man himself Party, a representative of which tional" lettered down them; and between each pair hung a blackone of the children and friends of all we know. He was the Marxist Trotsky who have been murdered he has never been a member of (Continued on Page 3)

# Goldman Warns GPU Is Now After Its Own Agent To Prevent "Break" At Trial MEXICO CITY, August 31-Albert Goldman, Trotsky's attor-

MEXICO CITY, Sept. 1-The Mexican Communist Party is already conceding the likelihood that Stalinist members were involved in both the assassination of Trotsky and the earlier ney, issued a warning here today that Stalin's GPU is attempting assassination attempt of May 24.

In a statement issued last night, attempting to answer President Cardenas, denunciation, the Communist Party stated:

"If investigations prove that one or more members or sympathizers intervened in the preparation or execution of the attacks, violating our fundamental principles, they will be expelled from the Party as elements very dangerous to the working class."

(This and other sections of the Party, is among those awaiting Mexican C. P. statement were published in the Daily Worker, trial for the assassination attended in the Daily Worker, townst of May 24. The Com-

has conceded that David Alfaro Siqueiros was involved in the May 24 attack but denies that e has any connections with the

lectual who did so."

David Serrano, member of the out directly on orders from Stalir Political Buro of the Communist and the GPU.

tempt of May 24. The Com-Already the Communist Party fended his innocence, but last night's statement may be prepar ation to repudiate him.

But no amount of repudiation of individuals will save the Stalinist apparatus from full respon However, Mike Gold, in the sibility for the murder of Trot Aug. 31 Daily Worker, says: "Si- sky. The enormous scope of the queiros, I understand, was not a preparations for that murder, the nember of the Communist Party, great expenses incurred, etc., can but he accepted its leadership. not possibly be explained away the outstanding Mexican intel- by the Stalinists as the work of a few individuals. It was carried

# Assassin's Story Falters Under Examination

MEXICO CITY, August 31-With each session of questioning of the assassin of Trotsky, his original "explanation" of the crime is being systematically torn to shreds.

When Trotsky cried out, "Let him live!" as the assassin was seized by the guards, Trotsky dealt an annihilating blow to the GPU's scheme to cover up its responsibility for the crime. Unquesttionably the GPU had assumed that its agent, the assassin, would

his person was written to be he had expended, when asked by found only if he were dead.

(The full text of the statement done for the Fourth International was published in last week's AP- prior to coming to Mexico, where PEAL).

To anyone acquainted with the GPU's methods that statementfollowing line by line the pattern of the Moscow trials-was sufficient evidence of the GPU's respons; bility for the murder. The average reader, however, unacquainted with the GPU's methods, might be puzzled and confused by it-if that was all he had to go by. And the GPU's plans were based on the idea that nothing else would be available to the public except the "statement." The assassin, Jackson, it was

planned, would be dead. He is still alive, however, although it is certain that the central concern of the GPU now is to kill him to prevent him from

talking. But he has already talked. He has attempted to play the role assigned him by the GPU, but he has had to answer the searching questions put to him. And the result has been the complete discrediting of the carefully-worded generalities of the "statement."

1. Jackson sought to picture himself in the statement as a assemblage, two wires: one to hard-working journalist. "I was content to have found in journalident Cardenas of Mexico-the ism a means of livelihood since this permitted me to struggle more effectively against the pres ent system of social injustice," said the statement. But under questioning he is unable to name a single job on which he worked itself: A striking portrait o ter, any other employment. This is Leon Trotsky above the speakers natural enough-he cannot name the one employer he has always

> worked for-the GPU. Never a Trotskyist

2. He pictured himself in the statement as a full-time activist member of the Fourth International: The Trotskyites "convinced me of the justice of their Long, narrow red banners hung ideology and wholeheartedly I joined their organization. From then on I carried into the revolutionary cause all my energy and all my faith," etc. etc. But under questioning he has admitted that any section of the Fourth Inter-

cither escape or would be dead. The "statement" he carried on national! As for the "energy the judge what work he had ever

> he claims to have been sent by the Fourth International, the assassin could only admit: "None." To these contradictions even more significant ones were added last night, when the assassin was

judge. Burned His Papers

his personal papers. Last night, through the examining judge, Albert Goldman, Trotsky's attorney, put the question whether these personal papers would have corroborated the story he was telling. and the assassin answered in the affirmative.

Goldman then asked, if that question, evading it continually.

4. The questioning of the assassin with the reference to the his "statement" that a member of the Bureau of the Fourth International had instructed him to go to Mexico to see Trotsky was

examined by the investigating

supported."

3. Jackson had burned all of

were so, why he had not saved those papers in order to be able to corroborate the story. The assassin would not answer that

particularly illuminating. Asked ment's support of the right of (Continued on Page 3)

From a source that I consider absolutely trustworthy, I have received information to the effect that a determined attempt will be made by the GPU to kill 'Jackson', the GPU murderer of Trotsky. 'The reason for the GPU's decision is quite clear. So long as

to murder the assassin of Trotsky in order to prevent further inves-

tigation of the GPU's responsibility for the murder of Trotsky.

Goldman told the press and the authorities:

the assassin is alive, the possibility remains that he may reveal the workings of the sinister GPU in Mexico, in the United States and in other countries, and thus endanger all of its agents.

"From the circumstances of the murder of the great revolutionist by the GPU agent, it is clear that the GPU expected that the murderer would either escape or meet death at the hands of the guards. Jackson had \$890 in his pocket, thus conclusively indicating that he hoped to escape. The fact that he struck Trotsky on the head with an alpine stock indicates that he had hoped to kill him with one blow and casually walk out of the Trotsky house.

"On the other hand, the letter found in his pocket giving the Stalinist reasons for the murder of Trotsky shows that the GPU

was prepared for the death of their agent.

"The GPU does not want any of its agents committing on actual crime to live in a penitentiary. While those agents who are designated for important missions, such as the murder of Trotsky, are generally men who can be trusted to the last not to reveal their identity, there is always the possibility that they will do so, especially if they are jailed for a long period. Hence any agent who is apprehended by the police after committing a murder at the instigation of the GPU and is thus available for questioning, is doomed to die at the hands of his master.

# Cardenas Points At Stalinists As Killers

MEXICO CITY, August 30-A statement was issued last night opponents outside their own President Cardenas, denouncing the murder of Trotsky and territories," for the purpose by President Cardenas, denouncing the murder of Trotsky and pointing the finger of accusation at the Stalinists as those responsible for the murder.

Cardenas' lengthy statement caused a profound sensation. Never in history has the chief executive of a government thus denounced a political party which supports him.

In his lengthy statement, Cardenas began by addressing it directly to the workers of the country, to tell them the standpoint of

the government concerning "the@ latest events which have culmin- fugees from Italy, Germany and political refugee, and the active involvement in the same, of organizations opposed, if not by their program then by their actions, to the postulates (on the right of asylum) that the reve-

Cardenas then continued with a firm reiteration of the govern-

lutionary regime (of Mexico) has

ated with the assassination of a Russia, who have been welcomed to the country.

> "Unfortunately," he went on, "there arose a demagogic and irreconcilable agitation, one cer- had under our government libertainly worthy of condemnation. tending to endanger some of the most distinguished refugees ... "

gees, he declared, "were nothing else than surreptitious moves of certain foreign pow-

of the Mexican Communist

CIALIST APPEAL of Septem-

the purpose of consulting GPU

the necessary measures for the

murder of Trotsky. The AP-

PEAL of that date quoted La-

borde as having stated at a

conspiratorial meeting of cer-

tain members of his central

committee that the campaign

against the Trotskyites must

These attacks on the refu-

ty and respect for its members and for the doctrines, which it has expounded in all tones and various forms, without there be-

asylum, naming in particular re- ers set in motion to fight their

ing a single act until now which might be said to show that the authorities impede in any manner, not to speak of prohibit, the propaganda of that party. What is more, on many occasions captious criticism and the enemies of the government have censured the government for what they call the communist tendency of this regime or, at least, an excess of liberty favorable to communist doctrines." Party, was exposed by the SO-Cardenas then solemnly warned the Stalinists: that, "in ber 10, 1938, as a trip made for the case of the Communists we headquarters in New York on

"of satisfying a low passion

and to wreak an inglorious

The "first hostile moves hav-

ing failed", said Cardenas, and

"the passion and totalitarian

hate growing ever greater,

they openly went on to the

Then Cardenas went on point-

edly to remind the Communist

Party of the freedom under

ly with all political groups, has

"The Communist Party, equal-

which it has hitherto operated.

commission of criminal acts."

vengence."

desire to say concretely that if they have considered it useful to their interests to abandon cooperation with the Mexican workers' organizations for betterment of workers' conditions, and have allied themselves with a foreign power that is responsible for an aggression against the sovereignty of the country, organizing armed assaults jointly with Mexican and foreign elements and carrying out murders that dishonor civilization and that east doubt upon the capacity of the government

(Continued on Page 3)

# TROTSKY HONORED HIS PLEDGE OF ASYLUM, CARDENAS AFFIRMED of Hernan Laborde, then head

President Cardenas also defended Trotsky against Stalinist slanders while Trotsky was alive. When the Stalinist lynch cam paign against Trotsky had been going on for nearly two years, President Cardenas felt it necessary to take the extraordinary step of making a public statement

That was November 12, 1938 In an interview of that date with the press. President Cardenas

in defense of Trotsky.

"It is not true that Trotsky is mixing in the politics of our Country. This man, since the time he came seeking our country as an asylum and to whom we opened our doors in virtue of a firm declaration which he erous film against Trotsky. made not to mix in our poli-

tics, is hoporable and knows how to keep his promises.

"In interviews, books, etc., always he has referred only to the situation in his own country, or to themes of world politics; he lives retired in voluntary seclusion, and all that he asks is that Mexico let him work in peace." (LA PRENSA, Mexico City, Nov. 12, 1938)

This strong statement by Car denas was in answer to a vicious speech by Lombardo Toledano Stalinist "front", on November 8, 1938, in which Toledano had attempted to link Trotsky with various anti-Cardenas reactionary politicians of Mexico. Toledano had recently returned from Europe, bringing with him a sland-

be strengthened tenfold to create the necessary atmosphere "FOR THE PHYSICAL LI-QUIDATION OF TROTSKY AND SOME OF HIS FRIENDS." These words, di-

A secret trip to New York (Continued on Page 3)

# TO THE MEMORY OF THE OLD MAN

Comrade Trotsky's entire conscious life, from the time he entered the workers' movement in the provincial Russian town of Nikolaiev at the age of 18, up till the moment of his death in Mexico City 42 years later, was completely dedicated to work and struggle for one central idea. He stood for the emancipation of the workers and all the oppressed people of the world, and the transformation of society from capitalism to socialism by means of a social revolution. In his conception this liberating social revolution requires for success the leadership of a revolutionary political party of the workers' vanguard.

In his entire conscious life Comrade Trotsky never once diverged from that idea. He never doubted it, and never ceased to struggle for its realization. On his death bed, in his last message to us, his disciples—his last testament—he proclaimed his confidence in his life-idea. "Tell our friends 1 am sure of the victory of the Fourth International—Go Forward!"

The whole world knows about his work and his 'testament. The cables of the press of the world have carried his last testament and made it known to the world's millions. And in the minds and hearts of all those throughout the world who grieve with us tonight one thought—one question—is uppermost: Will the movement which he created and inspired survive his death? Will his disciples be able to hold their ranks together, will they be able to carry out his testament and realize the emancipation of the oppressed through the victory of the Fourth International?

### "THE PROGRAM MAKES THE PARTY"

Without the slightest hesitation we give an affirmative answer to this question. Those enemies who predict a collapse of Trotsky's movement without Trotsky, and those weak-willed friends who fear it, only show that they do not understand Trotsky, what he was, what he signified and what he left behind. Never has a bereaved family been left such a rich heritage as that which Comrade Trotsky, like a provident father, has left to the family of the Fourth International as trustees for all progressive humanity. A great heritage of ideas he has left to us: ideas which shall chart the struggle toward the great free future of all mankind. The mighty ideas of Trotsky are our program and our banner. They are a clear guide to action in all the complexities of our epoch, and a constant reassurance that we are right and that our victory is inevitable.

Trotsky himself believed that ideas are the greatest power in the world. Their authors may be killed, but ideas, once promulgated, live their own life. If they are correct ideas they make their way through all obstacles. This was the central, dominating concept of Comrade Trotsky's philosophy. He explained it to us many, many times. He once wrote: "It is not the party that makes the program (the idea); it is the program that makes the party." In a personal letter to me, he once wrote: "We work with the most correct and powerful ideas in the world, with inadequate numerical forces and material means. But correct ideas, in the long run, always conquer and make available for themselves the necessary material means and forces."

Trotsky, a disciple of Marx, believed with Marx, that "an idea, when it permeates the mass, becomes a material force." Believing that, Comrade Trotsky never doubted that his work would live after him. Believing that, he could proclaim on

Speech Delivered at Trotsky Memorial Meeting, New York, Aug. 28, 1940

his death bed his confidence in the future victory of the Fourth International which embodies his ideas. Those who doubt it, do not know Trotsky.

### THE WHOLE TROTSKY IS PRESERVED

Trotsky himself believed that his greatest significance, his greatest value, consisted not in his physical life, not in his epic deeds which overshadow those of all heroic figures in history in their sweep and their grandeur—but in what he would leave behind him after the assassins had done their work. He knew that his doom was sealed, and he worked against time in order to leave everything possible to us, and through us to mankind. Throughout the eleven years of his last exile he chained himself to his desk like a galley slave, and labored, as none of us knows how to labor; with such energy, such persistence and self-discipline, as only men of genius can labor. He worked against time, to pour out through his pen the whole rich content of his mighty brain and preserve it in permanent, written form for us, and for those who will come after us.

The whole Trotsky, like the whole Marx, is preserved in his books, his articles and his letters. His voluminous correspondence, which contains some of his brightest thoughts and his most intimate personal feelings and sentiments, must now be collected and published. When that is done, when his letters are published alongside his books, his pamphlets and his articles, we, and all those who join us in the liberation struggle of humanity, will still have our Old Man to help us.

He knew that the super-Borgia in the Kremlin, Cain-Stalin, who has destroyed the whole generation of the October revolution, had marked him for assassination and that he would succeed sconer or later. That is why he worked so urgently. That is why he hastened to write out everything that was in his mind and get it down on paper in permanent form where nobody could destroy it.

Just the other night I talked at the dinner table with one of the Old Man's faithful secretaries—a young comrade who had served him a long time and knew his personal life, as he lived it in his last years of exile, most intimately. I urged him to write his reminiscences without delay. I said: "We must all write everything we know about Trotsky. Everyone must record his recollections and his impressions. We must not forget that we moved in the orbit of the greatest figure of our time. Millions of people, generations yet to come, will be hungry for every scrap of information, every word, every impression that throws light on him, his ideas, his aims and his personal life."

He answered: "I can write only about his personal qualities as I observed them; his methods of work, his humaneness, his generosity. But I can't write anything new about his ideas. They are already written. Everything he had to say, everything he had in his brain, is down on paper. He seemed to be determined to scoop down to the bottom of his mind, and take out everything and give it to the world in his writings. Very often I remember casual conversation on some subject would come up at the dinner table; an informal discussion would take place, and the Old Man would express some opinions new and fresh. Almost invariably the contributions of the dinner table conversation would find expression a little later in a book, an article or a letter."

# HE COMPLETED HIS TESTAMENT

# HE COMPLETED HIS TESTAMENT

They killed Trotsky not by one blow; not when this murderer, the agent of Stalin, drove the pick-axe through the back of his skull. That was only the final blow. They killed him by inches. They killed him many times. They killed him seven times when they killed his seven secretaries. They killed him four times when they killed his four children. They killed him when his old co-workers of the Russian revolution were killed.

Yet he stood up to his tasks in spite of all that. Growing old and sick, he staggered through all these moral, emotional and physical blows to complete his testament to humanity while he still had time. He gathered it all together—every thought, every idea, every lesson from his past experience—to lay up a literary treasure for us, a treasure that the moths and the rust cannot eat.

There was a profound difference between Trotsky and other great men of action and transitory political leaders who influenced great masses in their life time. The power of such people, almost all of them, was something personal, something incommunicable to others. Their influence did not survive their deaths. Just recall for a moment the great men of our generation, or the generation just passed. Clemenceau, Hindenburg, Wilson, Theodore Roosevelt, Bryan. They had great masses following them and leaning upon them. But now they are dead and all their influence died with them. Nothing remains but monuments and funeral eulogies. Nothing was distinctive about them but their personalities. They were opportunists, leaders for a day. They left no ideas to guide and inspire men when their bodies became dust, and their personalities became a memory.

Not so with Trotsky. Not so with him. He was different. He was also a great man of action, to be sure. His deeds are incorporated in the greatest revolution in the history of mankintl. But, unlike the opportunists and leaders of a day, his deeds were inspired by great ideas and these ideas still live. He not only made a revolution; he wrote its history and explained the basic laws which govern all revolutions. In his History of the Russian Revolution, which he considered his masterpiece, he gave us a guide for the making of new revolutions, or rather, for extending throughout the world the revolution that began in October, 1917.

# HE HIMSELF WAS A DISCIPLE

Trotsky, the great man of ideas, was himself the disciple of a still greater one—Marx. Trotsky did not originate, or claim to originate, the most fundamental ideas which he expounded. He built on the foundations laid by the great masons of the 19th Century—Marx and Engels. In addition, he went through the great school of Lenin and learned from him. Trotsky's genius consisted in his complete assimilation of the ideas bequeathed by Marx, Engels and Lenin. He mastered their method. He developed their ideas in modern conditions, and applied them in masterful fashion in the contemporary struggle of the proletariat.

If you would understand Trotsky, you must know that he was a disciple of Marx, an orthodox Marxist. He fought under the banner of Marxism for 42 years! During the last year of his life he laid everything else aside to fight a great political and theoretical battle in defense of Marxism in the ranks of the Fourth International! His very last article, which was left on his desk in unpolished form, the last article with

which he occupied himself, was a defense of Marxism against contemporary revisionists and skeptics. The power of Trotsky, first of all and above all, was the power of Marxism.

Do you want a concrete illustration of the power of Marxist ideas?—Just consider this: When Marx died in 1883, Trotsky was but four years old. Lenin was only fourteen. Neither could have known Marx, or anything about him. Yet both became great historical figures because of Marx, because Marx had circulated ideas in the world before they were born. Those ideas were living their own life. They shaped the lives of Lenin and Trotsky. Marx's ideas were with them and guided their every step when they made the greatest revolution in history.

So will the ideas of Trotsky, which are a development of the ideas of Marx, influence us, his disciples who survive him today. They will shape the lives of far greater disciples who are yet to come, who do not yet know Trotsky's name. Some who are destined to be the greatest Trotskyists are playing in the school yards today. They will be nourished on Trotsky's ideas as he and Lenin were nourished on the ideas of Marx and Engels.

# HIS IDEAS WERE ENOUGH

Indeed, our movement in the United States took shape and grew up on his ideas without his physical presence, without even any communication in the first period. Trotsky was exiled and isolated in Alma Ata when we began our struggle for Trotskyism in this country in 1928. We had no contact with him, and for a long time did not know whether he was dead or alive. We didn't even have a collection of his writings. All we had was one single current document—his "Criticism of the Draft Program of the Comintern." That was enough. By the light of that single document we saw our way, began our struggle with supreme confidence, went through the split without faltering, built the framework of a national organization and established our weekly Trotskyist press. Our movement was built firmly from the very beginning and has remained firm because it was built on Trotsky's ideas. It was nearly a year before we were able to establish direct communication with the Old Man.

So with the sections of the Fourth International throughout the world. Only a very few individual comrades have ever met Trotsky face to face. Yet everywhere they knew him. In China, and across the broad oceans to Chile, Argentine, Brazil. In Australia, in practically every country of Europe. In the United States, Canada, Indo-China, South Africa. They never saw him, but the ideas of Trotsky welded them all together in one uniform and firm world movement. So it will continue after his physical death. There is no room for doubt.

# HIS PLACE IN HISTORY

Trotsky's place in history is already established. He will stand forever on a historical eminence beside the other three great giants of the proletariat: Marx, Engels and Lenin. It is possible, indeed it is quite probable, that in the historic memory of mankind, his name will evoke the warmest affection, the most heartfelt gratitude of all. Because he fought so long, against such a world of enemies, so honestly, so heroically, and with such selfless devotion!

Future generations of free humanity will look back with insatiable interest on this mad epoch of reaction and bloody violence and social change—this epoch of the death agony of one social system and the birth pangs of another. When they see through the historian's lens how the oppressed masses of the people everywhere were groping, blinded and confused, they will mention with unbounded love the name of the genius who gave us light, the great heart that gave us courage.

Of all the great men of our time, of all the public figures to whom the masses turned for guidance in these troubled, terrible times, Trotsky alone explained things to us, he alone gave us light in the darkness. His brain alone unravelled the mysteries and complexities of our epoch. The great brain of Trotsky was what was feared by all his enemies. They couldn't cope with it. They couldn't answer it. In the incredibly horrible method by which they destroyed him there was hidden a deep symbol. They struck at his brain! But the richest products of that brain are still alive. They had already escaped and can never be recaptured and destroyed.

### TROTSKY AND THE RUSSIAN PEOPLE

We do not minimize the blow that has been dealt to us, to our movement and to the world. It is the worst calamity. We have lost something of immeasurable value that can never be regained. We have lost the inspiration of his physical presence, his wise counsel. All that is lost forever. The Russian people have suffered the most terrible blow of all. But by the very fact that the Stalinist Camarilla had to kill Trotsky after eleven years, that they had to reach out from Moscow, exert all their energies and plans to destroy the life of Trotsky—

that is the greatest testimony that Trotsky still lived in the



Cannon Addressing the Memorial Meeting

# By JAMES P. CANNON earts of the Russian people. They didn't believe the lies.

hearts of the Russian people. They didn't believe the lies. They waited and hoped for his return. His words are still there. His memory is alive in their hearts.

Just a few days before the death of Comrade Trotsky the editors of the Russian Bulletin received a letter from Riga. It had been mailed before the incorporation of Latvia into the Soviet Union. It stated in simple words that Trotsky's Open Letter to the Workers of the USSR had reached them, and had lifted up their hearts with courage and shown them the way. The letter stated that the message of Trotsky had been memorized word by word, and would be passed along by word of routh no matter what might happen. We verily believe that the words of Trotsky will live longer in the Soviet Union than the bloody regime of Stalin. In the coming great day of liberation the message of Trotsky will be the banner of the Russian people.

### WHY STALIN KILLED TROTSKY

The whole world knows who killed Comrade Trotsky. The world knows that on his death bed he accused Stalin and his GPU of the murder. The assassin's statement, prepared in advance of the crime, is the final proof, if more proof is need: ed, that the murder was a GPU job. It is a mere reiteration of the lies of the Moscow Trials; a stupid police-minded attempt, at this late day, to rehabilitate the frame-ups which have been discredited in the eyes of the whole world. The motives for the assassination arose from the world reaction, the fear of revolution, and the traitors' sentiments of hatred and revenge. The English historian, Macaulay, remarked that apostates in all ages have manifested an exceptional malignity toward those whom they have betrayed. Stalin and his traitor gang were consumed by a mad hatred of the man who reminded them of their yesterday. Trotsky, the symbol of the great revolution, reminded them constantly of the cause they had deserted and betrayed, and they hated him for that. They hated him for all the great and good human qualities which he personified and to which they were completely alien. They were determined, at all cost, to do away with him.

Now I come to a part that is very painful, a thought which, I am sure, is in the minds of all of us. The moment we read of the success of the attack I am sure everyone among us asked: Couldn't we have saved him a while longer? If we had tried harder, if we had done more for him-couldn't we have saved him? Dear Comrades, let us not reproach ourselves. Comrade Trotsky was doomed and sentenced to death years ago. The betrayers of the revolution knew that the revolution lived in him, the tradition, the hope. All the resources of a powerful state, set in motion by the hatred and revenge of Stalin, were directed to the assassination of a single man, without resources and with only a handful of close followers. All of his co-workers were killed; seven of his faithful secretaries; his four children. Yet, in spite of the fact that they marked him for death after his exile from Russia, we saved him for eleven years! Those were the most fruitful years of his whole life. Those were the years when he sat down in full maturity to devote himself to the task of summing up and casting in permanent literary form the results of his experiences and his thoughts.

Their dull police minds cannot know that Trotsky left the best of himself behind. Even in death he frustrated them. Because the things they wanted most of all to kill—the memory and the hope of revolution—that Trotsky left behind him.

# WE TRIED IN VAIN TO SAVE HIM

If you reproach yourself or us because this murder machine finally reached Trotsky and struck him down, you must remember that it is very hard to protect anyone from assassins. The assassin who stalks his victim night and day very often breaks through the greatest protections. Even Russian Czars and other rulers, surrounded by all the police powers of great states, could not always escape assassination by small bands of determined terrorists equipped with the most meagre resources. This was the case more than once in Russia in the pre-revolutionary days. And here, in the case of Trotsky, you had all that in reverse. All the resources were on the side of the assassins. A great state apparatus, converted into a murder machine, against one man and a few devoted disciples, So, if they finally broke through we have only to ask ourselves, did we do all we could to prevent it or postpone it? Yes, we did our best. In all conscience, we must say we did

In the last weeks after the assault of May 24th, we once again put on the agenda of our leading committee the question of the protection of Comrade Trotsky. Every comrade agreed that this is our most important task, most important for the masses of the whole world and for the future generations, that above all we do everything in our power to protect the life of our genius, our comrade, who helped and guided us so well. A delegation of party leaders made a visit to Mexico. It turned out to be our last visit. There, on that occasion, in consultation with him, we agreed upon a new campaign to strengthen the guard. We collected money in this country to fortify the house at the cost of thousands of dollars; all our members and sympathizers responded with great sacrifices and generosity.

And still the murder-machine broke through. But those who helped even in the smallest degree, either financially or with their physical efforts, like our brave young comrades of the guard, will never be sorry for what they did to protect and help the Old Man.

# WHEN THE TERRIBLE NEWS CAME

At the hour Comrade Trotsky was finally struck down, I was returning by train from a special journey to Minneapolis. I had gone there for the purpose of arranging for new and especially qualified comrades to go down and strengthen the guard in Coyoacan. On the way home I sat in the railroad train with a feeling of satisfaction that the task of the trip had been accomplished, reinforcements of the guard had been provided for.

Then, as the train passed through Pennsylvania, about four o'clock in the morning, they brought the early papers with the news that the assassin had broken through the defenses and driven a pick-axe into the brain of Comrade Trotsky That was the beginning of a terrible day, the saddest day of our lives, when we waited, hour by hour, while the Old Man fought his last fight and struggled vainly with death. But even then, in that hour of terrible grief when we received the fatal message over the long-distance telephone: "The Old Man is dead"—even then we didn't permit ourselves to stop for weeping. We plunged immediately into the work to defend his memory and carry out his testament. And we worked harder

than ever before, because for the first time we realized with full consciousness that we have to do it all now. We can't lean on the Old Man any more. What is done now, we must do. That is the spirit in which we have got to work from now on.

The capitalist masters of the world instinctively understood the meaning of the name of Trotsky. The friend of the oppressed, the maker of revolutions, was the incarnation of all that they hated and feared! Even in death they revile him. Their newspapers splash their filth over his name. He was the world's exile in the time of reaction. No door was open to him anywhere except that of the Republic of Mexico. The fact that Trotsky was barred from all capitalist countries is in itself the clearest refutation of all the slanders of the Stalinists, of all their foul accusations that he betrayed the revolution, that he had turned against the workers. They never convinced the capitalist world of that. Not for a moment,

# THEY FEAR HIS DEAD BODY

The capitalists—all kinds—fear and hate even his dead body! The doors of our great democracy are open to many political refugees, of course. All sorts of reactionaries; democratic scoundrels who betrayed and deserted their people; monarchists and even fascists—they have all been welcomed in New York harbor. But not even the dead body of the friend of the oppressed could find asylum here! We shall not forget that! We shall nourish that grievance close to our hearts and in good time we shall take our revenge.

The great and powerful democracy of Roosevelt and Hull wouldn't let us bring his body here for the funeral. But he is here just the same. All of us feel that he is here in this hall tonight-not-only in his great ideas, but also, especially tonight, in our memory of him as a man. We have a right to be proud that the best man of our time belonged to us, the greatest brain and strongest and most loyal heart. The class society we live in exalts the rascals, cheats, self-seekers, liars and oppressors of the people. You can hardly name an intellectual representative of the decaying class society, of high or low degree, who is not a miserable hypocrite and contemptible coward, concerned first of all with his own inconsequential personal affairs and saving his own worthless skin. What a wretched tribe they are. There is no honesty, no inspiration, nothing in the whole of them. They have not a single man that can strike a spark in the heart of youth. Our Old Man was made of better stuff. Our Old Man was made of entirely different stuff. He towered above these pygmies in his moral

# CITIZEN OF THE COMMUNIST FUTURE

Comrade Trotsky not only struggled for a new social order based on human solidarity as a future goal; he lived every day of his life according to its higher and nobler standards. They wouldn't let him be a citizen of any country. But, in truth, he was much more than that. He was already, in his mind and in his conduct, a citizen of the Communist future of humanity. That memory of him as a man, as a comrade, is more precious than gold and rubies. We can hardly understand a man of that type living among us. We are all caught in the steel net of the class society, with its inequalities, its

(Continued on page 3)

# Capitalist Press Muddies Trotsky In Death, As It Fought Him In Life

By GEORGE STERN

In life Leon Trotsky was always a feared and fearful figure THEY DARE TO SPEAK to the capitalist press of the OF VIOLENCE! world. In death he is still the hated symbol of the workers' rev-

They know that while Trotsky is dead. Trotskyism is still the specter that haunts their halls outcome of capitalist greed and of power. They tried to splatter his name while he lived. They still have the job of muddying his memory now that he is dead,

From their obituary biographies emerges a fantastic caricature of a man with a "checkered career", as the saying goes, an adventurer, a fallen Napoleon, a would-be Genghiz Khan, a wandering Jew on the face of a planet he defiled. From the limited bounds of their vision they could not, after all, be expected to perceive the figure of Trotsky, the revolutionary titan. The venom of their final curses over his dead body revealed only their instinctive sense of Trotsky as an enemy, a powerful and fearful enemy of the social order they themselves defend.

Where more serious biographical attempts were made, as in the New York Times, a combination of Stalinist and bourgeois was "jealous of Lenin's power and Also out of its grab bag of handy

Trotsky as "the greatest, slyest closer every day into the presentplotter of the Russian pre-revo- day "sea of violence? lution, a devious thinker who outwitted everyone save Stalin after the Revolution.

### THE DELIBERATE LINE OF THEIR EDITORIALS

Editorial comment on the murder of Trotsky varied on two themes: first, Trotsky was a victim of a system he himself helped a sore call Fascism? Nothing of work flowered in Hitler, Stalin. and Mussolini.

murderous regime of Stalin is the dead and Trotskyism rules in natural outgrowth—and not the Berlin and Moscow and Rome; which they fought, our master newspapers tell us, is now actually being realized . . . by Hitler and Mussolini.

both the New York Times and factured in attempts to destroy the New York Herald 'Tribune, his influence over the workers. played. The Tribune (Aug. 23) He and Lenin together were said that Trotsky "tramped ruth- smeared in 1917 as "agents of the lessly over millions . . . and was Kaiser." Trotsky was smeared trampled as ruthlessly himself .... by Stalin as an agent first of meeting an end only too charact- the British, then of Hitler, then eristic of the age which he had of the British again and now of done so much to produce."

brutal than the Stalin tyranny as Hitler, and with Mussolini. a whole, no more ruthless than the Russian revolution which this consummate firebrand in exile had himself set alight and kept aflame a generation ago . . . a sea of violence so that the embodiment of the revolution it- government will "make patent.

society.

triumph of the proletariat could be assured."

How calmly and easily these newspaper backs indict the Rusolution. Upon his still and sil- sian revolution and its leaders enced figure the newspapers con- for the violence that shook the tinue their vituperative assaults, world after 1914! The reprehensible violence was not the violence of the First World War, rivalry, which took the lives of 20 million men, women, and children, and twisted the lives of scores of millions more! Oh, no, it was the force wielded by workers who rose in revolt against this senseless slaughter and established their own power as the forerunners of a world socialist order. This was their crime. This was Trotsky's crime.

The armed support giving by France, Britain, and the United States to the White Russian armies after 1918, the invasion of Russia by French. British, Amer- self, who fought to make it and tion, as a revolutionist, was inled by Lenin and Trotsky.

ing this gigantic historical figure new kind of peace, a socialist the revolution that will again mighty symbol. That is why they to the puny dimensions of the peace. These capitalist choir boys men it better understands, resurwho write these bland editorials ler and Mussolini will be among learning that the second of the peace. These capitalist choir boys raise Trotsky's banner aloft, Hitwho write these bland editorials ler and Mussolini will be among learning that the second of the peace. These capitalist choir boys raise Trotsky's banner aloft, Hitwho write these bland editorials ler and Mussolini will be among learning that the second of the peace. These capitalist choir boys raise Trotsky's banner aloft, Hitwho write these bland editorials ler and Mussolini will be among learning that the second of the peace. rected the charge that Trotsky in their newspapers are quite con- the first to fall. tent to see these millions drown discontented with the fact that in their own blood as long as he did not have an equal share their deaths can keep the wormin controlling Russia's destinies." eaten hull of the capitalist order afloat. Is it not the Tribune lies, the Times pulled the asser- which has openly called upon the tulated unconditionally (to Stal- Germany? Is it not the Times toin) and publicly reputiated his day that is in the forefront of that band of boss warmongers The New York Daily News saw dragging the American people

### EVILS OF CAPITALISM LAID AT TROTSKY'S DOOR!

But they have a way of making Lenin and Trotsky respons- these Stalinist slanders slowed up | Cardenas' public declaration ing all this time he pretended to ible for today's slaughters as well the Stalinist murder campaign- defending Trotsky did not, there be in business, insisting that too as two decades ago. Isn't it part for the moment, of the threshing agonies of a dying capitalist order festering with Trotsky.

The American workers are to be persuaded, you see, that the look about one. . Trotsky is with their heartless fanatism.

Trotsky was often in his life the victim of amalgams-false couplings with his enemies and On the first of these two themes, opponents, unscrupulously manuthe United States! The Tribune Said the Times (Aug. 23: "The simply adopts this mechanism for long arm of Stalin's Ogpu . . . fin- the benefit of its own purposes, ally completed the job with a blow and seeks to bracket Trotsky siminto Trotsky's skull. Brutal? Of ultaneously in the minds of the course it was: but it was no more American people with Stalin, with

### ABYSS BETWEEN STALINISM AND TROTSKYISM

But between Trotsky and Stalin, history itself has dug an The victims of his cold cruelty, abyss. Stalin embodied in his Leon Trotsky, whom Mexico gave and of Lenin's, can be numbered person and his regime the degenin the millions; the wastes of eration of the Russian Revolu-Siberia are bleached with their tion. This degeneration flowed bones. It was not enough for from the isolation of the Soviet asylum to all political refugees.' him that Russia should be drench- Union and' its backwardness in By hunting down the direct reed in blood and suffering; the the midst of a hostile capitalist sponsibility for the murder of whole world had to wade through world. Trotsky was the living Trotsky, Cardenas finished, the

To THE MEMORY

# The Lesser Known Trotsky



A rare photo of Trotsky at a recent picnic. The unsuspecting lad in front of him is his grandson, Seva.

as well as against the whole of the capitalist rulers of the world America. The capitalist order then, as the capitalist world. Of the dis- who govern by gun and club and now, is indeed forcing the peo- orders of this capitalist world, bomb. Our masters and their ples of the world to "wade Hitler and Mussolini are only two journalistic acolytes glorify the Trotsky's life as a man of ac- him even now that he is dead.

# Trotsky Honored Pledge tion that in 1926 Trotsky "capi-tulated unconditionally (to Stal-

(Continued from Page 1)

particularly vicious speech. in defense of Trotsky against in earnest.

statement was to make the Stal- statement of November 19, 1938 inists more desperate and reck- did wreck irreparably a keystone munist Party the secondary lead- against Cardenas-a charge inceswho had failed to carry out suc- ledano press and now repeated by cessfully the campaign against the GPU, assassin.

nied by the Mexican Stalinists. themselves expelled for being In compliance with this order "pro-Trotsky" i. e., for having to create the necessary atmo- failed to murder him. A new came in and the concentration

The aftermath of Cardenas' murder machine. But Cardenas'

# debased and twisted degeneration of the workers' revolution which Lenin and Trotsky led to which Lenin and Trotsky led to bomb racks, fuels the tank columns, infuses the 'fifth columns' Stalinists As Killers

(Continued from Page 1) and people of Mexico to maintain a state of security and tranquillity for the inhabitants. these elements have committed the crime of treason to the country, have prostituted their doctrines of proletarian progress, have wounded their country, committed a crime that history will censure as dishonorable for those who inspired it and as abominable for those who consummated it and cooperated in making it effec-

Cardenas concluded:

"The Executive Power that I represent condemns unreservedly acts so shameful and declares that it will hunt down the direct responsibility that they have had in the assassination of citizen protection on its soil without any other purpose than to comply with its principle of granting

ereign right of the Mexican na- 1938, and Sheldon Harte, 1940.

tion. Cardenas' distinction between those who carried out the crime and those who cooperated in mak- tional" resounded through the ing it effective is interpreted as building and thus the meeting directed at Lombardo Toledano ended, as Comrade Cannon had and his associates, who by their proposed in his conclusion: incessant attacks on Trotsky sought to prepare the "necessary atmosphere" in which the Stalinists might more boldly carry out the murder of Trotsky.

Trotsky's Last Work MANIFESTO OF THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL

> on the IMPERIALIST WAR and the

PROLETARIAN REVOLUTION 48 pages 5 cents per copy Order from

PIONEER PUBLISHERS 116 University Place New York City

# Assassin's Story Falters Under Examination

(Continued from Page 1) of the International, he said yes. Asked whether he knew that not No, he had never asked them. even members of the organization knew who the members of the Bureau were, he also said yes, night's session was then put as Asked who introduced him to the follows: member of the Bureau, he said, some Greek members of the oras a member of the Bureau!

Changes His Story In his "statement" Jackson had said that the Bureau member had "supplied me with all the means, expenses of the trip, pa-

### Why 8 Months Wait?

6. In answer to a question what was the nationality of the Bureau through a sea of violence." It additional and especially virulent violence that bolsters their own member, he answered that he was distortions were arbitrarily graft- was the effort of Lenin and Trot- manifestations.\ They represent way of life. They shudder—and Roumanian or someone from the sky then and it is our effort to- the hypodermic injection of Fasc- rightly-at the violence which Balkan states. Asked whether he the actual physical facts of his day to lead them out of that ism with which capitalism is try- challenges that way of life. Of received a letter of introduction, bloodied sea onto a far shore of a ing to prolong its last hours. In that challenge Trotsky was a Jackson said no. How, then, did he expect to see Trotsky without a letter of introduction? He said that was not his problem but that is why they still fear and hate of the people who had sent him. What did he expect to do at Trotsky's? To act as a translator or secretary. If that was his function did he not think that it was very peculiar that he should be sent without a letter of introduction? No. Testimony then brought out that he arrived in Mexico in Trotsky, Then, in February, October, 1939, and did not get rectly quoted, were never de- 1939, Laborde and Campa were to see Trotsky until May 28, 1940 getting under his skin. eight months later!

7. What did he do all those months? Nothing except wait for sphere, Toledano had made this and more desperate leadership an opportunity to see Trotsky. Why did he wait so long? Well But Cardenas' strong statement of GPU agents in Mexico began that was the instruction-to wait; and he further testified that durfore, save Trotsky from the GPU was part of his instructions. He was then asked whether he had

met some of the secretaries of

"You claim that you met someganization. Did they introduce not know. You also claim that the Bureau member by name? he told you to go to Mexico to No. They simply introduced him see Trotsky and that he gave you ican, and Japanese troops did not then fought to extend it because deed a life filled with violence- pers, etc." Under police ques- that a visit to Trotsky was most constitute anything resembling he understood that socialism could but it was violence employed tioning, however, Jackson said he natural and casual. You also "cold cruelty." That term the triumph only as a world order, against those who make violence got \$2000 from the Bureau mem- claim that you were instructed newspaper backs reserve for the This brought him into irrecon- the very basis of their whole sys. ber-and \$5,000 from his (Jack- to tell everybody you were in busdefense of the Russian workers, cilable struggle against Stalinism tem of society, employed against son's) mother for the trip to iness. Now I ask you, if this mander of Garrison 297 of the

> When the assassin denied this, if you were to substitute the GPU for this alleged member of the Bureau of the Fourth International and for your mother, who you claim gave you \$5,000, would gerous as this man." not your story be the exact truth?

Whereupon the assassin went into a long harangue against Goldman. Throughout this session, unlike previous ones where he had sat meekly and answered questions, the assassin abused Goldman. Trotsky's attorney was

whether he was a member of Trotsky. Yes. Did he ever ask the Fourth International, he said them whether it was the custom no. Asked whether he knew that for secretaries to wait in Mexico the Bureau was the highest body for eight months or so before introducing themselves to Trotsky? What Is True!

8. The last question at last

one in Paris, whose name you do the expenses for the trip. You also claim that he furnished you with all the papers and that he advised you not to be too insistent in your efforts to see Trotsky, but to wait until it would appear give you exactly the instructions that you claim he gave you?"

That last question particularly struck home. So far as broad details of his leaving Europe and coming here are concerned, the assassin is undoubtedly telling the story as it actually happened-except to leave out the agency of the GPU and substituting for it his mother and the "Bureau

# to create; second, Trotsky's life the kind, according to the N. Y. less than ever. Laborde and in the Stalin murder alibi—the work flowered in Hitler, Stalin. Campa expelled from the Com- charge that Trotsky had plotted ership (Guerra, Ramirez, etc.) santly made in the Stalinist-To-FAREWELL TO TROTSKY

(Continued from Page 1)

by Stalin. Those mentioned included Trotsky's daughters Nina, 1928 and Zinaida, 1933; his sons Sergei, 1937, and Leon Sedov, 1938; and his friends and secre-1937; Ignace Reiss, 1937; Erwin before the entire world, the sov- Wolf, 1938; August Klement As comrade Cannon ended his

speech, the audience rose to its feet spontaneously, the "Interna-

"Let us say farewell to him in a manner worthy of his disciples, like good soldiers of and clenched fists. With the song of struggle and victory on our lips. With the song of confidence in Trotsky's Fourth In-Party that shall be the human

(Reports of other memorial meetings appear on page 4 of this issue.)

# Assassin Was In May 24 Attempt Says Mexican Government Paper

El Nacional, Mexico City daily which was carried out by Alfaro and organ of the government, to- Siqueiros and his associates, and day states categorically that a he also tortured and assassinated man, a great spirit. Edmund high official of the Mexico City Sheldon Harte, Trotsky's secrepolice identifies the assassin of tary,' a high officer of the metro-Trotsky, Jackson, as one of the politan stated yesterday afterparticipants in the May 24 at- noon," reports El Nacional. tempt on Trotsky, for which David Serrano, member of the Political Buro of the Central Comfugitive from justice.

MEXICO CITY, August 28- of Trotsky on the 24th of May,

"Alfaro Siqueiros took his orders from Jackson, as did other individuals with whom he met in mittee of the Communist Party is one of the apartments of the Erawaiting trial, and David Alfaro mita building, in Tacubya, where Siqueiros, another Stalinist, is a Siqueiros and Gomez Lorenzo (another Stalinist) lived and "'Jackson is the same man where Jackson asked Sylvia Agewho led the assault on the house loff to address her mail."

forget his parting injunction-That we shield and cherish his warrior-wife, the faithful companion of all his struggles and wanderings. "Take care of her", he said, "she has been with me many years." Yes, we shall take care of her. Before everything else, we shall take care of Natalia.

We come now to the last word of farewell to our greatest comrade and teacher, who has now become our most glorious martyr. We do not deny the grief that constricts all our hearts. But ours is not the grief of prostration, the grief that saps the will. It is tempered by rage and hatred and determination. We shall transmute it into fighting energy to carry on the Old Man's fight. Let us say farewell to him in a manner worthy of his disciples, like good soldiers of Trotsky's army. Not crouching in weakness and despair, but standing upright with dry eyes and clenched fists. With the song of struggle and victory on our lips. With the song of confidence in Trotsky's Fourth International, the International Party that shall be the human race!

# ORKERS' 号ORUM

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

### White Guards Drink Toasts To Celebrate Trotsky's Death

Editor: As the Kremlin gang rejoices whom Trotsky drove out of Soviet

territory. The Akron Beacon Journal of August 23 reports a group of White Russian officers, here attending the national encampment of the Army and Navy Union, drinking a toast to celebrate Trotsky's death.

One of these White Guards, a Captain V. V. Koodroff, vice comalleged member of the Fourth In- Army and Navy Union, an externational were an agent of the ecutive at the Vought-Sikorsky GPU and if you also were an airplane plant at Stratford, Conagent of the GPU, would he not necticut, and, of course, a pious Christian, said: "From the standpoint of Christianity, of course. we should not approve murder in he was asked: "In other words, any form. But from the point of view of giving peace to a civilized world Trotsky's death was inevitable . . . Talk about Hitler-Hitler is not one-tenth as dan-

> Another, Captain Alexis A Stoopenoff of the Czarist army. said: "The United States should breathe a great sigh of relief now that Trotsky is gone."

Yes, these White Guards are grateful to Stalin for murdering Trotsky. They understand that with Trotsky's death, the possibility of capitalist restoration in the Soviet Union is immeasurably facilitated. These are the class forces whom Stalin has aided with his murder machine. Akron, Ohio

### Author of "Studs Lonigan" On Trotsky's Death

Editor:

I know of no words strong enough to be employed in condemning the murder of Leon Trotsky. And I am convinced that he was murdered by an agent of the GPU.

For Leon Trotsky, I felt both admiration and affection, I was Trotsky, not a follower of his in the strict Trotsky's army. Not crouched and literal meaning of this term. in weakness and despair, but | But I was influenced by him. The put an end to whatever decency standing upright with dry eyes Old Man educated some of the there remained as a vestige of members of my generation: I was the Herculean spirit of the Rus one of those whom he educated, sian Revolution, just as the Stal-Were it not for his writings, I in-Hitler pact marked the coup would be a different person than ternational, the International I am and I would think differ- Providence, R. I. ently than I do. The loss of Leon Trotsky at this particular moment is tragic. In this black and bitter period of reaction. Trotsky was needed, and needed not merely as a symbol, but even more so as a leader. Now, those points on which one disagreed with him fade in importance. One sees his greatness, the inspiration which was gained from his very life, from his indomitable fight, and from his brilliant writings. Leon Trotsky was a great revolutionist, a great writer, a great

Wilson, the literary critic, once

remarked that since his exile from Soviet Russia, Leon Trotsky has served as "the Marxist conscience of the world." The pickaxe blow of Stalin's hired assassin struck down "the Marxist conscience of the world." With over their success in murdering grief, I say farewell to the Old Trotsky, they are joined in the Man. He is dead in the flesh. toast by the White Guard officers The spirit that animated his work will not die. Aug. 28, 1940

JAMES T. FARRELL

Editor:

A foul blow has been struck the Fourth International! But the movement is not reeling un der the impact. Comrades and sympathizers have set their teeth to carry on with greater determination the struggle with labor's enemies and misleaders. We will carry on the struggle with the realization that each of us must be a little more strong, a little more sacrificing, a little more understanding now that the revolutionary genius, Leon Trotsky, is no more.

How symbolic is it that a hireling of Cain Stalin should with Judas-like methods destroy the true leader of revolutionary socialism. In his fear of this great Bolshevik, Stalin has committed an act which exposes the entire mechanism of bureaucratic tyranny. But his cowardly blow will not save him, for the Fourth International will live on and will struggle on. The priceless heritage of Leon Trotsky's lucid writing will serve as a beacon for revolutionary thinkers leading them to the Fourth International, and leading the Fourth International to inevitable victory. Socialism will conquer with the stainless banner of Trotskyism! St. Cloud, Minn.

PHILLIP CLARK

### Russian Revolution Still Lives, Despite Stalin's Crimes Editor:

Allow me to express my indignation and that of Simon Simons at the foul deed perpetrated against the world revolutionary movement by the murder of Leon

It seems that this deed of Stalin foulness was designed to

HARRY DERMER SIMON SIMONS

(We appreciate the depth of feeling of our correspondents, but cannot accept the thesis that Stalin has administered a COUP DE GRACE to the Russian Revolution. He has not succeeded-and will not; the economic foundations established by the October Revolution still stand and, on that foundation, the Russian People will yet destroy Stalinism before it destroys the Russian Revolution.-EDITORS.)

# Our Australian Comrades Fight Despite Government Ban

We have just received word that the Sydney headquarters of the Communist League of Australia, section of the Fourth International, were raided by the police on Saturday, June 24. The Federal government had declared the League illegal the day before. Raids have also been carried out at the homes of the secretary of the League, G. Baracchi, and other leaders. Up to the present, no leading militant of the Australian organization has been apprehended, The government's action took place after agents had been

sent down to take notes at a public meeting of the league in Sydney on the previous Sunday. The meeting was held as usual in the Sydney Domain in defiance of an order prohibiting radical meetings. More than 2,500 workers gathered in spite of the ban to

listen to Comrades Baracchi, Kavanagh, Royston and Jock Little, according to the Australian papers. The speakers are quoted as saying: "We favor Trotsky who is persecuted by Stalin but never-

theless we are for the defense of the Soviet as a workers "The French capitalists have preferred to throw in their lot with Hitler rather than have the workers establish com-

In spite of the ban, our Australian comrades continue recruitment, in particular from the ranks of the Stalinists, and are carrying on activity in the name of the Fourth Interna-

Our warmest greetings of solidarity to the Australian Fourth Internationalists under attack. Together with the advanced workers of every country, we say to them, "More power

tional, naturally adapting methods appropriate to the situation,

a glimpse of the Communist man that is to be. This memory of him as a man, as a comrade, is our greatest assurance that the spirit of man, striving for human solidarity, is unconquerable. In our terrible epoch many things will pass away. Capitalism and all its heroes will pass away. Stalin and Hitler and Roosevelt and Churchill, and all the lies and injustices and hypocrisy they signify, will pass away in blood and fire. But the spirit of the Communist man which Comrade Trotsky

contradictions, its conventionalities, its false values, its lies.

The class society poisons and corrupts everything. We

are all dwarfed and twisted and blinded by it. We can

hardly visualize what human relations will be, we can hardly

comprehend what the personality of man will be, in a free

him, in his personality as a man, as a human being, we caught

Comrade Trotsky gave us an anticipatory picture. In

represented will not pass away. Destiny has made us, men of common clay, the most immediate disciples of Comrade Trotsky. We now become his heirs, and we are charged with the mission to carry out his

testament. He had confidence in us. He assured us with his last words that we are right and that we will prevail. We need only have confidence in ourselves and in the ideas, the tradition and the memory which he left us as our heritage.

# HE NEVER DOUBTED OUR SUCCESS

We owe everything to him. We owe to him our political existence, our understanding, our faith in the future. We are not alone. There are others like us in all parts of the world. Always remember that. We are not alone. Trotsky has educated cadres of disciples in more than thirty countries. They are convinced to the marrow of their bones of their right to victory. They will not falter. Neither shall we falter. "I am sure of the victory of the Fourth International!"-so said Comrade Trotsky in the last moment of his life. So are

Trotsky never doubted, and we shall never doubt, that armed with his weapons, with his ideas, we shall lead the oppressed masses of the world out of the bloody welter of the war into a new socialist society. That is our testimony here tonight at the grave of Comrade Trotsky

And here at his grave we testify also that we shall never

# Flint Auto Workers Fight Bosses' Speed-Up

# Angry Protests Meet **Program Of Intimidation**

FLINT, Mich.-Tension in the Flint auto plants increased and spread this week, as pressure from the corporation became so heavy that a delegation from the UAW locals left for Detroit today to demand action on the settlement of the rapidly accumu-

Under the weight of the corporation offensive—the speed-up and other tactics-the union militants are beginning to realize that the General Motors contract rammed down their throats by Walter Reuther has imprisoned the union in a strait-jacket.

The dangers of compulsory arstrike clause, are now becoming week was the scene of angry proobvious to all. This lesson is learned however, at bitter cost.

Last week a terrific speed-up drive was begun in the Buick and AC divisions of General Motors here. A wave of grumbling swept the plant, but outside of a few protest votes in plant meet-Ings, the International succeeded in squelching the brewing revolt. But only for a day. Immediately the Corporation followed up its advantage. It is the custom in the plants to leave the line a few minutes before lunch time to pull the men out, contract or no wash. In order to assert its power, the corporation tried to put a stop to this practice by sending whole shifts home at the noon hour, and at the nightshift lunch hour, punishing them in that way for taking a few minutes to wash. By this punishment the men lost four and five hours time.

### Workers Fight Back!

But while the International Board members are impotent and fearful, the rank and file in the plants still have plenty on the ball. The next day the men returned to work, and stubbornly at the lunch hour AGAIN knocked off early to wash. AGAIN the bosses sent five hundred men or more home five hours before quitting time.

It was going to be a battle to the end. The Buick workers took the challenge. The next day, for the third time they refused to break their custom of washing before lunch. But by this time the company realized it was no use. Rank and file solidarity could not be defeated-that is, and still produce Buicks.

This little incident is of the utmost importance, and is symptomatic of the possible solidarity and strength of the workers in the auto industry.

### Same In Other Plants The same tactics were repeated

by the corporation in Chevrolet and the Fisher Body plants.

In the Fisher Body plant a new device to terrorize the men was developed this week. On the production line, there is always a certain amount of defective stock that- is scrapped. sheet metal, various parts are often picked up by the man on the assembly line, found to be poor in quality, or actually defective, and tossed into scrap boxes which are placed here and there along the line for that purpose. This has been going on for years, and every auto worker knows it.

But now that the G-Men have the run of the plant, they thought up a swell way to introduce a feeling of suspicion, fear and intimidation. Every now and then, they mysteriously take one of these scrap boxes, and with elaborate show, photograph it.

It is later whispered around that this was done to get "evidence of sabotage".

Union Blasts This The union has quickly nipped this farce in the bud. Men are instructed -by Committeemen to take each and every defective piece of stock to the foreman, report its condition, and ask authority to throw it into the scrap. This will undoubtedly cost the company so much in lost time that the photographing will soon

These devices however are minor when compared to the company's latest anti-union attempt.

Attempt Wage Cuts By a clever subterfuge the corporation is trying to effect wage cuts in all Flint plants. Now that new models are going into production many operations are somewhat altered:-a piece of stock ed in a slightly different way

that last year was placed into position in one way, is now handlfrom a different angle; all along the line slight and unimportant changes in production have been made. There is absolutely no change in skill required, or in the general type of work being

But the corporation representatives have gone up and down the lines, using as an excuse the fact that the operation is somewhat changed, and RECLASSI-FIED dozens of jobs. Of course the reclassification is always downward, with a resultant cut in

hourly wages. Arouses Workers' Anger This easily discovered trick aroused a storm in the plants | the Department of Education.

bitration, the so-called "Impar- that is still raging. A city wide tial Umpire" and the 30-day committeemen's meeting this tests and demands for direct action to put a stop to the corporation's dirty tactics. The GM contract is generally cursed because its bargaining procedure requires

months for every grievance. Hun-

dreds of grievances pile up, while

local condtions grow worse by the hour. The situation is so bad that one local president of a UWA local remarked that no matter what "Walter Reuther says, if we don't get some action, we're going to contract!" This sentiment is wide spread. Strike talk is rampant But there is too little organized work, no one knows where to be gin, how to proceed. The failure of the International Executive Board to provide leadership has left the

union tossing in a stormy sea.

More and more of the secondary leadership-committee men and local union officersare beginning to realize that the present conditions cannot go on. The piling up of grievances cannot be allowed to grow. They are beginning to realize that extroardinary measures will have to be taken before General Motors will settle the thousands of grievances, and cease its campaign of intimidation, wage cuts, speed-up

The International Officers are rying their best to throw cold water on the spreading flames of militancy in the Flint plants. But unless they can satisfactorily settle the increasingly more serious grievances, it is not likely that Reuther, Addes and Company will be able to stop the brewing trouble from breaking out at one point or another.

The next period in the auto industry will witness many out-breaks, brought about by just such local issues and plant problems as are currently causing tension in Flint, It will not be surprising if the first of such outbreaks should occur in

# **Grace Carlson Is Full-Time Party** Worker Now



Grace Carlson has announced her resignation from the office of vocational rehabilitation counselor of the Minnesota Department of Education, to devote her full time to the Socialist Workers Party.

Comrade Carlson made the announcement on the eve of presiding as chairman of the Minneapolis-St. Paul Memorial Meeting for Leon Trotsky last Thursday.

She had been in the State Department of Education for five years, and previous to that an instructor in psychology and vocational counselor at the University of Minnesota, receiving her Ph. D. in psychology in 1933.

Comrade Carlson's announcement that she was taking up full time party work was the subject of indignant newspaper comment. The reactionary St. Paul PIONEER PRESS, though conceding that she had not concealed her party membership, demanded an investigation of

# Workers Want Union Control Of Military Training

The Socialist Workers Party has advanced the proposal for trade union control of the workers' military training. The party put forward its sound reasons for this proposal.

What has impressed me is the readiness of trade union men-not at all Marvists -to accept the idea that some form of compulsory military training is inevitable, and that by all odds the most desirable system of military training is the system wherein the unions themselves control the training, the government furnishing the funds, the equipment and the expert instruction.

Many of these unionists have experienced both army life and union life. They are able to draw devastating contrasts between the two

The worker in the army and the union worker in industry live lives as different as day and

Mr. Westbrook Pegler sarcastically suggests that union principles apply to the army. He jokes about this, but union men don't joke about it at all. It is their future that is concerned and they discuss it with the seriousness it merits.

### Army Life Alien to Unionism

The army way of life that has hitherto been known in the United States is the very antithesis of the life that unionists strive for. Through their unions, workers in private industry have been able to restrict the hours they must give the employers. Through their unions, workers have been able in many industries to win a living wage -some measure of control over their own lives, over their union officials.

Not so in the army, the most anti-union force in American society. Army hours are about twice as long as union hours, with no possibility of the lower ranks of the army being able to decrease the number of hours. From early morn until taps, the U.S. army private must serve his superiors. Army wages for the lower ranks sink so far beneath what any union considers a decent living wage that no comparison can even be attempted, Again, there is nothing the lower ranks of the army can do to improve their lot. They are refused the right to organize, to draw up their demands and to present them to their

Outside the army, union men have some measure of freedom and mobility. Not so in the army. There you are ordered when to arise, what to eat, what to wear, when to work, when to play, where to live, where to move. Your reading and your recreation are extremely limited.

You live in the barracks. The barracks are not union-built, they are scab built. You ride in trucks. The trucks are not union-driven, they are driven by non-unionists. The food you eat is prepared by non-union cooks, the articles you use are the products of non-union sweatshops in many cases. You dare not protest.

Outside the army it is possible for many workers to support their families, to have at least a small measure of family life. Not so if you are in the army. What sort of family life can an army private have, on \$21 (or \$30) a month? Today he may be stationed at Fort Snelling, tomorrow he may be ordered to Texas, or the Panama Canal zone or the Phillipines.

Army "Discipline" a Slave's Life Everyone knows what army discipline is. It is the discipline of the master over the slave, with no provision for the slave to protest deci-

sions that intimately concern his welfare, his very life. Protests and infractions are met with deral Prison, where he had served tion of Stalin the murderer as ready response of sympathizers of the court-martial.

There is discipline in a union too. The union membership will decide what hours are to be worked, what the wages and conditions are to be. Members who chisel on the hours, or "kick back" part of the wages, are disciplined by the union. They are fined or forced to quit work for a period. Protests of chiselers against the union law receive but scant sympathy.

But if bureaucratic union officials try to hand down unfair regulations and conditions to the membership, the membership has the opportunity to rise up and collectively remove the bureaucrats and place other members in the position of leadership to express the collective will. In the union movement the masses, if they don't now enjoy the democracy they need and should have, have always the possibility of fighting for and winning this democracy. Not so in the army.

Now for a still more decisive fact. The heads of the nation's union movement, no matter how bureaucratic they are, still have a vested interest in the continuation of unionism.

But the most anti-union group in the United ton's advanced workers. In addi- ler presented the background of States is the general staff of the army. It is tion to Comrade Cannon's stir- the assassination, and laid bare the Socialist Workers Party here concentrated reaction, tied by a hundred strings ring eulogy, the immortal voice the methods and aims of Stalin's to the Sixty Families and the protection of pro- of Trotsky himself was heard in GPU. The evidence presented perty rights, Every time the army has intervened in national life, from the great railroad strike of 1877 on down the years, it has intervened AGAINST the unions and FOR the employers. And it can not be otherwise, for the army is the military arm of the ruling class whose government the army supports. Even today the army is alone granted the leader of the est revolutionists of all time. He considering plans to put down labor. Not so long ago the magazine "Life" told that the general staff of the U.S. Army considered it more probable, that it would be used at home against the people rather than abroad in defense of "national" interests. From time to time columnists have observed that the staff officers in Washington are becoming more and more open and frank about their plans to regiment and run the nation, and more and more contemptuous towards ANY civilians who challenge their plans.

### For the Union Way

labor's attitude toward conscription and military training, most have not a class concept of life. Most feel it their duty to defend the country, to respect the government. Most feel that President Roosevelt has the same concepts of democracy and labor's welfare that they have. BUT EVERY | national defense. LAST UNIONIST SUPPORTS THE IDEA OF UNION CONTROL OF MILITARY TRAINING AND BEARS A FEAR AND A HATRED FOR ARMY CONTROL OF SUCH TRAINING.

Can the union movement really succeed in gaining control of military training for the workers? This will be decided in the struggle for such a program. If enough workers, if enough unions previously in his speech demandenter the fight for control over theis own military training, this can become a reality. The islation favorable to labor and difference between the army way of life and the union standards. union way of life is tremendous. In the months to come it will have the very greatest meaning for every worker, Faced with the certain prospect of universal compulsory military training. every sensible worker will much prefer to take the principle of justice in indussuch training under the direction of his own trial disputes. He reassured the union and his own officers, drawn from the union | White House that the Executive

# Max Geldman Is Chicago Speaker

CHICAGO, Sept. 1-Max Geldman, Minneapolis labor leader, shopping and business districts The well-filled hall, the rapt atjust released from Sandstone Fe- rang with our comrades' accusa- tention of the audience, and the an eight-months' sentence as a hundreds of APPEALS were all political leanings to appeals leader of the famous WPA strike, sold. The black-bordered leaflet for funds, all attest to the workwas the principal speaker at a announcing the meeting was dis-ers' deep hatred of the GPU and Trotsky Memorial Meeting here tributed and read in every nook their profound sympathy for Friday night, at the Midland and cranny of greater Boston. Hotel.

Over 200 attended the meeting. tended his condolences at the

# **Boston Meeting**

Day Eve meeting was testimony er for socialism. to the realization of loss by Bosthe hall, through a recorded left no doubt in the minds of the speech.

of condolence to Comrade Natalia Trotsky, and a telegram to Trotsky's life and work. He traced list of his works. President Cardenas, thanking him his political development from a for the asylum which Mexico young rebel to one of the greatworld revolutionary movement. | revealed the amazing parallel be- not received at press time, were

meeting the whole city was made Trotsky and those of that other Allentown, Toledo, Cleveland, and aware of the meaning of Trot- great leader of the Russian Rev- Flint,

sky's death. Thousands of SO- olution,-Lenin. CIALIST APPEALS were put in- drew on his experience of a year's

A representative of the Revolutionary Workers League ex-

200 people heard James P. Can- gust 25. non, National Secretary of the Opened by a color guard which Minneapolis And Socialist Workers Party, speak placed four red banners before a tonight at a memorial meeting brightly lighted portrait of Trot-for Leon Trotsky. Sky, the meeting paid tribute to for Leon Trotsky.

In the five days preceding the tween the ideas and activity of held in San Francisco, Detroit,

class suburbs, etc. The main ist.

# In Los Angeles Cannon Speaks At Attended by 300

Close to three hundred people attended a memorial meeting for Leon Trotsky called by the So-BOSTON, Mass., Sept. 1-Over cialist Workers Party here Au-

sky, the meeting paid tribute to The solemnity of this Labor the memory of this heroic fight-An address by Comrade Al Mil-

audience that responsibility for The meeting sent a telegram the murder lay at Stalin's door. Comrade C. Charles spoke of

to the hands of workers-on the collaboration with Trotsky in waterfront docks, outside factor- Coyoacan to highlight the peries, at warehouses, in working sonality of the great revolution-

The Trotsky Memorial Meeting in Newark, New Jersey, was held at Workmen's Circle Hall, 190 Belmont Avenue, Friday evening,

Felix Morrow, editor of the SOCIALIST APPEAL, was the principal speaker.

MINNEAPOLIS-A Memorial Meeting for Leon Trotsky was arranged jointly by the Minneapolis and St. Paul branches of Thursday evening, August 29.

V. R. Dunne gave the Memorial Address to a filled hall. A feature of the meeting was the printed program, which included a biography of Trotsky and a lengthy

Other meetings held during the week, from which reports were

# Red-Baiting Drive Dominates New York AFL Convention

The N. Y. State convention of stand for co-operation with the | the AFL, in session August 21-23 administration in all matters per- ly relevant words of New York Of the union men with whom I have discussed at Niagara Falls, adopted a re- taining to national defense. solution opposing the passage of the Burke-Wadsworth Bill "in its present form" and opposing conscription until such time that it is proved that voluntary enlist- resolutions committee reported ments fail to fulfil the needs of

> The convention's position was based on the views expressed by william Green in an address made at the opening session, in which he declared that the bill "was not well-thought out" and failed arms production. Green had ed the preservation of social leg-

> In the same breath, however, he pleaded with his constituents for "peace in industry"-"negotiations, not strikes"-and the application of "common sense" and Council had already adopted a

Debate On Roosevelt

The climax of the convention occurred at a special evening session on the second day, when the concurrence in a resolution endorsing Roosevelt's third candi-

A few belated cheers and a smattering of applause greeted with a questionnaire on that the announcement; the boss press burning issue. unanimously reported that It was a wild ovation. Dan McSpadden to properly pace the draft with of Local 3, I.B.E.W. took the floor to remind the delegates of the union-busting adventures of F. D. R.'s flunkeys, Jackson and Ar-

Halfway through McSpadden's speech, the microphone mysteriously went dead. His associate and business manager of Local 3, Harry Van Arsdale arose and flayed the perpetrators of the deed. Van Arsdale went on to state his opposition to the proposed endorsement of Roosevelt on the grounds that the administration had, in addition to sponsoring Professor Arnold, cut the prevailing wage in W.P.A.

Larry Phillips Speaks A near-riot ensued when Larry Phillips, delegate of Local 302, Cafeteria Union, charged gross inconsistency in the support of movement," he foamed, Roosevelt, silent partner of the F.B.I.'s anti-labor crusade. He constitutional committee recomberated the Federation for enslaying the AFL to the Democratic vention's first resolution, intro-Party. In the midst of his call for independent political action Steamfitters. Local 2, New York and a labor party based on the trade unions, a barrage of bronx ber of a political paty advocating cheers from the I.L.G.W.U. delega- the overthrow of our democratic tion unloosed itself upon him. President Lyons recovered long

enough to demand that Phillips apologize for remarking that the AFL had become the "vassal" of a political party. The latter complied, but requested to be recorded in opposition to the resolution all questions before the body. which was carried by an "aye" vote of the delegates, their friends hastily seeking refuge in the barand families, and casual ob- rooms and lavatories when the

This, notwithstanding the high-State's Solicitor-General, Henry Epstein, in the best speech of the convention, to the effect that neither the Democratic nor Republican parties had adopted a position on the Department of Justice's union-smashing drive. He had concluded with the suggestion that the state leaders present their legislator "friends"

# Red-Baiting Drive

From the first word uttered to the last, the tenor of the convention was "oust the reds."

"Subversive Nazi-Communist activities will not be tolerated," bellowed his excellency, the banker-"Internal subversive forces con-

tribute a greater menace than invasion," was Lieutenant-Governor Poletti's contribution. Bill Green obliged: "We must

fight infiltration of subversive elements-Communist, Nazi, and all

"Only Communists and Nazis are for unpreparedness," parrotted Meany.

On this question, Tom Lyons was quite expansive.

"We will not allow the injection of foreign ideas into our

To climax the orgy, Joe Ryan's mended the adoption of the conduced by the Plumbers and City, to wit: "Henceforth, no memform of government shall be permitted to hold any office in the State Federation of Labor."

Stalinists Yellow The Communist Party, well represented at the convention, was conspicuous in its utter silence on Many Stalinist delegates were seen third term fracas took place.

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# TROTSKY MEMORIAL Behind the Lines

Partitioning of Rumania Done Without Stalin's Consent

by GEORGE STERN

The further partitioning of Rumania summarily ordered last week by the Axis powers at the Vienna conference gives fresh evidence of the actual position now occupied by the Stalin government in Adolf Hitler's constella-

Bessarabia and Bukovina had evidently been part of the same Hitler-Stalin bargain which operated in Poland, in the Baltic and in Finland. But the Vienna conference showed quite clearly that Hitler regards himself as the sole arbiter of the new order in the Balkans and that Stalin recognizes his

The dismemberment of Rumania has obviously been an essential part of Hitler's schedule for ssuring himself an undisturbed Balkan granary. Bessavabia and Bukovina were assigned to Stalin. Hungary was assured of the return of Transylvania and no doubt before long Bulgaria will be presented with Dobruia. What remains of Rumania itself has already become in effect a German

The orders were handed out to Rumania without benefit of Hitler was demonstrating who was boss and Stalin, by dutifully exerting convenient pressure on the Carol government, showed that he knew his part was to carry out the commands of the Berghof oracle. While all the journalistic wiseacres

are still putting chips on Stalin's card in Southeastern Europe, Stalin is still playing his hand at Hitler's nod.

The operation of the Stalin-Hitler pact in the first year of the war has shown sufficiently that as far as Stalin is concerned he is going to play along with Hitler as long as Hitler continues his winning streak. British success in holding off the first aerial attacks on Enland will not in itself be enough to shake Stalin loose from Hitler's tail. Only the United States will be able to do that, and Stalin knows that the United States will be in no posiion to start doing it for some time to come.

So for the present the "reorganization" of the Balkans is proceeding under Hitler's direction and with Stalin's full if not overjoyous compliance.

After Rumania, it is quite obvious. Greece is to be laid on the carving table. Here too the Kremlin is vitally involved. The ad vance of Italy at Greek expense protectorate, along the lines of will force Turkey to another hour of decision such as that it faced when Italy entered the war. A that time, under the influence of the collapse of France and the consultation with the Kremlin. pressure of Moscow, Turkey let its pledges to England pass and stayed neutral. In the coming period of pressure on Greece, the Turks will have to decide wheth er they must accept a new Ger man-Italian order of things in the

Eastern Mediterranean. The chances are they will.

# MEETINGS THIS WEEK

PHILADELPHIA MEMORIAL MEETING

Speaker: FELIX MORROW Editor of the SOCIALIST APPEAL Phonograph Recording of Trotsky Speech

Friday, Sept. 6 8 P. M.

Institute Auditorium 810 Locust St., Phila.

YOUNGSTOWN MEMORIAL MEETING Central Auditorium Sunday, September 8 225 W. Boardman St. 2:30 P. M.

Youngstown, Ohio Recording of Trotsky's Speech Motion Pictures of Trotsky in Mexico

CLEVELAND MEMORIAL MEETING Hotel Allerton Friday, September 6 Cleveland, Ohio 8 P. M.

> Speaker: DAVID STEVENS. District Secretary S. W. P. Motion Picture Film of Trotsky Phonograph Record of Trotsky Speech

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