

NEXT WEEK
James P Cannon's Report to
Tenth Trotskyist Convention

THE MILITANT

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WLB ACTS TO INTIMIDATE MILITANTS

Breitman Calls For Workers' and Farmer's Gov't

NEWARK, N. J., Oct. 20—The Socialist Workers Party has something that makes it unique among all political organizations, and that is its program which alone has the answer to the great problems today facing the workers, George Breitman, S.W.P. candidate for the U.S. Senate from New Jersey, said last week over the radio as he took the Trotskyist program to the workers in the first of a series of three broadcasts.

The three problems he referred to were the protection of labor's living standards, the struggle against fascism abroad and at home, and the fight to end imperialist war. Calling for a rising scale of wages, expropriation of the war industries, the creation of an independent labor party and the establishment of a Workers' and Farmers' Government, he explained his party's program for defending labor's living standards. (A transcript of his first speech will be found on Page 2 of this issue.)

Breitman's first address intensified interest in the next two broadcasts. The candidate will speak on the problem of fascism on Oct. 24, at 5:15 P.M. James P. Cannon, National Secretary of the S.W.P., will discuss the question of imperialism the following week, Oct. 31, at the same time, over the same station, WPAT, 930 kilocycles, which can be heard from New York to Philadelphia.

STATEMENT ON OTHER CANDIDATES

In a statement issued to the press this week, Breitman reaffirmed the position of the Trotskyists on the need for labor to form its own party and run its own independent ticket.

"For a long time now," the New Jersey candidate said, "our party has advocated the creation of such a party. The developments in this campaign, the complete support of all Democrats and Republicans for wage-freezing, again emphasize the need for such a step, which most militant unionists consider long overdue."

In this connection, Breitman also commented on the current campaigns of two union leaders in local election contests: the state president of the CIO, Irving Abramson, who is running as the Democratic candidate for Congress in the Eighth District; and the president of District 4 of the CIO United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers, CIO, who

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SWP Candidates



Grace Carlson



Geo. Breitman

Labor Baiter

NEWARK, N. J. — U. S. Senator William H. Smathers, Democratic candidate who is asking to be re-elected because he stands 100% behind Roosevelt's policies, charges his Republican opponent, Albert W. Hawkes, with being "the country's No. 1 labor-baiter."

But although everyone knows Hawkes' labor record, President Roosevelt appointed him as one of the 12 members of the National War Labor Board last January.

So what does that make out of Smathers?

Since he stands 100% behind FDR's policies, it would seem at the very least that Smathers is a fellow who favors the appointment of labor-baiters, even though he is opposed to their election in his place. At any rate, no one ever heard him object to Roosevelt's appointment of Hawkes.

It looks like a case of the pot calling the kettle black.

Socialist Answer To War Given by Minn. Candidate

Carlson Radio Talks To Reach Thousands In Industrial Areas

MINNEAPOLIS, Minn., Oct. 19—Arrangements were completed last week by the Socialist Workers Party campaign committee, which is running Grace Carlson as its candidate for U. S. Senator from Minnesota, for state-wide distribution of election literature stating the Trotskyist program against war and fascism.

In a press release from campaign headquarters in Minneapolis last week, Grace Carlson stated, "I have entered the Senatorial race in order to present the socialist alternative to the present system of imperialist war and fascist totalitarianism. None of the other Senatorial candidates is able to offer a solution to the problems created by an outworn capitalist system which produces a world war in every generation."

("For A Socialist World," a statement by Grace Carlson, will be found on Page 2 of this issue.)

Radio Speeches

The Trotskyist candidate will make her first public campaign speech on October 25 at 3:30 P.M. at the Twin City Sunday Forum, 919 Marquette Ave., Minneapolis at 3:30 p. m. The subject of her speech will be, "The Socialist Road to Enduring Peace." Leaflets announcing this campaign rally have been distributed throughout the working class neighborhoods of St. Paul and Minneapolis.

Plans have been completed for a 15 minute radio address by the candidate on Station WLOL. The broadcast will take place on Wednesday, Oct. 28, from 10:15 to 10:30 p. m. The candidate will also be heard over Station WDSM in Duluth and Station KWLW in Willmar, both at the same time, Friday, Oct. 30, 10:15 to 10:30 p. m. Duluth is the center of the iron ore and Great Lakes shipping and shipbuilding industries where thousands of industrial workers are concentrated. Willmar is in the heart of the agricultural region of western Minnesota where the militant Farm Holiday strikes of 1933-35 took place.

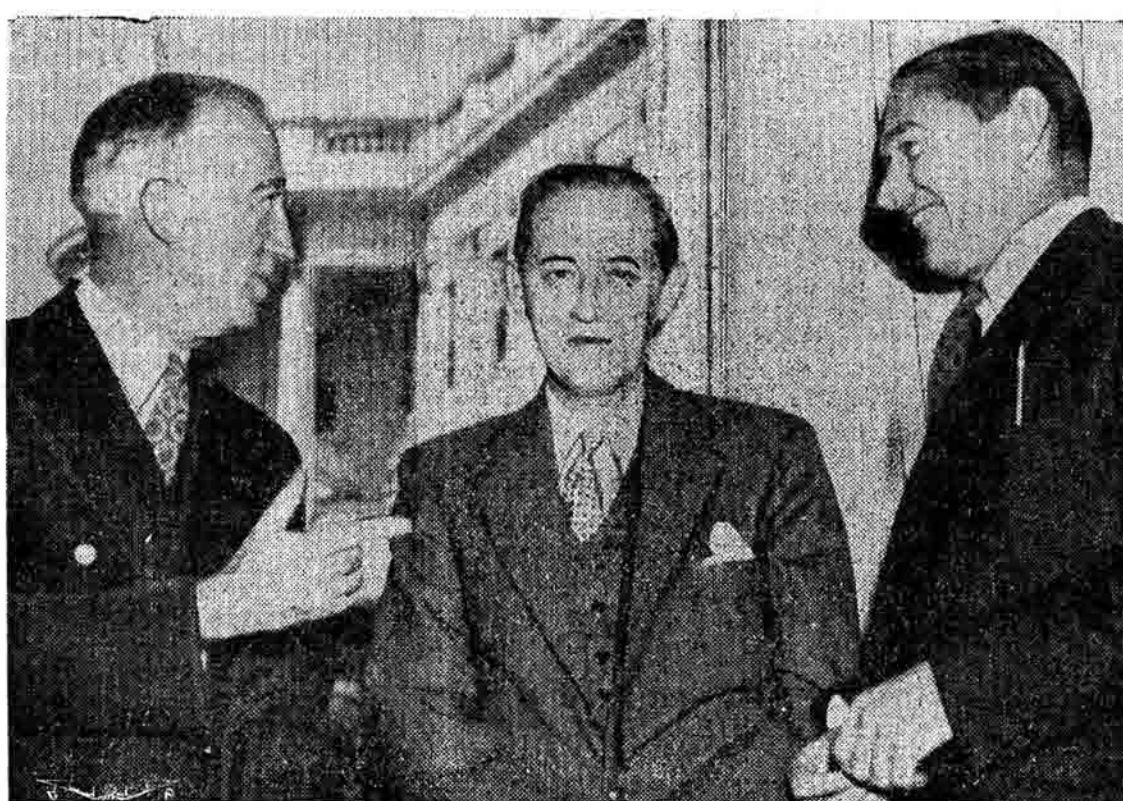
Thousands of copies of a special election edition of THE MILITANT will be distributed throughout the state during the campaign. Because she is forced to run as a sticker candidate, thousands of stickers printed with the name of Grace Carlson for U. S. Senator have been prepared for distribution.

Stalinist Role

With the complete breakdown of the Farmer-Labor movement in this state, widespread interest is being aroused by Carlson's campaign, the only one being run on a working class program. The Stalinists in control of the remnants of the once powerful Farmer-Labor Association, have even ceased to use the Farmer-Labor label in campaigning for their candidate for United States Senator, Elmer Benson. They fear that a campaign for Benson under the Farmer-Labor label might assist in the election of the Farmer-Labor candidate for Governor, Hjalmar Peterson, whom they have denounced as an "appeaser" because of the former isolationist position he (and they too) took.

The activities of the Stalinists in the political as well as the trade union movement of the state are aimed at the re-election of Harold Stassen, Republican candidate for Governor. Peterson, on the other hand, is reported to be receiving support from the "isolationist" section of the Minn. Republican Party which is at odds with the Stassen-Ball-Wilkie group. The Communist Party has not entered a candidate for United States Senator but is conducting a paper campaign for the Stalinist candidate for governor.

Discuss Wage Freezing Plans



Photographed for the first time in his new office at the White House, James F. Byrnes (at left) is shown conferring with Harry Hopkins and deputy war shipping administrator Lewis Douglas. Byrnes' new job as economic dictator is to hold the workers' incomes down while Congress lowers their living standards by the most drastic tax program in history.

Flint Auto Workers Win Fight Against Jim Crow

Union and March-on-Washington Get Production Jobs for Negro Unionists

By JEFF THORNE

FLINT, Mich., Oct. 19—Auto workers of Chevrolet Plant 3, most militant union group in Flint General Motors plants, took another big step forward last week in winning production jobs and 15 cent hourly increases for all Negro janitors except three or four who did not want to change jobs.

The decisive factor in this victory was militant mass action mapped out by the Negroes organized in the United Auto Workers, CIO, in support of the union negotiators. It is significant that the recently organized Flint branch of the March-on-Washington Movement was centered mainly in that plant and its action actually forced the management to capitulate to the union demands.

In weeks and weeks of union negotiations the corporation stalled on all sorts of false and empty pretenses, through many heated meetings. Then the March-on-Washington group arranged

for a mass march on the main office, with all the Negro supporters they could muster in the city. This same group had earlier held mass meetings of as many as 200 and 300 Negroes from this area, and Chevrolet management knew of its influence and power.

BOSSSES' TACTICS

Management heard of the mass action plan in advance and tried to stall it off by personal calls on some of the leaders and promises of speedy settlement "as soon as we can hire new janitors, but we just can't find them now." The leaders were not fooled and stuck to their plans, whereupon the management capitulated entirely and immediately. Back pay of the 15 cent raise was promised for all the lost weeks of the negotiations, since the corporation had violated a previous agreement by placing white men with less seniority than the veteran Negro janitors.

This clear example of victory through militant methods, as a supplement to union membership,

Negro Paper Lauds 'Fourth Internat'l' Article on India

An editorial on India in the Oct. 10 Pittsburgh Courier calls attention to 'the brilliant analysis by Felix Morrow in Fourth International for September' which "revealed the full infamy of the conspiracy on the part of the press and propaganda agencies against the movement for Indian freedom."

"Mr. Morrow makes clear that the Cripps' account of what caused the rejection of his proposals was a complete fabrication prepared after the conferences with Indian leaders had been concluded and disseminated to build up American opinion favorable to British repressions."

is winning favor to the March-on-Washington Movement, not only in Chevrolet plants but throughout the city, and the leaders anticipate growth of the movement here into a mass organization to deal promptly with all such racial discrimination cases.

Labor Board Wants To Coerce Officers Of Local Unions

WLB, With Labor Members Concurring, Orders Its Agents to Check on the Relation of Local Leaders to Strikes

By Joseph Andrews

The War Labor Board took a new step against the independence of the trade unions last week, ordering Board officials to reach down into every local union and by intimidation force union officials to submit to the strikebreaking governmental machine.

In a three-point program unanimously adopted by the WLB on October 17, all mediation panels and investigators are directed to investigate and report on the conduct of trade union officials whose unions go on strike. The program states:

"In any case in which the workers are organized and represented by a local union, the report of the mediation panel or investigator shall include full information as to the relation of the local officers to the strike and their efforts locally and in cooperation with the international officers to prevent its occurrence."

It is well known that in many of the strikes since the outbreak of the war local union officials have supported the workers. Those union leaders closest to the rank and file have more than once either given open support to the strikers, or have refused to repudiate the strikers.

The WLB program is directed especially against such local union leaders. It is intended to force them to toe the mark along with the top union officials in attacking workers who dare to go out on the picket line in defense of their living standards.

WHAT PLAN WOULD DO

Under this plan, local union officers will be subjected to intimidation by being publicly forced to state their attitude toward

each strike. The newspapers will be drawn into the campaign, giving headlines to every anti-strike statement thus extorted from local union officials. The power of the government will make itself felt in every local union and will impress itself on every union executive board member and officer. The WLB will pointedly call to the attention of the international union officials any case in which a local union official refuses to repudiate his striking fellow-workers.

This plan to coerce local union officials is part of a rapidly developing campaign by Roosevelt to convert the union movement into a harmless appendage of the government.

The no-strike agreement was the first step toward the subservience of the top union officials to the government. Without the strike weapon, the unions were forced to attempt to adjust grievances and achieve their demands almost entirely through the government mediation machinery.

Since the no-strike agreement the main function of the top union leaders has been to police and curb the rank and file, and to sell Roosevelt's "sacrifice" program to the workers.

Roosevelt, with the cooperation of his flunkies in labor's ranks, is thus attempting to pervert the union movement into an institution to defend and uphold the anti-labor program of the war machine.

In order to complete the process of tying the union movement to the government, it is necessary for the administration to attempt to hogtie the entire apparatus of the unions from top to bottom. The Murrys and the Greens are already under Roosevelt's wing. The problem is the secondary leadership in the local unions.

LABOR LEADERS' ROLE

The WLB reports that this program was adopted unanimously. That would mean that the labor members of the WLB voted for this anti-labor program.

As this WLB program illustrates, the greatest danger now facing the trade union movement is the government campaign to reduce the unions to tools of the capitalist state.

The American workers, now organized 11 million strong into powerful unions, must guard their organizations against such subjugation. They are now under attack as never before.

To defend the workers' standards, complete union independence from government control is necessary.

EDITOR'S NOTE

As we go to press we learn of the passage of the monstrous 9 billion dollar tax bill by Congress.

Next week's issue of THE MILITANT will carry an analysis of this latest attack on the living standards of all workers.

Not First Time Breitman Has Opposed Smathers and Hawkes

NEWARK, N. J. — This is not the first time that George Breitman, Socialist Workers Party candidate for the U. S. Senate, has been found fighting against the anti-labor program and activities of William H. Smathers and Albert W. Hawkes, representatives of the Democratic and Republican nominees in the current Senatorial election campaign.

In 1936 Breitman was one of the leading figures in the Trenton Siege staged by New Jersey unemployed organizations. For nine days the jobless workers "took over" the meeting place in the State House of the New Jersey Legislature, in protest against the failure of that body to pass adequate relief legislation.

Breitman, who later recorded this demonstration in a popular pamphlet called "The Trenton Siege by the Army of Unemployment," acted the part of the Assembly Clerk in the "mock assembly" staged by the unemployed, reading the various resolutions satirizing the contemptible role of the politicians who refused to do anything about the relief crisis.

Smathers was at that time one of the State Senators in the New Jersey Legislature, a flunkie for the Hague machine. Like the other legislators, he was temporarily "evicted" from his seat by the action of the unemployed.

In 1937 Breitman was active in helping the strikers at the Congoleum-Nairn plant in Bloomfield. The owner of the plant hired labor thugs to smash the strike, and Breitman was active not only on the picket-line, but also in the efforts of the strikers to secure relief.

The owner of the plant, later national president of the Chamber of Commerce, was Hawkes, then as now a die-hard Republican reactionary.

First Anniversary Of The Minneapolis Trial

Prosecution Was One of Government's First Steps Toward Regimentation of Labor Movement

By FELIX MORROW

One year ago, on October 27, 1941, the famous Minneapolis "sedition" trial began. Since then, according to the Civil Rights Defense Committee which took charge of the defense, over 150 central labor bodies and local unions representing over one million organized workers have passed resolutions of support and contributed financially to the defense.

The Dept. of Justice sent Asst. Att'y-General Schweinhaut to conduct the case against the 28 members of the Socialist Workers Party and Local 544-CIO. In the light of the events of the past year we can see why. This blow against the Socialist Workers Party and a local union led by SWP members was, in reality, one of the first steps toward the systematic governmental regimentation of American labor, which is now unfolding in all its vicious implications.

The immediate cause of the trial was the fight between Local 544 and Daniel J. Tobin, President of the AFL Teamsters International. When the local seceded and accepted a CIO charter, Tobin ran to Roosevelt for help; he got it; the prosecution was designed to head off the local union, to intimidate the Minneapolis truckdrivers and force them to return to Tobin's International.

But the fight between Tobin and Local 544 was itself caused by the war situation. Tobin had fought the Local 544 leaders in 1934, denouncing the militant strikes they conducted, and had expelled the local from his International. But when he failed to have his way, he accepted the local back into the International in 1936. He managed to live in the same International with the Trotskyist leaders of Minneapolis during the intervening years.

Effect Of The War

As the war drew close, however, Tobin and all the other top bureaucrats in the unions began to feel more and more the pressure of the capitalist class and its government. Above all for the war, the bosses want housebroken unions which do not fight for the interests of the workers. Prohibition of strikes, wage-freezing, rising prices, were coming. To put these over on the workers, it was necessary to intimidate the workers, scare them away from militant leaders. It is only in the light of these aims of the bosses and their labor lieutenants that one can understand why Tobin, in June 1941, found it no longer possible to permit

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An Economic Program For Labor In Wartime

The following broadcast by George Breitman, Socialist Workers Party candidate for U. S. Senator from New Jersey, was delivered over Station WPAT, 930 kilocycles, on Saturday, Oct. 17, from 5:15 to 5:30 P. M. Giving the answer of the Trotskyists to the problem of protecting labor's living standards in wartime, it was the first of a series of three broadcasts arranged on behalf of Breitman's candidacy.

The three great problems today facing the people of New Jersey and the United States are: how to protect labor's living standards; how to destroy fascism abroad and prevent the rise of fascism at home; and how to put an end to the cycle of imperialist wars that engulfs the world every generation.

The Socialist Workers Party, on whose behalf I am speaking this afternoon, is as yet a comparatively small and unknown party. It does not have many members, it has very little money, the daily press does not see fit to give it much publicity. Nevertheless, it has something which makes it unique among all political organizations and assures it a glorious future as the party of the American working class, and that is its program, which alone gives the correct answer to the three great problems I have referred to. I am the Socialist Workers Party candidate for the U. S. Senate because we want to acquaint the majority of the American people

with this program and to win their support for it.

But before labor can formulate a program for the protection of its living standards in the present period, it must first understand who is trying to undermine those standards, and how they are going about it.

Different Interests

It is easy to show that in peacetime the Sixty Families who control most of American industry, the monopolists who amass huge fortunes out of the toil of the people, and the representatives of Big Business in the government, have interests which are different from and opposite to the interests of the working people. The workers have recognized this difference in economic interests by organizing powerful trade unions to defend themselves against the assaults of the ruling capitalist class.

But what is not so well understood is that in wartime the economic interests of capital and of labor remain as they were in peacetime, different and opposite. While many workers do not recognize this, the employers do, and they act accordingly. Although the employers talk a lot about the need for "national unity," they themselves have not discontinued their century-old war against the American working class. Indeed, it is no exaggeration to say that the war which the employers are waging against labor at home is far more vigorous and effective, thus far, than the one they are conducting abroad.

The wartime economic program of Big Business can be briefly stated in two points: Point 1 is to coin as much profit out of the war as possible.

Last year corporation profits, after the deduction of taxes and reserve funds, reached a total of 7.2 billion dollars. This was more than the corporation profits made during either of the war years of 1917-1918, and was equal to the all-time

high profits made in the boom year of 1929. All figures indicate, furthermore, that profits for 1942 will be even greater than in 1941. In addition, the government has provided for Big Business, virtually as gifts, new plants and equipment worth more than 13 billion dollars. It is plain, then, that Big Business has been eminently successful in achieving Point 1 of its program.

Put War Burden On Masses

Point 2 of the Big Business program is to place the burden of the war costs on the backs of the working people, that is, to make the workers pay the costs of the war from which Big Business is making the hugest profits in history.

To do this requires the reduction of the masses' living standards to the lowest possible point. On several occasions Leon Henderson has expressed the hopes and wishes of Big Business by predicting that by next year the people's living standards will be reduced to the level of 1932, the lowest point in the Hoover depression.

Big Business and its government agents have unleashed a wave of propaganda about "necessity for sacrifice" and "equality of sacrifice," calculated to persuade the working people to give up their social and economic gains won in the last ten years of struggle. How fraudulent this talk about "equality of sacrifice" is can be shown by the fact that the employers want the workers to get along on the starvation standards of 1932 while Big Business makes profits bigger than it made in 1929!

Roosevelt's Order

Last month President Roosevelt moved into action to help Big Business achieve the second part of its program, which cannot be achieved by propaganda alone. His Labor Day ultimatum to Congress resulted in his October 3 executive order.

That executive order was presented in

the guise of a program to stabilize the people's living standards. Actually it will have the opposite effect, it will lay the basis for the sharpest possible attack on the people's living standards.

That October 3 order was the strongest blow struck at labor in the history of this country. First of all, it froze wages at the September 15 levels, which even according to government figures are inadequate to maintain the average family in health and decency. Secondly, it appointed as economic dictator the former poll tax Senator, James F. Byrnes, who has a long and notorious record as a tool of Big Business and an enemy of labor. Thirdly, it sharply restricted — in effect suspended — the right of trade unions to negotiate a single cent's wage increase without the approval of Director Byrnes.

The purpose of all this was not to stabilize living standards, but to handcuff labor and to freeze its income so that it will be unable to escape the consequences of the next step in the attack on labor's living standards — the stiffest taxation program in American history. If you read the papers and see what is going on in Congress today, you know that such a tax program is already being voted on.

That, in brief, is the wartime economic program of Big Business. That program is openly supported by both major parties, Republican and Democratic, and their candidates for office, and more or less openly by the official labor leaders and the Communist Party.

Our Program

As for the Socialist Workers Party, commonly referred to as the Trotskyists, we openly call on the workers to resist this program with every means at their disposal. Against this program, based on the interests of the capitalist class, we pose our own program, based on the interests of the working class, and advocate the following:

1. A RISING SCALE OF WAGES TO

MEET THE RISING COST OF LIVING. President Roosevelt promises that his price-freezing program will stabilize the cost of living. But that is only a promise, and we have no confidence in that promise when no other capitalist government in the world today has been able to fulfill it. Regardless of what happens to his program, we are in favor of raising wages by 1 per cent every time the workers' living costs go up 1 per cent, whether that rise in costs is due to concealed price rises, or to tax rises, or for any other reason.

2. THE REGULATION AND CONTROL OF PRICES BY DEMOCRATICALLY-ELECTED COMMITTEES OF THE CONSUMERS. The only way to control prices in the interests of the masses is through the organized action and vigilance of the great majority of the people who are affected by price rises. Such consumers' committees to run the price control program would really be interested in preventing price-chiseling, hidden deterioration of quality, unfair rationing and the operation of a bootleg market — or black market as they call it in Europe — which diverts from the regular sales places the commodities of which there are shortages and sells them at criminally high prices on an illegal market. The people would be able to depend on such price-control committees, because they would be committees of the people themselves, elected by the unions, housewives, poor farmers and small store-keepers and subject to recall if they did not do their job properly.

3. THE EXPROPRIATION OF THE WAR INDUSTRIES, AND THEIR OPERATION UNDER WORKERS' CONTROL. Let the government, which has drafted the soldiers, take over the factories too, and let these factories be operated under the control of committees elected by the workers and technical experts in the factories, who know all there

is to know about efficient production. Profiteering could be ended in this way, by the elimination of the employers who contribute nothing to production and take the lion's share, and production costs could be decreased in the interest of the masses. Furthermore, under workers' control of production, the unions would be able to get their grievances settled promptly and harmoniously, eliminating the cause of 99.9 per cent of strikes, which workers are driven to only by the obstinacy and provocations of the employers.

4. THE CREATION OF AN INDEPENDENT LABOR PARTY. Workers have created their own unions because they know they need organizations to defend their interests on the economic field. Now they should create their own party to defend their interests on the political field which is inseparable from the economic field in wartime. Let's not forget that not a single Democrat or Republican got up in Congress to oppose wage-freezing. Labor should work out its own independent political program and form its own party to run its own labor candidates against the program and candidates of Big Business.

5. THE ESTABLISHMENT OF A WORKERS' AND FARMERS' GOVERNMENT. Labor also needs a new kind of government, the kind of democracy that will function on behalf of the great majority instead of on behalf of the ruling minority of capitalists, that will carry out an economic program in the interests of the masses instead of in the interests of Big Business.

As the Socialist Workers Party's candidate in this election campaign, I ask the workers of New Jersey to elect me so that I can fight for this program in the U. S. Senate. I urge the workers to support this program at the polls on November 3, and to fight for it on every other day in the factories, in their unions and everywhere else.

NO USE FOR CROP YOU RAISED, SAYS GOV'T.

Lack of Planning, Gov't Mismanagement To Lose Farmers \$70,000,000 Cash Income

By HOWARD ALLEN

Thousands of American farmers, who had grown soybeans at the express request of the Department of Agriculture, were told by Secretary Wickard last week that their toil and the labor of their families had been for nothing.

Even since Pearl Harbor and the loss of important Asiatic sources of vegetable oils, the administration has been pressing the farmers to increase their production of soybeans to be crushed for oil.

Thousands of county agricultural agents throughout the country conducted a high-pressure campaign through personal contacts, special bulletins, the press and radio to push the farmers into substituting soybeans for their usual crop.

The administration's campaign was successful. Too successful!

On October 11, Secretary of Agriculture Wickard was forced to admit in a statement that "there was a shortage of facilities for crushing, transporting and storing this year's record crop of soybeans." He urged the farmers to "store soybeans on farms wherever possible."

CAPITALIST PLANNING

The Secretary was forced to admit that no facilities had been provided for processing 50 million bushels of soybeans, one-fourth of the total 1942 crop, during the period from harvest to September 30, 1942! In other words, since soybeans deteriorate very rapidly, unless superior storage methods are employed (for example, inoculating beans against mold) he has told the farmers to let their beans rot.

Wickard revealed that "his office had received many reports of railway and truck congestions at country points, (adding that) continued piling up of shipments could result in serious loss." (N. Y. Times, Oct. 12.)

Undoubtedly, if the Secretary did not have to tell the farmers to hold the beans on their farms (and take the losses involved) this public revelation of incompetence, mismanagement and utter planlessness would never have been made.

The magnitude of the criminal waste of 50 million bushels of soybeans is almost incomprehensible. In 1937, the total soybean crop was only 45.2 million bushels; that is, over four million bushels less than is now being wasted.

Fifty million bushels at even the 1941 price of \$1.40 per bushel would bring the farmers \$70,000,-

000. This staggering loss must be borne by the same farmers who were urged by the administration to give their labor, their time and their money to grow the beans. How hard Wickard's order will hit the poor farmers can be seen from the government's own figures which show that in 1941, 59% of all farmers had a net money income of less than \$1,000.

CRIMINAL WASTE

In addition to the financial loss to the farmers, there is involved the wasting of 45 million pounds of oil and almost three billion pounds cake-meal which can be processed from 50 million bushels of soybeans. The oil is important for industrial and food purposes. The meal is used for cattle-feed, in the manufacture of adhesives, flour, plastics, etc.

The farmers who are losing more than 70 million dollars and the workers who will pay part of the loss through higher prices on salad oils, paints, beef, pork, plywoods, plastics, etc., must fix the responsibility where it belongs.

There can be no excuse or apology for the criminal waste of resources involved. The administration which egged on the farmers to produce this "record" crop has thousands of agricultural experts at its disposal. In addition there are thousands of statisticians in the field and in Washington who compile huge masses of data on farm production and industrial capacity.

In spite of all the resources at their disposal, capitalist "planning" and management result in endless chaos and waste!

For A Socialist World

A Statement by Grace Carlson

After only a short interval of twenty-five years, American workers and farmers again find themselves involved in another world-wide holocaust of suffering and death. Against their will; against their interest, they have been plunged into World War II.

Socialists long ago predicted this war. Basing ourselves upon the teachings of Marx, Lenin and Trotsky, we maintained that modern imperialism was the inevitable result of the commercial rivalries of capitalist nations. As the Socialist Workers Party candidate for U. S. Senator from Minnesota in 1940, I said, "The imperialist government of the United States 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."

Our Predictions Fulfilled

This prediction has been tragically fulfilled! The present war, in which hundreds of thousands of young American workers and farmers will have to lay down their lives; this war for which other countless millions of men and women of the American working class will be asked to suffer daily hardship and suffering, is not a real war AGAINST FASCISM. It is an imperialist war, which can never serve the interests of the working masses of this or any other imperialist country.

Continuous and urgent attempts are being made by capitalist politicians on both the state and the national scene to dress up the present, bloody, imperialist war as a holy struggle for a "free world." Republicans and Democrats, Farmer-Laborites and Stalinists, are united in their efforts to convince American workers and farmers, disillusioned by the useless slaughter of World War I and the misery and suffering of the long period of depression which followed it,

that World War II is being fought in the interests of the common man.

But international socialists know—and now only the Trotskyists are worthy of the name—that neither the oppressed masses of Europe and the Americas nor the exploited colonial peoples of China, India and Africa, can be emancipated until the decaying capitalist system which breeds war, fascism and colonial tyranny is brought to an end.

Defense Of The USSR

A true war against fascism can be fought only by a Workers' and Farmers' Government. The heroic struggle of the Russian masses against the Nazi war machine is a magnificent proof of the power of the banner of a workers' state to inspire a fight to the death against the forces of fascism. The Soviet Union deserves the unconditional support of the working class of every country.

Bitter defeats have been sustained by the Soviet Union, however, because of the failure of the Stalinist bureaucracy to call upon the working masses of the world, and especially the terribly oppressed workers of Germany and Italy, for aid. Stalin's repudiation of the principles of international socialism for the sake of temporary alliances with various imperialist agents has disorganized and disoriented millions of workers. Not only Stalin and his Third International, but other so-called "socialists" of the Second International have left the road of internationalism and now support their various national governments in the prosecution of the war.

A new world society of brotherhood, freedom and equality for all, can arise only on the basis of a revolutionary socialist program. As the only candidate pledged to a true working-class program in the Minnesota elections, I appeal to the workers and farmers of this state to cast their votes for revolutionary internationalism and a socialist world by voting for Grace Carlson for United States Senator.

Short Biography Of Grace Carlson

Grace Holmes Carlson was born in St. Paul in 1906. Through experiences of her father who took part in the militant railroad Shopmen's Strike of 1922, she learned early in life the meaning of the class struggle.

Campaigned actively as a Farmer-Laborite for Floyd B. Olson and the radical "Cooperative Commonwealth" platform of the Farmer-Labor Party in 1934.

She was led to a Marxist analysis of political problems thru the contacts she made with the Marxist leadership of the progressive Minn. movement while engaged in labor defense work during the strike wave of 1934-35. As graduate student and instructor in the Psychology Department of the University of Minnesota, she was closely identified with left-wing activities on the campus.

Took a position as a psychologist in the State Department of Education in 1935. Became a charter member of Local 10, Minnesota State Employees Union, AFL. Served on the executive board of this local for two years; as delegate to the St. Paul Trades and Labor Assembly for four years; as member of the Assembly Education Committee for three years; as delegate of her local to state conventions of the AFL for three years in succession.

Active in labor defense work, she is now a member of the National Executive Board of the Workers' Defense League, and also an active member of the St. Paul branch of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

Resigned from the State Department of Education in September, 1940, and has since devoted her full time to the work of the Socialist Workers Party. As U. S. Senatorial candidate

Need Workers'-Farmers' Government Says N. J. Candidate for Senate

(Continued from page 1)

is running for the State Assembly from Essex County.

"Had these labor leaders run for office on an independent labor ticket, we would have thrown our full support behind them, despite our differences with their program, because this would have been a step breaking the workers away from the parties controlled by Big Business," said Breitman. "But instead of doing that, they are running as candidates of Hague's party, the same Hague

of the Trotskyists in 1940, she received 8,761 votes, more than the combined vote cast for the Socialist and Communist Parties.

Was indicted in July, 1941 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 Carlson, guilty of the charge of violating the Smith Act.

On December 8, at the same time 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.

On February 17, 1942, she filed as a candidate for Mayor of St. Paul; the City Clerk ruled that her name be placed on the ballot despite reactionary attempts to keep it off. In the March 10 primary election she received 1185 votes, or 3% of the total number of votes cast.

who tried so long to prevent the CIO from organizing in Hudson County. In this way they are not only disgracing themselves as labor leaders, but they are also discrediting the idea of independent labor political action and weakening the progressive movement for a labor party.

"Once again I want to repeat the fundamental stand of the Socialist Workers Party on this question. We stand ready to support every move that will lead the workers away from the parties of Big Business and will help to establish an independent labor political organization. But we can never support any candidates of the capitalist parties, no matter what the labor background of these candidates may be. For to support such candidates means to strengthen the old line parties, which are fundamentally anti-labor in character and always will be."

The New Jersey campaign was marked by the usual anti-Trotskyist slanders hurled by the Communist Party.

The Stalinists, who have sufficient strength in New Jersey to be able to run almost a full ticket, are running only a handful of candidates for the minor offices, and are instead supporting most of Hague's candidates, including the incumbent U. S. Senator Smathers, who voted for such things as the concentration camp bill and only two years ago was viciously attacking the Soviet Union.

While covering up the record of such people as Smathers, the Stalinists are devoting themselves to spreading the worst kind of lies about the Trotskyists. Their election statement says, among other things:

"In this vital election campaign, the fifth column Trotskyites (Socialist Workers Party) must become the concern of all labor and the people. This fifth column conspiracy, particularly among the Negro people, whose just grievances are being exploited by these Fascists to cause incalculable harm to the Negro people, must be smashed."

It is difficult to say how many Negro workers will be fooled by this kind of propaganda. It certainly will have little effect on the many hundreds of Negroes who know Breitman personally as a tireless fighter against all forms of Jim Crowism and as editor of various labor papers that stood for complete economic, political social equality.

All told, the Breitman campaign committee will have distributed about 30,000 pieces of election literature in New Jersey before November 3. Included in this will be special leaflets and special copies of THE MILITANT. Those who are interested in helping the work of the campaign committee, which still has a big job to do, should contact it at the campaign headquarters, second floor, 423 Springfield Ave., Newark, N. J.

Poor Farmers Express Sharp Dissatisfaction With Government Program at Farmers' Union Convention

FERUS FALLS, Minn., Oct. 19. — Revolt of the rank and file members of the Minnesota Farmers Union against the plans of Roosevelt's agents to make the masses bear the brunt of the cost of the war, flared up at the convention held here October 15-17.

Claiming a state-wide membership of 2,500 farmers, banded together for the purpose of jointly marketing their produce, and purchasing their needed farm supplies through organizations which they own and govern, the Farmers Union is generally regarded as the most progressive of the existing farm organizations in this part of the country. Its membership, composed of tenant farmers, as well as debt-ridden owner-operators, reflects the point of view of the most exploited sections of the farm population in the Middle West.

Traditionally, the Farmers

Union has demanded that the prices of farm commodities be increased. Since the early thirties the Farmers Union has sought legislation which as a minimum would guarantee parity prices—that is, those prices for farm commodities enabling farmers to purchase the same quantity of machinery and supplies that they were able to buy in the base period 1909-1914.

The fight for "fair" prices has always been regarded by Farmers Union members as a struggle against middle men and monopolists generally, and not against consumers or workers.

Since Pearl Harbor the notoriously underpaid farm laborers have been able to secure better wages, due to the scarcity of farm labor. Because the farm laborers in this area are recruited largely from the families of the smaller farm operators, broad sections of the farm population support these wage increases.

ATTEMPTS JUSTIFICATION Coming to the convention in

his capacity as chairman of the legislative committee of the national board of the Farmers Union, M. W. Thatcher of St. Paul attempted to justify his all-out support of Roosevelt—in the name of "national unity" behind the war program. As part of his attack on the living standards of the masses, Roosevelt insists that no consideration be given to these recent wage increases in setting farm prices. Thatcher easily accepts this policy and pushes for the rest of the Roosevelt policy, namely, the "stabilization" of farm prices and wages, etc., as well as the freezing of farm labor so that workers would be unable to seek more remunerative employment.

In taking this position, the bureaucrat Thatcher is acting like Murray, Green and the other leaders of the trade unions. Thatcher is just as willing to betray the interests of his membership as Murray of the CIO or Green of the AFL—whenever Roosevelt requests it.

That the working farmers are opposed to this program was evidenced by the fact that Thatcher was repeatedly and heatedly interrupted even during the radio broadcast of his hour-long speech. Furthermore, responding to the ire of rank and file delegates, the resolutions committee brought in a resolution reaffirming the long established position of the Farmers Union for price adjustments upward.

Another evidence of the defeat of the Thatcher-Roosevelt forces is the fact that when the convention opened, the Thatcher forces had a complete slate of officers for whom they were campaigning—but when election time came they were not even presented to the convention.

However, while militant farmers were able to understand the role of the Roosevelt-Thatcher forces, they turned around and elected a long time Stalinist wheel horse, Einar Kuivinen of New York Mills, as their state president. The Stalinists are the

most determined pro-war Roosevelt supporters and the most vigorous defenders of the Roosevelt farm policies in the Farmers Union, but they were not recognized as such because neither Kuivinen nor any other Stalinist dared to defend this unpopular position openly.

NEED OWN PROGRAM

The crying needs of the rank and file working farmers cannot be satisfied under the leadership of either the Thatcher bureaucrats or the Stalinist misleaders.

because both elements support the Roosevelt policy of making the workers and farmers bear the full burden of the war.

The Socialist Workers Party proposes that democratic committees of trade unionists, working farmers, housewives and small retailers should control prices and rationing policies in favor of the masses. Only such a program can serve the interests of the organized farmers and bring them a step closer to the final solution of their problems.

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The Negro Struggle

By Albert Parker

There were three national gatherings in the last month of real importance to the Negro people and the whole labor movement: the AFL convention; the Socialist Workers Party convention and the Detroit conference of the March-on-Washington Movement. Here we have room to discuss only the first two mentioned, so we leave our comments on the third to a future time.

The AFL Convention

A. Philip Randolph breathed a little life into the annual AFL convention at Toronto by taking the floor for half an hour, and denouncing the Jim Crow practices that still prevail in a number of AFL international unions. This is not a new role for Randolph; he has been doing it every year as delegate of the Pullman Porters Union. He was just as vigorous and biting this year as ever, but just as little as ever was done about it by the AFL big shots.

Randolph remarked on the many speeches about democracy that had been made at the convention. A man from Mars, he said, might have thought most of the speeches really believed in democracy, but when he saw that Negroes were being Jim Crowed by these same people, he would reach the conclusion that these speeches are baloney.

After outlining the various ritualistic and other devices used to deny Negroes equal rights, Randolph called on the convention to set up a committee to investigate "various forms and cases of discrimination that may be presented to it." The CIO already has such a committee.

The well-fed bureaucrats voted down Randolph's proposal, declaring instead that the AFL deplored discrimination and making it clear that the AFL would not interfere with those unions that continue discriminating. Just as the reactionary poll-taxers and lynch leaders oppose the anti-poll tax and anti-lynch bills on the grounds of "states rights," so the AFL bureaucrats defend the rights of Jim Crow elements in the AFL on the grounds of "local autonomy."

The next day Daniel J. Tobin, president of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters, took the floor and viciously denounced Randolph for daring to raise the question of discrimination. No more appropriate person could have been chosen to defend the defenders of "local autonomy" than this man who rules virtually as dictator over the Teamsters and expels and frames up all those who seek to exercise their democratic rights. He probably took it as a personal affront for anyone to get up and speak a few truths that exposed the hypocrisy of the Executive Council.

What Tobin had to say about Randolph was typical of all his relations with working-class opponents, typical too of his attacks on the Trotskyists and the leaders of Local 544 in Minneapolis: the method of slander, frame-up and threat.

"Randolph," Tobin had the nerve to say, was helping "to light the torch of dissension and destruction among a large section of the population." In other words, Randolph — not the Jim Crow elements inside and outside the AFL — was responsible for the Negro masses' discontent with discrimination and segregation!

"Men of this type," Tobin went on in his arrogant way, "are doing more in my opinion to destroy the future progress of the black man, which we are trying to bring about, than any other section within a local constitution or international union by-law." In other words, according to Tobin, Randolph was hurting the interests of the Negroes by asking the AFL to suit its action to some of its speeches — even more than were the Jim Crow artists in leading AFL posts!

Three times Randolph tried to get the floor after this attack, and each time President William Green — who also makes speeches about democracy — refused to give it to him.

Unquestionably, the coming convention of the CIO will see an entirely different attitude toward the Negro worker. The CIO is by no means perfect in this respect, but it is miles ahead of the hide-bound AFL leaders.

The bureaucrats looked all-powerful at the AFL convention, but the day is coming when they will be swept aside as the labor fakery they are. The Negroes can have no expectation of getting support for their struggle from people of this kind — the only place they will find support is among the rank and file white union workers, who are also the object of the bureaucrats' contempt. When the Negroes and the white workers unite, Tobin and his type

will get the answer they deserve — and it will be at least as vigorous an answer as the one they prevented Randolph from making.

SWP Convention

The biggest accomplishment of the recent Socialist Workers Party convention was the adoption of the political resolution dealing with the major problems facing the workers in the present period (the resolution was printed in full in last week's MILITANT). It is not our intention here to deal in detail with the great significance of the convention or the resolution, but rather to call attention to one or two things that should be of special interest to our Negro friends.

The resolution points out that the Negro masses have by no means been deceived by capitalist war propaganda into giving up their struggle against Jim Crowism, and hails the militant spirit that is more and more evident among the Negro people. The convention also took a positive stand toward the March-on-Washington movement, whose creation it considered a sign of the general growth of Negro militancy.

"Such an Independent Negro movement has been made historically necessary by the betrayals and indifference of the trade union bureaucracies, by the failures of the traditional workers' parties and Negro organizations, and by the weakness of the revolutionary party. We support the March-on-Washington Movement, despite the vacillations of its leadership, and seek to mobilize the whole working class in support of its objectives."

As the latter part of this quotation shows, the convention was aware of the fact that the Negro people will be unable to achieve full equality without the support of the rank and file white workers. This struggle is as much the problem of the white workers as of the Negro people, the resolution pointed out, and it called on the white workers to fulfill their obligations to their oppressed colored brothers and sisters.

To play the greatest possible role in the Negro movement, the convention recognized the need for increasing the numbers of Negro workers in the party, and pointed to the unions and factories as the places where the most class-conscious, courageous and experienced Negroes would be found for the party.

In the course of the convention, I had the opportunity to speak to the Negro comrades who were there as delegates, and I was able to learn a good deal of interest and importance about the mood and spirit of Negro workers throughout the country.

The remarks of one of these comrades struck me as particularly significant. He comes from the deep South, is soft-spoken but very realistic; he is not an intellectual removed from the masses, but a worker himself, and a comrade in whose judgment I have the fullest confidence.

I asked him what had happened among the Negroes in his state in recent months. His reply was that since the beginning of the war there had been a marked change in their attitude. They are looking for a way out, they are ready to start fighting even though they do not yet have a program, they are aware that now is the time to seek to make gains.

As I thought over this very significant development to myself, I could not help thinking about this comrade. Shortly after he boarded a bus to come to the convention, it became crowded, and since he was a Negro, he had to give up his seat. Rather than miss the convention, he remained on the bus, standing up; and he was kept standing on his feet for 500 miles as that bus rode north.

We have reason to be proud of having within our ranks such comrades who carry on with modest courage, although their every day activities are as fraught with danger as are the underground activities of our comrades in Germany and India. Small in numbers and fully aware of the terrible risks they run in carrying out their party work, these comrades are truly the pioneers of the revolution in the South. If the Negro masses in the South are looking for a fighting program and fighting leaders, we are confident that they will find them in comrades such as this one.

Calculating Machine

The Militant Publishing Association is in need of a calculating machine and would like to borrow one. Interested parties please contact Business Manager of the paper at 116 University Place, New York City.

French Unrest Caused By Social Forces, Not Allied Propaganda

By A. ROLAND

If the French masses had any doubts concerning the nature of the Petain regime just after the debacle that engulfed France, the entry of Laval into that regime helped to clear matters up for them. The French working class is now undergoing an experience unprecedented in modern times. It would be hard indeed to find any other instance of the conscription of the workers of one country to serve in the land of the victors without going far back to the days of actual slavery.

No modern working class with the least tradition of struggle for its rights, would submit tamely to such enslavement. The French proletariat has been driven finally to desperation. The protest of men and women has been widespread. Its full extent will probably become known to us belatedly, but there can be no mistaking the spontaneity of strikes and demonstrations in the large cities of unoccupied France. Under such circumstances the French Legion, recruited for just such purposes by Laval, has gone into action—to shoot down French workers.

What part precisely was played by the various sections of the French underground movement is not yet clear. But the response on the part of the so-called "leaders" living safely abroad was quite typical. Only yesterday, when the masses were still quite passive, despite the numerous acts of sabotage against the Nazis, these leaders of all shades, were telling the French people—via radio—not to "act" prematurely, not to expose themselves to reprisals. The deGaullists, supported by the Social-Democrats and trade union leaders, told the French to await the signal of English invasion.

Now that the workers have shown their readiness to resist, these same "leaders" urge the workers to resist and to fight all the more. This whole affair gives every evidence that the exiles who are accepted by the Allies as spokesmen for the French, have no real roots among the masses and give them no directives and no guidance. Rather, they try to place themselves at the head of a movement after it has begun.

SOCIAL FORCES DRIVING THE FRENCH MASSES

Can the movement of protest against Hitler's conscription of French toilers be considered as pro-Ally? It is very possible that the same workers who risked their lives to demonstrate against Hitler and Laval, would welcome an armed invasion by the United Nations. But the forces that drove them to action were social forces affecting their daily lives and the factor of sympathy with the democracies was secondary to say the least. This question is of some importance, because it is one thing for the workers to gain a new confidence in their own power, and an other for them to rely on aid from abroad which can only be treacherous aid.

Every independent movement of the French masses helps them to clarify their own social aims as against the aims of the capitalist movement for national liberation. The protest against Laval cannot help but be a protest against

Resistance in France Is Directed Against Native Capitalists As Well As Axis Forces

the French industrialists and factory-owners as well. This section of French capitalism has co-operated fully with Laval and Hitler. Many workers were laid off by the factory-owners in an effort—which failed—to make them acquiesce to being sent to Germany. The owners depend entirely on the Germans to carry on their business. Thus the masses properly lump together Hitler, Laval, and the immediate French capitalist oppressors.

It will not be a simple matter for the deGaullists and their labor lackeys to divert the wrath of French toilers from the collaborators with Hitler. The movement for national liberation is one thing for the capitalists, quite another for the working class. The followers of Blum and the syndicalist trade-unionists in London do their best to gloss over the abyss that yawns between the two movements. Their support of "national liberation" is a distinct treachery to the workers. One has only to read their latest declarations to be made completely aware of this treachery.

PROGRAM OF THE BLUM GROUP

The supporters of Blum have taken the name of the Jean Jaures Group in London. A document recently issued by them tries to lay the entire blame for the French defeat on the "nationalists" and "faithless republicans." Their own part in the

betrayal of the French workers they do not mention. "The pre-war weaknesses have paved the way for the invader of today. With the nation that the nationalists surrendered, we must remake a republic that the faithless republicans dared not defend." But what about the Popular Front and the unity of the socialists (and Stalinists) with these "faithless republicans?"

These faithless socialists actually think that they will once again have the opportunity to subordinate the workers completely to the capitalists. They are in a united front with the reactionary authoritarian deGaulle who accepts the aid of French fascists so long as they are anti-Hitler. deGaulle, far from heeding the protests of the socialists against the fascist Vallin, sent the latter to Libya on a military mission.

That does not prevent the Blumists from continuing to avow their unity with the French capitalists. "We pledge our unity to make the necessary political, economic and moral transformations and to base them on a dual respect for popular sovereignty and the rights of man." That is to say, these "socialists" promise not to try any tricks on the capitalists but to respect the rights—of the capitalists!

Here is their program of liberation for the workers: "We intend to return to the working

classes, according to their oldest traditions, the integrity of the right to organize, so that workers can, through the associations of their choice, freely determine their fate and participate more and more in the administration of the nation's economy. We want to eliminate the powers of the trusts forever, either by submitting to the effective control of the public, or by destroying all germs of monopolies and privileges."

And shall the workers of France once more place Blum in power to carry out his program? That is, shall they permit him once again to save capitalism from the proletarian revolution, as he boasted properly that he did in the Riom Trial? It is obvious that these socialist lackeys rely entirely on the lack of memory of the French masses.

But the results of Blum's betrayal have been so frightful for France that the masses cannot possibly forget. The lessons of the pre-war period have been driven home by the events of the war and after. Neither deGaulle nor the socialist lackeys of the capitalists speak for the underground movement in France. The real spokesmen are those who warn against the treacherous collaborators of Hitler at home and all the henchmen of French capitalists abroad. The real spokesmen are those who would maintain the complete independence of the French working class, those who would direct the movement towards the proletarian revolution and socialism.

Boss Class Enlists God And Superstition On Their Side

By L. BENNETT

(This article was intended for last week's issue of THE MILITANT, but was held over for lack of space occasioned by the printing of the political resolution of the S.W.P.—Ed.)

Starting on Monday, October 12, and giving her the gun for seven rip-snorting days, American capitalism is launching a super-duper campaign to woo God Almighty, who "is always on the winning side," away from Axis influence. In a word, National Bible Week is upon us!

And that reminds us again of Karl Marx and the accuracy with which he called his shots on capitalism. Somewhere in his writings he remarks that the capitalist class, finding itself caught in the convulsive throes of crisis, the source of which it cannot understand, falls back upon religion and superstition for its own reassurance and fosters in the minds of the working class a reliance upon supernatural phenomena for relief.

What a mass of factual proof on behalf of this contention our life offers today:

HOCUS-POCUS IN 1942

Does the imperialist general staff display its bankruptcy at Dunkirk, Singapore, Tobruk? Three dots and a dash and a "V" on every wall will take the jinx off things.

Is the population slow to burst into a patriotic fervor? A Vic-

tory Corner with a flag and a bust of MacArthur, planted and cultivated after school, by the little children—God bless them!—will take care of that.

Does there seem to be no force strong enough to overwhelm Hitler and the processes of reaction? Dig up the corpse of Nostradamus, rotting these 376 years in a French grave, publish his astrological gibberish with more "interpretations" than text, dress it up in the propaganda mill at Hollywood, and assure a confused world that a miraculous conjunction of stars is due to put Hitler out in 1944.

Do the masses look about for reassurance that wars and crises are not to be their eternal lot, and find no one to give them that assurance? Arrange huge outdoor mass prayers, sunrise ceremonies and candle-light services with processions and hymns and flickering tapers.

Does the working class begin to show signs of independent thinking? Issue a string of gushy movies, full of false philosophy. Have the hero of "This Above All" accept the vicious, reactionary advice of the Anglican preacher who tells him to disregard the dictates of his mind and follow the blind direction of his confused "soul," so that he can violate the counsel of Shakespeare and be true not to himself but to the reactionary philosophy of a class society.

American capitalism, however, cannot leave the choice of hocus-pocus to the whim of the private

individual. It must organize the business; hence National Bible Week. And if nothing else brings home to the thirsting soul a realization that times are not what they once were, the streamlined approach to the Word of God must.

ORGANIZED BOMBARDMENT

Long past are the days when puny, timid fanatics bowed down before the Almighty in supplication. Today the heavens are bombarded with every mechanical device for persuasion. Every soap opera this week will hand over to God—gratis, mind you!—at least 180 seconds of its priceless radio time. FDR will use up one minute's footage of newsreel reminding the cinema audience that there is a Good Book which has not yet been filmed. The mail of the devoted will rush by rail and air from coast to coast with stickers—sold at a proper profit—urging attention to the Bible for one week.

But the scope of organization on the religious front does not stop with one week's campaign. Inter-Denominational Committees operate to close the united front of superstition against the progress of reason. Laymen's committees labor ardently to bolster the influence of the church. Arrangements have been completed with Hitler for the reinstallation of the Catholic Church in Russian territory now occupied by the German army.

All this the Allied forces of Religion have to offer as their Labor of Love. Alas, poor God! How will He maintain His proper objectivity in the face of such a barrage?

And alas, also, for the sponsors of National Bible Week! Suppose they are taken seriously and the population learns that the story of the Bible is the history of the Prince of Peace and that part of the story tells how He chased the money-changers out of the temple?

The Partisan Bands In Yugoslavia

By M. MORRISON

A few months ago there appeared an item in the *Daily Worker* accusing General Draja Mikhailovitch, Minister of War in the Yugoslav Government at London and commander of the Yugoslav troops still fighting the Nazis, of being in league with the German and Italian fascists. The intimation was that Mikhailovitch had actually gone over to the side of the Axis powers.

Understanding the reactionary character of Mikhailovitch, it is not of course impossible that he would decide to make peace with Hitler and Mussolini. Had he done so, however, the rulers of Italy and Germany would have gone out of their way to broadcast the news, since it would have been a sort of victory for them. This factor, together with the dubious reputation of the *Daily Worker* when it comes to telling the truth, made it probable that the statement concerning Mikhailovitch's going over to the Axis was not correct. All that the statement proved was that a serious rift had entered into the relationship between Mikhailovitch and the Stalinists.

A fairly good guess could have been made as to the cause of the rift, but since nothing was revealed other than the accusation against the official commander of the Yugoslav forces, guessing was extremely hazardous. As was to be expected the matter did not end with the accusation in the Stalinist press. Soon there appeared a news story in the *N. Y. Times* cabled from Ankara, denying the truth of the *Daily Worker* charge, and giving the version of an anonymous Yugoslav official. His version was to the effect that General Mikhailovitch found it necessary to stamp out partisan bands that destroyed villages, contrary to orders.

On October 9, this time from Washington, another item appeared in the *N. Y. Times*. The American Government had received reports that thousands of partisans opposing General Mikhailovitch have been killed by a "spontaneous uprising of the people." The partisans are said "to include not only criminals, renegades and bandits, but also communists of both the Stalinist and Trotskyite persuasion." The report adds that "no issue is said to be involved between the Yugoslav Government and the Soviet Union." Kosta Naj, formerly an officer in a Croatian regiment on the Republic side of the Spanish Civil War, and therefore presumably a Stalinist, is the leader of the partisan band that came into conflict with Mikhailovitch.

Even now we do not know what actually happened to create the rift between the Stalinists and the Yugoslav commander, but on the basis of the above-mentioned reports we are in a position to advance an explanation for the quarrel between allies.

By its very nature guerrilla warfare carried on by partisan bands is not subject to the central authority and control of a war conducted by a regular army. Each group is more or less on its own, marching and fighting as, when and if it pleases. Since the members of such a band are on a voluntary basis, discipline of a type prevailing in a regular army cannot be enforced. The discipline of a partisan band is largely self-imposed and arises from the willingness of the members to fight for an ideal. The leadership of a partisan band is on a much higher scale, than in the ordinary army, commanding obedience and devotion through ability and disinterested service to a cause.

It is quite natural, under conditions of partisan warfare, for men possessing similar ideas and ideals to band together and conduct the struggle in their own way. So long as Hitler kept Stalin as an uneasy ally, the Stalinists in Yugoslavia kept under cover, but when the "Fuehrer" launched his attack against the Soviet Union, the Stalinists in Yugoslavia, as everywhere else, rediscovered the necessity of struggling against Hitler. With the forces at their disposal and under the circumstances prevailing in Yugoslavia, a man of the type of Kosta Naj, probably a brave man with considerable initiative, had no difficulty in organizing his own partisan band.

It is a safe assumption that the men in his group are militant rank and file of the Stalinist party or simply militant workers and peasants eager to struggle not only against Hitler but also for the social revolution. It is not unlikely that there are Trotskyists in that group, as reported in the *N. Y. Times*, but if there are, they certainly do not reveal their identity to the Stalinist commander.

The existence of an armed group of revolutionary workers and peasants, even under Stalinist leadership, is naturally frowned upon by the reactionary leader of the official army. Though the reactionaries are quite willing to get the help of the Soviet Union in their struggle against German imperialism, they prefer not to have any Stalinist-controlled organizations in their midst. Such organizations, even under Stalinist leadership constitute a danger to the rights and privileges of landlords and capitalists. It must be remembered that the Stalinist bureaucracy bases itself on the Soviet Union which is the very antithesis of capitalist private property.

Mikhailovitch wants to defeat the German and Italian armies. He is carrying on the same struggle as that waged by the reactionary Yugoslav Government when attacked by Hitler. But the partisan band composed of militant workers and peasants cannot be and are not interested in restoring the reactionary Yugoslav regime. These militants accept the leadership of the Stalinists because they have not as yet learned the meaning of Stalinist policies; they believe that the Stalinists are revolutionary Socialists.

In waging his war Mikhailovitch necessarily takes the rights and privileges of the landlords and capitalists into consideration while the militant workers and peasants are not at all interested in the welfare of Mikhailovitch's friends. In struggling against Hitler's and Mussolini's armies the members of the Stalinist band are not afraid of treading on the toes of wealthy landlords and capitalists. We can surmise that the revolutionary partisans are not particularly careful about taking food from Serbian landlords whenever necessary and in all probability they do not promise to pay the landlords. Complaints to Mikhailovitch about the conduct of these partisans must be coming in thick and fast.

We have here a situation similar to that existing in China but on a much smaller scale. The Chinese Red Army is composed of revolutionary peasants but led by Stalinists who, because of the very composition of the army, are forced to pay some attention to the demands and interests of the peasants. This brings the Stalinists into conflict with Chiang Kai-shek. The existence of a Stalinist-dominated group composed of workers and peasants hostile to capitalists and landlords must necessarily and inevitably create friction between such a group and a government representing capitalists and landlords.

Because the Red Army in the Soviet Union fights in a country where capitalist private property no longer exists, the struggle against Hitler assumes a different character from the struggle of the American and English capitalists. The struggle of the Red Army is unhampered by the interests of the capitalists and landlords. It is hampered only by the interests of the Stalinist bureaucracy. The partisan band in Yugoslavia under Stalinist leadership is approximately in the same position as the Red Army in fighting against Hitler. This explains the conflict between the partisan band under Stalinist leadership and the official leader of the Yugoslav army.

It is certain that the Soviet bureaucrats will intervene and try to patch up the quarrel in Yugoslavia just as they did in China. And it is also certain that they will agree to settle the controversy in favor of Mikhailovitch. The revolutionary workers and peasants will ultimately learn that their desire and determination to struggle against Hitler in their own way and for their own purposes cannot be realized until they completely reject Stalinism and all it stands for.

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Who Will Kill The Poll Tax

No one seriously expects the poll tax Democrats to do anything but fight to the bitter end against all efforts to kill the poll tax. They have lost the first round of the fight now that the House of Representatives has passed the Geyer bill prohibiting payment of poll taxes in elections to federal offices, but they are not discouraged because they know that they will be able to put up a much more effective resistance to the anti-poll tax measure in the Senate than they did in the House.

Four years ago, for example, when the House passed an anti-lynch bill, the poll taxers in the Senate filibustered it to death. In addition to having the filibustering device in the Senate, the poll taxers have a stronger control of important committees and greater bargaining power. So far as the poll taxers are concerned, then, the poll tax is far from dead.

What about the Republican members of Congress? Can they be depended on to push a fight on behalf of the legislation? It is true that the Republican fight for control of Washington has been handicapped for a long time by the poll tax which virtually assures the election of Democrats in one-sixth of the states. Nevertheless, the Republicans have failed to kill the tax every time they had complete control of both Houses.

Wouldn't it be to the Republicans' advantage to have these people voting, since the Republicans always lose in the poll tax states now? Perhaps, but no more than the Democrats do the Republican representatives of Big Business want to see a large number of poor whites and Negroes able to participate in elections. It would take a long time before the Republicans could make any electoral gains in the South, even with the poll tax gone, and meanwhile, if they help to abolish the tax, they might lose something they have now — the collaboration of the Southern Democrats whose aid they have often found essential in combatting legislation that might in some way benefit the labor movement.

This same consideration, also determines the course of Roosevelt and his section of the Democratic Party. Roosevelt might not be president today but for the poll tax; a lot of the bills he's introduced might not have been passed but for the poll taxers. Roosevelt early this year stated briefly that he did not favor poll tax restrictions, but he has never exerted an ounce of pressure to abolish it. To think he might exert some now is like expecting the poll-taxers to support the destruction of their own political base.

Now this, of course, does not mean that individual Democrats or Republicans cannot be persuaded to vote for the anti-poll tax bill. They certainly can and they certainly will if the labor movement and the Negro people put sufficient pressure on them. But to entertain any illusions about what can be expected from the parties of Big Business on this question can be fatal so far as the anti-poll tax bill is concerned. They will not vote for the bill because they care about democratic rights, but only because they feel their political fortunes require them to make the record on the popular side.

That is why, now more than ever, the labor movement must let its voice be heard. Unless this is done, the anti-poll tax bill will not be passed by January 1, and the whole legislative fight will have to be begun again. NOW, and with energy, the labor movement must put the heat on Congress.

Yes, Punish The War Criminals

On October 14, Molotov, Commissar for Foreign Affairs in the Soviet Union, issued a declaration calling for public trials of war criminals. Molotov's list of those to be singled out for punishment is limited to six "criminal Hitlerite rulers": Hitler, Goering, Hess, Himmler, Ribbentrop, and Rosenberg. Molotov goes on to propose that Hess, now a captive in England, "be brought to trial without delay."

Dispatches from London imply that this proposal is closely linked with the Kremlin's demand

for the second front and that it really expresses "Russian suspicion of Anglo-American support of the Soviet cause." (N. Y. Times, Oct. 16.)

The American Stalinists are linking Hess directly with the issue of the second front. Thus, James S. Allen writes in his Oct. 20 column in the *Daily Worker*:

"Hess and the second front are closely related. To Munichite and defeatist circles in Britain Hess presents the alternative to a second front."

It remains to be seen just what is really behind the latest diplomatic controversy between the Kremlin and its "democratic" allies. But there is another aspect to Molotov's declaration which is of vital importance to all workers. The question of Hess in particular and of war criminals in general is indissolubly bound up with the question of just who bears the responsibility for the war. Molotov does not lie when he points to the political rulers of Germany as war criminals. But this is not even a half-truth. Hitler and his henchmen are merely the representatives of all the war criminals in Germany, the German ruling capitalist class. Molotov does not even mention the Krupps, the Kirdorfs and Boersigs, and the other families of German industrialists, financiers and monopolists whom Fascism serves and for whose benefit and profits the Axis war is really being waged.

It is by no means accidental that the names of these war criminals are suppressed by Stalin's puppet. Had Molotov mentioned them in his declaration, the rest of his omissions would have been even more glaringly evident. This is an imperialist war. The ruling classes of England and America bear as much responsibility for this war as do their class brothers in Germany.

One of Stalin's greatest crimes against the world working class is that he hides this truth from the masses both inside and outside of the Soviet Union.

The English imperialists are not waging a war to destroy fascism. In order to preserve their smallest colony they would readily destroy every democratic right at home. They are sending the masses into the slaughter only in order to preserve their empire. America's Sixty Families pursue aims no less predatory, reactionary and imperialist than do the Krupps, the Kirdorfs and Boersigs of Germany.

They all bear the real responsibility for the war. They are all equally guilty. They, together with their political representatives, are the war criminals.

We are wholeheartedly in agreement with the idea of bringing all these criminals and their respective Hesses to trial without delay. When the workers of all countries have said their final say, this is precisely what they will do.

Two Wars

There are two wars going on at the present time.

One of them is the so-called war to destroy fascism for which American workers in uniform are being shot to death every day on foreign battlefields and American merchant sailors are being sent to the bottom of the sea by Axis submarines.

The other war is the war now being fought by the American bosses and their political agents against the labor movement.

In a speech to his masters on Oct. 19, Admiral Emory S. Land of the Maritime Commission told the Investment Bankers Association convention that he believed union "organizers ought to be shot at sunrise."

Land blustered that his pet hates were "organizers, profiteers, typewriter strategists and needle boys." But the only people he proposed to shoot were the union men.

Land didn't say why he wanted to shoot union organizers. He didn't have to. The bankers understood that he was voicing their common objective in this war: the destruction of the American labor movement. Insofar as union organizers are protecting the interests of the workers, they are interfering with the profits of the parasite bankers and industrialists. Start by disposing of these organizers and end by making the trade unions illegal: that's the program of Big Business. It's also fascism. Only a few weeks ago another desk admiral named Morell told a trade union convention that this country could not do without labor but it could do without labor unions, and that they were doing all right without unions in Germany, Italy and Japan.

Who is Admiral Land? He is an appointee of Roosevelt, the smiling-faced friend of labor. Roosevelt didn't repudiate Morell. And he isn't likely to repudiate Land either, even though he is too astute to make such statements himself.

The probability that Roosevelt did not authorize Land's statement is not important one way or the other. The statement is significant because, as something which could be done by a part of the administration itself, it indicates the general direction in which the administration is moving. In this sense, such statements are even helpful in educating the workers to understand the real nature of this war: not a war against fascism, but a war against rival business men for profits abroad AND a war against American workers for profits here at home.

The day isn't so far off when the American workers will be saying to hell with the phoney Admirals and the parasites they represent. When that day comes, the Admirals will be singing another tune because that will be the day when the real war against fascism begins — where it should begin, at home.

For a Rising Scale of Wages to Meet Rising Living Costs

First Anniversary Of The Minneapolis Trial

(Continued from page 1)

Local 544 to exist under its own militant leadership.

The Local 544 membership, in its overwhelming majority, backed its Trotskyist leaders, and went into the CIO, thanks to a charter offered by John L. Lewis. Here, too, however, the bosses and their government exerted pressure. Had the top leadership of the CIO given wholehearted backing to Local 544-CIO, not only could that local union have been saved from destruction at the hands of Tobin, but tens of thousands of truckdrivers throughout the country, inspired by Local 544's example, would have gone over to the CIO, creating a great new industrial union. Precisely to prevent this, Tobin appealed to Roosevelt, and Roosevelt publicly condemned the CIO for chartering Local 544!

The governmental pressure had its effect. Philip Murray and the top leadership of the CIO left the fight in Minneapolis primarily to such forces as the local union could muster by itself, while against it was arrayed the whole strength of the AFL officialdom and the government.

Neither Tobin's scores of thugs sent into Minneapolis, nor the huge sums he expended, could crush the militant local. He needed open, direct government support. It came in the form of the "sedition" trial. During six crucial weeks while the Tobin-Local 544 fight was on, the union leaders were tied up in the trial. It constituted a government warning to every Minneapolis truckdriver to dissociate himself from these "reds," or risk similar prosecution. What Tobin could never have achieved for himself, the government helped him do. After a long struggle, the drivers were forced back into Tobin's International.

The Issue Made Clear

Despite all the government pressure, however, the frameup collapsed in one important phase. The jury refused to convict any of the 28 on count 1—which charged that the Union Defense Guard of Local 544 was an armed force, organized to overthrow the government by force and violence. It convicted 18 under count 2, which was based on the notorious Smith Act of 1940—this was the first case tried under it—which in effect makes it a crime to advocate revolutionary socialism, but the jury recom-

mended leniency—clearly indicating its reluctance to send men to prison for long terms merely for their political opinions.

The jury's verdict thus made the issue clear. The government was persecuting men solely because they were devoted to the labor movement and were ready to lead it in militant struggle.

During the year that has passed, scores of trade unions have shown that they understand the real issue in this case. They are supporting, by resolutions and funds, the appeal of the 18 to the higher courts.

In the history of the labor movement, there have been notable trials which, designed as a blow against the labor movement, have been turned into the opportunity to arouse great masses of workers to understand the realities of the class struggle. Outstanding examples in America were the trial of Bill Haywood, the Mooney case, the prosecution of Eugene V. Debs.

Already, in the year since the Minneapolis trial began, this case has become such a rallying-point for the class education of the American working class. Many thousands of workers have already read the words of the defendants in the Minneapolis courtroom, as published in the two pamphlets, "Socialism on Trial," by James P. Cannon and "In Defense of Socialism," by Albert Goldman. These two pamphlets have become primers by which a new generation of American labor is being given its first education in the principles of the class struggle.

The response of the advanced workers to the Minneapolis trial is, however, only to be understood in the light of what is happening. Just as the trial itself is comprehensible only in terms of the war, so, too, the working class support of the defendants. More and more workers are beginning to understand that the Minneapolis trial was a blow against the entire labor movement, a part of the attempted regimentation of American labor.

The 18 defendants were sentenced on December 8—the very day the government formally entered the war. An appropriate symbol—that the entry should have been signalized by sentencing to prison 18 devoted adherents of the labor movement. It expresses the fact that the regimentation of American labor is utterly reactionary and serves, not the struggle against fascism, but the bosses' war against the workers.

Navy Tries New Trick To Smash Seamen Unions

The government's running offensive against organized maritime labor flared into the open again last week. This time it was the U. S. Navy that was used in a squeeze play designed to rob the seamen of union protection and place them under the direct control of the military.

There appeared on the Seattle waterfront a leaflet issued by the Naval recruiting service which informed the merchant seamen that a special Naval reserve had been created for them. The leaflet warns that failure of the men to join the reserve may result in the draft boards sending them into the army. "It's (joining the

Reserve) your only chance to safeguard your job at sea!" reads the closing paragraph of the leaflet.

Should the Navy (and Selective Service) be successful in its current drive, the seamen might not immediately be placed under Navy discipline and wages and conditions. They would continue sailing their ships but would be subject to induction into the Navy at any moment. Thus the government would be in a position to chop off the heads of all union militants.

Once the seamen are forced into the Naval Reserve, and subject to call to active service, signed union contracts will be nothing but a scrap of paper

since it would be difficult for the men to demand their enforcement.

The Seafarers International Union, which in the past has been the spear-head of labor's resistance to the government's maritime union busting tactics, gave prompt answer to the latest Navy move. The October 15 issue of the *Seafarers Log*, official organ of the union, wrote:

"The Brass Hats won't have to wait long for an answer from the men in the SIU-SUP. Their answer is the same now as it has been in the past and will be in the future—NO NAVY UNIFORMS—NO NAVY PAY—NO BRASS HAT DISCIPLINE. We will continue to sail the ships but only as free men under union conditions!"

The Navy leaflet has appeared only in Seattle which would indicate that the move is a trial balloon intended to test the temper of the men and their organizations.

The full text of the leaflet follows:

U. S. NAVY RECRUITING STATION, FEDERAL OFFICE BUILDING, SEATTLE, WASH.

Attention Maritime Men:

Is your draft number likely to remove you from the duties you have chosen as your life's work at sea?

Are you confronted with the idea that the war is going to haul you ashore and place you high and dry with a bayonet for your tool of war?

That worry need not haunt you. There is a way out!

The United States Navy has opened class M-1 for just such men as you, so you can stay on your ship and do your regular job. By enlisting in an active status with the Navy's M-1 program, you can remain aboard the ship you are now on until such time as the Navy may have to take over that ship. You will be subject to call by selective service. You will be in the service of your country.

No other procedure could so adequately protect the personnel and guarantee the operation of much needed merchant marine. That's why the Navy has opened its M-1 branch.

At Navy recruiting headquarters, Federal Office Building, Seattle, there is a special enlistment officer to see to it that men of the merchant marine are handled quickly and efficiently in the process of enlistment into this new Navy reserve unit. It's your only chance to safeguard your job at sea!

(signed) ROBERT S. DOLE, Ensign D. V. (S), U.S.N.R. M-1 Enlistment Officer

NOTES FROM ENGLAND

What kind of paper is the British Sunday Dispatch? Recently this paper stooped into the GPU sewers to hurl a slander against British Trotskyists, a slander that they were receiving directives from a Nazi radio station.

Let us see who are the agents of Hitler. In October 1933, eight months after Hitler seized power, an article in this paper said:

"... The passionate sincerity of Hitler cried aloud. This was no cheap tub-thumping political firebrand but a fervent patriot and a realist. It is monstrously untrue to say that the Storm Troops and Brown Shirts are a new German army in disguise. Germany does not want another war..."

And here it is again:

"Germany welcomed her savior, and largely owing to the obviously sincere and single-minded appeal of his policy he is today the adored leader of certainly 90 percent of the German population. Eight months ago Hitler became Chancellor of the Reich. Today, and I now speak of experience barely a week old, the whole atmosphere of Germany has changed. Sobriety has replaced license, patriotism has usurped Communism, virtue has abolished vice." (Dispatch, Oct. 23, 1933.)

This rag not only whooped it up for Hitler in Germany. It plugged for Oswald Moseley, would-be Black Shirt fascist Fuehrer of England. On Jan. 21, 1934 it featured a fervent editorial entitled: "The Black-shirts are coming."

And a few days later:

"To the world Sir Oswald Mosely: to Blackshirts, the Leader."

"He quests for a better, healthier, happier England like a King Arthur Knight for the Holy Grail."

The chief ally of this fascist rag engaged in the dirty work of brewing frameup scandals against the British Trotskyists is the Stalinist Communist Party. Remember the old saying: show me your friends...

* * *

The Socialist Appeal, a British Trotskyist paper, publishes the following notice in their September issue:

"Ten Pounds REWARD."

"To any member of the Communist Party who can prove that the so-called quotations from Trotskyist publications in their pamphlet 'Clear-Out Hitler's Agents' are not forgeries. Or, to any member of the CP who can show any page of pamphlet which does not contain a minimum of five lies.—Socialist Appeal."

The Seventh Day Adventists will see their hoped for millennium long before our British comrades see that Stalinist walking through their doors with the proof that will get him his reward.

* * *

"Profits First" is the Motto of British Shipowners, says an article in the *Socialist Appeal*. Shipbuilders are proceeding in their merry way to build slow, large and cheap ships regardless of the fact that fast, streamlined vessels are needed to outrun Axis submarines. The reason is not difficult to find:

The shipyard industry is at present so constructed as to make it difficult to construct anything but jerry-built rustbuckets. To expand or rebuild the industry for its war-time needs would leave the shipbuilders with an "excess capacity" they could not use after the war.

The government official in charge of shipbuilding is Sir James Lithgow. This belted duke is also President of the British Iron and Steel Federation.

Get the connection?

* * *

How widespread is the mass movement in North Ireland against British imperialism and American occupation can be seen around the events surrounding the execution of the young Irish patriot Williams.

Originally six young Irish revolutionists were slated for execution for the alleged assassination of a policeman. Protests were strong enough to force a commutation of their sentences to 20 and 15 years imprisonment.

Williams was executed although evidence at the trial definitely proved that the shot which killed the cop was not fired from his pistol. The British imperialists have spilled the blood of an Irish patriot but they have not killed the movement.

Every day, news from England reports, incidents of opposition are taking place. Dozens of people are being arrested and interned. British and American soldiers have been confined to barracks and instructed never to go out in the blackout except in twos and threes.

The vicious repression has given rise to a resurgence of the Irish labor movement. In Dublin, the Labor Party has for the first time received a majority. In Ulster, much to the dismay of the British imperialists following a policy of divide-and-rule, Catholic and Protestant workers are forgetting their religious differences and uniting against Orange reactionaries. The first result of this unity was the majority received by a Labor candidate in a bye-election reversing the vote which elected an Ulsterite reactionary in the last election.

* * *

As a proper christening for the British *Daily Worker*, Stalinist newspaper, the first day of republication after the government ban was lifted was marked by a strike of the printers.

The printers were striking because of the refusal of the Stalinist management to rehire a worker who had been employed on the paper up to the time of its suppression two years ago. The union called the firing a "case of victimization."

William Rust, editor of the paper, wired the Trade Union Congress then meeting in Blackpool, asking that the strike be called off. The request was rejected. While the strike was in progress and negotiations taking place, members of the C.P. were called in to scab on the strikers.

The *Daily Worker* management was finally forced to capitulate and reinstate the discharged worker.