

## Oral Argument On Minneapolis Appeal to Be Heard On Nov. 5

Oral argument on the appeal in the Minneapolis labor "conspiracy" trial of 18 Socialist Workers Party and CIO members will be heard on November 5 in the Circuit Court of Appeals in St. Louis, the Civil Rights Defense Committee announced this week.

Attorneys Osmund Frankel of the American Civil Liberties Union and Albert Goldman will present the argument for the defense. Decision will probably be handed down several weeks after the hearing.

The defense contention is that the Smith "Gag" Act, under which the Minneapolis defendants were found guilty, is unconstitutional; the defense also contends that even if the law is constitutional, it was not applied in a constitutional manner in this case.

The latter contention is made on the grounds that there is no proof in the record of the prosecution's case that the circumstances under which the alleged conspiracy was entered into created any danger of the overthrow of the government, or the creation of insubordination in the army, as is claimed by the government. The defense attorneys contend that the "clear and present danger" doctrine applies to the Smith Law, while the government takes the contrary position.

The defense also argues that the Socialist Workers Party does not advocate violence, but simply predicts that the capitalist minority will not permit the majority to take power and will use violence to prevent the majority from doing so, and that consequently the workers should prepare to defend their right to take power.

The Civil Rights Defense Committee, official defense agency of the 18 convicted in Minneapolis, is appealing for funds to finance the appeal of the convictions, which may have to go before the U. S. Supreme Court. Funds should be sent to the Committee at 160 Fifth Avenue, New York City.

## Negroes Vote To Set Up A Militant Organization

**Detroit Conference of March-On-Washington Movement Decides To Establish A Permanent Organization to Fight Jim Crowism**

By ART PREIS

DETROIT, Sept. 27. — Taking a historic step forward in the struggle for democratic rights for the oppressed 13,000,000 Negro Americans, 63 delegated representatives of the Negro March-On-Washington Movement at a policy conference held here yesterday and today voted to establish a permanent national organization, based on a program of mass action, "to fight to abolish discrimination, segregation and Jim Crow now, before the war ends."

The militant delegates, representing local March-On-Washington Committees in New York, Chicago, St. Louis, Washington, D. C., Detroit, Flint, Mich., and Tampa, Florida and New Orleans in the Deep South, set as their immediate organizational goal the mobilization of a million Negro men and women. They drafted a provisional constitution; established a provisional national executive board of 13; worked out a broad plan for building local units and conducting immediate mass struggles on a local scale throughout the country; and set in motion machinery for a giant national convention to be convened in Chicago the week of May 1, 1943.

The planned convention, to be composed of elected representatives from the local units, will establish a permanent organization set-up, amend and ratify the constitution, elect permanent officers and determine if and when a national Negro mass march on Washington shall take place next summer.

The resolutions adopted at the conference, the discussion of the delegates and the key-note statement of A. Philip Randolph, National Director of the MOWM and head of the AFL Pullman Porters, gave strong testimony to the fact that the Negro masses place no hope in the promises of the Roosevelt administration to protect their rights and reflected the tremendous pressure from the ranks of the Negro people for militant and decisive action now in an all-out fight to win full and unconditional democratic rights for themselves right here at home.

Of decisive importance for the future growth and effectiveness of the MOWM, was the insistence of the majority of the delegates on a democratic organization, run by the membership, and with final power resting always with the rank and file.

While certain elements at the conference sought to place into the constitution provisions which would have vested almost unlimited power in the hands of the National Director, their proposals were voted down. The final draft of the provisional constitution vests highest authority in the national executive board between conventions, with the right of membership referendum, and with a representative convention to be held no less than once every two years to have final and binding authority.

### KEYNOTE ADDRESS OF A. PHILIP RANDOLPH

Randolph's key-note statement laid down the basic policies and program subsequently adopted by the conference. In general, this statement was sharp and bitter in tone, stressing the need for militant mass Negro struggle and reflecting the lack of faith of the Negro people today in achieving their rights through any means but their own organized effort in collaboration with the progressive sections of society, particularly the labor movement.

While he opened his remarks with an expression of hope "for the triumph of the United Nations," Randolph was immediately compelled to characterize, at least by implication, the true character of this war. "Unless this war sounds the death knell to the old Anglo-American empire systems which is the hapless story of exploitation for the profit and power of a monopoly capitalist economy, it will have been fought in vain." Of course, Randolph knows well that Churchill and Roosevelt are not fight-

(Continued on page 2)

## Willkie Reveals Extent Of Soviet Union Losses

By JOHN G. WRIGHT

The Stalinist campaign for the second front brings sharply to the fore one undeniable fact, namely, that the Soviet Union has been fighting alone and with its own resources throughout the fifteen months of war. The colossal costs and the ruinous consequences of this isolated struggle are now being admitted more and more openly by the Kremlin.

In this connection the statement issued by Wendell Willkie in Moscow is of especial importance. Willkie's statement was featured by Pravda, the official organ of the Russian Communist Party. Stalin's censors released it for foreign publication. This invests Willkie's statement with at least a semi-official character. The first significant item revealed through Willkie relates to the extent of Soviet military losses. Hitherto Stalin has never admitted more than two million casualties. Willkie, however, declared that:

"Five million Russians have been killed, wounded or are missing." (N. Y. Times, September 27.)

The loss of 5,000,000 men in fifteen months of warfare by far surpasses even the losses of the Czarist armies in the initial period of Russia's participation in the first World War, i.e., throughout the years of 1914 and 1915.

In point of fact, the losses admitted suffered by the Red Army exceed those of any army in history over the same period of time. Coupled with the loss of almost one-third of Soviet civilian population in the territories captured by the Nazis, the drain on Soviet man-power resulting from these staggering losses has had its effect on industry and agriculture, which now depend primarily on women and children for their operation.

"Russian women by the millions side by side with their children—some of them as young as eight and ten—are manning machines in the war factories and running the farms."

The foregoing statement of Willkie has the additional weight of an eye-witness report.

### FAMINE AND COLD

Willkie further revealed that the Soviet Union faces famine in the coming winter months: "The great fertile farm lands of Southwest Russia are largely

in Nazi hands. Food in Russia this Winter will be scarce—perhaps worse than scarce." These words imply one thing, and one thing only—FAMINE.

The Soviet people face a winter not only without food but also without fuel.

Willkie's statement makes this quite clear, for it goes on to add: "Many Russian coalfields have been conquered. Fuel will be little known this Winter in millions of Russian homes."

The shortage in clothing is acute:

"Clothing except for the army and essential war workers is nearly gone."

Without fuel and without adequate clothing those millions of Soviet workers and peasants who do escape death from starvation this winter are confronted with the prospect of literally freezing to death. And as if all this were not enough, Willkie hints, in passing, that the specter of epidemics is also hovering over the Soviet Union and that the simplest precautions cannot be taken because:

"Many vital medical supplies just don't exist."

Willkie's statement is thus (Continued on page 2)

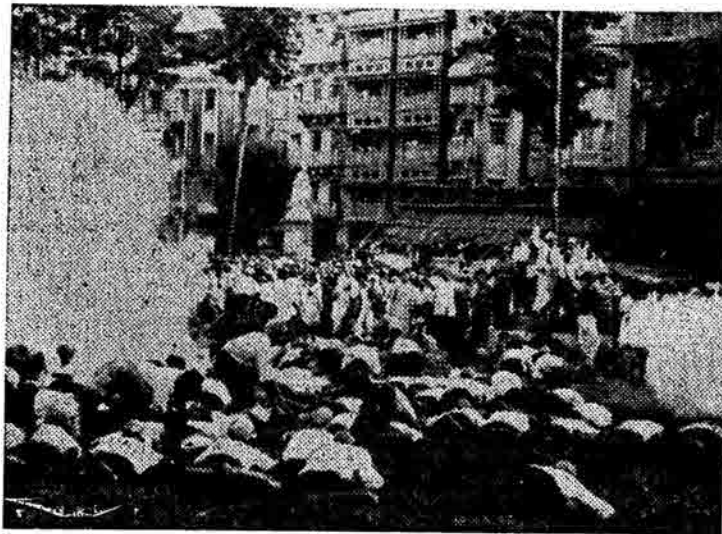
### "Democracy" In Action In Bolivia

The Bolivian ruling class—hailed by Washington as an ally in the war for "democracy"—last week followed up its attacks on the Trotskyist movement by adopting anti-Semitic legislation last week.

The Bolivian Chamber of Deputies adopted on Sept. 22 a bill to bar future immigration of Jews into the country. The Jewish people were thus added to the already existing exclusion of Negroes and Mongolians.

Last February the Bolivian authorities arrested nine members of the Workers Revolutionary Party, section of the Fourth International, on grounds that this organization had organized "cells" in the mining and other working class centers and was "planning to overthrow the government."

### British Attack Indian Masses



Police use tear gas to attack a mass meeting in Bombay, India, which was called to protest the arrest of the All-India Congress leaders and to demand that India be granted its independence. The toll of Indians murdered in the last two months is admitted by the British authorities to be at least 800. Thousands others have been wounded and arrested for asking for freedom. (Federated photo.)

See Page 4 for an editorial on India and the United States.

### Army Arbitrarily Fires Unionists In Buick Plant

**Precedent Could Be Used to Undermine All Union Activity**

The reactionary Army officer caste took a step toward military rule in industry last week, when the Air Plant Protection Office ordered the permanent black-listing of two union leaders in the Buick aluminum foundry in Flint, Michigan, on the grounds that these unionists dared to walk on a picket line.

After a short strike on August 29 called in protest against the firing of union members, who protested an Army-Management attempt to enforce a speed-up, Edmund Geiger and Marion Butler, top committeemen in the Buick Aluminum foundry, were suspended on the order of Lieutenant Colonel G. E. Strong.

### THEIR "CRIME"

The "crime" of these two union leaders, according to Lt. Col. Strong, was "to provide leadership and guidance to the picketers."

This dictatorial Army order, which in effect exiles Geiger and Butler from work in war industries, is a dangerous step toward the enforcement of military discipline in the factories. Not one leader of the UAW-CIO has uttered a word of protest against this anti-union precedent.

On the basis of such a precedent, the corporations can call in the Army to enforce a speed-up and to terrorize workers who attempt to defend the union standards. Men can be fired or disciplined by military command. This violates the rights of labor to bargain collectively, to exercise its economic power to obtain justice, and has no basis in any legal authority.

If the auto union allows such a precedent to go unchallenged, every company can utilize the dictatorial rule of labor-hating Army officers to undermine and destroy union conditions in the plants.

### ACTED AS MILITARY SECRET POLICE

The Air Plant Protection Office in Flint functioned as a military secret police, questioning and intimidating workers, and arbitrarily framing up two of the top union leaders in star-chamber fashion.

The militant unionists in Flint, who forged their union in the great sit-down battles of 1937, must demand that the UAW top leadership defend the democratic rights of the membership against military encroachments. The silence of Thomas-Reuther-Addes Frankenstein has strengthened the hand of the employers and their officer-allies against labor. Only a vigorous public protest and expose of the illegal action against the two Flint committeemen can prevent a repetition of such flagrant anti-union action.

# THE MILITANT

PUBLISHED IN THE INTERESTS OF THE WORKING PEOPLE

VOL. VI.—No. 40

NEW YORK, N. Y., SATURDAY, OCTOBER 3, 1942



FIVE (5) CENTS

## Labor Is Undefended In Congress Price Fight

### Reactionary Congressmen Try To Prevent Vote On Poll Tax

**Labor Forces Must Protest Against Threat Of Filibusters and Technical Maneuvers**

By ALBERT PARKER

After many years of efforts to pass anti-poll tax legislation, it now appears that the House of Representatives may vote this month on the Geyer bill introduced last year. There is also the possibility that the U. S. Senate may get a chance to vote on similar legislation, the Pepper bill, which also would prohibit the payment of poll taxes as a requirement for voting in all elections for federal office.

When the Geyer bill was first introduced, it was referred to the House Judiciary Committee, which is dominated by the poll taxers, and it was buried there. To bring it out of this committee for a vote by the House required the signature of 218 Representatives to a discharge petition. This number of signatures has now been secured as the result of pressure exerted by labor, Negro and liberal organizations.

Meanwhile, the Pepper bill is still bottled up in the Senate Judiciary Committee, although promises have been made by some of its members that it will soon be brought before the Senate as a whole.

But the enemies of the poll tax must be under no illusions.

The poll tax forces still intend a fight to the last ditch and they are prepared to resort to every technical trick and political device on October 12, when the bill should be called up, and thereafter.

### POLL TAX TRICKS

1. A resolution attached to the Geyer bill provides that its sponsor be recognized by the Speaker of the House directly after the formal reading of the bill. But Geyer died a year ago.

According to the National Committee to Abolish the Poll Tax: "The die-hard poll taxers may seize upon the flimsy technicality that Congressman Geyer is not present, in order to have the bill declared dead." The Committee contends that the bill should revert to regular House rules, under which any member who signed the discharge petition can call up the bill.

2. The poll taxers may launch

### 'New Leader' Story On Leon Trotsky's Assassin Refuted

THE MILITANT has been authoritatively informed from Mexico that the story of the trial of "Frank Jackson," GPU assassin of Leon Trotsky, which was printed in the Sept. 5 New Leader and picked up by Labor Action, is unfounded and false.

The New Leader article by Paul Castelar claimed that at the conclusion of a "secret Mexican trial" the assassin had been sentenced to 23 years imprisonment.

There have been no new developments in the Jackson case, according to information in the possession of THE MILITANT; the assassin's trial has not been concluded, and no verdict has been announced by the judicial authorities. An article from Mexico on the present status of the case will be printed in a coming issue of this paper.

### New Jersey SWP Plans 3 Election Radio Broadcasts

NEWARK, N. J., Sept. 28.—The Campaign Committee of George Breitman, Socialist Workers Party candidate for U. S. Senator from New Jersey, announced today that it has arranged three broadcasts on his behalf over a local radio station.

Breitman will speak on at least two of these broadcasts; arrangements are being made to have a prominent national leader of the Socialist Workers Party speak on the third.

The broadcasts will be given on Saturday, Oct. 17, 24 and 31, from 5:15 to 5:30 P. M. The station is WPAT, 930 kilocycles, which can be heard as far as New York City and Philadelphia.

Watch THE MILITANT for further details.

### Wage-Freezing Is Supported By All Congress Groups

**Farm Bloc And Administration Aim Blows at Workers**

By JOSEPH ANDREWS

SEPT. 29. — The debate in the Senate on Roosevelt's so-called anti-inflation bill developed this week into a clash between the administration supporters and the Farm Bloc. While the Senate haggled over farm prices, not one voice was raised in protest against the granting of dictatorial authority to Roosevelt to freeze wages, as embodied in the measures passed in Congress last week.

Nor was a single voice heard in Congress in defense of the real interests of the exploited farm laborers and poor farmers, whose standard of living would not be greatly affected one way or the other by the farm price bills under debate.

The difference between the Roosevelt supporters and the Farm Bloc on farm prices revolved around the point at which parity prices would be set. The Farm Bloc demanded a bill which would in effect have set farm prices at 112% of parity. The administration bill would set farm prices at 100% parity, with a provision that Roosevelt could at his discretion raise the parity figure on the basis of "increased labor costs."

Senator Reed of Kansas correctly described the debate as follows: "The difference is that which lies between Tweedledum and Tweedledee. This is a face saving contest."

That both bills would have little appreciable effect on the living standards of the poor farmers is adequately proved by the fact that even the Farm Bloc bill would increase the income of more than half of the farmers by only from \$36 to \$75 a year. The difference is important, however, to the great farm corporations to whom the higher parity prices would yield extra millions of dollars in profit.

Both bills would leave the workers unprotected against the rising cost of living, which will continue despite any Congressional laws. With wages in all probability to be pegged to the present level, workers will be at the mercy of the bootleg market, of the various loopholes in the price controls, and of the constantly deteriorating value and quality of consumers' goods.

### LABOR NEEDS OWN PARTY

The debate in Congress illustrates graphically the political weakness of the workers. Congress is divided into two main groups: those who support the large farm corporations and commercial interests, and the administration spokesmen for Big Business. Labor has no spokesmen in Congress to resist the threatening attacks on the workers' standards and the steps to regiment labor.

The labor movement needs its own party, its own Congressional representatives and its own program to defeat the efforts of the capitalist class to place the burden of the war costs on the masses.

Labor must fight to create its own party to oppose the reactionary representatives of Big Business and the Farm Bloc.

Labor must fight for a rising scale of wages to meet rising living costs.

Labor must fight for the creation of committees of unions, dirt farmers, housewives and small storekeepers to regulate and control prices.

Labor must fight for workers' control of production and expropriation of the war industries, including food, which would end the profiteering and price boosting that victimize both worker and dirt farmer.

## Grace Carlson Is Trotskyist Candidate For U. S. Senate

### Offers Socialist Program to End War and Fascism

### SWP Candidate In Minnesota



GRACE CARLSON

MINNEAPOLIS, Minn., Sept. 24. — The Minnesota Socialist Workers Party today announced the opening of its election campaign for Grace Carlson for United States Senator from Minnesota. As the party's Senatorial candidate in 1940, Comrade Carlson received 8,761 votes, more than the combined votes cast for the Socialist and Communist Parties. In the primary elections held in St. Paul in the spring of 1942, she obtained as the Socialist Workers Party candidate for Mayor, 3 per cent of the total vote cast.

In announcing her candidacy, Comrade Carlson said she still adhered firmly to the election statement she issued last February, after the United States entered the war. This statement, which attracted wide attention at that time, is reprinted on Page 4 of this issue.

### SWP PROGRAM

The major point in Carlson's election platform is the presentation to the workers and farmers of Minnesota of a socialist alternative to imperialist war and

oppression. Other points in her platform call for:

The abolition of all forms of Jim Crowism everywhere; defense of the Soviet Union, China and support of the Indian strug-

gle for independence; the organization of a fighting labor party with an independent program; defense of the right to strike; governmental expropriation of indus-

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# More Anti-Trotskyist Slanders

## Hollywood Begins Film "Justifying" The Moscow Trials

By JOSEPH HANSEN

Elsa Maxwell, widely-distributed syndicate writer of tidbits and chit-chat, reports in her September 22 column that Hollywood is preparing "one of the most remarkable motion pictures ever made," a filming of ex-Ambassador Davies' book, *Mission to Moscow*, in which it "will be proved" that Leon Trotsky was in the "pay of Adolf Hitler."

Why has Hollywood suddenly become so interested in whitewashing the Stalinist bureaucracy with its long record of murder and assassination culminating in the slaying of Leon Trotsky? Not so long ago, it will be recalled, the crimes of the Stalinist bureaucracy were grist in the mill of capitalist propaganda against the Soviet Union.

### MORAL PREPARATIONS FOR INTERVENTION

During the Stalin-Hitler pact, the allied propagandists organized a campaign of unparalleled slander and hatred against the workers' state. Editors, cartoonists, columnists, congressmen wept a daily flood of tears over "poor bleeding Finland" and the other Baltic countries. All the crimes of the Stalin bureaucracy, including the Moscow frame-up trials, were pictured as inherent in the Soviet system.

Books such as Valtin's *Out of the Night*, which revealed some of the facts in a distorted way, were mushroomed into best sellers overnight. The repentance of former "friends of the Soviet Union" and their horror of "Bolshevism" rated front page columns. Nothing was too vile to hurl at the USSR.

This tremendous propaganda campaign, which had all the earmarks of centralized organization in Washington, constituted the moral preparation to armed intervention against the USSR by the "democratic" imperialists. The second front which the imperialists demanded then was a second front directed primarily at the Soviet Union. Militarists schemed at opening this front through Finland, the Black Sea, etc. The only revolutionary voice at that time in opposition to these interventionist plans of world imperialism was the voice of Trotskyism.

When Hitler's armies attacked, however, as Trotsky had warned they would, and Stalin sought new alliances with the "democracies," Washington flashed the red light on its well-oiled propaganda machine. Valtin's *Out of the Night* disappeared back into the night. The cartoonists found other subjects. The cartoonists and sob sisters became silent about the wounds of justice and democracy in Finland. The entire press awaited the signal from Washington.

### THE NEW LINE

The new line was announced in ex-Ambassador Davies' book, *Mission to Moscow*. This semi-official production discovered a "justification" for the Moscow frame-up trials which Stalin organized in order to give a legal cover to the murder of the remaining leaders of the October revolution. At the time of the trials, Davies did not accept them at face value any more than any other politically mature person.

But now that American imperialism feels it necessary to bolster the Stalin regime against internal repercussions which might result from the catastrophic defeats it has brought to the Soviet Union, Davies has "changed his mind." He has come to the conclusion—without the slightest shred of any new "evidence"—that the trials and purges were necessary to rid the USSR of its possible "fifth column."

But Davies' book was apparently not enough. Stalin wants the "second front in 1942" which the Stalinists claim was promised by Roosevelt-Churchill. They are giving it to him—in Hollywood.

### "ARCHIVES, LETTERS AND DOCUMENTARY PROOFS"

According to the information appearing under Elsa Maxwell's name, "certain archives, letters and documentary proofs have been furnished the makers of this film which will throw an aston-

ishing light on the real part Leon Trotsky played before his death in Mexico. Trotsky will be proved to have been in the pay of Adolf Hitler; and it was Trotsky who reorganized fifth columnism in Russia from 1936 on."

These lines sound as if they had been lifted verbatim from a GPU press release. There are no "archives, letters and documentary proofs." There were none in the Moscow trials—not a single one. There were none in Davies' book. The authoritative John the Dewey Commission, that investigated the charges brought in Moscow Trials, proved conclusively that none existed and none could exist, since Trotsky's archives were open to inspection, since he had defended the Soviet Union from the time he together with Lenin led the October revolution.

The GPU has claimed, always in accordance with the necessities of Stalin's foreign policy, that Trotsky was variously in the pay of France, of Great Britain, and—as late as 1940 during the pact with Hitler—in the pay of United States imperialism. In each and every instance they promised "certain archives, letters and documentary proofs."

### THE TRUTH

The truth is that all the archives, letters and documentary proofs establish with absolute preciseness that it was Stalin who sabotaged the defense of the Soviet Union by slaughtering the Old Bolsheviks,—that it was Stalin who sabotaged the defense of the Soviet Union by killing the brilliant Tukhachevsky and the other Soviet generals in secret trials,—that it was Stalin who sabotaged the defense of the Soviet Union by murdering its leading figure, Leon Trotsky,—that it is Stalin who today sabotages the defense of the Soviet Union by licking the boots of Washington-London and refusing to carry on the revolutionary methods of Lenin—that on Stalin and Stalin alone rests the full responsibility for the terrible defeats and present plight of the workers' state.

Not all the film in Hollywood can get around these facts.

## Tory Newspaper Peddles GPU Line In Great Britain

The London *Sunday Dispatch* of August 30 features an article signed "By Our Diplomatic Correspondent" which accuses one of the British Trotskyists of spreading "radio propaganda from Germany." "A Workers Challenge" station in Germany," declares the unknown "Correspondent," sends out "Directives" to the Trotskyists in Britain.

The *Sunday Dispatch* is not an official Stalinist organ as the above article might lead one to believe. It is a reactionary Tory newspaper of the Lord Rothermere chain. Nevertheless, it is not difficult to give the real name of the "Correspondent." It is none other than Stalin's GPU.

While the Stalin-Hitler pact was in effect, a number of facts showed that the GPU and Hitler's Gestapo were in close collaboration. With his dying words, Trotsky left open the possibility that his assassin might be a "fascist."

### GPU LIES IN TWO PERIODS

Part of the work of the GPU during the period of the pact consisted in obtaining "favorable publicity" in capitalist organs. Thus they spread the slander that Trotsky was an "agent of the Dies Committee" and in the service of "Yankee imperialism."

With the shift in Stalin's foreign policy following the Nazi invasion of the Soviet Union, it was to be expected that the GPU would attempt collaboration with the spy organizations of the "democratic" imperialists. As in the previous period, part of the collaboration would consist of "favorable publicity" in the capitalist organs, particularly propaganda directed against the Trotskyists who carry the banner of the socialist revolution.

In the United States ex-Ambassador Davies provided a semi-official outlet for GPU propa-

ganda in his book. Hollywood, quite evidently on a tip off from Washington, which closely supervises the film industry, is reported to have become another outlet for the GPU slanders.

The article in the *Sunday Dispatch* shows the GPU at work in England. It attacks the Socialist Appeal, a paper that adheres to the revolutionary program of Trotskyism, as trying to "hood-wink the workers"—this in a Tory newspaper!—by opposing Stalin's version of how to fight Hitler via a second front. It mentions that "police inquiries have been going on" of the "activities of the Trotskyists in general and the 'Socialist Appeal' in particular." A typical GPU item, this bit about the police!

The article even carries the traditional GPU sentence about "Many Trotskyists of the rank and file are probably just dupes. But many of their leaders know perfectly well what they are doing, why, and for whom."

### ALSO SLANDERS ILP, POUM

The old GPU trick of dumping all enemies into one sack is also repeated for the ten thousandth time, in the usual "clever" way, by insinuating that the Independent Labor Party is likewise in the pay of Hitler.

The GPU hack who signed himself "Our Diplomatic Correspondent" followed the traditional line so closely that he was impelled to add slanders about the sister organization of the ILP, the Spanish POUM. Apparently the GPU still considers it necessary to "justify" its murder of the leaders of the POUM during the Spanish civil war.

But all the resources of the GPU and the British Tories combined will not succeed in besmirching the British Trotskyists as agents of Germany. In the last world war, the Social-Democratic predecessors of the Stalinist bureaucracy likewise slandered Lenin and Trotsky as "agents" of the Kaiser. The coming socialist revolution in England will dispose of the present GPU slanders as effectively as the October Revolution disposed of the slanders against the Bolsheviks in 1917.

## Willkie Reveals Soviet Losses

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equivalent to a semi-official admission by the Kremlin itself that the Soviet Union is heading towards complete collapse.

### WHY THE SOVIET UNION IS FIGHTING ALONE

In their agitation for the second front the Stalinists explain that the terrible price already paid by the Soviet Union is due to the fact that it has had to fight alone against the military machine and economic might of imperialist Germany. This is true. But what the Stalinists are trying to hide from the workers both inside and outside of the SU is that they themselves are solely and directly responsible for the complete isolation of the USSR.

Stalin's whole course in the conduct of the war has been based and continues to be based on his reliance upon the imperialist democracies and their "help." Apart from a trickle of material aid, there has been no help.

By limiting the defense of the Soviet Union to purely military and diplomatic measures, by underwriting the war program of Churchill and Roosevelt, Stalin has guaranteed not aid to the Red Army but, on the contrary, only its complete isolation. Continued reliance on the help of the "democratic" imperialists will intensify this isolation and means doom for the USSR.

Meanwhile, the real allies of the Soviet Union, above all the workers of Germany and of the occupied European countries, have been prevented from coming to the aid of the embattled Soviet workers and peasants. These reliable allies can be summoned to the defense of the Soviet Union through the launching of a revolutionary struggle for socialism, for the establishment of the Socialist United States of Europe.

There is no other way of rescuing the Soviet Union from its present isolation and the impending collapse. Stalin's policies and leadership have prevented precisely the issuing of this summons and the launching of this struggle.

# Shipyard Workers Union Is Now 200,000 Strong

NEW YORK, Sept. 29. — The eighth annual convention of the CIO Industrial Union of Marine and Shipbuilding Workers of America, attended by 300 delegates in New York City last week, revealed that this union has undergone a tremendous growth in the past two years.

The shipyard union, which began as a small organization composed of a few locals located in the repair yards, with little economic power on a national scale, has mushroomed in size under the impulse of the expansion in war production. The union now claims over 200,000 members, in big locals located in the shipyards on the East Coast, West Coast and the Gulf.

The leadership of the union is in the hands of John Green and Philip Van Gelder, former members of the Socialist Party, who in common with such types as Walter Reuther of the UAW, quickly forgot their radicalism. Like Reuther, Green and Van Gelder entered the union movement as "socialists" and after a short sojourn in the field of militancy, sold out their socialist principles for a career.

Two years ago these leaders were strong supporters of the extreme right-wing bloc in the CIO, the Hillman group. In company with the Reuthers in the UAW, they fought and bitterly denounced the Stalinists a year and a half ago—not from the viewpoint of progressive unionism and militancy, but because their own policy of complete subordination to the Roosevelt war program conflicted with the Stalin regime during the Hitler-Stalin pact dictated an anti-Roosevelt line.

### UNITED WITH STALINISTS AGAINST THE MILITANTS

But, as in the auto union, these leaders have now merged interests with the Stalinists behind the war machine, and are busily engaged in giving up the workers' rights at the behest of Roosevelt.

With the growth of the union,

the Stalinists have become an important influence, and in the shipyard union convention the Green-Van Gelder leadership and the Stalinists united behind a program of unqualified support to Roosevelt and his war machine—a program which if allowed to dominate the union threatens to strangle the independence and destroy the effectiveness of the organization.

Although the convention sessions lasted 5 days, and every moment was important to deal with the great problems confronting the union, the convention was jammed with speeches by government representatives such as Mayor La Guardia and Assistant Secretary of the Navy Bard, and was choked with arguments on the second front, while the important problems confronting the workers in the plants were given little time. In this way, the Stalinists and the Green-Van Gelder leadership sidetracked expression of the real needs and the real opinions of the workers.

The shipyard union, because of the key industry in which it operates, has been the butt of sharp anti-union actions by the government. It has been subjected to government-enforced discipline and regimentation.

The shipyard workers have lost premium pay for week-ends and holidays; their leaders have abandoned the strike weapon. The shipyard industry was the first in which wages were regulated by the Wage Stabilization Board, headed by another ex-Norman Thomas Socialist, Paul Porter.

The workers in the shipyards find themselves working long hours at dangerous work, deprived of premium pay for week-ends and holidays, and with no contractual provisions to meet the rising cost of living with a rising scale of wages.

None of these problems were dealt with in a serious way by the convention.

### GREEN WINS ANTI-LABOR PRAISE

Instead of defending the working conditions and standards of

the workers, the leadership of the IUMSWA concentrated on pushing the speed-up. Green lauded the labor-management committees, launched by WPB head Donald Nelson for the purpose of speeding up the workers, and demanded an increase in the production rate.

Green underlined his demands for a speed-up with the statement "And there are still some among us who think we can indulge ourselves in the luxury of pre-war unionism-as-usual. Any delay or stoppage of production can be considered as aid to our enemies." This sounded more like the statement of an anti-labor representative of the employers than the statement of a representative of the workers. It was no wonder that the labor-baiting *World Telegram* hailed Green for his "real leadership."

The convention approved the setting up of units of mechanics, Federal Defense Repairmen, who would be placed at the disposal of the government to be shipped anywhere, and in general devoted its major time and energy to patriotic resolutions and speeches which demonstrated the subservience of the leadership to Roosevelt and the war machine.

What little criticism of the administration crept out on the convention floor, was mainly concentrated on attacks against the War Production Board, which was accused of holding up production. This attack by the leaders on the WPB was mere demagoguery. The leaders' demand for representation of the problems of chaos and mismanagement in production. Labor representatives on the WPB serve only as window dressing for the dollar-a-year men who dominate that agency as well as the rest of the war machine.

That the shipyard workers are by no means satisfied with their conditions is known very well by every man who works in the yards. That there is dissatisfaction was shown by the extreme sensitivity of President Green to criticism and attack. Green revealed his fear of a militant rank and file by a ranting denunciation of the Trotskyists who have exposed his false policies, and by an attack on the newspaper, *Labor Action*, which criticized the union leadership.

### NEEDS OF THE UNION

The war, which brought about a great growth in the union as a result of the boom in the industry, has also put the union in great peril. The war government has already tied the union to the war machine, and with the leadership subservient to Roosevelt, these bonds grow tighter every day and threaten to strangle the independence of the union.

The job of the shipyard workers is to learn the lesson demonstrated by the militant rank and file of the UAW, who have not allowed their union leaders to choke opposition, and who have defended the democratic tradition of their union. If they are to successfully defend their hard-won gains, shipyard workers must go even further, and organize a militant leadership from among the rank and file who can give expression to the real needs of the workers.

Such a militant leadership would expose the Roosevelt war government, the anti-labor character of the WPB and the WLB, and wage a fight to resist encroachments by the government on the rights and independence of the union.

# Negroes Vote To Set Up A Militant Organization

(Continued from page 1)

ing to sound the "death knell" to American and British capitalism, but to preserve it.

Randolph was compelled, in fact, to attack the chief embodiment of the war aims of the Allied powers, the Atlantic Charter: "We score the Atlantic Charter as expressing a vile and hateful racism and a manifestation of the tragic and utter collapse of an old, decadent democratic political liberalism which worshipped at the shrine of a world-conquering monopoly capitalism. This system grew fat and waxed powerful off the flesh, and blood and sweat and tears of the tireless toilers of the human race and the sons and daughters of color in the underdeveloped lands of the world."

In laying down the broad policy of MOWM on the war, he declared emphatically: "We say that the Negro must fight for his democratic rights right now, for after the war it may be too late. This is our policy on the Negro and the war."

### THE KIND OF ORGANIZATION THE NEGRO PEOPLE NEED

Outlining the character of the organization to be established, Randolph pointed out that while the Negroes are highly organized in various types of religious and social groups, "nobody cares how many white clubs or churches or secret lodges Negroes establish. . . They don't seek to transform the socio-economic racial milieu. They accept and do not challenge conditions with an action program. Hence, it is apparent that the Negro needs more than organization. He needs mass organization with an action program, aggressive, bold and challenging in spirit. Such a movement is our March-On-Washington."

Stressing the need for mass organization and action, he cited with enthusiasm the present struggle of the Indian people for national liberation. As an example of the type of actions he had in mind, he stated: "We must develop a series of marches of Negroes at a given time in a hundred cities or more throughout the country, or stage a big march of a hundred thousand Negroes on Washington to put our cause into the main stream of public opinion and focus the attention of world interests. This is why India is in the news."

Randolph particularly emphasized that while the MOWM is an all-Negro organization, it does not aim to evoke an attitude of "Black Nationalism." "Our policy is that it be all-Negro, and pro-Negro but not anti-white, or anti-Semitic or anti-labor, or anti-Catholic. The reason for this is

that all oppressed people must assume the responsibility and take the initiative to free themselves. . . because Negroes build an all-Negro movement such as the March, it does not follow that our movement should not call for the collaboration of Jews, Catholics, trade unions and white liberals. . ."

### PROPOSED CONSTITUTION

The principal discussion and debate occurred today, after the conference yesterday was divided up into a number of committees to bring in reports on the constitution, program and strategy, resolutions, etc.

A great part of today's session was devoted to adoption of the provisional constitution. The debate on this brought out the keen desire of the Negro ranks for a completely democratic organization. In the course of the discussion, one young woman delegate bluntly pointed out, "We have been attacked as a one-man movement and having an undemocratic structure." This referred to the fact that up to now the MOWM has been controlled completely from the top by Randolph and a few hand-picked aides, and that no organizational structure had been established to give genuine voice to the rank and file.

On a number of important constitutional questions, the delegates asserted themselves in the interests of democracy. The constitution committee, which was appointed by Randolph as were all the other committees, brought in a proposal that the National Director "shall have power to act or decide on any emergency affecting the welfare of the organization."

### WANT DEMOCRATIC SETUP

A delegate arose immediately to demand if "this gives the director the power to call off the March?" This related to Randolph's action last summer in calling off the original March on Washington at the last moment without consultation with the rank and file.

Others took the floor to insist that the highest power in between conventions should rest in the hands of the entire executive board of 13. Randolph himself then expressed his approval of vesting the final authority in the hands of the executive board.

A further debate arose over the proposal that "this constitution may be amended by the National Executive Board, by a two-thirds majority vote."

convention. Randolph spoke of the issue and declared that "the final authority must rest in the hands of the members, either through convention or referendum."

First resolution to come before the conference this afternoon was a brief one calling for endorsement of "the fight of the United Nations."

One delegate, a woman, strongly opposed this resolution, arguing that "if we give a blanket endorsement to the way this war is being conducted, we weaken our own fight here at home." She insisted that any resolution on the war should include an analysis of the role and objectives of American and British imperialism, the question of India, Negro rights, etc. Her remarks drew strong applause.

However, Randolph pointedly insisted that it would be "unwise" to have "any reservations on support of the war." The resolution was finally adopted, although at no time during the conference was any enthusiastic support expressed for the war.

### OPPOSE STALINISM

A significant resolution was then adopted placing the MOWM on record "as opposed to any cooperation with the Communist Party or Communist Party front organizations, although this is not to be construed as an expression of opposition to Russia in her heroic fight against Hitler's Germany." The resolution also stated, however, that this did not bar members of the Communist Party from participating as individuals in the MOWM.

The discussion on this resolution brought out the efforts of the Stalinists to sabotage the MOWM, the complete distrust that the Negro masses today have of the CP, and their recognition that the Stalinists have no interest in advancing the real cause of Negro freedom.

A couple of delegates took a pure red-baiting position on the matter, arguing that if this resolution were not passed it would leave the organization open to the charge of being "red" and that the "ultimate objective of the CP is world-wide revolution." Of course, the "red" label is attached to any group which fights for its rights, and it is ancient history now that the Stalinist parties today are bitter opponents of any revolutionary movements.

The resolution was finally passed principally because the delegates desired to place on record their opposition to the Stalinists for their attacks on the MOWM and attempted

sabotage of the present Negro struggle.

The role of the Stalinists was clearly brought to the attention of the conference by the St. Louis delegates, who represent a fighting militant local group of Negroes. These delegates displayed a large scrap-book containing hundreds of news clippings about their recent mass picket lines and demonstrations, which at one big arms plant won 3,500 jobs for Negro workers recently. The scrap-book also displayed a large leaflet, printed on both sides, put out by the Communist Party, which directly attacked the picket lines and demonstrations as "disrupting the war effort."

Because of the tremendous scope of the work which had to be covered in a brief time by the conference, most of the resolutions were approved without complete reading and placed in the hands of the new executive board for final editing.

However, most of these resolutions were of an extremely progressive and militant character and undoubtedly, with some minor changes, would have been overwhelmingly approved by the conference had they been read completely.

### PROGRAM OF ACTION

An important resolution adopted covered the question of a future mass Negro March On Washington.

### Stalinist Choice Of "Best Man" In The U. S. Senate

"Best Man in the Senate: Claude Pepper of Florida" is the title of an article praising U. S. Senator Pepper in the Sept. 28 Daily Worker.

The real reason for this highly laudatory article is that Pepper has been advocating a second front. Any reactionary who calls for a second front nowadays can be sure that the Stalinists will whitewash his past.

For example, while reporting that Pepper has sponsored an anti-poll tax bill, the Stalinists hide the fact that only last year he said on the floor of the Senate:

"Whatever may be written into the Constitution, whatever may be placed on the statute books of this nation, however many soldiers may be stationed about the ballot boxes of the Southland, the colored race will not vote."

This resolution declared that "discrimination, segregation and Jim Crowism are spreading in this country and there is no visible effort on the part of the President or the Congress to recognize the Negroes as first-class citizens in this so-called democratic war," and concluded by calling upon the forthcoming national convention of the MOWM to "declare its approval of a March On Washington of Negroes from all over America for the purpose of pressing home to the President, the American people and the Congress that Negroes want their full democratic rights now, during the war."

Another resolution, titled "Mass Action," states that "the day of 'individualism' is passed and that power only resides in the masses" and places the MOWM "on record endorsing mass-action including marches on city-halls, city councils, defense plants, public utility works, picketing and sending mass letters and telegrams to the President and Congressmen and Senators to stress the will and desires of the Negro People for their rights as American citizens."

A special resolution was adopted on the attitude of the MOWM toward organized labor, which asserts that "the free trade union movement is the bulwark of democracy and is the most fundamental and constructive institution in our contemporary society—through its principles of unity of all workers regardless of race, color, religion or national origin."

The resolution then goes on to "endorse the trade union movement and bona fide collective bargaining and calls upon the AFL and CIO to abolish discrimination, segregation, Jim Crow and the color bar in all forms and collaborate with the Negro people in their struggle for equality and freedom." It further urges all Negro workers "to join trade unions that accept them and form independent unions when rejected to continue to fight to break down the color barriers and protect their economic interests against the employers."

The conference did not fail to tie in the struggles of the American Negroes with the battles of the oppressed peoples everywhere. It passed specific resolutions calling for the immediate independence of the peoples of the West Indies and India.

The resolution on India declared the conference's support for the present struggle of the Indian masses for national independence, demanded the release of the arrested nationalist leaders and an end to "the wanton murder of

the Indian masses." The resolution stated in part that "the people of India are in a desperate struggle to achieve independence and freedom now from British Imperialism" and that "the freedom of any section of people in the world is not secure so long as any other nation is in bondage."

### AN IMPORTANT STEP

There is no question but that the MOWM faces a tremendous task ahead. There are many obstacles, internal and external, which will have to be surmounted.

But the basic and immediately urgent task has been undertaken: the establishment of a nation-wide mass membership organization based on the principle of an all-out mass action program to battle for the rights of the Negro people right now, during the war, and every day.

The program laid out by the conference is brave and ambitious and sound. If the Negro masses rally around that program, make it their own, and carry it out in action with the support and aid of all the working people, they are certain to bring nearer the day of their full emancipation.

A NEW PAMPHLET!

## DEFENSE POLICY in the MINNEAPOLIS TRIAL

- 1—A Criticism by Grandizo Munis
- 2—An Answer by James P. Cannon

The policy of the defense in the historic trial of 28 members of the Socialist Workers Party and the CIO is analyzed and discussed from two points of view in this clear and illuminating polemic on Marxist principles and propaganda methods.

This pamphlet will be of especial interest to all who have read the two other Pioneer Pamphlets on the trial—James P. Cannon's "Socialism On Trial" and Albert Goldman's "In Defense of Socialism."

PIONEER PUBLISHERS  
116 UNIVERSITY PLACE  
NEW YORK

48 PAGES  
TWENTY CENTS

IN HARLEM  
**The Militant**  
is on sale at the  
southeast corner  
of 125th Street  
and Lenox Avenue



## The Negro Struggle

By Albert Parker

### Can Equality Be Won Under Capitalism?

Is it still possible for the Negro people in this country to obtain social, political and economic equality under the capitalist system? The partial answer given here represents my own views. I would be glad to print in this column other views, held by both Trotskyists and non-Trotskyists.

Unquestionably there once was a time when it would have been possible for the Negroes to get equal rights under the capitalist system. But that was many years ago when capitalism was a young and expanding system. In the youth of French capitalism Negroes were able to secure far more rights than in this country; of course, that was true chiefly in the "mother country" and not in most of the colonies, and of course practically all of these rights have been taken away in present-day totalitarian France.

United States Negroes came closest to getting equality during the period of Reconstruction that followed the Civil War. From 1865 to 1876. Even then, in the period that capitalism was strong and developing, they got these rights not in the normal process, but through a dictatorship of the federal government in the Southern States.

Eventually the capitalists of the North came to an agreement with the Southern ruling class and withdrew the federal troops, and the Southern ruling class was able to take away most of the rights won by the Negro people. But anyhow, during this period, the most democratic in American history, Negroes were able to vote, were elected to state legislative bodies and Congress, etc.

Since then things have gotten worse for the Negroes in the South — and we must understand that the Negroes in the other parts of the country will never be able to get their full rights until racial discrimination is destroyed root and branch in the South. Jim Crow and Judah Lynch came back into their own, bringing with them such devices as the poll tax, new racial segregation laws, and so on.

Jim Crow is so entrenched in the South today that nothing will wipe it out but another kind of civil war and a new kind of dictatorship, supported by the masses of the whole country.

But since the days of Reconstruction capitalism has grown old and has begun to decay. Young progressive Northern capitalism has become intertwined with the Southern ruling class. A lot of capital invested in the South belongs to Northern bankers and industrialists. Consequently the Northern capitalists are as much benefited by Southern prejudices and Jim Crow practices as the Southern ruling

class. And naturally, they are as much opposed to any change in the South as the Southern rulers — for a change there would menace their investments, profits and privileges.

Furthermore, even those capitalists who don't have investments in the South are opposed to any changes — because changes can be brought about there only by sharp class struggles, and these capitalists are afraid that such struggles in the South would soon spread to other parts of the country, and inspiring the workers everywhere would set off a wave of class struggles that might shake the whole system of capitalism to the ground.

Times have changed since the 1860's. Negroes cannot expect aid from the capitalists anywhere.

Similarly the federal government has changed. From the wielder of a dictatorship against the slaveholders in the 1860's, it has turned into what A. Philip Randolph last month aptly called the "carrier" of the "germ of race discrimination." Instead of combating vicious Jim Crow practices, as it did to a degree 70 years ago, it now tolerates and imitates and extends those practices. Instead of getting better in this respect, it is getting worse.

Twenty-five years ago, for example, Negroes were accepted into the Navy along with the whites, and while not on the basis of full equality, at least they were permitted to serve on the same ships as whites and alongside of them. In World War II Negroes can serve only in the kitchen on Navy ships; according to a recent plan announced by the Navy, they will soon be permitted to serve outside of the kitchen on some ships — but only on special, segregated ships.

Capitalism is now in its death agonies. The trend of capitalism has been the same everywhere throughout the world in the last 25 years — the destruction of all democratic rights, greater regimentation for all the workers, white and Negro. In this period — and until the working masses take things into their own hands — capitalism will fight to take back, not to grant, democratic rights.

I don't mean that it is now impossible for the Negro people to win any limited gains in their struggle against Jim Crow. That is still possible — especially if a militant policy is followed. But I do maintain capitalism is so decayed, its whole structure so depends on the maintenance of Jim Crow and racial prejudices and artificial dividing of the workers, that it can never grant full equality to the Negro people.

More on this question next week.

# Why USSR And China Are Treated As 2nd Class Allies

By ANTHONY MASSINI

The propagandists of United States and British imperialism assure the masses that one of the features of the "new" world to be created after they defeat Hitler will be the "equality of nations."

No one believes, of course, that this promise includes the defeated nations; there can be no equality for nations which are to be disarmed by other nations that are going to "police the world" for the next hundred years.

Some people, however, believe that there will there will at least be some "equality" among the victorious nations—that after the war the Soviet Union and China, for example, will be treated as the equals of United States and British imperialism.

But what reason is there for believing that this will be the case after the war when the USSR and China are looked upon as second-class allies of the imperialist democracies in the very midst of the war?

The fact is that although the United States and British governments have certain differences with each other from time to time, they are agreed that they and they alone should have the decisive word on the conduct of the war.

This flows from their understanding that the Soviet Union and China, which are not imperialist nations, have different interests than United States and British imperialism.

And it lead to their treating these non-imperialist nations as second-class allies, which are to be tolerated and even given a certain measure of material aid but are to be excluded from the determination of important policy and strategy.

### BRITISH-U. S. UNITED FRONT AGAINST THE USSR

Numerous examples of this united front of the United Nations imperialists, and their exclusion of Soviet and Chinese representatives from the important councils, have been reported in the press recently:

In his London dispatch of Sept. 16 to the N. Y. Times, Raymond Daniell revealed that "the American representatives who accompanied the British Prime Minister to Moscow (for his talks with Stalin) were in complete accord with him in rejecting the Soviet pleas for immediate intervention in Europe."

"What apparently surprised the Soviet Premier and his advisers most was that the American members of the delegation to Moscow were in such complete agreement on every military point at issue. Yet that was the purpose of the visit here (London) early in the summer of General George C. Marshall, Harry L. Hopkins, Admiral Ernest J.

### Propaganda About "Equality of Nations" After War Is Disproved by Attitude to Non-Imperialist Nations In Midst of War

King and others sent by President Roosevelt to work out a common strategy. Mr. Churchill's visit to Moscow had been decided upon even then, and the importance of presenting a united front at the Kremlin was recognized."

Anglo-American policy is worked out first—then a united front is presented to the second-class allies. This is how the "equality of nations" works in practice!

But while Stalin and Chiang Kai-shek are "surprised" by this practice, they do not themselves openly protest against it. The protests come from their unofficial agents.

### "APPALLING LACK OF COLLABORATION"

Thus the Stalinist Worker of Sept. 13 featured a long whine by its Washington correspondent, Adam Lapin, entitled "Needed: More Stress on 'United' In United Nations War Council." Complaining about the "appalling lack of collaboration between the United Nations which is still to be found on every side in the capital," he points out:

"There are now about a score of various international joint boards of all kinds concerned with war problems in Washington."

"But practically all of the important joint bodies are still bilateral. They are still confined to the United States and Great Britain."

"The simple bald fact is that there is not a single committee or board of any kind here which includes representatives of all four of the most important United Nations: The United States, the Soviet Union, Great Britain and China."

"The top body in the hierarchy of Anglo-American boards here is the Combined Chiefs of Staff which has the job of planning joint military strategy and coordinating the war efforts of the two countries including the production and distribution of war supplies."

"The official War Department release announcing the creation of this body said that there would be consultation with representatives of other United Nations, but only on 'matters concerning their national interest'... there has been consultation with Soviet and Chinese military representatives only on rare and infrequent occasions."

"Next in importance is the Combined Munitions Assignment Board which is the top planning body for Lend-Lease aid. It determines the allocation of Lend-Lease supplies to the other United Nations in line with the broad strategic decisions of the Combined Chiefs of Staff."

"This board, too, is Anglo-American. There are no Chinese or Soviet representatives."

And Lapin lists still other boards where the same conditions prevail: the Combined Production and Resources Board, the Combined Raw Material Board, the Combined Shipping Adjustment Board and the Combined Food Board.

### CHINA'S DISSATISFACTION

China is also eminently dissatisfied with this situation. THE MILITANT of Sept. 5 has already reported the warnings of Lin Yutang, unofficial spokesman for the Chinese government, that:

"Any Allied strategy affecting China's vital interests must be planned in consultation with China... China must be let into the mysterious secrets of the 'Allied grand strategy'... Chiang Kai-shek must not be kept guessing what the Allied strategists are or are not going to do."

In the August 29 issue of The Progressive, Lin Yutang pointed out that it is only a "purely ceremonial sense" that today China and the other United Nations, except England and America, are permitted to attend the Pacific War Council in Washington.

Chinese dissatisfaction has also been expressed in the recent recall of Dr. Hu Shih from the Chinese Embassy in Washington. Hu Shih is said to have been "very popular" (and very much ignored) in Washington circles.

### STALINIST EXPLANATIONS

While complaining about this situation, the Stalinists try to explain it away in a typically cowardly, bootlicking manner. Lapin's Sept. 13 article in The Worker says the present situation exists because "the Russians and Chinese are still considered second class Allies by some influential representatives of big business in the production sector, particularly by many of our high-ranking military men."

And what about Roosevelt? "President Roosevelt is said to be aware of the problems, but according to informed officials he has not acted vigorously enough to cut through red tape and obstruction," says Lapin.

Few people acquainted with the facts will be taken in by the Stalinist version of Roosevelt as a "sincere" but dull-witted person who doesn't even know how to act "vigorously enough" to accomplish what he wants. He certainly acted vigorously enough in sending Marshall and his staff to London last summer to work out the united front with British imperialism on all the important military questions.

The truth—which the Stalin-

ists, despite their occasional complaints, want to hide—is that United States and British imperialism know exactly what they are fighting for, and how to act to get what they want.

### THE IMPERIALIST AIMS

They want, not the equality of nations after the war, but the supremacy of United States and British imperialism—or of United States imperialism alone. This is shown by the way their military and economic boards are set up.

The fact that they may suffer a little during the war in the form of some inefficiency and lack of military coordination of forces is an overhead charge they gladly pay to achieve what they are after.

It is of course possible that if this situation becomes too scandalous or if there is a good deal of protest against it, that some apparent concessions may be made; the U. S.-British united front may be presented a little less brazenly, Chinese and Soviet representatives may be given seats on the various boards.

But that won't and can't materially change the situation which arises out of the deep contradictions between the leading "United Nations."

They are all fighting a common military foe, but that doesn't eliminate the fact that the Soviet Union wishes to retain its nationalized economy while the democratic, like the fascist, imperialists want to open the USSR to capitalist exploitation, or the fact that China wants to be a free nation while the democratic, like the fascist, imperialists want to fix its status as that of a servile and subdued colony or semi-colony.

It is these differences which determine the basic policy not only of the revolutionary party, but also of the imperialists.

It is the demonstration of these differences which discloses the ugly face of imperialism behind the mask of democracy.

**WHY we Defend The Soviet Union**

By ALBERT GOLDMAN  
Pioneer Publishers  
116 University Place  
New York City

## The Question Of The Second Front

By M. Morrison

The discussion and campaign centering around the second front does not get much space in THE MILITANT. And for the good and sufficient reason that a revolutionary Marxist paper need not take a position on the question. Better yet, its position on the second front flows from its position on the war as a whole. Since it considers the war as imperialist in character and does not support it, it becomes unnecessary to take a position on any particular military proposal connected with the war.

Only they who support the war can get excited and take sides on the question of the second front.

The masses of workers in England and in this country who support the campaign for a second front do so not only because they support the democratic imperialists in their war against Hitler but because they are deeply anxious about the fate of the Soviet Union. They want to save the Soviet Union by means of the second front and they see in the refusal of the imperialist democracies to launch one at the present time, evidence of the contention that the capitalists are not interested in the fate of the Soviet Union. It is because of this feeling on the part of the workers with reference to the question of a second front that it is worth while for us to discuss the matter.

From the assertion that a revolutionary Marxist party can under no circumstances demand a second front the conclusion should not be drawn that the Soviet Union as such is not permitted to demand that its imperialist allies immediately launch a second front. If the Soviet Union is perfectly justified (and it is) in entering into a military alliance with one capitalist state against another, then it follows that it is justified in demanding military help from its capitalist ally in any and all forms.

On the other hand it is impermissible for a revolutionary party to support any imperialist ally of the Soviet Union and from this follows the impermissibility of demanding or supporting a particular military tactic or venture for the imperialist ally.

Without opposing the military alliance between the Soviet Union and an imperialist country, it is necessary to teach the workers that the imperialist ally cannot be relied on and is in fact a treacherous ally. Under no condition should we place any confidence in the imperialist ally of the Soviet Union. The failure of the capitalist ally to take certain necessary steps to help the Soviet Union constitutes concrete evidence to be utilized for the purpose of showing that the imperialist ally cannot be relied on and that it is essential to replace the capitalist government with a socialist government to assure real help to the Soviet Union.

The Stalinist leaders advocate support of and reliance on the imperialist allies of the Soviet Union. They demand help from those allies and attribute the failure to furnish such help to individuals in the government hostile to the Soviet Union. Revolutionary Marxists, basing themselves on the fundamental antagonism between every imperialist government and the Soviet Union, warn the workers of the treachery that can be expected from the imperialist ally.

The question of the second front can and should be used by us to illustrate our thesis that the capitalist allies of the Soviet Union cannot be relied on to defend the Soviet Union and furnish another reason why the masses should struggle to establish a socialist government.

A word of caution is necessary regarding the utilization of the second front question to show the treachery of the imperialist allies

of the Soviet Union. Instead of arguing that England and the United States are in a position to launch a second front, but do not want to do so because they want to see the Soviet Union defeated, we should rather emphasize the point that a socialist government in the United States and in England would take the greatest risks imaginable in order to help defend the Soviet Union.

It is quite obvious that when Hitler first launched his attack on the Soviet Union the prevailing sentiment and hope in the capitalist ruling circles of England and the United States was to see both the German and Soviet armies exhaust themselves in the struggle, thus assuring victory for England and the United States both as against German imperialism and the Soviet Union. Hitler's conquests in the Soviet Union have made these circles quite anxious. They are no longer afraid of Stalin but they are afraid of Hitler.

There is at present plausibility to the contention that, if they could, the imperialists would launch a second front. Their failure to do so springs primarily from their fear that they are insufficiently prepared. At any rate, to take the flat position that the imperialists are militarily able to launch a second front but are unwilling to do so, can lead only to an inconclusive argument. We are on far better ground if we emphasize the point that a socialist government would take almost any risk to save the Soviet Union while the imperialist governments will assume no risks except to protect their own interests.

The hue and cry of the Stalinist leaders for a second front has two fundamental purposes. One, to exert pressure on the imperialist governments to launch one and thus relieve the military pressure on the Red Army. In this purpose they will fail because the imperialist governments will not be high-pressure into a venture merely for the purpose of relieving the pressure on the Red Army. A second fundamental reason is to prepare an alibi both for a possible complete defeat of the Soviet Union or for a possible Vichy peace.

The Kremlin is no longer reticent about letting the world know its attitude towards its imperialist allies on the question of a second front. On the other hand, Churchill and Roosevelt, through the capitalist press, are preparing their alibis. On both sides it is a question of preparing in advance excuses and justifications for any possible eventualities. As against the imperialists, revolutionary Marxists will utilize the second front issue to show the necessity of establishing a workers' government in order to assure the defense of the Soviet Union and to struggle against and defeat fascism.

As against the Stalinist bureaucracy revolutionary Marxists will utilize the second front issue to show that the heroism and devotion of the Soviet masses have failed to achieve victory because of the policies pursued by the Stalinist leadership, of which its attitude on the second front is one expression.

The policy of Stalin is to reject an alliance with the working masses to achieve the socialist revolution but to depend on the imperialist allies of the Soviet Union. As a "practical" person Stalin has tied the fate of the Soviet Union, or better, the fate of the Stalinist bureaucracy, to the democratic imperialist governments. The second front is only one incident showing how utterly futile is this "practical" attitude. The only force that can save the Soviet Union is represented by the working masses taking power into their own hands. To utilize that force it is necessary for the Soviet masses to overthrow the Stalinist bureaucracy.

## An Instructive Discussion On The Mpls. Defense Policy

DEFENSE POLICY IN THE MINNEAPOLIS TRIAL. A Criticism by Grandizo Munis and an Answer by James P. Cannon. Pioneer Publishers, 116 University Place, New York City. 64 pages. 20 cents.

"On July 15, 1941, an indictment prepared by the United States Department of Justice was handed down by a federal grand jury in St. Paul, Minnesota, against 29 members of the Socialist Workers Party and Motor Transport Workers Local 644-CIO. It had been preceded by raids on the branch offices of the party in St. Paul and Minneapolis, in which large quantities of literature had been carted off by the FBI. The indictment was on two counts: (1) conspiracy to overthrow the government by force and violence—the statute involved was adopted in 1861 against the slaveholders' rebellion; (2) conspiracy to advocate such overthrow and to incite disaffection in the armed forces, being a violation of the Smith 'Gag' Law of 1940.

"The trial opened in Minneapolis October 27 and lasted five weeks. The jury was out 58 hours. All defendants were acquitted on the first count. Eighteen defendants, including the outstanding leaders of the Socialist Workers Party, were convicted on the second count. On December 8—the day the United States declared war—twelve defendants were given 16-month prison sentences and six were sentenced to terms of a year and a day. At present all are out on bail while the convictions are being appealed to the higher courts."

The above paragraphs from the "Introductory Note" of Pioneer Publishers' new pamphlet outline the main happenings of the first United States trial of working class opponents to World War II. For better comprehension of the issues discussed by Grandizo Munis and James P. Cannon, however, the interested reader should first read *Socialism on Trial and In Defense of Socialism*, the former containing the cross-examination of Cannon and the latter the summary of defense attorney Albert Goldman, both taken verbatim from the official court records and released by Pioneer Publishers (10c. each). The pamphlet under review constitutes a companion to the other two, essential to a well rounded understanding of their message.

Despite the clear-cut character of the issues in-

involved in the Minneapolis Trial, there were some who contended that the defendants had not presented the Marxist viewpoint on imperialist war in the traditional manner. Among others, Grandizo Munis very sharply criticized the policy that was followed by the defendants.

### Criticism From the Left

"For moments," he declares, "they border on a renunciation of principles." "I find no more reason for their attitude in the trial than considerations that it would be a 'useful maneuver'."

Munis is a well-known figure in the ranks of the Fourth International. He fought in the ranks of the Loyalist armies against Franco, was imprisoned by agents of the GPU, barely escaped with his life when the Spanish revolution was crushed, is still hounded in Mexico by Stalinist gangsters. His criticism naturally deserves the most serious consideration.

His policy was wrong, Munis believes, because in the first place it led the defendants to give what he considers to be an incorrect impression of Marxist opposition to the imperialist war. "It seems that we are platonic opponents of the war and that we limit ourselves to statements and propaganda, written or verbal, without action of any kind." Particularly on the question of just what this "action" should consist, Munis is emphatic: "... the defendants saw themselves forced to condemn sabotage in general, as though it dealt with something criminal." The prosecuting attorney, it will be recalled, attempted to show that the Socialist Workers Party believed in sabotage as a means of opposing imperialist war.

Comrade Munis holds in the second place that on the question of violence in the transition from capitalism to socialism the defendants should not have explained that they simply predicted violence would be initiated by the outlived capitalist minority, but on the contrary should have advocated before the jury that the American workers "respond to the daily violence of the bourgeoisie with majority and organized violence of the poor masses."

### The Marxist Method in Action

"Not the abstract, dead, inanimate, but the concrete." Of this remark of Hegel's, Lenin jotted

in his notebook: "Characteristic! Spirit and essence of the dialectic!" It is this method of analysis which Comrade Cannon follows in his answer to Munis! "Our critics talk in terms of trials in general and principles in general, which, it would appear, are always to be formulated and explained to the workers in general in precisely the same way. We, on the contrary, dealt with a specific trial and attempted to explain ourselves to the workers as they are in the United States in the year 1941. Thus we clash with our critics at the very point of departure—the analysis, the method."

"We shall begin," continues Cannon, "by first setting forth the concrete environmental circumstances in which our party functioned in the United States at the time of the trial and the specific tasks and propaganda techniques which, in our opinion, were thereby imposed. Then we shall proceed to submit our position, as well as that of our critics, to the criterion which must be decisive for all of us: the expressions of the Marxist teachers on the application of the points of principle under discussion."

Far from being ripe for a call to revolutionary action—aside from the question as to what kind of "action" is revolutionary—the American working class does not even know the "real meaning of socialism." It has not yet even resorted to independent political action of any type, "but remains in its political activity an appendage of the Roosevelt political party." From this concrete political situation it follows that "the task was to get a hearing for our ideas from the forum of the trial... We had to address ourselves to the workers not in general, not as an abstraction, but as they exist in reality in the United States in the year 1941." In addition "it was not our duty to facilitate the work of the prosecuting attorney but to make it more difficult, insofar as this could be done without renouncing any principle."

On the problem of violence and the transition to socialism, Cannon quotes liberally from the Marxist authorities, beginning with Engels in 1847 and ending with Trotsky in 1940, showing that they preferred peaceful methods in making the transition from capitalist society to socialist,

but warned the workers to expect violence from the capitalist minority. Vast historical experience makes it possible to predict such violence. Thus the defendants, Cannon attempts to prove, did not violate Marxist principles in once again repeating the teachings of our authorities.

Likewise on the question of "submitting to the majority" which rangles with Munis, Cannon quotes liberally from Lenin to show that in building the Bolshevik party it was necessary to follow this policy with the greatest strictness on penalty of losing the possibility of winning the majority to the socialist program. From the verbatim report of the testimony at the trial he quotes a number of declarations showing that in following this policy, the defendants were still able to make abundantly clear their Marxist opposition to imperialist war.

Again on the question of "sabotage," Cannon shows at considerable length that our basic programmatic documents reject sabotage as an independent weapon of struggle. This question is of especial importance to American socialists, since the violent character of the class struggle in this country coupled with the political immaturity of the radical movements in the past, still creates grave danger that revolutionaries can once more stumble into this pitfall.

In the final section of his answer, countering ultra-left formulas that would openly call for violence on the part of the masses, Comrade Cannon offers an extremely instructive analysis of the use of defensive formulations in the organization of action. "Defensive formulations retain their efficiency in all actions involving masses, from the most elementary economic strikes to the open struggle for power. Those who aspire to organize action ought to know this." Particular reference is made to the experience of the October revolution.

To anyone interested in the tactics and strategy of building the revolutionary socialist party under present conditions and in carrying on effective political opposition to imperialist war, this pamphlet is required reading. Comrade Cannon continues in his polemic the tradition of genuine Marxism.

Reviewed by Joseph Hansen

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116 UNIVERSITY PLACE

NEW YORK CITY



# THE MILITANT

Published in the interests of the  
Working People.

Vol. VI.—No. 40 Saturday, October 3, 1942

Published Weekly by  
THE MILITANT PUBLISHING ASS'N  
at 116 University Place, New York, N. Y.  
Telephone: ALgonquin 4-5547

Editor:  
GEORGE BREITMAN

THE MILITANT follows the policy of permitting its contributors to present their own views in signed articles. These views therefore do not necessarily represent the policies of THE MILITANT which are expressed in its editorials.

Subscriptions: \$2.00 per year; \$1.00 for six months.  
Foreign: \$3.00 per year, \$1.50 for six months. Single copies: 5 cents per copy in the United States; 4 cents per copy in all foreign countries. Single copies: 5 cents.

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

## 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.
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6. Workers Defense Guards against vigilante and fascist attacks.
7. An Independent Labor Party based on the Trade Unions.
8. A Workers' and Farmers' Government.

## Mediation In India

A full page ad in the Sept. 28 N. Y. Times signed by 57 college professors, writers and other luminaries ranging from Norman Thomas and Upton Sinclair to Alfred Landon and Henry Harman, former President of the Chamber of Commerce, directs an urgent appeal to President Roosevelt to undertake mediation in India now.

"Is India America's business?" they ask, and they answer as follows: "Yes, because we need India's millions on our side against Japan. They want freedom. If they can be assured of freedom, they will fight against Japan as China is fighting." And they continue: "We are in grave danger lest the disasters of Burma and Malaya be repeated in India with even more effect."

In these lines we not only have the crux of this statement but the real objective of its authors in publishing it at this time. What is decisive for them is not the unassailable justice of the age-old demands of the Indian people for freedom from the tyranny of the British Empire — what worries them is the danger that the coveted territory and resources of India may fall into the hands of another Empire... the Japanese.

India is therefore "America's business" because Churchill's policy of violent repression has failed to destroy the movement for Indian freedom. "The independence movement," the declaration correctly states, "is only beginning in full force." Most of the signatories of this statement preferred to maintain a very diplomatic silence until Churchill's strong-arm tactics proved ineffective. Presumably they were ready to go along with him if he could be successful.

Now, however, that there is a danger that the great Indian colony may be lost to Britain and... the United States, the 57 leading lights cry out that the "time for mediation is NOW."

The "business" of American imperialism in India is far from altruistic. The ravenous appetite of U. S. monopoly capitalism will not be satiated until the entire world is placed on its economic dinner table. The choice colonial morsels held by the British Empire are not excluded from the greedy desires of American imperialism. Especially now, when the British Empire is in mortal crisis and everywhere is breaking up, the American monopolists have no intention of allowing sentimental consideration to balk their opportunity of grabbing any section of the Empire they can lay their hands on.

"Mediation" in India is precisely the formula Roosevelt needs to intervene in the British colony in the interests of American imperialism. Whatever compromise these mediators work out will be to the disadvantage of British imperialism — and, for other reasons, also to the Indian people. Mediation can result either in a complete loss of India to Britain or in a sharing of the spoils with the United States. Even in the unlikely case that American troops do not have to be called out to suppress the Indian opponents of the so-called mediation award — as they were at one time against the Filipinos — India would still become an economic vassal of the U. S., subject to the most intense exploitation.

The British Empire statesmen led by Churchill oppose any such "solution" because, appreciating

the economic and financial superiority of the United States, they know they would be swept from the field in any open competition with U. S. interests. Churchill aimed his shafts directly at the possibility of any American "mediation" when he declared in the House of Commons that India was a closed question.

In order not to disturb the delicate balance of the Anglo-American alliance, Roosevelt requires weighty "justification" for open intervention in India, particularly since Churchill has declared "hands off!" So-called public pressure of the type exemplified by the N. Y. Times ad is intended to give Roosevelt the alibi he requires: the military fortunes of the United Nations are at stake in India, Britain is blundering into another disaster as in Burma and Malaya, the American public is demanding "action."

Whatever the motives of the "liberals" signing the statement, its effect will not be to aid the Indian struggle for independence. On the contrary, American "mediation" can lead only to a change of imperialist masters for the Indian people. Thus the "liberals" in their customary fashion act as the hand maidens of an imperialist power despite all their glib talk about "freedom" and "independence."

What the Indian people need is not appeals for "mediation" — there is nothing to mediate in the struggle between slave and master — but independence. What the Indian people need from the workers of this country is direct support for their struggle against British imperialism. If they can win that struggle, they will be able to defeat all other attempts to deprive them of independence.

## Labor Needs Own Press And Own Party

The recent national convention of the CIO United Auto Workers voted to "take immediate steps to establish a daily newspaper devoted to the interests of the workers." This projected paper was to be made a "cooperative venture, involving all possible support from every organized labor group in the nation."

There is no question that the labor movement and especially the CIO needs a national daily paper. The capitalist class has scores of such papers in all parts of the country, and even the Christian Scientists have had a daily paper of their own for years, while the forces of organized labor have been without the necessary weapon to answer the never-ceasing anti-labor attacks of the employers and their press.

The reasons why labor must have its own press are well known to the leaders and members of the UAW. These reasons were set forth in clear language in the resolution adopted by the convention:

Because "the privately controlled press must, of necessity, depend upon large scale advertising from powerful industrialists and manufacturers and is in most instances a large scale business employing thousands of workers."

Because "such a press must bow to the dictates whether expressed or not, of these industrialists and manufacturers in their continual campaigns against the rights of labor."

Because "the private press being itself a large scale business with its own axe to grind, has shown its eagerness to carry on the reactionary onslaughts against the workers of America."

Because "it is of the utmost importance for labor to have a paper of its own through which its problems and activities can be presented to the public, which for too long has only learned of the arguments against labor."

For these reasons labor needs its own daily press. And for the same reasons labor needs its own party.

The two major parties, Democratic and Republican, are no less controlled by "powerful industrialists and manufacturers" than are the papers in which they advertise. These parties follow the same policies as the capitalist press. If labor needs its own press to answer the lies and attacks of the Big Business press, it also needs its own political program to oppose the program of Big Business and its own candidates to oppose the political spokesmen of Big Business.

Labor has learned many lessons in the last decade. Through its own experiences it has learned that it must have powerful industrial economic organizations in order to effectively combat the bosses in industry. The UAW-CIO, through its battles with the barons of the billion-dollar automobile industry, has learned that labor cannot get along without a daily press of its own. These lessons are based on the understanding that the economic interests of the workers and the bosses are different from, and opposed to, each other.

The political interests of labor and capital are similarly different and opposite. The creation of a labor party with an independent program would mark a new stage in labor's advances, and would put the workers in a position to guard and extend their economic and organizational gains of the last ten years.

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## Grace Carlson Is Trotskyist Candidate For U. S. Senate

(Continued from page 1)

try and operation under workers' control; democratic rights for the armed forces; defense of civil liberties; opposition to Roosevelt's "wage stabilization" program, the sales tax and all other attempts to place the burden of the war program on the workers.

This is the same fighting program on which George Breitman is running as SWP candidate for United States Senator from New Jersey.

In July, 1941, Comrade Carlson was indicted together with 28 other members of the Socialist Workers Party and of Local 544-CIO of Minneapolis on charges of "seditious conspiracy" to overthrow the government by force and violence and of violating the 1940 Smith "Gag" Act.

On December 1, the jury found all of the defendants not guilty of the charge of "seditious conspiracy" and 18 of the defendants, including Grace Carlson, guilty of the charge of violating the Smith Act. A week later, on December 8, while President Roosevelt was reading his war declaration message to Congress, she was sentenced to 16 months in jail. The case is now being appealed to higher courts, and in the meantime she is out on bail.

### CAMPAIGN PLANS

Plans for the campaign include radio addresses by Comrade Carlson and other leading Minnesota comrades; election rallies in St. Paul, Minneapolis and other centers; mass distribution of special election editions of THE MILITANT and other literature explaining the party program.

Inasmuch as it is planned to enter Comrade Carlson as a sticker candidate, plans are also being made to have thousands of stickers with the name of the party and the candidate printed and distributed throughout the state. Campaign headquarters will be maintained in St. Paul at 138 East Sixth Street and in Minneapolis at 919 Marquette Avenue.

## Grace Carlson's Statement

In announcing her candidacy for the U. S. Senate from Minnesota last week, Grace Carlson said she had nothing to change in the election statement she issued last February as Socialist Workers Party candidate for Mayor of St. Paul. The statement follows:

In November 1940 I was the Socialist Workers Party candidate for U. S. Senator from Minnesota. At that time I warned that the Roosevelt administration was dragging the United States into the Second World War against the interest and will of the people.

The first plank of my 1940 platform stated: "The imperialist government of the U. S. cannot fail to drag this country into war. This will not be a war of defense, or a war for democracy or liberation; it can only be a war for markets, foreign concessions, sources of raw materials and spheres of influence. This is Wall Street's war and not ours."

Events since then have proved that this statement was 100% correct. Today I stand more firmly than ever on this position.

This war is an imperialist war. Its character is not determined by who struck the first blow. It is not determined by the good or bad will of the heads of the belligerent powers. It is rendered inevitable by the rivalries inherent in the decaying capitalist system.

I cannot and do not support this war and I intend to exercise my democratic right of presenting, now as before, the socialist alternative to capitalist slaughter and anarchy.

The employing class and the government are attempting to impose all the burdens of this war upon the working masses. The workers must resist every move and measure aimed at lowering their standards of living and destroying the social gains achieved by years of struggle. Let the rich and profiteering monopolists pay for their own war!

I am unalterably opposed to fascism, either the foreign or domestic brand. But I do not believe that the workers should entrust the task of fighting fascism to Wall Street or its government. Fascism is a product of the decaying capitalist system which they represent.

It is necessary to extend the hand of solidarity to the workers of Germany, Italy and Japan in order to arouse them against their oppressors. Only a Workers and Farmers Government in the United States can do this. Only a Workers and Farmers Government can show the way by calling for a joint struggle of the workers of all countries against capitalism.

Because I have opposed imperialist war and because I have put forth the socialist solution to the problems of war and fascism, I and 17 others have been convicted by the federal government.

I see no other way out of the bloody chaos of this capitalist system than that of international socialism. This is the only road to a world of peace, freedom and plenty for all.

I stand for international socialism; I am firmly pledged to the principles of Marx, Lenin and Trotsky.

The union of the workers will make the peace of the world. Workers of the world unite!

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## What Is The Farm Bloc?

By HOWARD ALLEN

The fight in Congress between the Farm Bloc and the Roosevelt administration over price ceilings on farm products is an important episode in the development of a national war economy.

The transformation of the peace-time capitalist economy into a war economy does not proceed smoothly. Its progress is marked by fearful dislocations and distortions of established productive methods. From these dislocations arise conflicts among sections of the capitalist class itself. The present dispute in Congress is a reflection of this process.

The remarkable strength of the Farm Bloc in both House and Senate in the face of enormous pressure from the administration forces, raises the question: Who composes the Farm Bloc and whom does it represent?

The Farm Bloc is a coalition of two clearly defined groups. First is the "Big Four" farm organizations plus a number of other farm-business groups which together represent the well-to-do farm owners, and the large-scale corporation (factory) farm interests. The second grouping is that of small business and commercial interests represented by hundreds of Chamber of Commerce organizations scattered throughout the country.

The "Big Four" comprise two types of farm organizations. The National Grange with about 800,000 members, and the Farm Bureau with about 400,000 are both non-party individual membership organizations designed primarily to influence Congress.

Both organizations have a consistent anti-labor history and a program marked by a hodge-podge of prejudices that bare their petty-capitalist soul. Their program flows from their domination by commercial, labor-employing farmers in the upper income brackets. They have few small-farmer or tenant-farmer members in their ranks; and no agricultural workers at all.

Their position is best summarized by parts of the programs of the National Grange: "Maintain the family-size farm as the standard of American agriculture and discourage large-scale or corporation farming; continue private ownership and operation of railroads; remove unnecessary restrictions from business." They opposed the Wagner Labor Act in the past just as today they wail about the "high wages labor is getting."

They also oppose "imitation dairy products, imported starches, predatory animals, stolen livestock, the Argentine Sanitary Pact, socialized medicine, block-booking of motion-pictures, lotteries and gambling, un-American activities, over-centralization of government and trading in futures."

The other two of the "Big Four" are the National Council of Farmer Cooperatives and the National Cooperative Milk Producers Association which are business organizations. They represent a substantial portion of 10,700 farmers' marketing and purchasing associations through which 1,364,402 farms reported doing business in 1940.

Both of these national organizations and their component associations are completely dominated by the self-same large scale corporation or factory farming interests to which the Farm Bureau and the Grange are programatically opposed.

In addition to the two major farm business organizations there is a host of independent livestock, wool, cotton, peach, etc., purchasing and marketing groups, all dominated by vast accumulations of agricultural capital.

### The Different Kind of Farmers

In their ranks are farm-businesses which averaged over \$200,000 of farm products sold, traded or used on their farms in 1940. In their ranks is nine-tenths of 1 per cent of all farmers who had an income equal to that of 55% of all farmers. In their ranks are the 1.6% of all the farmers who had the same farm acreage as 64% of all farmers.

The poor farmers, and the tenant farmers including the croppers, comprise the bulk of the farming population. These farmers are not represented by the Farm Bloc. 32.5% of all farms are officially classified as subsistence farms. Almost 2 million farmers had an income of only \$360 in 1940. 3.3 millions of farmers with an income from \$1 to \$749 had the same total income as 58,000 farmers with an income of \$10,000 and over in 1940.

It is clear then, that to increase farm income by 10% through increasing parity would give the one-third of all farmers about \$36 per year more. The corporation farmers would net \$20,000.

Because of their desperate conditions, the small farmers and the tenants are undoubtedly inclined to support the Farm Bloc proposals even tho these proposals offer no solution whatsoever to their basic problems. Even \$36 per year means a lot to them.

At the same time, the small farmers being heavily in debt to banks, landlords, equipment companies, etc., are not opposed to inflation since they feel that would make it possible to repay their indebtedness with cheaper money. The freezing of farm prices under present conditions would, on the other hand be disastrous to the poor farmer.

The Farm Bloc Congressmen are well aware of the perversion of democratic procedure that gives the rural population a disproportionate number of representatives at the expense of the urban workers. With the November elections close at hand, this "rotten borough" system takes on an added significance. It permits a coalition of the dominant farm organizations and the Chambers of Commerce to win majorities in Congress.

The Chambers of Commerce are supporting the Farm Bloc for several different reasons. In the first place, many of their members are corporation farmers and business men dependent upon agriculture.

The small businessmen look with horror at the ever increasing domination of the entire economy by the few financial and industrial titans. They see the entire administration filled to overflowing with dollar-a-year men from the big corporations controlled by the "Sixty Families." They are squeezed to the wall by the sheer weight of the big corporations; they are deprived of defense contracts by the dollar-a-year men; limitations on production of consumers' goods by rule and regulation of the Big Business dollar-a-year men threaten their existence.

As a result they hope to make an alliance with the Farm Bloc elements in the hope that they can turn the burden of the war-costs on the workers.