

For Unconditional Defense of the Soviet Union

A Program Of Victory For The Soviet Union

We stand for the unconditional defense of the Soviet Union, as everyone knows who is acquainted with our party's position. The Stalinist leaders are desperately trying to fool their rank and file into believing that the Trotskyists do not defend the Soviet Union.

The word "unconditional" is plain enough. It means that we set no conditions whatsoever before we defend the Soviet Union. We do not demand that Stalin make any concessions to us before we defend the Soviet Union.

We defend the Soviet Union because the foundation of socialism established by the October revolution of 1917, the nationalized property, still remains and this foundation it is necessary to defend at all costs.

The Trotskyists in this country, in the Soviet Union and everywhere in the world say to the Soviet government: Place us in the most dangerous posts, we are ready and shall unhesitatingly accept.

It is to assure victory in the struggle against Hitler that our party presents a minimum program of imperative tasks for the Soviet Union. Whether the Stalinist bureaucracy accepts or rejects this program, we shall defend the Soviet Union. But we insist that this minimum program is vital in order to strengthen immeasurably the fighting power of the Soviet Union.

1. Release all pro-Soviet political prisoners. Restore them to their rightful place in industry and the Red Army.

In the jails and concentration camps of the Kremlin there are tens of thousands of loyal revolutionists who proved themselves in the struggle against the White Guards and imperialist interventionists in the Civil War of 1918-1921 and in the struggle to build industry in the Soviet Union.

In spite of the persecution to which they have been subjected by the Kremlin bureaucrats, the loyalty of these men and women to the Soviet Union cannot be questioned for one moment. Given the opportunity they would immediately rush to the front, prepared to offer their lives in the struggle against Hitler.

The release of this great army of pro-Soviet political prisoners, kept in jail solely because Stalin feared their opposition to his false policies, is imperative for the salvation of the Soviet Union.

2. Revive the democratically-elected Soviets. Workers' democracy in the trade unions.

The tens of millions of workers and peasants who fought so heroically and self-sacrificingly in the Civil War were organized in the Soviets. The Soviets, constituted by representatives democratically elected in the factories and villages, directly represented the tens of millions of fighters for socialism, gave life to their innermost hopes and were the organizations which were closest to the masses.

Without the Soviets, victory would have been impossible in the Civil War. But these Soviets, based on occupational representation, no longer exist. Stalin has destroyed them.

The Soviets of Workers' and Peasants' Deputies must be revived. Complete democracy must be granted to the workers and peasants in electing representatives to the Soviets. Within the Soviets, there must be complete freedom of criticism for all pro-Soviet elements. Workers' democracy must be restored in the trade unions which are now merely a department of the apparatus of regimentation and oppression.

3. Legalization of all pro-Soviet political parties. Their right to present their programs to the masses.

As part of the restoration of workers' democracy in the Soviet Union, all pro-Soviet political parties must be given legal status. Every political party that is for the defense of the Soviet Union must be given the right to exist as an open political organization, to present its program, and to agitate among the masses for that program. Without these rights, there can be no true democracy.

4. For revolutionary unity with the German working class. For the Socialist United States of Europe.

In order to strike Hitler a mortal blow, the Soviet government must issue an appeal to the workers of Germany, calling upon them to destroy Hitler and the capitalist system which gave birth to Hitler. The Soviet government must call upon the workers of Germany to join hands with the Soviet Union to create the Socialist United States of Europe.

Hitler is now drawing immeasurable strength from the German workers' fear of the yoke of a foreign invader. The German workers know that the British and American imperialists want, upon defeating Germany, to dismember it and enslave its people. The danger of national oppression at the hands of the "democratic" imperialists haunts the German masses. They must either support Hitler or see themselves subjected once more to the Versailles system—those are the only alternatives offered to the masses of Germany by British and American imperialism.

In this situation the Soviet Union, alone of the existing states, can undermine Hitler by pledging to the German workers that the defeat of Hitler will not mean a second and worse Versailles but will begin the creation of the Socialist United States of Europe. The imperialist states cannot possibly make this pledge to the German workers. Only the Soviet Union, the Workers' State, can thus cement revolutionary unity with the German proletariat.

Capitalist states have refused to state their peace terms. The Soviet Union must clearly state its peace terms—the Socialist United States of Europe, the right of all nations to self-determination.

There is nothing original in this minimum program proposed by our party. The methods it proposes to assure Soviet victory are the methods used by the Soviet government in the Civil War of 1918-1921. By those methods Lenin and Trotsky saved the first Workers' State from destruction at the hands of the capitalist world.

By those same methods the Soviet Union can assure victory—a victory that will usher in the most progressive epoch that mankind has ever known.

THE MILITANT

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SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY, 544-CIO LEADERS INDICTED

Indicted Union Leader



Indicted Party Leader



At left: V. R. Dunne, organizer of Local 544-CIO, indicted for the "crime" of revolting against Tobin's AFL setup. Above: James P. Cannon, National Secretary of the Socialist Workers Party.

FBI Frameup Is Aid To Tobin's Anti-CIO Drive

Crushing Of Minneapolis Truck Drivers Is Aim Of Federal Indictments; Roosevelt Thus Pays His Political Debt To AFL And Tobin

MINNEAPOLIS, July 15—Acting on the demand of the Roosevelt Administration, a federal grand jury today handed down indictments on "seditious conspiracy" charges against 29 CIO leaders and Socialist Workers Party Members.

The leaders of the Motor Transport and Allied Workers Union, Local 544-CIO of Minneapolis—President Miles B. Dunne, Vice-President George Frosig, Secretary-Treasurer Kelly Postal, Organizers V. R. Dunne, Ray Rainbolt, Harry De Boer, Emil Hansen and Walter Hagstrom—were among those indicted.

James P. Cannon, National Secretary of the Socialist Workers Party; Farrell Dobbs, the party's Labor Secretary; Felix Morrow, editor of THE MILITANT, were among the Socialist Workers Party members indicted. Albert Goldman, Trotsky's attorney during his lifetime and now attorney for the Socialist Workers Party, was likewise named.

These indictments are but the latest and most ruthless steps taken by federal authorities to aid AFL chieftain Daniel J. Tobin in his fight to crush Local 544-CIO, the famous Minneapolis truck drivers union which, at a June 9 membership meeting, voted to withdraw from the AFL and accept an invitation to join the CIO. In the ensuing five-weeks, Tobin and his friends in the government have moved heaven and earth to crush Local 544-CIO, but without success. That they now resort to using the Smith Act of 1940—these are the first indictments under that anti-labor law—is but a measure of Tobin's desperation.

CIO DEMANDS ELECTIONS

To all the Tobin and government moves, Local 544-CIO has answered with one demand:

industry-wide elections, under government supervision, to determine what union the Minneapolis motor transport workers want to represent them. The AFL opposes holding such elections, knowing very well that the elections would prove that the workers remain loyal to Local 544-CIO despite all the threats and actions of Tobin and the government.

Why don't Tobin and the government answer with one demand: (Continued on page 3)

James P. Cannon's Statement On FBI Frameup of the CIO and SWP

Upon being informed by the press that a federal Grand Jury, convened in St. Paul to hear charges initiated by Acting Attorney General Francis Biddle, had handed down indictments against 29 CIO leaders and members of the Socialist Workers Party, James P. Cannon, National Secretary of the Socialist Workers Party, who was one of those indicted, declared:

"In the first place, the indictments secured by the FBI at St. Paul against members of the Socialist Workers Party represent the cynical payment of a political debt owed by Franklin D. Roosevelt, president of the United States, to Daniel J. Tobin, president of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters. The first object is to help Tobin in his

fight against the rank and file of the Minneapolis teamsters who have revolted against his dictatorial rule and gone over to the CIO. It may be objected that this is an utterly shameless prostitution of the offices of government to serve partisan political ends. And so it is—utterly shameless.

In the second place, the indictments secured against us represent an attempt to stifle the voice of opposition to the war program of the Roosevelt administration. They have lined practically everybody else up for the war but they couldn't line us up. We are against it and will continue to be against it even though confined to prison."

Roosevelt Ordered FBI To Aid Tobin Against CIO, Says Goldman

Albert Goldman, attorney for Leon Trotsky during his lifetime, and at present attorney for the Socialist Workers Party and also one of those indicted by the St. Paul Grand Jury, issued the following statement:

"I consider these indictments as the most flagrant violation of civil rights ever perpetrated by any government in the United States. They make a mockery of the claim of the Roosevelt government that it is in the war on behalf of democracy.

"When the case comes to trial it will be proved that the charges and the indictments are nothing but persecution calculated to help Daniel J. Tobin keep unwilling truck drivers in his union. After Tobin decided to place a receiver in charge of Local 544 of the Minneapolis truck drivers, the workers voted to secede from Tobin's union and join the CIO. Tobin then whiningly complained to Roosevelt, who set the Department of Justice into motion, and the result is the indictments.

"Local 544 seceded from the AFL on June 9th. On June 13th Tobin sent a telegram to President Roosevelt, who issued a statement aimed against Local 544. After that the leaders of Local 544 and members of the Socialist Workers Party

were indicted. The coincidence of dates conclusively proves the real motives of this indictment.

"The charge made in the indictments that the Socialist Workers Party conspired to overthrow the government by force and violence is an old charge which all reactionaries have used to crush anti-war and anti-capitalist sentiments. The Socialist Workers Party is an open political organization dedicated to the ideals of socialism and its present function is to educate the workers to understand the real causes of war, fascism and unemployment, and to convince the workers that to do away with these evils of modern society it is necessary to establish socialism. This is the only kind of conspiracy of which we are guilty."

BULLETIN

MINNEAPOLIS, July 16—Bail for the 29 CIO and SWP leaders indicted by the government for "seditious conspiracy" has been set at \$5,000 each, a total of \$145,000. Arrangements are being made to meet the exorbitant bail with the aid of labor and civil rights organizations.

The Honor Roll: Those Indicted In St. Paul

- | | |
|------------------|--|
| James P. Cannon | Nat'l Secy, Socialist Workers Party |
| Farrell Dobbs | National Labor Secretary, SWP |
| Felix Morrow | Editor, THE MILITANT |
| Albert Goldman | Attorney for the SWP |
| Miles B. Dunne | President, Local 544-CIO |
| Kelly Postal | Secretary-Treasurer, Local 544-CIO |
| Rose Seiler | Business Agent, Minneapolis Office Workers Union (AFL) |
| V. R. Dunne | Organizer, Local 544-CIO |
| Grace Carlson | Minn. State Organizer, SWP |
| George Frosig | Vice-President, Local 544-CIO |
| Alfred Russell | Former Organizer, Teamsters Local 544, Omaha, Nebraska |
| Oscar Coover | Mpls. Secretary, SWP |
| Grant Dunne | Organizer, Local 544-CIO |
| Dorothy Schultz | Twin City Secretary, Workers Defense League |
| Carlos Hudson | Editor, Local 544-CIO weekly |
| Walter Hagstrom | Organizer, Local 544-CIO |
| Ray Rainbolt | Organizer, Local 544-CIO |
| Harry DeBoer | Secretary, Federal Workers Section, (WPA workers), Local 544 |
| Carl Kuehn | Chairman, Federal Workers Section, 544 |
| Edward Palmquist | Active in Mpls. labor movement |
| Harold Swanson | 1939 WPA strike participant |
| Oscar Schoenfeld | Organizer, Local 544-CIO |
| Clarence Hamel | Organizer, Local 544-CIO |
| Nick Wagner | Minneapolis truck driver |
| Roy Orgon | 1939 WPA strike participant |
| Max Goldman | Minneapolis truck driver |
| Jay Cooper | Organizer, Local 544-CIO |
| Emil Hanson | Former President, Local 544-CIO |
| Carl Skoglund | |

Price "Control" Is A Grim Joke Food Costs Rise Fastest Of All

Monopolies Raising Prices As They Please, While Brazenly Blaming Farmer, Workers

By DON DORE

All the fanfare about government price controls has not halted the terrific upward spurt in prices during the past three months. The American wage-earners, who form the bulk of the consumers, are already paying for this war, as the profiteers and speculators ride high on soaring prices.

Vice-President Wallace was forced to admit on July 4 that: "Prices of all kinds have gone up faster in recent months than ever before in history... If this rise continues wages will not buy what they would. Farmers will be dissatisfied and every one except the speculators will be troubled."

Wallace's remedy for this condition was to advise the people simply to stop paying — to "load" their money to the government for "defense" bonds.

SOME STARTLING FIGURES ON PRICE RISES

The New York Times, July 6, compared the present price inflation with that of the first two years of the last war:

"A number of commodity groups have actually risen more in the current two years than in the 1914-16 period, notably farm products, foods, textiles and housefurnishings goods... The rise in farm products amounts to 31.3 per cent, compared with only 9.2 twenty-five years ago, and in foods 22.6 per cent, against 17.4..."

Food prices, according to the National Industrial Conference Board report of July 11, rose four per cent in June over May, and were 8.1 per cent higher than June, 1940.

But this report conceals, rather than reveals the truth. The U. S. Bureau of Labor Statistics index of wholesale commodity prices, as of July 11, stands at 148 — 48 per cent higher than in August 1939 at the outbreak of the war, and 38.6 per cent higher than on July 11, 1940.

THESE FIGURES REVEAL ONLY PART OF THE STORY

Even these figures, which are a key to the actual present — and future — prices, do not tell the whole story.

The New York World-Telegram, a reactionary big business paper, admitted on July 12 that: "The commodity price indexes do not tell a true story — they never do in a rising trend. According to the most widely accepted of all price series — the wholesale price index of the Bureau of Labor Statistics — commodities are up about 17 per cent since the start of the war. The real advance has been greater."

"Such indexes do not reflect a hundred and one little factors which, in the aggregate, make considerable differences in the effective cost to the consumer. They do not show the shortening of dis-

counts that have taken place, the elimination of concessions for quantity purchases, the dropping of advertising allowances, the institution of various 'service' and 'handling' charges, etc.

"And, even more important, neither the indexes nor the posted prices reflect the outright prices subterfuges now used, ranging all the way from the barefaced falsification of records to a cheapening of quality. No one can say just how much prices have advanced or how fast they are now rising."

Food costs are the largest single item on the family budget. The capitalist press has demagogically attempted to blame the rising food prices on the government "parity payments."

FARMERS NOT TO BLAME FOR RISING FOOD PRICES

But who has been getting the bulk of these farm payments? Not the small farmers, but the big insurance companies and land banks!

The New York Herald-Tribune, July 8, reports: "The largest single farm payment — \$133,191 — went to the Prudential Insurance Company of America, at Newark, N. J. The second biggest was \$96,332 paid to the Metropolitan Life Insurance Company of New York. The Federal Land Bank of Omaha, Neb., was close behind with a \$92,963 payment. Eleven other insurance companies received in excess of \$35,000."

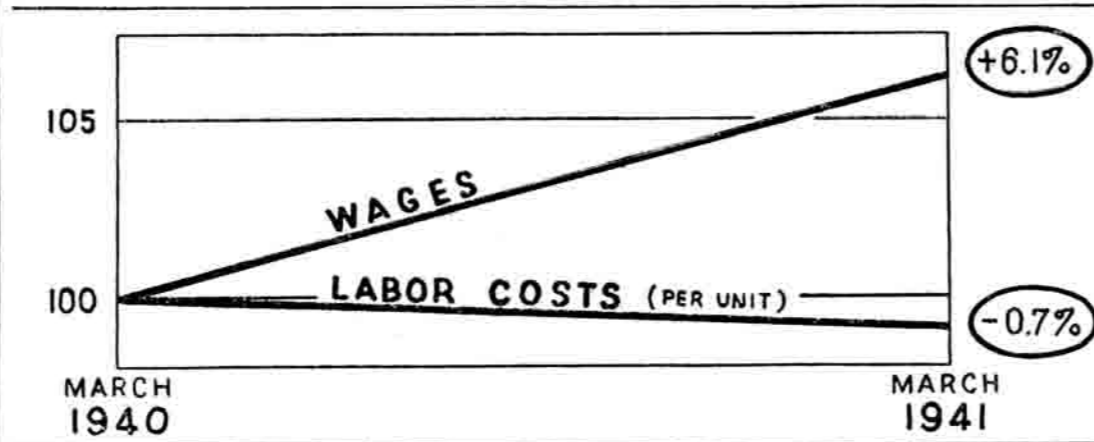
"Officials explained these large payments reflected immense holdings of farm land that insurance concerns and banks had acquired through investments and foreclosures, the latter coming about during the post-World War depression."

"The list made public today contained names of 43,454 persons and concerns who received \$1,000 or more in payments authorized under the soil conservation and price-adjustment programs of the agricultural adjustment administration for the 1939 crop year."

These were the corporations and corporation "farmers." But what did the real working farmer get?

"Fewer than 10 per cent of the cooperating farm operators received more than \$200 each the department said," reports the HERALD TRIBUNE, adding that "2,648,000 of the 5,475,000 participating in the

Profiteers Cause Price Rises



This chart, from the AFL's LABOR'S MONTHLY SURVEY, shows why the recent increase in wages won by the unions cannot be blamed in anyway for the rise in prices. While total wages rose six per cent in the year ending last March, labor costs per unit of manufactured commodities declined slightly in the same period due to increased productivity of labor.

price adjustment program received \$20 or less."

MONOPOLIES AND SPECULATORS RAISE FOOD PRICES

The bulk of the rise in food prices can be laid squarely on the shoulders of the capitalist speculators in grains and other farm commodities, and on the canning industry and other manufactured food fabricators. At the present time, virtually the entire food canning industry of California, center of the industry, is under federal indictment for monopoly price-fixing practices.

The working farmer is not a beneficiary but a victim of the exorbitant rise in prices which the farmers must pay for their tools and other manufactured products.

Montgomery Ward & Company had just issued its new 1,200 page Fall and Winter Catalogue, in which the prices on over 70 per cent of the listed items are substantially higher than in the previous catalogue. In addition the catalogue states that because of "national defense exigencies it may be necessary on some items to refuse or delay your order, substitute materials, or ask for a higher price."

What the consumers in general, including the small farmers, have to pay for manufactured commodities are shown by the following few examples.

Chicago Market Daily, house organ of the American Furniture Mart, reported on July 7 that prices for furniture now being shown are up from five to fifteen per cent over May and from ten

to 30 per cent over January.

The index of chemical, oil and drug prices compiled by the Oil, Paint and Drug Reporter, issued last week, shows average prices at 124.9 on July 3 as compared with 101.5 on July 3, 1940, an advance of 23.4 per cent.

The latest report of Dun and Bradstreet, Inc., says:

"Upward adjustments in prices are continuing on a broad front, including especially such articles as gasoline, anthracite, women's coats and dresses."

When not blaming the farmers for the price rises, the profiteers blame the workers.

"That wage increases have in any way affected the cost of production of the manufacturers is denied, however, by no less a person than Leon Henderson, Federal Price Control Administrator:

"Mr. Henderson asserted that most of the recent wage increases in the basic industries could be paid out of the savings of industry 'due to lowered unit costs when operating at a sustained high level of capacity.'" (N. Y. TIMES, July 2.)

THE FARCE OF FEDERAL "PRICE CONTROL"

Nothing about the entire price situation has turned out to be a bigger joke than federal price "control."

The Chrysler Corporation announced price increases to go into effect July 1. Administrator Henderson ordered Chrysler to rescind these price increases. The corporation sharply challenged Hender-

son's order and refused to comply.

So Henderson "compromised." He permitted the Packard Motor Company, Studebaker Corporation, Hudson Motor Car Company and the Nash-Kelvinator Corporation to boost their prices to keep in line with Chrysler!

When the furniture manufacturers announced a 5% price increase, Henderson ordered the increase rescinded.

On July 7, Henderson "compromised." His associate, Dr. James Bogardus, announced that the furniture manufacturers were given approval to raise prices five per cent over the April-May levels.

Price ceilings were fixed by Henderson for the textile manufacturers. They promptly thumbed their noses at him.

Henderson, the New York Times of July 12, reports, is now agreeing to another "compromise."

But when workers strike for justifiable demands from these same war profiteers who brush aside the government's orders with impunity, the government orders out troops.

It is clear that the Roosevelt administration, which is incapable of organizing war production as in the aluminum situation, is equally incapable and unwilling to enforce price control. Production—and prices—will continue to reflect the interests of the few big industrialists, until the war industries are expropriated and run under the control of the workers themselves.

Draftee Tells How Army Imposes Its Discipline

By A DRAFTEE

You can't run an army without discipline. Experience generally has shown, however, that the best disciplined armies are those that are made up of men who feel that they are fighting for something real and in their own interests. That's one kind of discipline and it comes from within.

The other kind of discipline is what is known as barracks disci-

pline. Because soldiers in the United States Army do not as a rule know what they are being trained to fight for, and because most of them have a suspicion that the fight will not be in their interests, they are being subjected to the barracks discipline. One or two examples will show what I mean:

EXAMPLES OF DISCIPLINE

In the course of our military training we are given different tests. If you pass them with a certain mark, you're all right.

If you fail, some of the non-commissioned officers have orders to give you a going over to teach you a lesson. Thus men who get below a certain mark in some tests are given orders to run over a rough field for 200 yards with their rifles held in their two hands over their heads, and wearing a full pack. When they do this, they are told to do it again. And again.

The idea of thus disciplining people who are perhaps a little clumsy or slow at catching on to things is not so sensational, perhaps, as the case of the boys punished for yelling yoo-hoo to girls—but multiply it ten or twenty times and you have an idea of what kind of discipline and what kind of regime we are facing.

Another example. Recently we were sent out on a "problem." I will not go into details about the maneuver itself, but want to indicate how we men are disciplined in this man's "democratic army." In order to get to the scene of operations we were walked from 4 o'clock in the morning until early in the evening for a distance of over 30 miles. There were men falling out about every hundred

feet after we had covered the first ten miles. The heat in that hot southern sun was simply terrific.

I am not a weaking, but I had to fall out a couple of times myself. I always fell in again after resting awhile. Not all the others were so fortunate. Some were taken back to the hospital reported in serious physical condition.

This was just the beginning. The next day we went about our problem, which itself was a long, arduous task lasting something like 28 hours. The second night out we didn't bother pitching tents because we were so dog-tired. We just slept on the cold ground with our packs for pillows. Finally on the third day our problem was over. At that time we were 18 miles from the barracks. They told us to fall into line and started us off to camp on foot again.

A SENSELESS BURDEN

There was really no sense to this marching at all. We had come out and done our problem. Empty and half empty trucks were passing us down the road. In conditions of real warfare we would have piled into the trucks. But not here. It wasn't until several hours later that they told us we could get onto trucks and ride in.

Those who fell out on the hike had their passes rescinded for the Fourth of July. Even if they'd been waiting months for the chance to go home to see their folks, they couldn't go if they had fallen out. A lot of them went home without the pass. This means they'll get into more trouble.

We don't see the sense in punishing a man just because he fell out on a march like that. Right from the start they set a fast pace, about three miles an hour, 128 steps a minute. That's fast walking if you keep it up hour after hour. The pack seems to get heavier all the time. The straps cut into a man's shoulders till they

Newark CIO Takes Pro-War Stalinist Line

NEWARK, N. J., July 12 — Following a two week period of indecision, the Greater Newark Industrial Union Council (CIO) passed a resolution embodying the latest Stalinist line on the war. It voted down a resolution which, while calling for aid to the Soviet Union, also called for continuation of the Council's opposition to United States entry into the war.

Two weeks earlier the Council had voted not to take a position on the latest stage of the war, but to refer the question to the Executive Board for a recommendation. An overzealous delegate from a Stalinist-controlled local had introduced a resolution calling for aid to the Soviet Union, and there had been some differences among the delegates because it said nothing about labor's attitude toward the U. S. government. The Council's president, William Ross, then argued that they wait until there was some word from the national CIO on the question.

That earlier dispute obviously was a difference among the Stalinists only over when it would be most expedient to change the Council's anti-war position, some delegates feeling nothing was to be gained by waiting, and Ross believing that the change could be made more gracefully if Murray and Lewis would provide a handle for the change first.

STALINISTS APE INTERVENTIONISTS

But as the national office of the CIO continued to make no statement on the question, the Newark Executive Board decided to go ahead on its own.

The resolution the Stalinists offered began by going the interventionist argument one better: Germany's assault on Russia "has brought the war nearer, much nearer, to the American continent. Nearer than Dakar, nearer than Martinique and nearer than the Cape Verde Islands. A German success in Russia will put German outposts within good skiing distance of the Aleutian Islands at the tip of Alaska."

Then, after a perfunctory criticism of the past role of England and France in selling out Czechoslovakia, Ethiopia, etc., the resolution got down to business by stating that the Nazi invasion of the USSR had changed the entire World War into a war against fascism. It concluded by calling for all aid to countries fighting against fascism, including England.

As every delegate understood this was a complete reversal of the Council's position. The explanations offered by Ross and the other supporters of the resolution showed that they were only following out a line which they had half-understood.

PRO-SOVIET RESOLUTION ATTACKED

A rank-and-file delegate took the floor and introduced a separate resolution. This condemned the Nazi attack on the Soviet Union, expressed sympathy with the workers of the USSR, called for aid to them in their struggle against Nazi fascism and "reaffirmed" the Council position of opposition to U. S. entry into the war.

Ross bitterly attacked this resolution and demanded that it be introduced as an amendment to his resolution, refusing the request of the maker of the motion to have it considered as a separate resolution. One after another, his supporters took the floor to attack it. Their main objection was not its reaffirmation of opposition to U. S. entry into the war—none of them even mentioned this—but its failure to call for aid to Britain!

By a decisive majority then, with the reporters from the capitalist press present openly laughing at them, the Stalinists proceeded to wipe out the anti-war traditions and policies of the Council.

The strap from the gas mask which goes diagonally across the chest gets so tight that you can hardly breathe.

To punish men in this way, new men who have been in the army for only a few months, to invoke this kind of discipline, I feel, is to show how bankrupt the regime in the Army really is today.

War Chest Fills Fast-But Not Blitzkrieg Speed

Under normal circumstances the money raised so far in the War Chest Drive for \$10,000 would constitute better than a fair average. We expected to end the drive by August 1. By July 15 we have 61% but we are not living under normal circumstances. As we write this, we have been informed by newspaper reporters that indictments in Minneapolis have been handed down by the grand jury, indicting 29 of our comrades. It will take far more than the amount we designated for the War Chest to defend our people. Within the next week every bit of money outstanding must be collected and sent in.

The following branches have joined St. Louis and Toledo with 100% standings or better: Cleveland, San Diego, Akron, and Portland.

The necessity of having all other branches reach a 100% standing within a week should be evident to everybody.

The contributions which came in this week are:

Branch	Amount
New York City	\$381.50
San Francisco Bay Area	241.50
Akron	30.00
Reading	24.45
Portland	10.00
Boston	45.00
St. Paul	92.00
Chicago	382.00
Newark	111.25
Los Angeles	80.00
Allentown	14.50
Milwaukee	10.00
San Diego	75.00
Detroit	59.00
Cleveland	57.00
Minneapolis	55.40
Philadelphia	32.00
New Haven	11.50
Rochester	43.50
Buffalo	32.50
Pittsburgh	18.00
Members-at-Large	20.00
TOTAL	\$1826.10

\$10,000 War Chest SCOREBOARD

Branch	Quota	Amt. Pd.	%
Buffalo	\$ 60.00	\$ 98.50	164
Reading	25.00	38.50	153
Cleveland	150.00	150.00	100
San Diego	100.00	100.00	100
Akron	50.00	50.00	100
Portland	30.00	30.00	100
St. Louis	25.00	25.00	100
Quakertown	25.00	25.00	100
Toledo	10.00	10.00	100
Detroit	500.00	485.00	97
Newark	500.00	458.25	92
Rochester	50.00	43.50	87
St. Paul	300.00	257.00	86
Louisiana	25.00	20.00	80
Chicago	1200.00	942.12	79
Allentown	25.00	19.50	78
Boston	350.00	262.20	75
Pittsburgh	40.00	30.00	75
New Haven	50.00	37.00	74
Baltimore	10.00	7.00	70
Philadelphia	125.00	74.00	59
Milwaukee	55.00	30.00	55
San Francisco Bay Area	1100.00	575.83	52
New York City	2500.00	1172.28	47
Los Angeles	500.00	180.00	36
Flint	200.00	70.00	35
Minneapolis	1200.00	385.90	32
Youngstown	150.00	45.00	30
South Chicago	125.00	0.00	00
Fresno	30.00	0.00	00
Seattle	25.00	0.00	00
Texas	20.00	0.00	00
Members-at-Large	475.00	456.00	96
TOTAL	\$10,000.00	\$6,077.48	61%

For Every Class-Conscious Worker:

WHY WE DEFEND THE SOVIET UNION

By Albert Goldman

32-page pamphlet—5c

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Join the Socialist Workers Party

CIO Forces Congressmen To Drop Anti-Labor Bill

CIO Conference Speedily Gets Results; Bill Previously Backed By Administration Is Defeated; But Ten Other Bills Coming

The CIO gave another demonstration of its mass power last week when the Administration's Congressional leaders, under direct pressure from hundreds of CIO representatives, hastily backtracked on their support of the strikebreaking sections of the May-Connally bill.

Democratic leaders of the House, and dozens of other Congressmen, abandoned their support of the anti-labor sections of the bill after CIO committees visited them and expressed the CIO's firm opposition to these measures. The House, after a bitter debate, voted down all the anti-labor sections of the May-Connally bill by a 220-149 roll-call vote on July 10.

The two sections of the bill which were defeated were:

1. Empowering the President to use army troops to break strikes in "defense" industries and imposing heavy fines and prison sentences on strikers for "interfering" with scabs and strikebreakers entering a struck plant;

2. Establishing compulsory arbitration by making it illegal for strikers to refuse to submit to government mediation.

Acknowledging that it was CIO pressure that brought about the defeat of the bill, Congressmen who voted in favor of the measure bitterly complained against the CIO.

NATIONAL CIO CONFERENCE

The CIO organized its opposition at a nation-wide conference of 250 union leaders in Washington, July 6, called by CIO President Philip Murray to plan ways and means to fight the eleven anti-labor bills which have been introduced in Congress.

Following this conference, CIO representatives proceeded to visit Roosevelt, Vice-President Wallace, and leading members of the House, to demand their favorable action against the union-busting bills being pushed in Congress. Thousands of telegrams from CIO unions and members poured into Washington.

At the CIO conference, CIO spokesmen made it amply clear that the anti-labor legislation before Congress was being supported by the Administration itself.

John L. Lewis denounced Roosevelt and his "labor" aide, Hillman, for the use of troops

against the North American Aviation Corporation strikers.

BLAME ADMINISTRATION

John T. Jones, CIO legislative representative and director of Labor's Non-Partisan League, in his report which was unanimously approved by the conference, declared:

"In frankly reporting to you the problems we have faced in attempting to prevent passage of anti-labor legislation during this session of Congress, I am compelled to emphasize the significance of the attitude of the majority leadership in both the Senate and the House. The attitude of the Democratic leadership to these measures included actual promotion of certain anti-labor measures and unspoken but clearly implied support of certain other measures."

Jones further pointed out that the Case no-strike amendment to the Army Appropriation Bill was passed in the House with the support of Majority Leader McCormack, and that the May-Connally bill had been passed originally in the Senate without one word of opposition from the Administration spokesmen.

FDR BACKED VINSON BILL

Jones made an even more direct charge against the Roosevelt administration, when he declared:

"Support of the administration for the Vinson Bill has become increasingly apparent. Majority leaders have refused to express any opposition to the measure publicly. Privately, Congressman McCormack has confided that he favors a cooling-off period.

"More direct responsibility for the revised Vinson Bill, however, is to be found in the fact that this revision was drawn with the advice and consultation in several conferences of Sidney Hillman, Harry Millis, chairman of the National Labor Relations Board, Dan Tracy, assistant Secretary of Labor, and William H. Davis, chairman of the National Defense Mediation Board. Congressman Vinson, the sponsor of this bill, was referred by President Roosevelt to these administration representatives for the express purpose of revising his original bill. Indeed the revised version was written by William Davis, chairman of the National Defense Mediation Board."

DANGER STILL AHEAD

The defeat of the May-Connally bill, while reflecting the effective opposition of the CIO, does not mean a permanent defeat for the anti-labor government forces.

The original Connally amendment to empower the President to "seize and operate" struck plants was passed by the Senate and may again come up in the House when the Senate's bill goes to conference between the House and Senate committee members.

The Vinson, Ball and a number of other "cooling-off" no-strike bills, which the Administration is tacitly supporting, are soon to come up for Congressional action.

The CIO campaign is not slackening, and is in fact gaining momentum on the basis of this initial legislative victory. The CIO now plans to turn its full forces against the further anti-labor measures which Congress and the Administration may attempt to push through.

544, SWP Leaders Indicted

FBI Frameup Aids Tobin's Union-Busting

(Continued from page 1) ment officials agree to hold such an election by secret ballot under government supervision? Tobin can't answer that question. Neither can Acting Attorney General Francis Biddle, who initiated the indictment. Nor can his master, Roosevelt, answer that annihilating question.

TOBIN'S THUGS FAILED

Tobin scoured the country for 300 "representatives" — hoodlums and gangsters — whom he sent into Minneapolis to crush Local 544-CIO. They failed.

Roosevelt came to Tobin's aid on June 13, publicly rebuking the CIO for chartering Local 544. That didn't scare the Minneapolis truck drivers. They stood by their union, and so did the national leadership of the CIO, sending CIO counsel Lee Pressman and other CIO spokesmen to address a Local 544-CIO meeting.

The national CIO joined with Local 544-CIO in answering Tobin and Roosevelt; let the Minneapolis motor transport workers have an election to show which union they want.

FDR'S ANSWER TO CIO

Instead of an election, came FBI raids on the Socialist Workers Party headquarters in St. Paul and Minneapolis on June 28 — raids which the national CIO representative in Minneapolis, Frank Barnhart, denounced as "Roosevelt's payment of his political debt to Tobin for past services rendered."

Something even more desperate had to be done to take public attention away from the unassailable moral position of Local 544-CIO, standing on its demand for elections. On July 1, Acting U. S. Attorney General Francis Biddle announced he was demanding indictments against "leaders of the Socialist Workers Party" who "have gained control of a legitimate labor union to use it for illegitimate purposes."

CIO PROVES ITS CASE

While a hastily-convened federal grand jury in St. Paul on the other side of the river was hearing Biddle's "evidence," Local 544-CIO was pressing its demand for elections to determine the union bargaining agent for all Minneapolis truck drivers. The State Labor Board is now holding hearings to determine whether such elections shall be held.

So far hearings have been opened on nine different industries. Despite the hundreds of Tobin hoodlums roaming the city, numerous workers have appeared at the hearings to testify on behalf of Local 544-CIO. These witnesses have proved to the hilt that Tobin has attempted by force and violence to drive the workers out of Local 544-CIO, but that the workers are standing by their union. The AFL attorneys, using every conceivable slyster device to object to the holding of elections, look pretty grotesque at these hearings.

The AFL strategy is to drag the hearings on as long as possible, hold up the elections as long as possible, and hope that the FBI and other government agencies will meanwhile destroy the union, since Tobin can't do it for himself.

But every day that passes only serves to heighten the glaring contrast between the democratic and progressive unionism represented by Local 544-CIO and the fink unionism represented by Tobin and his hoodlums.

TOBIN'S "DEMOCRACY"

To bolster their claim that they have "won over" the drivers from the CIO "radicals," Tobin's gang have had to set up a new "union" to "take the place" of Local 544-CIO. Presumably as an example of the democracy he stands for, Tobin and his agents have held no elections for officers for the new union. They have simply appointed a set of officers. For the presidency they could not even trust one of their handful of local quislings, but appointed one Leonard Brady, whom the Tobin announcement describes as "an officer of the Detroit, Michigan drivers local."

One significant index of the failure of Tobin to crush Local 544-CIO is the attitude of the

Woman Leader Indicted



Grace Carlson, Minnesota State Secretary of the Socialist Workers Party, one of the 29 indicted. James P. Cannon, National Secretary of the Socialist Workers Party, is seen speaking. In the foreground is Farrell Dobbs.

Cannon and Dobbs



employers. They have been applauding Tobin's moves—but, knowing the CIO has the workers, the bosses don't dare sign contracts with Tobin's "new union." To date, Tobin's local boasts exactly one contract, covering a local hauling outfit of two employees—the sons of the boss.

TOBIN RESORTS TO COURTS

Unable to drive members away from Local 544-CIO, Tobin's gang is attempting to paralyze the CIO union by cutting off its funds through court action. Upon complaints sworn out by Tobin's agents, a county grand jury yesterday handed down indictments against Miles B. Dunne and Kelly Postal, Local 544's officers, for alleged "embezzlement" — i. e., refusal to turn Local 544's treasury over to Tobin.

In addition, Tobin has launched a civil court action for an accounting of Local 544's funds — a court proceeding exactly paralleling the infamous "fink suit" which was waged against Local 544 for three years by employers' agents, and which ended recently with an unfriendly judge compelled to give the union leadership a clean bill of health. At the time, Tobin denounced that court action as the work of enemies of labor. Now he follows in

their footsteps.

TOBIN'S RED-BAITING

In a feeble attempt to cope with Local 544's famous weekly newspaper, Tobin has launched the "Minneapolis AFL Teamster" which publishes pictures of Trotsky — carefully doctored to make him look the traditional "Bolshevik"—and which, in an indescribable mixture of ignorance and viciousness, lumps Trotskyists with fascists.

But Minneapolis drivers have been red-baited by experts, and have not forgotten Tobin's red-baiting attacks on the great 1934 strikes which built Local 544. His red-baiting gets no further than his other union-busting methods.

CIO'S UNANSWERABLE DEMAND

All Tobin's moves founder on the one impregnable fact: Local 544-CIO is willing to stake all its claims, its existence, on a democratic election under government supervision. At the hearings on each industry, Local 544 representatives have been able to present signed cards, and petitions, requesting the elections, signed by a majority of the workers in the given industry.

This unanswerable demand, and the backing of Local 544-CIO by the national CIO—

hundreds of telegrams have been arriving from international and local unions of the CIO, backing Local 544 in its fight—has made it clear that Tobin and the AFL cannot hope to crush the union of the Minneapolis motor transport workers.

That is why Tobin has put every ounce of pressure on the Roosevelt Administration, whose bidding he does in the labor movement, to get it to prosecute the leaders of Local 544. Everybody in Minnesota knows what the score is. The headline in the *St. Paul Dispatch* of June 28, when Biddle announced the prosecutions, was apt enough. It read: "U. S. To Prosecute 544."

WHY ROOSEVELT ACTS

For Roosevelt, it is not only a question of doing Tobin a personal favor. He needs the AFL as a counterweight to the onrushing and progressive CIO. And the battle in Minneapolis is being watched by drivers' locals throughout the country, eager to get out of Tobin's dictatorial setup, if it can be done. Minneapolis is the test.

And if Tobin's Teamsters International unravels, that opens wide to the CIO the doors of the building trades, to which truck drivers are the key. Without the AFL strangle-

hold on the construction industry, the AFL would collapse altogether and the CIO would emerge then as THE trade union movement of America.

Such are the stakes of the battle in Minneapolis. Tobin has on his side his hoodlums, the bosses, the Gestapo-FBI and the other agencies of governmental repression. There are powerful forces that Tobin commands.

BATTLE TO THE END

But Local 544-CIO has on its side the workers of Minneapolis and, nationally, the CIO and all progressive workers and friends of democratic rights.

It is a grim and all-important battle. Not only trade union rights hang in the balance. At least equally important are the rights of workers to form an open political party like the Socialist Workers Party, and the right to voice their opposition to the War Party led by Roosevelt.

Fortunately, the progressive side in this battle is led by leaders steeled in battle for the working class. The leaders of Local 544-CIO have a glorious record of class-struggle victories. Likewise the leaders of the Socialist Workers Party have evidenced their selfless loyalty to the labor movement. This will be a battle to the end.

POSES."

There is the nub of the prosecutions. The leaders of Local 544-CIO have used the labor movement for "illegitimate" purposes—building one of the most powerful local labor movements in the United States, winning the finest union conditions and wages for motor transport workers in the country, inspiring the organization of hundreds of thousands of over-the-road drivers, and, finally, throwing their prestige and influence in the direction of the main stream of the American labor movement, the CIO.

When Tobin moved to destroy Local 544, he, like Attorney General Biddle, pretended it was only a case of separating the union from "radicalism." On April 8th he hailed the 544 officers to Chicago for a "hearing." In response to Tobin's demands, the 544 officers told him that the few members of the union who were members of the Socialist Workers Party would voluntarily resign their party membership so that could no longer be an issue.

But that wasn't what Tobin was really after, and it did not satisfy him. He hailed 544 up before his International Executive Board in Washington on June 1, and demanded that 544 agree to Tobin's appointment of a dictator-receiver over the union with power to expel anyone he chose.

The leaders of the Minneapolis motor transport workers wouldn't go for that. They proposed, and their membership enthusiastically accepted, affiliation to the CIO. Tobin couldn't stop them. He called on Roosevelt. Roosevelt answered, first with his June 13 statement, then with his Gestapo-FBI

AFL Weekly Shows Fear Of CIO Truck Drivers

SAN FRANCISCO—The *American Labor Citizen*, the official Western publication of the American Federation of Labor, published here, has been screaming its head off for the past month in front-page streamer head-lines, special articles and leading editorials, in chorus with AFL Teamster's president, Dan Tobin, against Minneapolis Local 544-CIO Motor Transport and Allied Workers.

This makes it obvious that the AFL looks upon Local 544's transfer from the AFL into the CIO as much more than a local problem. The National AFL tops are desperately trying to stem the tide of revolt in the teamsters movement and the AFL generally, not only in Minneapolis, but throughout the Middle and Far West.

On June 20, the *American Labor Citizen* wrote in its leading story — headed by a two-line banner across the front page:

"The entire situation (Minneapolis) has cleared up and the boast of the radical group to 'take over' . . . has been easily punctured and burst for the bubble it was."

"VICTORY" EACH WEEK

The next week, under a similar front-page banner headline, the *American Labor Citizen* indicates that the "bubble" has not quite "burst" yet — but blusters:

"The international representation in Minneapolis is a direct refutation of the radical claim that the powerful AFL Teamsters Union is vulnerable and it is not only a great demonstration of teamster solidarity but also an inspiring demonstration of active teamster loyalty to the Government of the United States."

This fails to explain why, if the AFL is not "vulnerable" and there is "active teamster loyalty," Tobin and the AFL chiefs had to scour the AFL from coast to coast to collect an assortment of "international representatives" — 300 chair-warming business agents, hoodlums and gun-men — and send them into Minneapolis to ensure that "loyalty," a week after the "bubble" has been "punctured." And why, a month later, these "international representatives" are still trying to "puncture" the 544-CIO "bubble."

tion to the working class.

And what kind of leadership does Tobin offer in the place of men like Dobbs?

Meyer Lewis!

MEYER LEWIS' NEW JOB

The June 20 *American Labor Citizen* reports that Meyer Lewis, western director for the AFL, was among those who "had ousted the CIO raiding generalissimo from the 544 headquarters" and that "Lewis took charge of a similar situation here in 1935."

The story adds: "Lewis succeeded in cleaning up the red mess in 1935 but the unions remaining in the grip of Miles Dunne and his radical cohorts, have been more or less a disturbing element in the ranks of an otherwise loyal AFL group."

That is, Meyer Lewis did the impossible by "succeeding" and yet not succeeding against the "red mess" six years ago.

This time — a straw in the wind — Meyer Lewis has given up the job altogether. This "loyal international representative" has resigned from his AFL job.

Unlike Dobbs, however, Lewis has "hired himself out" — to the bosses. He resigned to take a boss-executive job at a nice cushy salary in the West Coast canning industry.

The same story in the *Citizen* states: "Tobin is receiving wires from all over the nation sent by patriotic American leaders as well as unions and union officials, commending him for his splendid stand and prompt disciplinary action against the radical Communists thrust in Minneapolis. . . ."

We're willing to bet any odds that the telegrams from these "patriotic American leaders" — the employers—have been more sincere and freely proffered than messages from any unions!

Roosevelt Warned CIO He Would Help Tobin

Why Roosevelt has gone to such lengths to aid Tobin in smashing the Motor Transport and Allied Workers Union Local 544-CIO of Minneapolis, will be better understood if one knows just how Tobin is serving Roosevelt. What Roosevelt is now requiring of Tobin is indicated baldly enough in the June 1941 issue of Tobin's personal organ, the *Teamsters Journal*. In it Tobin wrote:

"Business agents and salaried officers of unions are going to be held mainly responsible by the state and federal governments for the actions of their members as time goes on. In most instances paid representatives of local unions are in a position to stop trouble. In some few instances they are not strong enough to stop the rank and file, but in those instances where they fail or where they are unable to protect the rank and file from themselves, they should notify the International Office of such failure."

To "protect the rank and file from themselves" — that is, to prevent the rank and file from asking for higher wages and better working conditions — that is what Tobin is doing for Roosevelt and the war profiteers. In exchange for this service, Roosevelt's prosecutions, raids, indictments, etc., are but small repayment!

On June 13, four days after Local 544 decided to join the CIO — by a vote of 4,000 at a membership meeting that represented the indisputable will of the rank-and-file of the union — the Presi-

dent's secretary, Stephen Early, issued the following White House press statement:

"Mr. Tobin telegraphed from Indianapolis that it is apparent to him and to the other executives of his organization that because they have been and will continue to stand squarely behind the government, that all subversive organizations and all enemies of our government, including Bundists, Trotskyists and Stalinists, are opposed to them and seeking to destroy loyal trade unions which are supporting democracy.

"Mr. Tobin goes into considerable detail and states he is going to issue a statement from the Indianapolis office of the teamsters' union. When I advised the President of Tobin's representations this morning HE ASKED ME TO IMMEDIATELY HAVE THE GOVERNMENT DEPARTMENTS AND AGENCIES INTERESTED IN THIS MATTER NOTIFIED and to point out to you that this is no time, in his opinion, for labor unions, local or national, to begin raiding one another for the purpose of getting memberships or for similar reasons." (New York

TIMES, June 14, 1941) This was an astoundingly brazen statement for two reasons: First, the charge of "raiding" leveled at the CIO for accepting the affiliation of a group of union men who had democratically voted to seek such affiliation was in marked contrast with Roosevelt's silence when the AFL attempted an actual raid on the CIO union in the Ford Motor Company and when the AFL sought to organize a back-to-work movement during the CIO strikes at International Harvester.

Second, Roosevelt's statement reveals that the subsequent FBI attacks on Local 544 were at his own direct instigation and were the result of Tobin's demand that he intervene against Local 544.

Acting Attorney General Biddle, who had the unsavory task of preparing the indictments, gave the show away in his first formal announcement on June 28 when he stated:

"The principal Socialist Workers Party leaders against whom prosecution is being brought are also leaders of Local 544-CIO in Minneapolis. This prosecution is brought under the criminal code of the United States against persons who have engaged in criminal seditious activities and who are leaders of the Socialist Workers Party and HAVE GAINED CONTROL OF A LEGITIMATE LABOR UNION TO USE IT FOR ILLEGITIMATE PUR-

Lenin and Trotsky's War Methods

Propaganda plays a great role in all armies. Bolshevik propaganda proved decisive in the Soviet war against imperialist intervention in 1918-1921. The nature, role and power of this great weapon of the revolution were explained hundreds of times by Lenin and Trotsky.

In an article written on May 21, 1922 for the "Yearbook of the Communist International," Leon Trotsky, summing up the experiences of the Red Army in the Civil War of 1918-1921, wrote as follows:

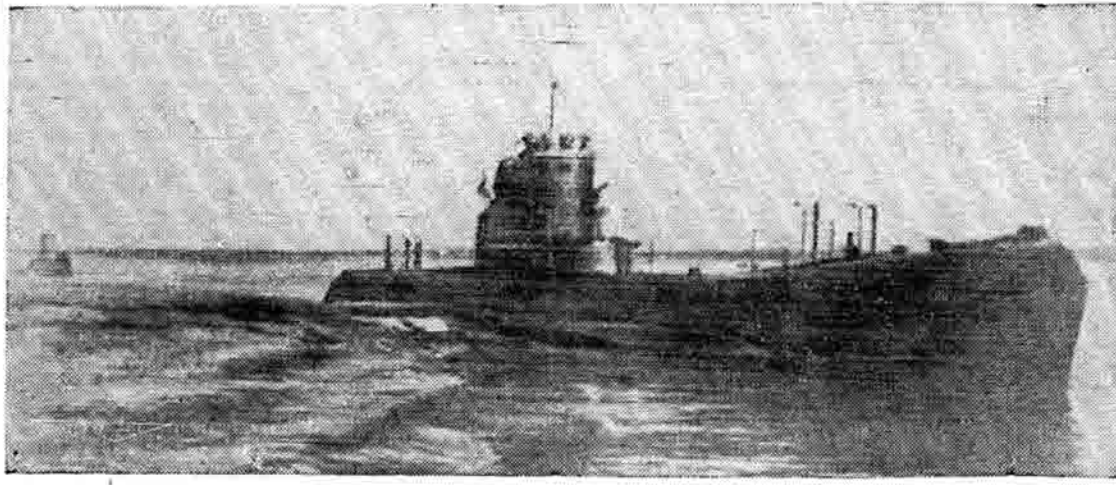
"The superiority of our propaganda lies in its content. Our propaganda invariably fused together the ranks of the Red Army and disintegrated the army of the enemy not by any sort of special technical methods and tricks but by the communist idea which constituted the content of this propaganda. This is our military secret and we advertise it openly without any fear of plagiarism on the part of our enemies."

Commenting on Bolshevik propaganda, the Russian White Guards wrote in 1919: "To all appearances there is not a single sphere in life, not a single event or manifestation, not a single moment which has been left unutilized by the Bolsheviks in order to exert influence upon the minds of their partisans and opponents. All the leaders and guiding spirits of Bolshevism directly apply all their talents and forces to the business of agitation and propaganda. . . . The streets, the hoardings, the walls and corners of houses, the windows of stores and streetcars, the railroad stations of all Soviet cities are well nigh completely pasted up with all sorts of Soviet papers, issues of special wall-newspapers, placards, slogans, etc. Let us give the enemy his due, and not minimize his forces, these newspapers from one line to the next are full of energy and inspiration. . . ." ("Rossia," organ of the White Guards, Issue No. 30, November 29, 1919).

In a speech delivered to Red Army soldiers and non-party workers on January 26, 1920, Lenin explained:

"In all their sheets, the White Guards write

A Unit Of The Soviet Fleet



One of the Red Navy submarines now guarding the coast of the Soviet Union from Nazi attack by sea. This is one of the first photos radioed to the United States from the Soviet Union.

that the Bolsheviks conduct excellent agitation, and do not spare money for agitation. But after all, the people have listened to all sorts of agitation—including that of the White Guards and that of the partisans of the Constituent Assembly. It is silly to think that the people have followed the Bolsheviks because the agitation of the latter was more skillful. No, the whole thing lies in this, that the agitation of the Bolsheviks tells the truth." (Lenin's *Collected Works*, Third Russian Edition, vol. XXV pp. 14-15).

From among the innumerable pieces of Bolshevik propaganda we select the appeal issued by Leon Trotsky in the name of the Council of People's Commissars and addressed primarily to the regiments of Czecho-Slovak soldiers who constituted the spearhead of the counter-revolution at the beginning of the Civil War. The text of this historic document follows:

To the Mutinous Troops of Kazan Fighting Against the Workers' and Peasants' Red Army! To the Deceived Czecho-Slovaks! To the Deceived

Peasants and the Deceived Workers! What are you fighting for?

The landlords, the capitalists, the old officers want to restore their power and wealth.

The French and Japanese stock-brokers want to bring back their profits.

And you soldiers?—You, Czecho-Slovaks? You workers and peasants? You have been deceived. You are cannon fodder. You are shedding the blood of workers for the sake of the interests of the rich.

There is no salvation for the insurgent White Guards.

Kazan is surrounded on all sides. Our forces are far more numerous than yours—on land, on water and in the air. . . .

Czech soldiers! Workers and

Peasants!

Do you want to perish together with your deceivers?

I hereby proclaim to all:

The Soviet power wages war only against the rich, against the oppressors, against the imperialists.

To all toilers we extend our hand of brotherhood. Each one of you who voluntarily comes over to our camp will meet on our part with a complete pardon and a fraternal welcome.

Scores have already passed from your ranks to our side. Not one of them has suffered. They are all unharmed and at liberty.

In the name of the Council of People's Commissars I issue this final warning to you:

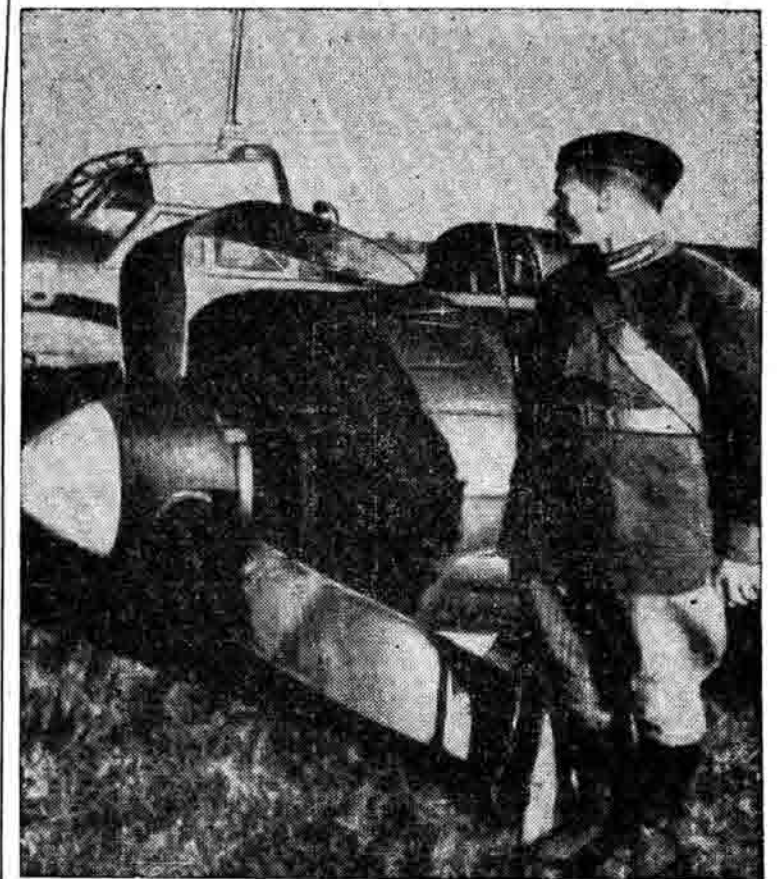
Come over, all of you, to the side of the Soviet troops!

Svyazhsk, August 26, 1918.

The Red Army was able to defeat the troops of the "democratic" imperialists. "How is this victory to be explained?" asked Lenin. "Clearly," he answered, "this was not achieved only by victories at the front, but rather by this, that we were able to attract to our side the soldiers of the countries warring against us. . . . By means of agitation and propaganda we took away from the Entente their own soldiers. We vanquished the imperialists not only by means of our own soldiers but by basing ourselves on the sympathy of their own soldiers." (Lenin's *Collected Works*, Third Russian Edition, volume XXV, p. 26).

Every worker sincerely concerned with the real defense of the Soviet Union must understand that one of Stalin's greatest crimes consists in his having deprived the heroic Red Army of its most powerful and effective weapon of defense—the weapon of class propaganda, and of the class struggle. Our fight is the fight to restore to the Red Army the weapon it now needs most urgently, the weapon of Bolshevism!

Red Army Soldier



This is the first radio-photo to be sent from the Soviet Union to the United States. It shows a Red Army soldier guarding a Nazi bombing plane brought down by the Red Air Fleet.

Left Jabs by Cort

The American Peace Mobilization, that erstwhile champion of isolationism, is now demanding that the American bosses send aid to Britain and Russia. The N. Y. *Post* reports that the sudden switch in policy has created "opposition. . . by pacifists in local APM councils throughout the country."

The Stalinists are always being embarrassed by those who continue to take the line seriously after it has been abandoned.

fussy about who does it. . . and when.

economic imperialism is dead. . . for the good and sufficient reason that it no longer meets modern conditions." (A. A. Berle, Jr., Assistant Secretary of State).

During the interview Mr. Berle gagged a bit. His tongue was in his cheek and occasionally fell down his throat.

There is a great bitterness in the hearts of Britain's leaders. The N. Y. *Times* tells of dark words and looks being directed toward "brave little Finland." The reasons are: the British Consul General has been ordered to leave the "frontier of Democracy," the English volunteers who aided the Finns in 1940, are now being evicted and their property confiscated; and, worst of all, forty Elenheim bombers loaned to Finland to blow up the Reds, are now being used for just that purpose. . . by the Nazis.

It's a slippery world for Mr. Churchill. He is forever recataloging the forces of good and evil.

Must be pretty disheartening for Baron Mannerheim, too. When he shot at the Reds last time he was a hero. When he shoots at them this time he is a double-crosser.

Of course Churchill doesn't mind the shooting of Communists. It's just that he's

An order handed down by Selective Service headquarters rules that any draftee seeking exemption because he is married must prove that he acquired a wife "in the ordinary course of human affairs" and not to evade military service.

When a man fell in love he used to wonder if he lost his head. Now he wonders if he lost his patriotism.

The "Workers Party" has accused us Trotskyists of "shamefaced defensism" toward the Soviet Union. Yet they are distributing a leaflet to C. P. meetings which fails to take any position on the Soviet Union. What would you call that? Shamefaced defeatism? Or maybe just plain shamefaced!

IN NEWARK

THE MILITANT can be bought at the newsstand at 11 Springfield Avenue.

Lenin's Theory Of Imperialism--And Stalin's

By MICHAEL CORT

On Monday the Communist Party issued its manifesto on the Nazi invasion of the Soviet Union. It calls on the workers to defend the Soviet Union, not by militant class action, but rather by collaboration with the class enemy, the American and British bourgeoisie. Stalin has again turned the Communist Party to the People's Front line—the line which, by its bankruptcy, led to the Stalin-Hitler pact and the war. Today, if it is not checked in time, it may lay the ground for the supreme tragedy, the annihilation of the first workers' state.

The opening paragraph of the new manifesto reads:

"The people of our country are facing a world situation. . . . The involvement of the Soviet Union in the war has changed the character of the war."

Since the C.P. originally labeled the war as imperialist, that can only mean that the war is, for the Stalinists, no longer imperialist in character. What brought this change? The presence of a workers' state in the war?

Flagrant sophism! Imperialism is not a cloak to be donned or discarded by monopoly capital at its will. This war was, and continues to be, an annexationist, predatory and plunderous war, so far as all the capitalist states are concerned, for capitalism is no longer capable of waging any other kind of war.

To say that imperialist policy on the part of Britain or America depends upon the presence or absence of a non-imperialist ally, is to divorce the policy of imperialism from its economics.

What Imperialism Is

To clarify our examination of the nature of the war, let us review the five essential features of imperialism as formulated by Lenin in *Imperialism, The Highest Stage of Capitalism*:

1. The concentration of production and capital developed to such a stage that it creates monopolies which play a decisive role in economic life.
2. The merging of bank capital with industrial capital, and the creation, on the basis of finance capital, of a financial oligarchy.
3. The export of capital, as distinguished from export of commodities.
4. The existence of capitalist monopolies which extend from the "mother" country into one or more other countries, thus appropriating the world markets.
5. The territorial division of the whole world among the greatest capitalist powers.

All these characteristics of imperialism are identified with Great Britain, Germany and the United States. Imperialism is not a policy they can adopt or discard at will. Willy-nilly, the rulers of an imperialist power always pursue imperialist policies.

Hitler would subjugate the Soviet Union in order to transfuse fresh blood into the sclerotic

veins of German imperialism. Britain would subjugate Germany for the same reason. Britain would destroy the Soviet Union if it only could—as it tried in 1918-21—and will try again when the opportunity offers itself.

It is entirely correct for the Soviet Union to take advantage of conflicts among the imperialists. It is correct for the Soviet Union now to ally itself with capitalist opponents of Germany—sad necessity, the weakness of the USSR, demands it. It is false and criminal, however, for the Stalinist bureaucracy to pay off its capitalist allies by stifling the class struggle within their borders.

The Stalinist manifesto calls for a People's Front "broad enough to embrace in fraternal collaboration, all those who are willing to join in this common struggle." Roosevelt and Morgan and Ford are already in this "common struggle." All sections of the American bourgeoisie who fear German competition in the world's market places, are already "embraced in fraternal collaboration." While they fight Hitler abroad they never forget that their main enemy, the working class, is at home.

None of this has changed since Hitler invaded the Soviet Union.

Stalin Repeats Kautsky's Betrayal

Stalin today follows the ideological path blazed by the renegade Kautsky in 1915. Lenin bitterly attacked Kautsky for advancing the

theory that imperialism should not be regarded as a stage of economy, but as a policy; a definite policy "preferred" by finance capital.

"The inaccuracy of Kautsky's definition is obvious," wrote Lenin in *IMPERIALISM*. "The characteristic feature of imperialism is not industrial but finance capital. The characteristic feature of imperialism is. . . that it strives to annex not only agricultural regions, but even highly industrialized regions. The fact that the world is already partitioned obliges those contemplating new partitions to stretch out their hands to any kind of territory; because an essential feature of imperialism is the rivalry between a number of great powers in the striving for hegemony, i.e., for the conquest of territory, not so much directly for themselves, as to weaken the adversary and undermine his hegemony."

Lenin attacked Kautsky for doing just what Stalin is doing today—detaching the politics of imperialism from its economics, speaking of imperialism as a policy "preferred" by finance capital as opposed to another bourgeois policy which allegedly is possible on the same basis of finance capital.

"The result," said Lenin, "is a slurring-over and a concealment of the most profound contradictions of the latest stage of capitalism, instead of an exposure of their depth. The result is bourgeois reformism instead of Marxism."

Shall We Campaign For U. S. Government Aid To The USSR?

By ALBERT GOLDMAN

It is to be expected that many people who accept our fundamental principle of unconditional defense of the Soviet Union should be anxious in some way or other to translate that principle into action. Once the principled question of the necessity of defending the Soviet Union is accepted, we are still left with the problem of HOW to defend the Soviet Union. What shall we in this country do to defend the Soviet Union? These questions are uppermost in the minds of many members and sympathizers of our party.

Should our party begin a campaign for U. S. government aid to the Soviet Union under the Lease-Lend Act? The Stalinists are making that demand the basis for their agitation. Should we join them in that demand? The answer is, emphatically—No!

There have been situations in the past where a similar problem presented itself to the revolutionary movement—the problem of asking a capitalist government to help a cause in which the working class in general and our party in particular were interested.

The Example of Ethiopia

When Italian imperialism sent its troops to conquer Ethiopia, a wave of indignation swept through the working masses throughout the world. All class-conscious workers were for the defense of Ethiopia. The imperialist democracies were not at all enthusiastic about Mussolini's efforts to conquer Ethiopia but they decided to remain "neutral," that is, to offer indirect help to Italian imperialism.

The question at that time arose as to whether or not we should raise a demand for government sanctions against the Italian effort to subjugate the Ethiopians. We definitely opposed such a demand and raised the counter-slogan of working-class sanctions.

Our position was based on the following reasons: First, we cannot rely on any capitalist government to fulfill progressive tasks; Second, we cannot make a demand for government sanctions because the very nature of such a demand would have a tendency to compel us to support the government in an imperialist war which might result from the exercise of sanctions; Third, it is essential for us to stress independent working-class action.

The Example of Loyalist Spain

During the struggle between the Loyalist government and the fascists in Spain the same problem was posed. Again we took the position of independent working-class activity in defense of Loyalist Spain. We favored material aid to the Loyalist government but, for the same reasons that actuated us in the case of Ethiopia, we refused to campaign for government aid but insisted on independent working-class action for aid to the Loyalist government.

We were, of course, opposed to any government embargo on shipments to the Loyalist government. The embargo represented a hostile act by Roosevelt which prevented the Loyalist government from purchasing arms. We carried on a campaign against the embargo.

Nor would we have opposed the sending of aid by any capitalist government to the Loyalist army. There is a difference between not raising any objection, when a capitalist government sends aid, and agitating for such aid. The key to the whole question consists in the understanding that we cannot rely on bourgeois governments to aid our cause. Neither can we take any responsibility for bourgeois governmental policy.

And if the above reasons made it impermissible for us to agitate in favor of governmental aid in the case of Ethiopia and Loyalist Spain, they certainly make it impermissible to carry on a campaign on behalf of U. S. government aid to the Soviet Union.

Class Defense versus Class-Collaboration

The United States is involved in the imperialist conflict. It is not officially neutral as it claimed to be in the case of the Italian invasion of Ethiopia or of the civil war in Spain. It is a non-belligerent ally of Great Britain. When Hitler ordered the Nazi army to attack the Soviet Union, the Roosevelt government condemned the attack. It has promised aid to the Soviet government because it is interested in the defeat of Hitler. In all probability the Roosevelt government will send aid to Stalin, not because it is interested in a victory for the Soviet Union but because it wants the defeat of Hitler.

It must be remembered that, while it is necessary to defend the Soviet Union, it is also necessary to be in opposition to the imperialist war of the U. S. government. In fact, the real defense

of the Soviet Union—the class defense—demands a relentless opposition to all the imperialists in this war. We must therefore be a thousand times more careful about doing anything which would tend to bring us into a partnership with the Roosevelt government and weaken our opposition to its imperialist war.

Were we to agitate for aid to the Soviet Union by the Roosevelt government, would we then not be compelled to favor convoys to guarantee the arrival of the material shipped to the Soviet Union? Should we then not demand that the waters to Vladivostok be kept open by the U. S. government against Japan? Opposed as we are to the imperialist war, it is absolutely essential not to take a single step which would tend to weaken our position in the eyes of the masses.

To leave the ground of independent working-class action in favor of a working-class cause is to jeopardize the cause itself.

Soviet Government Can Ask Aid

Nothing that we say with reference to the impermissibility on the part of a revolutionary party to agitate for government aid to the Soviet Union applies to the Soviet government itself. Just as it is permissible for the Soviet government to enter into military agreements with capitalist states, when necessary, so is it proper for the Soviet government to ask for aid from a capitalist state. We have not the slightest objection to having the Soviet government ask for aid or having the United States government grant aid.

Our duty is to organize the working masses to defend the Soviet Union.

This brings up the question of the advisability of attempting to organize certain practical actions to defend the Soviet Union. By that is meant such actions as a section of the workers did organize on behalf of the anti-fascist struggle in the Spanish civil war. Shall we try to raise funds or send workers to fight in the ranks of the Red Army? These questions are not principled ones. The answer to them depends on practical considerations.

In the Spanish civil war the Loyalist government needed men and material. It had money but the capitalist democratic governments refused to sell it armament material. A campaign for men and materials to fight the fascists in Spain was some-

thing that was perfectly plausible to the workers and was therefore perfectly in order.

But in the case of the Soviet Union the situation is quite different. The Soviet Union certainly has plenty of men; it has vast quantities of material; those materials it lacks it can, unlike Loyalist Spain, obtain in England and the United States.

The Best Method To Defend the USSR

Analyzing the situation from all angles, we come to the conclusion that the most effective method available to revolutionary Marxists in the United States for the defense of the Soviet Union is the method of political support, of explanation, clarification and propaganda.

That the Soviet Union is a Workers' State despite Stalinist degeneration. That every worker should defend it. That victory for the Soviet Union is victory for the socialist future of humanity. To win the workers of the world to these propositions would be infinitely more important than any capitalist "aid" for the Soviet Union.

And to win the workers, it is necessary to answer a thousand different questions which trouble the minds of the workers, thanks to the confusion spread by the enemies of the Soviet Union and by the Stalinist falsifiers.

We must tirelessly explain that the program of Soviet victory is not dependent on capitalist "aid" but on the efforts of the Soviet and world working class. The revolutionary propaganda methods employed by Lenin and Trotsky against imperialist intervention in 1918-1921 can wreak far more havoc upon the Nazi armies than could be done by any capitalist aid. Revival of the democratically-elected Soviets, and release of all pro-Soviet political prisoners and their restoration to their rightful place in industry and the army, would strengthen the Soviet Union immeasurably.

That the defense of the Soviet Union is not to be placed in the hands of capitalist governments; that only the workers can or will really defend the Soviet Union, and that they can defend it in the last analysis only through taking power away from all the imperialists and establishing Workers' Governments—this is our way of defending the Soviet Union. We dedicate ourselves to win the working class to that glorious task.

The Negro Struggle
By ALBERT PARKER

The 'Courier' and the Negro March

Without any question the biggest news of the first week of the month, so far as the struggle for Negro rights is concerned, was the bureaucratic cancellation of the March on Washington at the time that the eyes and hopes of all advanced Negro workers were turned in the direction of the scheduled March.

And still the Pittsburgh Courier found room on its front page for only a couple of inches of reading matter on the March. And its lead—and it really splashed and splurged on it—was a long denunciation of Walter White and the N.A.A.C.P. for being responsible for the postponement of a hearing to be held by a Senate Committee on discrimination against Negroes in the war industries.

The COURIER'S handling of these questions was neither accidental nor the result of slovenly journalism. Rather, it was a brazen attempt on the part of the editors to cover up the shabby role they had played against the March. By attracting attention to a secondary matter of extremely little importance, they hoped we'd forget how they behaved about the March. It was an attempt by a paper with a "militant" reputation to hide its own bankruptcy. Negroes must understand this if they are to avoid mistakes in the future. They must understand not only Randolph's treachery in calling off the March, but also the treachery of the only paper which had dared to oppose the March.

The reason that the Courier did not attack Randolph was that in calling off the March Randolph had only done what the Courier had urged and advised from the beginning. The Courier therefore could not expose Randolph's miserable policies without at the same time exposing its own.

The 'Courier's' Substitute For the March

The Courier had opposed "the crack-pot proposal," as it called the March, because "Led by the Pittsburgh Courier... colored people have so flooded their Congressmen, Senators and the President with protests that not a single official in Washington is unaware of the evil. Can a parade tell them anything they do not already know?"

It had its own methods for defeating Jim Crowism, claimed the Courier. "The most effective way of influencing Congress and the Administration is by personal letters and telegrams from individuals, societies, church congregations, clubs and fraternities; by memorials and resolutions sent to both Houses, and by intelligent personal representations."

The few weeks before the scheduled date of the March blew all this sky high.

The mere threat of a March did more than the thousands of telegrams, letters, postcards, memorials, resolutions, phone-calls, intelligent personal representations, wishful thinking, prayer and even the "political pressure" on Roosevelt practiced last year when the COURIER supported Wilkie.

For the first time Roosevelt began to show some interest in the question. Of course that interest was not based on a desire to do anything concrete and fundamental about Jim Crowism. It took the threat of the March to get him to admit that there was a problem. He did not do more than pay lip-service to it, and he was helped in getting away with this by the willingness of the leaders of the March to avoid him any embarrassment. Even so, still far more was accomplished by the March threat than by the Courier's "most effective way."

Now let us consider the subterfuge resorted to by the Courier to cover up its tracks.

The NAACP, the Courier, and many other Negro groups have for some time been demanding a Congressional investigation of discrimination. Congress avoided adoption of Resolution 75 setting up a special committee for the purpose and instead turned the matter over to the Truman Committee, which was busy investigating other matters and which would have little time for study of Negro discrimination. Truman announced that it would be a long time before his committee would even get around to the matter.

But suddenly, as part of Roosevelt's moves to call off the March, the Truman Committee announced that it would open a three-day session on the matter on June 30, the day before the March was to take place. The purpose for this hurried move was undoubtedly correctly explained by the NAACP, namely, so that when the March took place, it could be said, "What are you Negroes kicking about? We are holding hearings right now!"

The NAACP then asked for a postponement of 30 days, citing many reasons, some correct, some very weak. Immediately a number of other big shot Negroes, like the publicity-loving demagogue Edgar Brown, who were very eager to get their names in the paper, by one way or another, got very excited at this "betrayal."

The Courier felt that it had an issue and it blew the balloon as big as it could. Let us show how easy it is to trick it.

Let us remind the Courier: "Led by The Pittsburgh Courier... colored people have so flooded their Congressmen, Senators and the President with protests that not a single official in Washington is unaware of the evil. Can a parade tell them anything they do not already know?"

If a parade cannot tell them anything they do not already know, what can another futile, three day Senate committee gab fest tell them?

No, the Courier cannot escape the consequences of its vacillating policies. It cannot conceal the fact that for its own selfish, craven reasons it gave aid and comfort to Jim Crow at a time that the Negro masses were preparing to strike it a powerful blow.

The Aluminum Trust Prospers

Uncle Sam Plays Santa Claus To Add To Mellon's Millions--

By ART PREIS

On June 9th, when Roosevelt sent the Army to break the North American aviation strike which had been on but a few days, there was elsewhere, unknown to the public, a far longer and more important cessation of work. Since early in May, work on the giant Boeing bombers had been halted and was not likely to be resumed until some time in July.

Why didn't Roosevelt send the troops to get work started on the Boeing bombers?

Because he couldn't blame that on strikers, Boeing was shut down because of lack of aluminum. On May 24 the New York Herald Tribune reported in an obscure item that work on Boeing bombers had "ceased entirely early this month and will not be resumed until some time in July."

Nor is Boeing the only plant affected. It is now officially admitted that potential production of military aircraft will in all probability be curtailed by some 25 per cent for lack of aluminum. That loss is equivalent to a three-months continuous strike shutting down the entire aircraft industry. If such a strike took place, the Army would be shooting down the strikers. But neither the Army nor any other agency of government is doing anything to the Mellon family's Aluminum Corporation of America, the monopoly which deliberately engineered this aluminum shortage.

This shortage is not a result of miscalculation. On the contrary, it is a deliberately contrived short-

age, as the following account will demonstrate. The OPM CONNIVED AT CONCEALING SHORTAGE

For a year and a half the OPM and other government agencies issued misleading reports assuring the country that there were ample production facilities for aluminum. These reports were based solely on the estimates supplied to the government by the Aluminum Corporation of America—ALCOA.

That this was a conscious deception, carried out in the interest of ALCOA, has been established by the facts uncovered by the Truman Senate Investigating Committee, which issued its report on June 26.

"It is reasonable to conclude," charged the Truman report, "that ALCOA had convinced OPM of the adequacy of the supply in order to avoid the possibility that anyone else would go into a field which they had for so many years successfully monopolized."

ALCOA, as the committee discloses, was producing only 327,000,000 pounds of aluminum in 1939, the total national supply. By next year it will be unable to produce more than 730,000,000 pounds. Yet the total civilian and war needs for this vital metal in 1942 are fixed by the committee at not less than 2,100,000,000 pounds, — 1,600,000,000 for military purposes alone.

When the Reynolds Metal company sought government aid in 1940 to enter into aluminum production, Stettinius, acting for the OPM, cold shouldered the proposition, stating that the production facilities were already adequate. Reynolds went instead to the RFC, and finally secured a loan with which it is building a plant in the Tennessee Valley which will be able to produce 120,000,000 pounds by next year. Thus, the total production of aluminum by 1942 will be not more than 850,000,000 pounds as compared to a need for 2,100,000,000 pounds.

The OPM ignored offers of other companies, including that of a Swiss company which proposed

to build a plant here entirely at its own expense.

ALCOA REAPS THE FRUIT GAINED BY ITS LIES

Why did ALCOA lie about its producing capacity? What was behind this fraud, the Truman report makes clear:

"They (the company) may have reasoned that in its desperation the Government would do almost anything to increase the supply and that ALCOA would be favorably treated by the Government in order to insure an adequate supply for defense purposes."

That's just what is happening. Instead of being punished for its lies, ALCOA has the government doing "almost anything" for ALCOA.

The main item in the cost of production of aluminum is electric power. Power production, says the Truman report, represents "the greatest dollar investment in the facilities for the production of aluminum."

But for decades ALCOA has been battling with the Federal Power Commission, refusing to build power plants under the government regulations, which set certain limitations on profits chargeable to power plants. For example, in 1937 ALCOA abandoned plans to build a power plant

in North Carolina, for reasons which the Federal Power Commission termed the company's "complete unwillingness to accept the provisions of federal law." Likewise, despite an announcement by the OPM in October, 1940, that ALCOA had agreed to build a power project at Fontana on the Little Tennessee River as its "contribution to national defense," no actual steps to build it have occurred.

And why should ALCOA spend its own money to build power plants? When it can get the government to build them with its own money and "sell" the power to the company at the cheapest possible rates? When it can get the government to arrange for tens of millions of people to curtail their use of electric power for the benefit of ALCOA?

Southerners are being told to do without lights, air-conditioning, electric fans, movie houses are being run on short schedules and night ball-games are being cancelled. Atlanta turned out its highest street lights, required merchants to shut off their electric signs, etc.

OPM chiefs William S. Knudsen, and Sidney Hillman, in a "message to the people of the South" on July 1 called on them to "make every possible effort to save electric current in their area so that it could be devoted to the production of aluminum so vitally needed for airplanes."

ALCOA's plan to get the people to foot the bill for its major production cost, power, is thus bearing fruit!

GOVERNMENT WILL BUILD FOR ALCOA'S BENEFIT

Although the desperate aluminum situation could not be concealed after February, the OPM did not in any way propose to intrude on the ALCOA monopoly.

Instead of preparing to erect government plants to meet the needs of "national defense," the OPM simply instituted priorities, that is, it arbitrarily diverted aluminum supplies from civilian consumption goods to military needs, thus immediately raising the prices on aluminum products and throwing thousands of workers in the consumers goods industries out of work. Even so, aluminum production was still short by some 600,000,000 pounds of military needs alone.

Than began a heightened campaign to get scrap aluminum from civilians. Housewives were to sacrifice their pots and pans, etc. The impression was falsely given that this would help to meet the need. Yet all that OPM experts expect to get by this means is 15 million pounds of aluminum — 2½ per cent of the shortage!

Now the government has announced plans to build eight new aluminum plants, with a total capacity of 600,000,000 pounds. When these plants are completed, they will bring the supply of aluminum, including imports, from ALCOA's Canadian subsidiary, just about up to military needs, with none to spare for civilian goods.

But these plants will not be ready for a year and more; and when they are completed, the government announces, they will be operated by the Reynolds Metal Company, Bohn Aluminum and—ALCOA. ALCOA is to get the lion's share!

As for power, TVA is now building four new dams, with a capacity of 300,000 kilowatts a year, and \$40,000,000 was appropriated last week for the construction of four more TVA dams and additional turbines and transmission facilities. These additional facilities will just about meet the needs of ALCOA, which is the largest industrial consumer of TVA power.

The government is thus planning to provide just enough additional power to give ALCOA the cheapest possible production costs, but not enough to infringe on the private power companies or to prevent the restriction of electricity in the homes.

Meanwhile, the Department of Justice monopoly suit against the Aluminum Company of America, which was instituted last February, has been pigeon-holed, like the similar suit in 1937.

The aluminum situation gives immediate and decisive point to the demand of the Socialist Workers Party: Expropriate the war industries and operate them under workers control!

The Aims Of The United States In China

By JACK WEBER

When Japan embarked on its China Incident in 1937, it seemed to the imperialist world a foregone conclusion that China would be forced to capitulate in a brief time. All that Japan would require to conquer was the time to overrun the vast stretches of China. But that was itself recognized to be no mean undertaking. Hence the United States hoped that at least Japanese imperialism would become exhausted in the victorious struggle. No aid was then offered to China. United States strategy was to allow the two combatants to bleed each other to death.

Two factors changed this strategy of "watchful waiting." One was the outbreak of the second World War with Germany and Japan as allies. This brought the threat of a two-ocean clash for the United States in case it entered the struggle on the side of England.

But the second factor was somewhat of an offset to this danger. China refused to acknowledge itself defeated and after four terrible years, Japan was stalemated and bogged down in China.

To avoid flank attack by Japan, the United States saw the chance by lending active aid to Chiang Kai-shek, to counterbalance Hitler's encouragement to Japan to seize more Pacific loot. China might keep Japan too much occupied for the Mikado's forces to be very effective elsewhere. Furthermore, if Japan did come into conflict with the United States, then it might be possible to secure bases of operation on the mainland against the island empire. Now Roosevelt is very anxious to keep the Chinese Incident going in a big way.

American "Political" Aid To China

The President has appointed all sorts of commissions to act as transmission belts for aid to Chungking. Beside military and technical aid, there is also political "aid." Owen Lattimore has just been chosen as political adviser to Chiang Kai-shek. He was one of the first to recognize the importance of Chinese resistance to Japan from the point of view of American imperialism. In the magazine Asia, he wrote time and again of the mistake being made by the government in failing to give active support to China. One of his editorials was entitled "There Is No Time to Lose" to emphasize the extreme importance for keeping Chinese resistance going.

In view of Lattimore's appointment, it is instructive to quote some of his views on the aims to be pursued by the United States. Lattimore is an "enlightened" spokesman for American imperialism. He realizes fully the importance to the United States of the Pacific area, particularly of China, as the Lebensraum for American capitalism. No one is better aware of the contradictions faced by imperialism in the present world conflict. Many American capitalists preferred to reconcile themselves to the swallowing up of China by Japan, rather than to aid defeat Japan. For if China were successful, highly inflammable colonial forces would be released throughout the entire Far East. The Chinese Revolution, betrayed by Chiang Kai-shek, might very well be revived.

Lattimore sees the need for taking some chances, but at the same time using American aid to good purpose. Here is what he says: "There are those who fear that a decisive Chinese victory—which undeniably would change the center of gravity of Asia might set in motion a general process of emancipation which would be too tumultuous to handle. The danger is, that for fear of going too fast, we shall go too slowly. For sweeping changes are at hand all over Asia... They cannot be prevented altogether."

But Lattimore will do his best to steer things into the right channel. This is both implicit and explicit in all that he says. "It is quite true that we shall not have an easy time with an Asia headed towards emancipation. We shall not have an easy time in any case... If we are to have chaos in China, then it will be of our own making. For there is no possibility that all China will acquiesce meekly to Japanese imperial conquest. Apart from the fact that this chaos would spread all over Asia, civil war in China would mean, in the end, the triumph of the Chinese communists."

This was written at the time when Chiang Kai-shek was attacking the Fourth Route Army of the communists. Lattimore was very much alarmed at this blunder of Chiang Kai-shek the moment he received American aid. For Lattimore understood that the communists would gain in influence as a result and that the war against Japan might become a revolutionary war of the workers and peasants supported by the middle class not only against Japan but against the bourgeois Chinese government.

Nothing could reveal more clearly why Lattimore was chosen as the political "guide" for the Chinese regime than his attitude towards the Chinese revolution. "Our cardinal need there is a united China, carried forward on a current of orderly reforms. There is no need for violent revolution (that is, communist revolution); but unless the current of orderly reform is given a free channel, there will be violent revolution."

The interpretation of this view is clear. Lattimore proposes that American imperialism help Chiang Kai-shek in building a "democratic" capitalist China.

We venture to say that history will hardly lend itself to Lattimore's maneuvers for United States imperialism. Even if Chiang Kai-shek is quite willing to become the tool of American capitalism, the Chinese masses will not have learned how to fight Japanese imperialism for the sake of building a united and free China, only in order to fall under the domination of American imperialism. To conquer China the United States will have to resort to precisely the same methods as Japan—with perhaps the same outcome. For the second imperialist war will not end without colonial revolts, especially in Asia. China will not only undermine the Mikado's empire, but all the imperialist empires.

FDR's Precedents For Invasion

When "isolationist" Senators charged that FDR's occupation of Iceland was without a peacetime precedent, Senator (poll-tax) Connally of Texas inserted in the Congressional Record the following list of peacetime operations conducted by the army and navy from 1851 to 1932. This conclusively proves Connally's point—FDR is merely following the best American (imperialist) traditions.

Island of Johanna	1851	To collect indemnity
Japan	1853	To procure a commercial treaty
China	1854	To protect American nationals
Greytown	1854	To protect American property rights
Fiji Islands	1855	To protect American life
Uruguay	1855	To protect American life and property
China	1856	To prevent injury to Amer. interests
Egypt	1858	To protect American citizens
Uruguay	1858	To protect foreign life and property
Fiji Islands	1858	To punish natives for murdering two white men.
China	1859	To restore order in Shanghai
Kisembo, Africa	1860	To prevent destruction of American property
Panama	1860	To restore order during an insurrection
Japan	1863	To obtain redress for attack on American vessel
Japan	1864	To open the Straits of Shimonoseki
Formosa	1867	To punish natives for murdering Americans
Japan	1868	To protect American interests
Uruguay	1868	To protect American interests
Korea	1871	To protect a commercial mission
Honolulu	1874	To suppress riots
Mexico	1876	To suppress revolutionists and preserve order
Egypt	1882	To suppress riots
Korea	1888	To protect American residents
Samoa	1888	To establish a stable government
Haiti	1888	To obtain release of American vessel
Navassa Island	1891	To protect American life and property
Chile	1891	To protect American consulate at Valparaiso
Hawaii	1893	To protect American life and property
Brazil	1893	To protect American commerce in Brazilian waters
Korea	1894	To protect American Legation
Samoa	1899	To settle succession to Samoan throne
Nicaragua	1899	To protect foreign life and property
China	1900	To protect property during Boxer uprising
Dominican Republic	1903	To protect American interests
Dominican Republic	1903	To prevent fighting in certain areas
Honduras	1907	To protect American interests during war
Nicaragua	1910	To prevent the bombardment of Bluefields
Honduras	1910	To protect American interests during revolution
China	1911	To protect property at Foochow
China	1911	To protect property and life at Chinkiang
China	1911	To increase the guard at Peking

China	1912	To keep railroad open from Peking to sea
China	1912	To extend protection
China, Swatow	1912	To save women and children
Cuba	1912	To quell uprising
Honduras	1912	To protect American owned railway
Nicaragua	1912	To protect American property
Dominican Republic	1912	To protect Dominican customs houses
China, Chapel	1913	To prevent disorder
China, Shanghai	1913	To protect property and life
Paris	1914	To guard American Embassy
Mexico, Veracruz	1914	To enforce demands for amends for efforts
Haiti	1914	To protect American life and property
China, Nanking	1916	To quell a riot
Mexico	1916	To pursue Villa
Dominican Republic	1916	To suppress revolution, establish military government
Cuba	1917	To protect property during insurrection
China, Chungking	1918	For protection during political crisis
Honduras	1919	To maintain order in neutral zone
Panama	1919	To extend protection
China, Kinkiang	1920	To suppress a riot
China, Yonchow	1920	To guard American property
Guatemala	1920	To protect property during local fighting
Smyrna	1922	To protect property during advance of Turks
China, Tungchow	1922	To suppress violence from Fengtien forces
China, Foochow	1922	To protect American nationals
China, Masu Island	1923	To protect Americans against brigandage
Honduras	1924	To land forces during unsettled conditions
Honduras	1925	To protect American property
Panama	1925	To extend protection during unsettled conditions
Nicaragua	1926	To protect property during revolution
China, Hankow	1927	To protect lives during mob-riots
China, Shanghai	1927	To protect lives and property
China, Nanking	1927	To suppress general disorder
China, Chinkiang	1927	To extinguish fire
China, Canton	1927	To aid in evacuation
China, Shanghai	1932	To strengthen forces at Shanghai.

(No information available for the past nine years)

The reasons listed for these "excursions" are Senator Connally's—not ours.

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

—LEON TROTSKY

JOIN US IN FIGHTING FOR:

1. Military training of workers, financed by the government, but under control of the trade unions. Special officers' training camps, financed by the government but controlled by the trade unions, to train workers to become officers.
2. Trade union wages for all workers drafted into the army.
3. Full equality for Negroes in the armed forces and the war industries—Down with Jim Crowism everywhere.
4. A peoples' referendum on any and all wars.
5. Confiscation of all war profits. Expropriation of all war industries and their operation under workers' control.
6. For a rising scale of wages to meet the rising cost of living.
7. Workers Defense Guards against vigilante and fascist attacks.
8. An Independent Labor Party based on the Trade Unions.
9. A Workers' and Farmers' Government.

The Daily Worker Dares Not Face Trotskyism

In our July 5th issue, we published an appeal to the members of the Communist Party, asking them to join with us in the only real defense of the Soviet Union: the struggle for world socialism. Our members and friends saw to it that our appeal came into the hands of many members and friends of the Communist Party. It appears to have had an effect, to judge by the frenziedly vituperative editorial in the July 12th *Daily Worker*, entitled "The Disguised Nazism of the Trotskyites."

The *Daily Worker* editorial was obviously designed, not so much for those who had read our appeal, as to poison the minds of those who had not read it. The *Daily Worker's* ideal comrade is the one who, when handed a leaflet or newspaper by a Trotskyist, tears it up without reading it—an ideal which Stalinism shares with Catholicism.

At the same time, however, the *Daily Worker* must give its readers the illusion that the *Daily Worker* is telling them what the Trotskyist position is. To create this illusion, the *Daily Worker* editorial writer quotes a few words as though he is ostensibly quoting the Trotskyist document sufficiently to indicate its position. What appears between his quotation marks never appeared in our paper—but what's that to a journalist of the Stalinist School of Falsification!

Here are two examples of falsification by the *Daily Worker* editorial:

1. It accuses us of "a desperate effort to keep the Soviet Union from getting American aid and collaboration. To spread this anti-Soviet poison, the Trotskyites concoct a stew of insinuations that American aid to the Red Army 'will only serve imperialist calculations' (how Hitler's generals will love that argument); that aid to the Soviet Union will hurt the struggle for the people's rights here."

We never said that. We do not oppose American governmental aid to the Soviet Union and we campaign for American working class aid to the Soviet Union. What we actually said in the original paragraph from which the *Daily Worker* is "quoting" was as follows:

"Do you think that by abandonment of the struggles of the workers you will facilitate Roosevelt's 'aid' to the Soviet Union? Don't be fooled.

Any 'aid' that imperialist Britain and imperialist United States give to the Soviet Union now is not to bring about a Soviet victory over the Nazis. It will be given only to serve imperialist calculations in Washington and London. The last thing they want is a Soviet victory!"

Any reader can see from this that the *Daily Worker* has deliberately falsified our real position, and has done so to cover up the fact that the Stalinists are abandoning the class struggle against the democratic imperialists.

2. The *Daily Worker* editorial accuses us of saying "that the American people of 1941 should work for 'the Soviet of tomorrow' rather than aid the Red Army of today."

This is a slick piece of forgery. By it the *Daily Worker* hopes to convey to its readers the false idea we are opposed to aid to the Red Army, and that we counterpose to it the regenerated Soviet Union of tomorrow. But those words, "the Soviet of tomorrow," ostensibly quoted by the *Daily Worker* from our appeal, were not in that appeal. What we actually wrote was:

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

Do the British and American governments desire a Soviet Union victory—as distinguished from the Soviet Union merely serving as a buffer against Hitler? The *Daily Worker's* own military expert answered that question on July 13. Saying that "there is nothing very important in those spots" where Britain is dumping bombs, criticizing the fact that nothing is being done in Norway, and indicating other examples of lack of British military activity where it would best aid the Soviet Union, he concludes:

"However, the (British) idea might be to see the Soviet Union win the war with one division left. Furthermore, this writer doubts that the British Imperial General Staff enjoys the sight of a developing guerrilla warfare in the German rear... Guerilla—civil—class—these are all unwelcome adjectives for the noble word War." (*Daily Worker*, July 13)

What would happen to the Soviet Union if it "won" the war with one division left? It would be at the mercy of the "democratic" imperialists, who would then destroy it. That is but one more reason why the defense of the Soviet Union and the struggle for socialism in Britain and the United States are inseparable parts of the same task. By abandoning the class struggle the British and American Communist Parties are aiding the enemies of the Soviet Union.

That fact will become more and more evident in the coming months. No twisting of quotations will enable the *Daily Worker* to conceal that fundamental fact.

Federal Labor Spies

The Minneapolis *Tribune* of July 3 reports that FBI agents who had joined Local 544-CIO and the Socialist Workers Party were among the chief witnesses of the FBI in the government's engineering of indictments against 29 CIO leaders and SWP members.

To fully understand the significance of this, it is only necessary to turn back two years ago to the same *Tribune* and read its account of the activities of other provocative agents of the FBI at the time of the federal prosecution of the WPA strikers in Minneapolis:

"The Federal Bureau of Investigation agents, about 25 of them, were in a good position to learn what took place around the sewing projects in the series of riots July 14, it was disclosed Sunday.

"Wearing overalls and other articles of workmen's clothing, the agents, posing as pickets and onlookers, mingled with the crowd surging around the project building..."

"When the shooting and tear gas bombing started, the agents scattered with the rest of the crowd." Apparently as a result of the provocative role these disguised FBI agents played in that strike, the police opened fire, one worker was killed, others wounded, a grand jury investigation brought on, numerous WPA strikers railroaded to jail, and the idea driven home that the government will not tolerate strikes.

Today, by its use of spies and provocateurs, the FBI intends to fulfill a similar task: to intimidate and smash the CIO motor transport workers' movement, to imprison members of the Socialist Workers Party and outlaw its progressive activities, and to drive home the idea that the government will not tolerate any opposition to its imperialist war program.

The spy-provocative agent method did not originate in 1939, however. It was used by the FBI in the notorious post-war Palmer raids. It goes back to Louis Napoleon and the Czar, who made ample use of it in all their frameups.

The practice is as ugly as it is necessary for the purposes of reaction. It would be a mistake to think that the role of such agents is limited to spy work, for the aims and activities of labor organizations and workers' parties are not secret and conspiratorial (as are the activities of the FBI) but on the contrary are as well-known and as widely publicized as it is possible for these organizations to make them. In addition to acting as labor spies, the function of FBI agents thus sent into labor organizations is to incite or provoke actions or statements or to invent such actions, which are then cited in the courts to justify repressions.

How well the means fits in with the end! How adequately these vile methods of the czars and dictators demonstrate the anti-labor aim of the FBI prosecutions!

Finland's "Socialists" Now Serve Hitler

Cemented "National Unity" With Mannerheim For "Democracy" But The Only Thing That Lasted Was The "National Unity"

By FELIX MORROW

Little about Finland appears in the press these days. The less said about it the better—apparently that is the thought of all the "democrats" and "socialists" who in the Fall of 1939 were screaming that the cause of Finland is the cause of all civilization.

These people are laughing at the indecent haste with which the Stalinists are digging up "Dr. Mamlock" and other pre-Hitler-Stalin-pact pictures and plays. But Robert Sherwood's idyll about Finland, "There Shall Be No Night," has been dragged off the boards with equally indecent haste: Alfred Lunt and Lynn Fontaine were about to perform the country in it but now won't and the movie magnates who paid a whopping price for the movie rights to Sherwood have written it off as a loss.

In the Fall of 1939 you couldn't go to a concert or turn on the radio without hearing "Finland" or something else by Sibelius. Now that Sibelius is proclaiming that the Finnish alliance with Germany is saving Europe from Bolshevism, his music appears to have receded.

In 1939 the organs of the two American groups of the Second International—Norman Thomas' CALL and THE NEW LEADER—were proudly acclaiming the heroic struggle of their Finnish comrades who were standing shoulder to shoulder with General Mannerheim, the executioner of the Finnish socialist revolution of 1918. Today, too, the Finnish Social Democrats are in the government, again backing General Mannerheim. But a dead silence has descended upon THE CALL and THE NEW LEADER; they aren't talking any more about their Finnish comrades. And these people laugh at the flip-flops of the Stalinists!

What happened to the French and Finnish "socialists" was that they abandoned the class struggle of the working class. For the sake of "national unity" against the external foe, they argued, it was necessary for the working class to cease the class struggle against its "own" capitalist class. That is they operated on the theory that the working class and its exploiters had more in common with each other than the working class had with the workers of other countries.

THEY SNEERED AT OUR UTOPIAN PROGRAM

This theory of "national unity" was defended by Blum and Tanner against the "Utopian" Trotskyists by following kind of arguments: "You tell us Finnish socialists to unite with the Soviet workers, but the Soviet workers are following Stalin." "You tell us French socialists to join hands with the German proletariat, but they are obeying Hitler's commands."

We Trotskyists answered: Because the German and Soviet workers are at this moment following Hitler and Stalin, is no excuse for Blum and Tanner to tell the Finnish and French workers to follow Mannerheim and Petain. The duty of the Finnish and French workers is to overthrow the Mannerheim and Petains, Workers' Govern-

Glenn Martin Still Says He Won't Hire Negroes

By ALBERT PARKER

Since the Negro March on Washington was called off, the government has done nothing to implement Roosevelt's executive order which was supposed to do so much to end racial discrimination in the war industries. Yet most of the Negro "leaders" and papers have continued to shout themselves hoarse about the great significance of that executive order.

The reaction of neither the government nor the Negro leaders is half so significant, however, as the reaction of the big business men and industrialists who have up until now continued to refuse Negroes employment in their factories.

Sam Lacy in the *Afro-American* last week reported on a hearing on housing problems held in Baltimore after the issuance of Roosevelt's order, in the course of which Glenn L. Martin, president of the big aircraft corporation bearing his name, was asked some very direct questions regarding the problem of employing Negroes, something his company has refused to do up to the present time.

For some reason Congressman Osmer of New Jersey, who was conducting the question, sought to get a statement from Martin with regard to the effects of the president's order.

Osmer began by asking Martin, to his great embarrassment, what the employment policy of his company was, whether it used Negro labor. Martin replied that it did not, and when asked why, explained as follows:

"Because we have not been able to find a sufficient number of colored men skilled or being trained in the work in which they might be used. And because wherever vocational courses are being conducted in Baltimore there are not enough colored persons taking the courses to justify our consideration of them as likely prospects."

(Lacy points out that the Martin

state went? Could he justify disregard of a federal order by reiterating his desire to abide by the state's laws?

ALIBI NO. 2: BLAMES THE WORKERS

Osmer then rushed to Martin's aid with a "leading question": "Is it a fact that should you place colored help in your plant you will face an immediate stoppage of work?"

Martin pounced on that excuse, "There would be an immediate stoppage of work. We know that. It couldn't be avoided."

Here we see the pretext that will be used by Martin and all the other bosses to justify disregard of the president's order. It is not they who want to keep Negro workers out of work, oh, no, it is the workers who are responsible! And much as the bosses dislike it, they can't do anything because after all they are concerned only with "producing" for "national defense," aren't they?

Negroes must not be deceived by maneuvers of this kind. They must continue their struggle against the bosses, the government and the Uncle Toms until they win full equality.

White workers must see through Martin's schemes too. By organizing militant unions that accept Negro workers as brothers and fight for their rights too, the white workers can defeat these attempts to fasten the blame for Jim Crowism on themselves, unite the ranks of the working class and go forward to better conditions for all of labor.

Whenever anyone — "democrat," "socialist" or Stalinist — urges subordination of the class struggle of the American workers to the "needs of the fight against Hitler" — just remember where the Finnish and French Social Democrats ended up.

White workers must see through Martin's schemes too. By organizing militant unions that accept Negro workers as brothers and fight for their rights too, the white workers can defeat these attempts to fasten the blame for Jim Crowism on themselves, unite the ranks of the working class and go forward to better conditions for all of labor.

Where We Stand

By Albert Goldman

On the "Character" of the War

The character of the war has changed. So says the Communist Party.

The character of the war has not changed. So claims the Workers Party (Abern-Shachtman).

Diametrically opposite conclusions but both are wrong because both are the result of purely idealistic reasoning. Having left the ground of Marxist materialism, neither the Communist Party nor the Workers Party is capable of arriving at a correct analysis and adopting correct political conclusions.

To believe the Stalinist leaders, the first shot fired into Soviet territory, at the command of Hitler, had the miraculous effect of bringing about a change in the character of the war. From a war between rival imperialisms it was transformed, as far as England and the United States are concerned, into a different kind of war.

The Stalinists have not as yet described the exact character of the war but they have said enough to conclude that the war, on the part not only of the Soviet Union, but also of Great Britain and the United States is now one for democracy against fascism, for the right of nations to determine their own destiny and for the right of peoples to lead a happy and contented life. And this change occurred by virtue of the fact that the Soviet Union is now participating in the conflict.

It is not to be expected that the Stalinist leaders will furnish cogent arguments for their present contention. They simply make that assertion and expect everyone to accept it without argument. How and why did the character of the war change? Their answer is: by the entry of the Soviet Union. That of course is not an argument, for we are still left in the dark as to how the entry of the Soviet Union into the war created a change in its character.

The argument implicit in the Stalinist contention is that before the attack on the Soviet Union the war was imperialist in character because the governments conducting the war were interested in acquiring or defending colonies, markets and spheres of influence. Churchill and Roosevelt were conducting a war for imperialist purposes.

As soon as the Soviet Union was attacked Churchill and Roosevelt dropped their imperialist aims and began to struggle for democracy and the sacred rights of the peoples. What caused them to change? That is immaterial. It may be that the beloved and great Stalin used his powers to make them change. But whatever the reason was, Churchill and Roosevelt got religion, repented, became good Christians and stopped fighting an imperialist war.

From their sudden change, whatever the reason may be, it necessarily follows that imperialism is not, as Lenin taught, a stage of capitalism, but a policy of a government. Obviously, if it is a policy it can be changed over-night, if necessary. According to this Stalinist conception the character of the war is completely divorced from the character of the economy of the country waging the war. It depends upon the character and motives of the people at the head of the government.

Shachtman's Method Is Like the Stalinists

Now let us examine the contention of Shachtman and his Workers Party to the effect that the character of the war has not changed. By that the Workers Party means that the Soviet Union was waging an imperialist war when it was allied with Germany and it is now waging an imperialist war as an ally of the capitalist democracies.

In this column last week I showed that, basing oneself on the theory that Hitler and Stalin were partners for the purpose of conquering and dividing the world, it becomes impossible to explain the sudden decision of Hitler to attack his partner-in-crime. Be that as it may, Hitler's decision was made and Stalin, according to Shachtman, is now waging an imperialist war not to divide booty with Hitler but to guard his ill-gotten gains from his erstwhile ally.

Why is the Soviet Union waging an imperialist war now? The Workers Party answers: Because the Stalinist bureaucracy is playing a reactionary role. It wants to subjugate the working class of the world to the war machines of the imperialist democracies; it is fighting to retain control over territories it has seized and also "over the internal colonies of the Kremlin overlord"; it is fighting for its aristocratic privileges. The Workers Party utilizes the same method of idealistic reasoning that the Communist Party uses.

Both the Communist Party and Shachtman conceive of the character of a war as something independent of the nature of the economy of a country waging the war.

As against this idealistic method of reasoning, our party bases itself on Marxist materialism. The character of the war is determined by the nature of the economy of the countries participating in the war. Germany, Great Britain, the United States are imperialist countries, that is, their capitalist economy has reached an imperialist stage. They are therefore waging an imperialist war regardless of whether the bad Hitler or the good Roosevelt is at the head of the government. The character of the war, as far as these countries are concerned, has not changed by the attack of Hitler on the Soviet Union. They are still imperialist countries. It is therefore impermissible for a Marxist party to support their war.

Since private property in the means of production has been destroyed in the Soviet Union and has not been reintroduced, there can be no such thing as Soviet imperialism, in the Marxist sense of the term. The Soviet Union therefore cannot be and is not waging an imperialist war even though the Stalinist bureaucracy is interested in safeguarding its own power, prestige and influence. The Soviet Union, even under Stalin, is waging a war to defend nationalized property against German imperialism. It is therefore mandatory on every class-conscious worker to defend the Soviet Union.

A deep gulf separates the reasoning of the Communist and Workers Party on the one hand and the Socialist Workers Party on the other. It is the difference between middle-class idealism and revolutionary Marxist materialism.