

CONSCRIPTION IS A HERALD OF WAR!

By MAX SHACHTMAN

The Murder of Leon Trotsky

Did Jacques Mornard, alias Frank Jackson, murder Leon Trotsky on his own hook, as a purely personal act, as he affirms, or was he acting as an agent under instructions of the GPU, which he denies?

Last week, we showed that Jackson's explanation of his crime as a personal act, could only be considered false and preposterous. We showed that since he was not a suspect but a self-confessed assassin, caught red-handed in the criminal act, he could not have any reason for giving the authorities a lying and contradictory account of his life, of his comings and goings, save that of covering up somebody else—either his accomplices or his masters in the crime.

This week, we shall indicate why an intelligent person, examining the singular kind of lies Jackson tells, the particular text of his falsehoods, must come to the only possible conclusion:

Because of some still undisclosed hold that it has upon him, Jackson is covering up the real author of the assassination, the Stalinist GPU.

Of A Kind With the Moscow "Confessions"

FIRST: The letter written by Jackson to be found on his person in the event that he was apprehended after the premeditated crime had been committed. Goldman, Trotsky's attorney, is perfectly right in saying that the GPU made its greatest blunder in dictating this letter. The blunder is simply this: To read the letter, calculated to throw the reader off the tracks of the GPU, is enough to show unmistakably who are its real authors. An analysis of the letter has already been made in the columns of *Labor Action*.

This is the second and concluding article in a series of two by Max Shachtman, American editor of Leon Trotsky's selected works, who went to Mexico on the news of Trotsky's death as a representative of the Workers Party to pay the Party's respects to the martyred revolutionist. While there, he interviewed Sylvia Ageloff, and was present at several of the interrogations of Frank Jackson, confessed slayer. *LABOR ACTION* will continue, in each of its issues, to make known the latest facts of the trial.

tion. It is enough here to recall to the reader its principal characteristics.

It is written in the distinctive police-style of the "confessions" dictated to the defendants in the Moscow Trials. It harps again on the old discredited theme of Trotsky's "plans" to send envoys to the Soviet Union for the purpose of committing acts of sabotage and assassination. It reiterates the repugnantly familiar business about the signator's "disillusionment" with Trotsky. Put it alongside the Moscow "confessions" and the similarity, in some places the identity of whole passages is startling. In point of fact, of course, there is nothing startling about it. The GPU does not have many variations in the style in which it is accustomed to write.

The Belgian Consul Disputes Jackson's Claims

SECOND: Jackson, in his relations with Sylvia and with other members of the Fourth International on both continents, and in his statements to the Mexican authorities, gave himself a very elaborate and detailed identity. If nobody took the trouble to look more closely into his story—and before the assassination there seemed to be no particular reason why anyone should do so, especially in view of the fact that he laid claim to no more responsible relationship towards the movement than that of a casual sympathizer—it sounded fairly plausible. His conduct ordinarily coincided with the life-story he gave.

But—Walther Loridan, secretary and interim charge d'affaires of the Belgian legation in Mexico City, and his colleague, M. Vgrthalit, sent a memorandum to

(Continued on page 4)

By Presidential decree, the great national lottery will be inaugurated on October 16. The stakes are high—the winners will get a uniform, a gun, and a year's training in imperialist murder.

On October 16 every man between the age of 21 and 35 will be compelled by Congressional action and Presidential signature to register name, age and address with a Local Draft Board. In Washington, a national lottery will be held to determine which of you are to get "selective service" first—service that has been selected for you by people who have no class right to act for you.

You may not want to serve. You may have your own ideas about this war, that it isn't a war for democracy, but—like the last World War—a war for profits. You may feel that you are just healthy enough to want to spend your time living, not grooming yourself for death. It won't help you much.

They'll hear your case if you don't want to serve. But unless you're a member of a religious group they accept as authentic, and very likely even if you are, you will be hounded, made to understand that you're an "unpatriotic" slacker.

One way or another they'll get you into the army—or just get you. They'll train you and give you \$30 a month to send home while they're training you. They'll teach you to obey the discipline of army and navy command. They'll train you in the various branches of modern warfare. And when you are ready, primed with all the knowledge you need to have, they'll label you fit for the actual service they have in mind—the real, unadulterated hell that warfare is.

By that time they will consider a declaration of war expedient. The first batch of corpses-to-be ready; a second and a third batch getting its training.

And then it won't make any difference how strong you are, how many houses you could build in a sane society, how many crops you could sow. You will be sent to the front—and come back from it only slightly crippled, if you are lucky.

What will you gain for the sacrifice of your life or limbs? What benefit will accrue to you for the time you live in muck and danger, the time you are wrenched from your family, the time you are wasting your strength? Nothing! Exactly nothing!

There will be those who will gain. But they won't be bricklayers, miners or steel workers. Those who will gain will be the bankers, the industrialists, the profiteers of all shapes and sizes. SO THAT THEY MAY LIVE IN GREATER LUXURY, YOU'LL DIE. So that their sons and daughters may idle away their hours on bigger and handsomer yachts, you will face bomb and bullet.

You are indeed blind if you think conscription has any other purpose but war. You are blinder still if you think that war will be fought for any other reason than profit.

You can be sure they won't call it a war for profit. When the day of war declaration comes, they'll dress it up in the best propagandistic finery. Honey won't match their words in sweetness of intention. They'll make their appeal in the name of all those things for which we would truly give our lives—real democracy, anti-fascism.

They will speak as though they are one with us, part of the working class. That's the custom nowadays. So, for example, Willkie speaks like a barefoot boy with a worker's interest closest to his heart. So too, for example, Roosevelt speaks to the teamsters' convention, as "one-union man to another." Roosevelt, making a political speech, is trying to get votes from union men. Yet this same Roosevelt, "union man", barred strikes on WPA. This very same Roosevelt, acting through his Attorney General, threw men into jail—men who were members of the WPA auxiliary of teamsters' Local 544 in Minneapolis—THREW THEM INTO JAIL BECAUSE THEY ASSERTED THEIR ELEMENTARY UNION RIGHT TO STRIKE.

So it is with the war. Roosevelt the "union man" is the same as Roosevelt the "democrat". His interest in unionism and democracy is of equal caliber. It serves the bosses interests to put on show. Roosevelt favors unions that are polite, do not fight, take what is given to them. Roosevelt champions a "democracy" that operates one-sidedly—plenty of it for the boss, as little as possible for the worker.

Deception comes cheap—and in ample quantity. With it, the bosses seek to spin a wool covering for workers' eyes. But the workers can stop the hand of the spinner!

Every worker must broadcast the truth about conscription. Though enacted into law, its purpose remains the same—to train the manpower needed to wage capitalist war. We, therefore, object to conscription, BECAUSE WE WANT NO PART OF THE WAR.

That is the main fight now fellow-workers: TO MAKE THE BOSSES UNMISTAKEABLY UNDERSTAND THAT WE WILL NOT TOLERATE A WAR FOR PROFITS. If they want to wage a war for democracy and against fascism, tell them we'll be for it, and they won't have to conscript us either—on one condition! They must first call upon the workers of the world to rise against the tyrants and exploiters: the capitalists.

Let them issue such an appeal and we will circulate it among our brothers in every corner of the globe, in Germany and in England too. BUT WE WILL CIRCULATE IT HERE AS WELL. THE MAN WHO LIVES OFF OUR SWEAT IS RIGHT HERE IN THIS COUNTRY. HE IS THE MR. BOSS OF EVERY FACTORY IN THE LAND.

DOWN WITH THE LOTTERY IN LIVES!
DOWN WITH BOSS WAR!

THE WORLD AT WAR

In an Imperialist World -- Sacrifice Is Meant Only for the Poor, Both in War and Peace

By MAX STERLING

Although the Nazi invasion of the British Isles is still to be attempted, the people of London are continuing to experience the nightmare of unceasing Nazi bombardment.

The German air force claims that within the past two weeks they unloaded about 5,000,000 pounds of bombs on London. The special victims of the Nazi attacks have been the impoverished workers of the East End. The air attacks have left them without even their vermin ridden hovels to return to. These miserable inhabitants of London's infamous slums, whom Jack London called the people of the abyss, are

300,000 workers were added to the ranks of the unemployed. Of 60,000 that were previously employed in the automobile industry only 5% were re-employed. So bad is the situation that Andre Grisoni, President of the Seine Department Mayors Union, revealed that there is great unrest among the workers, and stated that it would be disastrous if Germany released the French war prisoners as they would only add to the multitudes already unemployed.

For these reasons, the French bourgeoisie is looking with increasing favor upon the political ambitions of Jacques Doriot the fascist leader of the French Popular Party who, as the former Communist Mayor of Saint Denis, enjoys considerable popularity and is regarded as the strong man capable of coping with any serious outbreaks among the workers.

COMPLETING A CYCLE

The bankrupt French bourgeoisie has added to its list of scapegoats Leon Blum who now joins such celebrities as Reynaud, Daladier, Mandel and Gamelin who are being held for trial for their share in bringing France to ruin. Leon Blum is now drinking his full from the bitter cup of ingratitude. In reality French capitalism owes him a great deal, for he more than any one else saved that rotten social system in the days when the French working class was on the high road to revolution and were diverted by him into the morass of the bourgeois Popular Front.

To complete the cycle of reaction the cowardly Vichy government is handing over hundreds of the best anti-fascist fighters who were interned in France to the Spanish fascist executioners. Thus they bring to a close the policy of opposition to the Spanish Revolution initiated by Leon Blum who, in the critical hour of need of the Spanish workers in their fight against Franco, turned his back on them.

IN INDO-CHINA

The Vichy government has yielded to Nazi pressure to grant a base to the Japanese in Indo China from which they will prepare a major campaign against the Chinese forces. In return Chinese troops have blown up the International Bridge at Lao Kay on the northern frontier between Indo China and the Chinese province of Yunnan and are preparing their own preventative invasion of Indo China. It is certain that in the near future the French colony of Indo China will become one of the great battlegrounds in the far eastern struggle.

The Chinese masses have shown that they are capable of the greatest sacrifices and privations but they face not only the mighty invader from without but also the no less treacherous enemy from within. The impoverished Chinese are faced with a hunger created by landlords and militarists like those in Szechwan who have hoarded a bumper crop of rice causing its price to double within the last two months. This was revealed when even Chiang Kai Shek had to come out in denunciation of this profiteering.

AMERICA ACTS

American imperialism is watching the Japanese moves in the far east

These Birds Are Free to Serve

Senator Barkley, Majority leader of the Senate, declared during a re-consideration of the Burke-Wadsworth Military service bill, "I want to see men selected without regard to their economic status or class and solely on the basis of their qualifications and freedom from other obligations."

Solely on the basis of their freedom from "other obligations," we suggest to the Conscription authorities that they draft Mr. Tommy Manville, millionaire playboy; Mr. Vincent Astor, socialite and yachtsman; the Messrs. Vanderbilt, father and son, yachtsman and turfman respectively; and every other son-of-a-parasite.

compelled to roam in the subways like droves of beasts, their only subsistence being a bit of bread and jam.

Protests to the government have revealed that while thousands of the poor are utterly homeless, the houses of the rich in the West End stand empty, their owners having had the means to remove to the safety of the country. The property rights of the rich are ever sacred and sacrifice is a word meant only for the poor.

IN FRANCE

For the French workers, the "peace" of imperialism is no less burdensome than the war. The people stand in endless lines before grocery stores hoping to buy a little of the fast disappearing food supplies. In the occupied area, the Germans have requisitioned up to 60% of some of the crops. Nazi officials of the Agricultural Section of the German Military Administration predict a winter of hunger that will have to be met with the strictest rationing of food.

The Germans are loading the French workers with the cost of the German Army of Occupation which will amount to the staggering sum of 144,000,000,000 francs per year or twice the entire budget for the year 1939. Besides this, the French will be compelled to pay for the upkeep of the two million French prisoners held by the Germans. The Nazis are manipulating the rate of exchange so that twenty francs can be purchased for a mark instead of the real price of twelve francs to the mark. In this way, the German conquerors will be able to loot an additional 40% of the values in France.

Unemployment continues to rise to serious proportions. In Paris

Leviton Workers Say They've Had Enough

Go Out In Solid Strike Against Inhuman Plant Conditions

By SUSAN GREEN

BROOKLYN, Sept. 16—Except for the foreman tapping of a typewriter in the office, no sound issued from the buildings of the Leviton Manufacturing Co. on Greenpoint Avenue this afternoon. Production of electrical appliances, which is its business, has been completely stopped by the strike of its 1,700 workers. They have been out for three weeks. Local 3, International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, is organizing them and conducting the strike.

It's hardly believable that human beings have endured the conditions existing at Leviton's, and not gone out on strike before. Weekly wages of \$8, \$9, and \$10 are common. The aristocrats of labor earn \$17, \$20 and

\$22 at Leviton's. The great majority make \$13 or \$14.

Accidents Common

Industrial accidents are an everyday occurrence. The machines have guards, but the guards are down only when the inspectors come around. Otherwise the workers operate the machines without any protection because the guards slow up the work. Women have suffered the loss of finger tips, half fingers, whole fingers. I was informed that at times there are as many as ten accidents in one day.

Often a machine operates imperfectly and endangers the operator still more, but a foreman will seldom call a mechanic until it is too late

to save a finger. The workers themselves hesitate to report defective machines because while a machine is being repaired they lose that much time, and the pay envelope is that much lighter.

The last time Leviton workers struck was seven years ago. They say the strike was something of a fizzle. They were not organized, had no union backing, and only one department went out. Nevertheless they won a slight rise in wages and a nurse. Before then, I was informed by a woman who worked in the plant for fourteen years, a piece worker had also served as nurse.

Now the workers feel strong. The plant is completely shut down. They

(Continued on page 2)

Fists Fly at ALP State Committee Meeting

There's Always Foul Weather When Scoundrels Get Together

There was quite a tiff this last week-end between the scoundrels of the right and the scoundrels of the "left" at the State Committee meeting of the American Labor Party in Utica.

The right-wing, that's the Social-Democratic Federation and labor leaders like Antonini of the ILGWU, is all hot and bothered about defending democracy by going to war. But in their own little balliwick of the ALP, these "democrats" were not averse to using the most undemocratic violence against the Stalinists (for some reason called the "left-wing"). Several people were clubbed and a very undemocratic time was had by all.

The State Committee meeting was called to nominate candidates for president and vice-president. The Stalinist wing had gotten an injunction out against the right-wing State Committee to bar its holding the meeting on the ground of undemocratic manipulations. The Commit-

tee went ahead with its meeting a week later, although the Stalinists have now brought a contempt of court order against Antonini, Rose, Oliver and their lawyer, for violating the injunction.

Manipulate Membership

What with one thing and another the Stalinists howled themselves sick against the suppression of their democratic rights. And there was no doubt about democracy being violated—although, in the normal course of events, the Stalinists, who have raised bureaucracy to a fine art are the last one things to kick. Still, democracy is democracy, and unlike its part-time defenders like Antonini, Rose and Roosevelt, we think it should be observed in labor politics at all times.

Right off the bat, the right-or-Rose wing barred the Stalinists from seats on the credentials and other committees, although there is no doubt but what the Stalinists have a majority

in New York, the largest section, if no where else. The credentials committee to invalidate credentials brought by Stalinist members of the State Committee on any and all grounds—without allowing the Stalinists any recourse to details like formal hearings on each case.

Calls the Cops

The high-light of the meeting came shortly after the session opened. The Antonini gang wanted a voice vote. The Stalinists wanted a roll-call vote. One of their supporters, Eugene P. Connolly, representing the Progressive Committee to Rebuild the ALP into a more exclusive Stalinist outfit, had, for example, 75 proxy votes. (That's permissible.) In a voice vote, his 75 votes could only sound like one vote. Hence the demand of the Stalinists.

Antonini tried to shut Connolly up. Connolly stood on his demand for a roll call. Whereupon, Antonini,

(Continued on page 3)

Life and Work of Leon Trotsky **Mass Meeting** Friday, September 20, 8 P. M.

Max Shachtman . . . Speaker ● Manhattan Plaza, 66 EAST 4th STREET

(BETWEEN 2nd and 3rd AVENUES)

Labor Runs Its Own Anti-War Candidate in the Bronx

Signature Petitions Come in Fast As Party Membership Rolls Up Its Sleeves for Bronx Election Campaign - Two Headquarters Open

The petition drive to place Max Shachtman's name on the Congressional ballot in the 23rd District in the Bronx is going forward at full speed. Despite the frightening clamor of the war hysteria whipped up by the press, three thousand signatures have already been obtained. Of these one thousand were gotten through a three hour mass mobilization of the party and YPSL's, testimony to the anti-war temper of large numbers of Bronx workmen and women.

Behind the fact of the startling total of signatures thus far obtained, lies the repudiation by the Bronx workers of the candidacy of Joseph A. Buckley, Democratic incumbent in the House of Representatives, who has a perfect score for supporting every Rooseveltian bill to plunge the country into war, including the conscription measure.

Beginning this week, a series of street meetings will be held in the 23rd Congressional District. Max Shachtman will speak at all the meetings, presenting the anti-war program of the Workers Party.

Negroes Interested

Party members active in the petition campaign report that the Negro workers of the District have eagerly signed their names for Shachtman's candidacy, when they learned that the Workers Party had organized a protest meeting against the brutal lynching of Elbert Williams. Further meetings on the Williams affair are planned in the Bronx and

Brownsville with Shachtman as the main speaker.

Nathan Gould has recently taken over the job of campaign director. He announces that detailed plans are under way for the widespread distribution of literature in the Bronx.

The campaign committee has arranged for the sale and distribution of between 750 and 1,000 copies of LABOR ACTION weekly in the Bronx, as well as the street distribution of 100,000 election throwaways, summarizing the anti-war program of the WP. Other literature is to be printed for the campaign, including a detailed election program, a manifesto to the Bronx workers on the 1940 elections.

Two election headquarters are now functioning in the Bronx, one at 7 West Burnside, Room 29, the other at 1334 Wilkins Ave. Every sign points to a successful drive and the placing of Max Shachtman's name on the ballot.

Willkie and Roosevelt: Each a Moses Who Will Lead Us INTO The Wilderness

The tug of war now in progress between Roosevelt and Willkie, supposedly for the high purpose of clarifying the voters on the issues of the campaign, is pretty much of a dud. We do not mean of course that presidential campaigns have the habit of being much more than duds. We do not wish to convey the idea that in former years it was the custom of capitalist politicians to come before the workers with real differences that were fought out square and openly on the basis of real differences between the two capitalist parties.

However both candidates in this campaign began their apostolic operations with messianic fervor in the attempt to make the workers believe that the fate, not only of the United States, but of the whole world would be decided by the coming election

in this country. Each candidate and party claimed that he and it alone could save democracy, keep the people in food, clothing and shelter, preserve "our sacred liberties," and maintain the "American way of Life."

Appeal to Workers

Each leader has appealed to the working class to let him be their Moses. To Willkie, Roosevelt is in the same camp as Stalin, Hitler and Mussolini. Ickes, a Roosevelt spokesman, calls Willkie "the barefoot boy from Wall Street." Roosevelt says "we" must not give up any of the New Deal Labor legislation. Willkie is convinced that it is mainly the New Deal labor legislation that keeps millions of workers out of jobs and in the bread lines. The man in the White House holds that if labor is conscripted for the army, wealth must be conscripted also. The man who is trying to get into the White House comes right back with the charge that this is a blow at the workers.

Roosevelt trades a few old destroyers to England for various parcels of real estate and Willkie tells the country that he is not against the swap but against the way it was done. Roosevelt did not take the people into his confidence.

Roosevelt maneuvers shrewdly to get a third term nomination and Willkie announces that this is to be the main issue in the campaign. It's against the teachings of Washington and Jefferson. This issue however is dropped like a hot potato when it is revealed that the Republican propagandists have left out pertinent parts of the writings of the founding fathers on this question.

Blowing Bubbles

This is just about the way the campaign sums up to date. The Republicans started off in substantial agreement with Roosevelt's foreign policy in relation to the war. They were substantially in agreement with the Roosevelt "defense program." They didn't have a good leg to stand on. They seized on the New Deal and the third term issue. But Roosevelt himself had already deserted the New Deal many moons before the conventions. To attempt to conduct a campaign around the third term issue is to spend one's time blowing soap bubbles.

And Willkie's last effort seems to have been totally disastrous. We refer to the "Munich Men" speech in which he attempted to hold Roosevelt responsible for the events following the Munich compromise, including the rape of Czechoslovakia and the starting of the Second World War. After this speech, Willkie developed a sore throat that made it necessary for him to rest a few days. We are of the opinion that the GOP high command halted the campaign in order to develop a line and to have some of their bright boys prepare a few speeches for their candidate.

Two Issues

There are at least two issues in the present campaign that need discussion and clarification: 1. The "defense program" in preparation for the struggle against Hitler. 2. The status of the workers and their organizations in relation to the war plans and preparations.

Both candidates and their lieutenants have given consideration to these two questions, each in his own way. But neither of the candidates is a free agent. They do not exist in the clouds. Their programs are not spun out of their own minds. Roosevelt and Willkie are the chief spokesmen for political parties. Both of these parties, the Republican and Democrats, are the political organizations of the Sixty Families, of the ruling class. These parties of Roosevelt and Willkie are a collection of the big bosses organized for political action, for power, for the control of the government in the interest of their own class and for the absolute protection of their own class interests.

The two parties and the candidates therefore can have only minor differences as has been demonstrated once again in the present campaign. On the great and decisive question of the second world imperialist war and the regimentation of the working class for participation in that war, there is and can be no significant distinction made between Roosevelt and Willkie.

Ruling Class Acts

The present war and the Hitler successes have struck the ruling class in the United States an unexpected blow. They did not foresee the swift movement of Hitler's legions right up to the English Channel. They fear now that England will be forced to bow before Hitler's bombers. Billions of their investments, in continental Europe are in the hands of Berlin. The continental European market is closed to them. They turn their eyes to South America and China. Yet Hitler has been victorious so far and is now pounding away at Britain, and England, in their opinion

is the last defense before the U.S. stands face to face with Hitler. This is the way things look to the big majority of the ruling class in the U.S.

This real situation determines for them their course of action. They know that they must prepare for war against Hitler. They have made their decision, they have accepted the inevitable. The Marxists have made this analysis again and again and pointed out that the contradictions of capitalism inevitably lead to imperialist war. War for mastery of the world, for the protection of profits, for reallocation of colonies, for intensification of the exploitation of the world working class.

We say that the ruling class in the U.S. is united in its preparations for titanic struggle against Hitler. Does anyone believe, therefore, that it will make any difference which candidate is elected president? They have both heard their master's voice and are prepared to do the will of the bosses. The ruling class will support one or the other candidate solely on the basis of their guess as to which can organize the war more effectively. Effective organization of the war of course includes such important items as the "labor problem," taxes and profits.

The important point to remember, in the circumstances, is that the bosses will prosecute the war just as vigorously with Willkie as with Roosevelt. They will fight like hell against Hitler to protect their profits, their commercial influence and their prestige.

What Happens to Labor

The workers however tend to show a preference for Roosevelt. They believe that, despite the fact that both Roosevelt and Willkie are representatives of the ruling class, Roosevelt has been a "friend of labor." They hold that the only way to preserve the "gains" the workers have made is to keep Roosevelt in the White House. Let us assume that Roosevelt's intentions are good, that his heart is in the right place. This will solve nothing. We have explained that Roosevelt, along with Willkie, is not a free agent. He is an agent of the ruling class.

The requirements of pushing the war, protecting profits and consolidating the imperialist interests of the ruling class will tend to drive Roosevelt away from the last vestiges of New Dealism. This process began long before the opening of the war as was pointed out in LABOR ACTION last week. What happens to labor will not be determined by the good will, the kindness or the moral qualities of Franklin D. Roosevelt.

It is possible that the ruling class therefore will consent to soften its war against the New Deal labor legislation. They may decide that satisfied workers, no strikes, acceptance of the status quo, can best be achieved by retaining the labor acts for the time being. The workers must always remember the motives that guide the bosses and their candidates.

The main practical question then is what shall the working class do about the coming election? How shall they vote? If our analysis of the war and the presidential campaign is correct, and we are convinced that it is, then "how shall we vote?" is not the pertinent question for the workers to put to themselves. The all-important and decisive question for the workers to decide is what attitude to take toward the war and the preparations for the ruling class to enter the war. If that question is answered properly the workers can come to only one conclusion: to vote for a labor, anti-war candidate, like Max Shachtman in the Bronx; and where there is no such candidate, not to vote at all as a demonstration of protest.

The important working class function of the workers today is organized opposition to the imperialist war. Organized opposition to the conscription act that has just been passed. No let up in the fight against conscription because it is the "law."

The workers must intensify their struggle for higher wages and shorter hours. They must oppose every tendency of their leaders to collaborate with Roosevelt or Willkie for the reasons we have given. A vote for Roosevelt or Willkie is a vote for the ruling class, a vote for the enemy.

It is supremely important that we oppose the war in a very concrete way. The organization of anti-conscription actions in every city and every union is one such way. Sure, we must prepare to resist Hitler. But, at the same time, we must be determined to resist the near-Hitlers in the United States.

DOWN WITH THE PARTIES OF THE RULING CLASS!
AGAINST ROOSEVELT AND WILLKIE!
NO AID TO THE IMPERIALIST WAR MAKERS!
EXPROPRIATE THE SIXTY FAMILIES!
FOR A WORKERS GOVERNMENT AND A PEOPLES ARMY!



This Is MAX SHACHTMAN

By ALAN SELKIRK

It was midwinter in New York City, but the popular temper had risen to fever heat.

Word had been passed around among the workers to mark off February 22.

50,000 Workers

As that midwinter, February day drew towards evening, thousands upon thousands of workers began to gather in the vicinity of Madison Square Garden. By eight o'clock, more than fifty thousand workers had gathered in the side streets leading to New York's largest arena. They had been called there for a reason.

Inside the Garden, the first, all-inclusive rally of American fascists was being held.

The German-American Bund, the Coughlinite Christian Front, the Pelley Silver Shirts and the Italian Fascists had joined hands in an anti-labor, anti-semitic meeting. They were out to "capture" New York.

In this, they were taking a leaf from the book of Hitlerism. Early in the history of the German Nazi movement, Joseph Goebbels, with an advance detachment of Storm Troopers, had "invaded" laborite Berlin in order to gain a foothold in that city.

On February 22, 1939, the American fascists were meeting in Madison Square Garden for the same reason—but under totally different circumstances.

Whereas Goebbels had encountered little resistance in his invasion of Berlin, the Bundists, Coughlinites and Silver Shirts were met by a formidable mass of angry and aroused workers.

Read Call to Action

The more than fifty thousand workers who scared the wits out of the fascist scum that February night had come in answer to a stirring appeal.

The man who had penned that rousing call to action was Max Shachtman. This appeal was reprinted by the million in the New York Daily News which was staggered by the boldness and incisiveness of the call.

It was Shachtman who stood at the head of the aroused thousands of anti-fascist workers, personally conducting the series of attempts to surround the garden so that the fascist rabble could not enter.

It was he who, marching in the front lines, defied the indiscriminate brutality of more than seventeen hundred heavily armed police called out to protect the fascist rally by "liberal" Mayor LaGuardia.

In Freedom's Cause

This is the man who for twenty years has dedicated himself to the struggle for mankind's liberation.

A Letter -

A PLEDGE TO KEEP ON FIGHTING

Dear Editor,

I would like to extend my most heartfelt sympathy in this hour. When I heard of the murder of Leon Trotsky there came to my mind a part of a song I heard at a funeral of a worker some time ago:

Heart that was brave in Freedom's holy train,
Striving to break the master's cruel chain;

Here by your grave, we pledge ourselves anew

Never to rest until your dreams come true!

Fraternally,

Placencia, Calif., Aug. 26 H.S.

This is Max Shachtman, young but veteran organizer, editor, orator and warrior in the cause of Socialist emancipation.

Max Shachtman entered the revolutionary movement at the age of fifteen, in 1921.

Lenin was still alive and Trotsky headed the beleaguered but victorious Red Army.

Three years earlier, the Russian Revolution had established the first workers state in history.

Shachtman, then enrolled at City College, was caught up in the rising tide of revolution and early in 1921 foresook the class room for the class struggle.

Animated by the spirit of revolutionary devotion and sacrifice, he launched a career that has never deviated from its course: the proletarian revolution.

(To Be Continued)

Draft Bill—

(Continued from page 2)

employees that State and Municipal employees be treated in a similar fashion (apparently Congress has no power to legislate because State and Municipal workers are not engaged in interstate commerce).

Jobs May Hold

Draftees drawn from private industry, after their term of service, in addition to being "still qualified", shall be returned to their former jobs "unless the employer's circumstances have so changed as to make it im-

It'll Help

WASHINGTON—Speaking on the Burke-Wadsworth military training bill, Senator Wheeler declared in the Senate early this week, "This proposal (conscription) is offered by people who fear radicalism, but if it passes it will create more radicalism in six months than has ever been created in a similar length of time."

possible or unreasonable to do so." The employees retain their seniority, insurance, and other rights. Once re-employed, they "shall not be discharged from such positions without cause within one year after such restoration." If the employer does not rehire the ex-soldier, the U.S. district attorney or comparable official, "if reasonably satisfied that the person so applying is entitled to such benefits shall appear and act as attorney for such person (the ex-soldier) . . ." If the attorney is successful, the employer will have to rehire the man and pay him the wages lost during the "adjustment period." No other punishment seems to be provided for the "unlawful act" of the employer. Jobs made vacant through the draft are not to be filled by "any person who is a member of the Communist Party in the German American Bund."

Industry, too, is "conscripted." The President, through the Secretary of War or Navy, in addition to the present facilities, is empowered to place orders with corporations, companies, etc., for military equipment and other supplies at a "reasonable price." Preference must be given to government orders. If a firm does not "cooperate," its plants, machinery, etc. can be taken over and operated by the USA at a "fair and just" compensation determined by the Secretary of War or Navy. The firm or its responsible executive may receive a maximum punishment of \$50,000 fine and three years imprisonment. Probably the fine may be paid from the proceeds of the "fair and just compensation."

Leon Trotsky on Reformism and Fascism

In terms of world economy, Europe is on the downward trend. Already the forehead of Europe is plastered beyond removal with American labels: the Dawes plan, the Young Plan, Hoover's moratorium. Europe is placed thoroughly on American rations.

The decay of capitalism results in social and cultural decomposition. The road is barred for further methodical differentiation within the nation, for the further growth of the proletariat at the expense of the diminution of intermediate classes. Further prolongation of the crisis can bring in its trail only the pauperization of the petty bourgeoisie and the transformation of ever increasing groups of workers into the lumpenproletariat. In its most acute form, it is this threat that grips advanced capitalist Germany by the throat.

The Role and Fate of Reformism

The rotten portion of putrefying capitalist Europe is the social democratic bureaucracy. It entered upon its historical journey under the banner of Marx and Engels. For its goal it placed the overthrow of the rule of the bourgeoisie. The powerful upsurge of capitalism caught it up and dragged it in its wake. In the name of reform, the social democracy betrayed the revolution, at first by its actions and later by its very words. Kautsky, forsooth, for a long time still defended the phraseology of revolution, making it serve as a handmaiden to the requirements of reformism. Bernstein, on the contrary, demanded the renunciation of revolution: for capitalism was entering the period of peaceful development without crises, and without wars. A paragon of prophets! Apparently, between Kautsky and Bernstein there was an irreconcilable divergence. Actually, however, they symmetrically complemented one another as the right and left boots on the feet of reformism.

The war came. The social democracy supported the war in the name of future prosperity. Instead of prosperity decay set in. Then the problem resolved itself no longer in concluding from the inadequacy of capitalism the inevitability of revolution; nor was it one of reconciling the workers with capitalism by means of reforms. The new policies of the social democracy now consisted in making society safe for the bourgeoisie at the cost of sacrificing reforms.

But even this was not the last stage of degeneracy. The present crisis that is convulsing capitalism obliged the social democracy to sacrifice the fruits achieved after protracted economic and political struggles and thus to reduce the German workers to the plane of existence of their fathers, grandfathers and great-grandfathers. There is no historical spectacle more tragic and at the same time more repulsive than the fetid disintegration of reformism amid the wreckage of all its conquests and hopes. The theater is rabid in its straining for modernism. Let it stake more often Hauptmann's "The Weavers": this most modern of modern dramas. But the director of the theater must not forget to reserve the dress circle for the leaders of the social democracy.

Fascism Enters the Historical Scene

Incidentally, however, these leaders are in no mood for the theater: they have reached the utmost limits of their adaptability. There is a level beneath which the working class of Germany cannot drop willingly nor for any length of time. Moreover, the bourgeois regime, fighting for its existence, is in no mood to recognize the level. The emergency decrees of Brüning are only the beginning, only feelers to get the lay of the land. Brüning's regime rests upon the cowardly and perfidious support of the social democratic bureaucracy which in its turn depends upon the sullen, half-hearted support of a section of the proletariat. The system based on bureaucratic decrees is unstable, unreliable, temporary. Capitalism requires another, more decisive policy. The support of the social democracy with its one eye ever cocked on its own workers, is not only insufficient for its purposes, but has already become irksome. The period of half-way measures has passed. In order to try to find a way out, the bourgeoisie must absolutely rid itself of the pressure exerted by the workers' organizations, these must needs be eliminated, destroyed, utterly crushed.

At this juncture, the historic role of Fascism begins. It sets on its feet those classes that are immediately above the proletariat and who are ever in dread of being forced down into its ranks; it organizes and militarizes them at the expense of finance capital, under the cover of the official government, and it directs them to the extirpation of proletarian organizations, from the most revolutionary to the most conservative.

Fascism is not merely a system of reprisals, of brutal force, and of police terror. Fascism is a particular governmental system based on the uprooting of all elements of proletarian democracy within bourgeois society. The task of Fascism lies not only in destroying the Communist advance guard but in holding the entire class in a state of forced disunity. To this end the physical annihilation of the most revolutionary section of the workers does not suffice. It is also necessary to smash all independent and voluntary organizations, to demolish all the defensive bulwarks of the proletariat, and to uproot whatever has been achieved during three quarters of a century by the social democracy and the trade unions. For in the last analysis, the Communist party also bases itself on these achievements.

—From WHAT NEXT?, written by Leon Trotsky in 1932, pages 10 to 13.

ALP Tiff—

(Continued from page 1)

Who can hardly wait for the day when American boys are given their rifles in the defense of American and English "democracy," asked the cops to go to work on Connolly and his supporters. Connolly was booted out of the hall, and in the melee five Stalinists were clubbed, and several fist fights went their normal course. All of it accomplished in a fine spirit of hysteria and patriotism.

Roosevelt Nominated

The object of the meeting was to get Roosevelt nominated in order to snare for him, through the ALP, as many labor votes as possible. The ALP controls a couple of hundred thousand votes. The Antonini-Rose crew therefore put Roosevelt and Wallace into nomination. The Stalinists, playing safe, did not nominate Browder, but moved that the ALP support no candidate. A few random SPers spoke up for Thomas, and made something like an anti-war declaration. The SPers, caught between the two groups, protested meekly against the undemocratic procedure.

In the vote, the Roosevelt motion got 442, the Stalinist motion got 234, and Thomas motion got 11.

The Two Groups

No political resolutions were presented. These are expected to come before the ALP meeting scheduled to meet in New York on September 28. But the direction and purpose of things was quite clear. On the one side, a group of war-mongers determined to get the workers of this country into the war on the side of Britain at all costs. On the other side, a group which has an equal disregard of the needs and desires of the workers, determined to champion the interests of Kremlin foreign policy.

Hillman and Roosevelt were, no doubt, the unseen operators behind the ALP State Committee meeting. Their whole scheme is to use the ALP as a vote-catching device for Roosevelt, and, if necessary, toss it into the ash-can immediately after the elections.

It doesn't look as though anything like a real, independent labor candidate will emerge from the ALP this year. Unless something unforeseen happens at the State Convention, all the candidates are going to be tied to the boss political machines.

The way to an independent labor party does not lie through the Stalinist or Roosevelt machine. Such an independent labor party still remains a crying need.

Yes, the Workers Day IS Coming

LONDON, Sept. 14 (AP)—Shouting "The workers' day is coming yet", thirty men and women entered the Hotel Savoy's "swank" subterranean restaurant and air-raid shelter tonight and demanded they be allowed to remain during an alarm.

They said they were all from Stepeny Poplar and Aldgate in London's East End, describing themselves as refugees, most of whom had lost their homes and were without shelter.

After they had stayed in the hotel until the all-clear signal, police, who had inspected their identity cards, escorted them—again shouting "the workers' day is coming yet"—to a near-by shelter.

(N. Y. Times Sept. 15)

Editorials

OUR PROGRAM AGAINST THE WAR

1. Not a man, not a cent for Wall Street's war. All war funds to the unemployed.
2. For a rising scale of wages to meet increasing cost of living. Thirty Thirty—\$30 weekly minimum wage—30-hour weekly maximum for all workers.
3. Expropriate the Sixty Families. For Government ownership and workers control of all war industries—aviation, steel, chemicals, railroads, public utilities, etc.
4. Against both imperialist war camps. For the Third Camp of World Labor and the Colonial Peoples.
5. Let the people vote on war. For the right of youth to vote at the age of 18.
6. Abolish secret diplomacy. Open the files of the State Department.
7. Withdraw all armed forces from territory outside the United States. Free the colonies. Hands off Latin America.
8. Against compulsory military training and conscription.
9. For the defense of civil liberties and workers' rights. Stop the persecution of aliens. Against the M-Day Plans and war-time dictatorship.
10. For full social, economic and political equality for Negroes. End discrimination against Negroes in industry and trade unions.
11. For an independent Labor Party.
12. For Workers' Defense Guards against Fascist and vigilante attacks.
13. No confidence in the Roosevelt government. For a workers' government and a people's army.
14. For Peace through Socialism. For the Socialist United States of the Americas, for the Socialist United States of Europe, and for the World Socialist Federation.

Why France Fell

The National Manufacturers Association and other employer groups have discovered why France fell. The NAM is using billboard advertising in California to give all who can read the answer to this question. This big manufacturer's association says that France was not prepared to fight Hitler effectively because her strength, vigor and morale were sapped during the period of the Peoples Front and the Blum government. It was the labor laws, the 40 hour week and the vacations with pay that weakened France. This is the story of the NAM and other boss groups.

The inference, of course, is that the United States should be duly warned by the plight of poor France. New Deal labor legislation should be revoked. The Wager Act, the Wages and Hours Act, old age pensions, social security and the Walsh-Healy Act should be repealed. Working hours should be lengthened, strikes should be forbidden and the workers should wait until the war is over to ask for wage increases. If these things aren't done the United States will be weakened, morale will be lowered, "our people" will grow soft and the country will be forced to capitulate to Hitler.

This Lie,

—this monstrous fraud of the bosses has been peddled all over the U. S. The daily papers have carried it in editorial columns, the stooges of the rich have uttered it on the radio, in the pulpit and the classroom. They have conspired to put this lie over because it is part of their plan to guarantee for themselves unlimited profits from war orders.

They prate about culture, freedom and democracy. But they don't give a damn for culture, freedom, or democracy if these things don't yield a profit. They say they want to preserve the "American Way of Life." But the "American Way of Life" for them is union breaking, scab herding, bread lines for the millions and lynching, while they draw huge dividends and fat salaries.

We shed no tears over the defeat of the ruling class of France: the 200 families and their parliamentary representatives. Like the 60 families in the U. S. it is bound by class ties to the gang for which Hitler acts. Threatened by the workers of Germany, France or the United States, they will all unite in common class cause.

We want to see every national ruling class, including our own, replaced by the working class. That section of the working class to which we belong fights for **A WORKERS' GOVERNMENT, FOR SOCIALISM, FOR THE SOCIALIST UNITED STATES OF THE AMERICAS, FOR THE WORLD SOCIALIST FEDERATION.** This is

Our Main Task

—our historic mission as workers. We too were against the Popular Front.

Not because it weakened France; this is bunk. The leaders of the Popular Front were not the masters of France. Under the guidance of the Stalinists, the Popular Front played around with half way measures; stopped at a half way house. The Stalinists, shouting, "all power to Daladier," and the Socialist Party's Blum, vote chasing and hanging on to the coat tails of Herriot, betrayed the revolutionary workers of France and paved the road for Hitler.

These leaders softened the class struggle in France, stifled the upsurge of the French workers and sold them down the river. They left the French ruling class in possession of the factories, railroads, banks, mills and mines. They led the workers in disorderly retreat right at the time when the proletariat of France was in the mood to take over. These workers would have fought against Hitler too—just as the workers of every country must fight against Hitler. Not under the banner of the ruling class and in the wars waged by the imperialists, but under the banner of the working class on its way to a workers' government and Socialism.

This then is the tragedy of France and this alone: the defeat of the French working class.

Herein is a lesson for the workers in the United States and every capitalist country in the world to learn, and learn it thoroughly. Organize, and fight! Carry the class struggle through to its end! Our fight today is against our own ruling class. **OUR MAIN ENEMY IS WITHIN OUR OWN COUNTRY.**

The Union's Job

George Scalise, one time president of the Building Service Employees International Union (AFL) has been tried and convicted in a capitalist court for forgery and stealing from his union. The jury said that Scalise had stolen \$2,857 from the union and falsified union records by causing false statements of his expense account to be entered.

We are not especially interested in Scalise's conviction. If he had been found not guilty this would make no particular difference. The fact, if it is a fact, that Scalise stole a couple of thousand dollars or falsified the union records is not the important factor in this case.

What is important is the fact that whether guilty or not from a technical legal standpoint, Scalise is a union racketeer. He is a type of scoundrel that had no business in any leading capacity in the labor movement. He might have been found not guilty by the capitalist court jury. This would not have destroyed our charge that Scalise is a racketeer, an anti-union person, a shyster, a real labor faker.

We don't say these things because the court found Scalise guilty. We don't have confidence in the capitalist courts. They have been known to find innocent workers guilty and to set guilty bosses free. We don't have any confidence in Dewey's so-called union clean-up. We have known district attorney's to frame innocent workers.

Enough of the actual record and union operations of Scalise have been revealed to substantiate our charge that he had no business in the labor movement. This is what we are interested in. We are further concerned with the fact that the union and the AFL did nothing to rid the union of Scalise. Bill Green, other Building Service international officials and the membership permitted this racketeer to stay at the head of the union and carry on his anti-union racketeering activities.

The workers in the union and the AFL leaders let this thing go until the capitalist court stepped in to halt Scalise. This is perhaps alright with Green since he has called on the police and the FBI to clean the racketeers from the unions.

Scalise was tried by the wrong court. He should have been tried, convicted and ousted by the members in the union which he headed. All other union racketeers must be tried by this same court. The unions cannot afford to turn this job over to the capitalist courts. This is asking our enemies to build our unions for us. They can have no interest in this and when they pretend to, their actions are a fraud and a fake.

For Labor Action—Join the Workers Party

The Second Article by Max Shachtman

The Murder of Leon Trotsky

(Continued from page 1)

the Chief of Police of Mexico City on September 3, 1940, based on an extensive interview with Jackson, in which he demonstrates that Jackson's claims, in so far as they relate to connections with Belgium, are utterly false.

Jackson claimed to have been born in Teheran, capital of Iran (Persia), while his father was Belgian minister to that country. Loridan showed that Belgian records revealed no such person on the diplomatic or consular lists in any country whatsoever, and that Belgium's minister to Persia from 1904 to 1908 was M. Marc t'Serstevens, replaced in 1908 by M. Haventh.

Jackson claimed that his brother was "secretary of the consulate" in Belgium's foreign representations.

Not a Belgian, No Knowledge of Belgium

Jackson claimed to have studied in the Faculty of Sciences of the University of Brussels. Loridan, who studied in the same institution, asked Jackson to give the names of any of the professors. Jackson was unable to mention a single one!

Jackson claimed to have started and concluded the courses of the Military School in the little Flemish town of Dixmude. But there is no military school there! Furthermore, although the discipline is extremely strict in Belgian (as in all other) military schools, Jackson claims to have obtained permission to follow the courses at the University of Brussels—130 kilometers from Dixmude.

Jackson claimed to have studied in the Brussels Jesuit college of "St. Ignatius Loyola." But there is no such college in Belgium, and his indication of its alleged address was denied by Loridan.

Jackson claimed that his mother lived for some time at No. 1 of the "Chaussee de Havre" (there is no such place in Brussels, although there is a "Chaussee de Wavre"); at that number on the Chaussee de Wavre there is a big department store known to all the inhabitants of Brussels!

Loridan pointed out, finally, that Jackson did not know a single word of Flemish, although he claims to have studied in the Flemish town of Dixmude, where, apt linguist that he is, he could not help picking up a bit, at least, of the Flemish language.

"There is enough," concludes Loridan about his interview, "to demonstrate that he is not a Belgian and that he has no knowledge whatever of Belgium."

What possible purpose could Jackson have had, then, in creating such a completely false identity for himself? And to do it from the very beginnings of his connections with the Trotskyist movement? Can there be any reasonable answer save the one that he was covering up his real identity as an agent of the GPU?

His Passport Cut, Out of GPU Cloth

THIRD: Jackson claims that he obtained his passport and the money for his trip to Mexico from a member of the Bureau of the Fourth International. He does not know his name or pseudonym; he does not even know his nationality. In the first place, the Fourth International is notoriously poor, as Jackson himself acknowledges in the letter which the police found on his person. In the second place, he, who claims to have been passionately devoted to the cause of the Fourth International, never thought of returning the sum of money he got from the Bureau member when he finally succeeded in getting several thousand dollars for the same trip—from Europe to America—from his "mother." In the third place, the passport was Canadian, made out in the name of Frank Jackson.

Whoever is even slightly acquainted with the meager financial and technical resources of the Fourth International, understands how impossible it would be for it to provide anyone with a false passport. But, apart from private and lucrative forged-passport rings, there is one which is notoriously active in this field, namely, the GPU! It is no secret that the GPU has at its disposal any number of passports from any number of countries, and that it has the technical equipment to "fix them up" for purposes such as Jackson's or ones similar to it.

And finally, there is reason to believe that the Canadian "original" of Frank Jackson was not a stranger either to the Stalinist movement itself or to Stalinist enterprises. It would not be surprising to learn, for example, that the aforementioned "original" is no longer living and that he turned over his genuine passport (later adapted to Jackson's use) to the Stalinist commissars in charge of his activities in the country where he died, not so long ago. Even more than the letter found on his person, Jackson's passport—we freely predict—will prove clearly his connections with the GPU.

Why Did He Burn His Papers?

FOURTH: Jackson claims to have been engaged in a job which—from the standpoint of his crime—was more or less innocent. That is, as employee or assistant of a secret purchasing agent for the Allied governments in the United States and Mexico, he was working at a job which, under the given conditions, could scarcely be thought of as being related to an attempt to assassinate Leon Trotsky.

But—he does not have a single document to prove that he was engaged in this work. He does not men-

tion the name of his alleged employer or his whereabouts, although as a "revolutionist" he could hardly have any special interest in covering him up. The place which he gave originally as his business address in Mexico City has been proved to be fraudulent. And most decisive of all, Jackson took special care to burn every one of his papers just before he went out to Coyoacan to murder Trotsky, that is, all the papers that might have proved his point if he really had been working for an Allied purchasing agent and not as agent of the GPU. Why did he burn his papers? To protect a patriotic Allied business man, or the GPU? It is not hard to choose the true answer.

His Address—The Address of the Siqueiros Conspiracy

FIFTH and most significant: On the evening of August 30, in the hospital room of Sylvia Ageloff, there occurred the second, and this time a most dramatic and sensational, confrontation with Jackson, in the presence of Judge Carranca Trujillo and other Mexican authorities. The judge first verified the fact, stated by Sylvia and admitted by Jackson, that in New York he had given her his Mexican business address as the Ermita Building in the Tacubaya section of Mexico City. Suddenly the judge turned to Jackson and asked: "Did you know that this was the address of the Siqueiros conspiracy?"

David Alfaro Siqueiros, prominent Mexican Stalinist, is the main and self-acknowledged leader of the machine-gun assault upon Trotsky's house on last May 24, which ended with the tragic kidnapping and murder of one of Trotsky's guards, Sheldon Harte. From his hiding place somewhere in Mexico, he, or someone else in his name, sent a communication to the Chief of Police and to the Mexican press after Trotsky was assassinated, in which he again boasted of the fact that he had led the May 24 attack. *The Ermita Building was the organizing center of the Siqueiros raid!*

To the judge's question, Jackson made only a stupid, or rather a mocking reply. He did not know Siqueiros; had no connection with the May 24 affair, and the fact that he had given Sylvia the address of the Ermita Building—of all the buildings in Mexico City, a city he was visiting for the first time in his life—was "pure chance"! "I gave her the first address that came to my mind," said Jackson coolly. And that address, the "first to come to my mind" and given by "pure chance", just "happened" to be the same as that used by the GPU in organizing the first attempt on Trotsky's life!

His Reason for Covering Up the GPU

Did Jackson expect his fantastic reply to be taken seriously? Of course not! Nobody did—least of all the judge—nor did he could he imagine that anybody would. Then why this impudent and transparent falsehood? The answer is simple: Jackson does not care whether his story is believed or not. He knows perfectly well, as we pointed out last week, that regardless of what kind of story he tells, whether obviously false or even if completely true, his personal fate is sealed. Regardless of what kind of story he tells, the judicial verdict will hardly change by a hair's breadth. All he does care about is not to make any statement or admission which would directly implicate his real masters, the GPU.

And why does he so unwaveringly cover up the GPU? In the first place, so far as he himself is concerned, he has little to gain by inculpating the Stalinist murder syndicate. In the second place, it is pretty clear that the GPU has some formidable hold upon him, at least as strong as its hold on the pathetically wretched defendants in the Moscow Trials, at least strong enough to impose silence upon him.

What is this power that the Moscow assassins have over him? One can only conjecture, for the present. Is it simply that he is a poisoned fanatic? Or do they hold in their hands some dire menace to someone he really loves, someone, say, like his mother for whom he has expressed his intimacies, in the past year or more, a positively impassioned affection, an attachment very much like a fixation? We repeat, one can only conjecture.

Stalin Must Be Brought to Account

However that may be, the real murderers cannot be concealed, no matter how stolid and nimble Jackson may continue to be. The GPU murdered Leon Trotsky as surely as if its hands and not Jackson's wielded the brutal mactock. That is to say, Stalin murdered Leon Trotsky as surely as if his hand had struck the blow.

Stalin—that means steel, that means today the poison-tipped steel of the brute-killer.

Joseph Stalin, skulking, perfidious, cowardly assassin, striking down an adversary who was his opposite in every respect—in honor, in nobility, in integrity, in culture, in selfless devotion to the cause—and striking him down characteristically from behind, it is from this hideous and most sinister of all figures that the working class will yet demand an accounting when it brings him to his last judgment.

Be Sure to Get the Sept. Issue of the New Int'l

—THE NEGRO'S FIGHT

Stand Together, Fight For Jobs—That's the Way

By J. R. JOHNSON

In the struggle for jobs, Negroes must not lose heart by the difficulties they will meet. The thing to do is to organize. Negroes must not go begging, one by one, for a job as a special favor. That would be of small value in the great crisis. They must organize.

A vigorous, intelligent Negro can achieve wonders in this work if he follows the principles of proletarian struggle. Do not go begging to the contractor or the boss. Do not ask the Negro parson, or the white parson for that matter, to say a word for the Negroes. Let any Negro who sees the situation get together with a few of his fellow-workers and his friends, their wives and families. Call a meeting, plan the future, find out where there are jobs in the district, contact the local unions and the local political parties and demand jobs as a right, not as a favor. The ruling class expects to put five million men to work between now and this time 1941. The Negroes must get a substantial number of these, or they are lost in the difficult days that are to come.

YOU MUST BE UP AND DOING

You demand and are refused. Ask why! Write letters to the press, not very long letters, but stating, simply and clearly, what this American democracy does to the Negro people. If the press refuses to print the letter, then publish it yourselves on a leaflet and distribute it all over the town. Call other meetings. Get the local Negro population interested, and the white workers too.

You will get support only when people see that you are up and doing, and not taking the blows of American democracy lying down. Organize and fight, my Negro friends, organize and fight and fight, because tough times are ahead, and whether times are tough or not, you need to find your place among the workers.

If things look black, keep on fighting. Let every one in your town know that the Negroes are dissatisfied and are demanding their rights, above all their elementary right to a job. If you live in a district where there are members of the Workers Party, consult them. They will help, but do not wait for such help. Write to this paper and we will be glad to give such help as we can. But organize and demand some rights!

A LESSON LEARNED IN BALTIMORE

Listen to this story: some years ago, a white southerner came to live in Baltimore and was appointed a member of the school board. This prejudiced scoundrel saw the children of Baltimore, white and black, going to the same schools. No one objected. It had been like that for years. But it hurt the soul of this poisonous beast, and he began to work to change it. One by one he worked on the members of the board and brought them over to his point of view. After six years he had a majority and the board passed a law separating the white children from the black in a certain district.

The Negro parents would not accept this. They refused to send their children to school. They educated them at home as best they could. After a struggle lasting nearly two years, they won. The Jim-Crow attempt was wrecked and all the children thereafter went to school together.

IT TAKES PATIENCE AND PERSISTENCE

We can learn much from that. But for this persistent snake, the problem would never have risen at all. But patiently and with persistence he worked to introduce his reactionary ideas. We must have the same patience and persistence. If the first attempt to organize Negroes for jobs fails, try again. Win over some supporters one by one, and it won't take six years to do it.

Note next how the southerner was beaten. The people just refused to stand for it, and by holding together, after a long struggle they won. That is the spirit of organization. All together and fighting determinedly. Your wives who have to bear the burden of living on a few dollars from the relief bureau must be drawn into the struggle. They must demonstrate with you. They must write to the press, they must go with you to ask for the job.

Once more: **Tough times are ahead. Negroes must organize, or they will be battered soft. Organize now, fight for jobs in industry. You need them to live and to tie yourselves to the labor movement.**

LABOR ACTION
114 W. 14th Street
New York City

Dear Friends:

I am interested in learning more about the Workers Party and its fight against the bosses' war plans.

Name _____
Address _____
City _____

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