

**UAW Board Backs  
CIO Drive To  
Organize Teamsters**

— See Page 4 —

# THE MILITANT

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## SEAMEN DEFEAT MARITIME COMMISSION

### Why Churchill Doesn't Open A Western Front

An Editorial

By FELIX MORROW

After three months of the Soviet-Nazi war, the British Stalinists are compelled to admit that their support of the Churchill government has failed to secure from the "democracies" adequate aid for the Soviet Union.

At one of the open air mass meetings being conducted by the British Communist Party, demanding that Britain open up a western front, Harry Pollitt summed up the Churchill government policy

"Churchill's policy announced on September 9, completely failed to satisfy public disquiet. . . Taken in conjunction with statements by Lords Moyne and Clement Attlee in behalf of the government, we have a declaration of definite policy which can be summed up as limited assistance to Russia, rejection of military action and 'ceaseless study of the whole problem.'"

"It is in this connection that Col Moore-Brabazon's statement takes on the greatest importance," he continued. "It becomes not an isolated episode or 'indiscretion' but a test of government policy. The fact that his statement was not repudiated emphasizes that what Moore-Brabazon said and what the government explained as its policy may have been differently phrased, but from a viewpoint of practical effect were not very far removed." (Daily Worker, Sept. 22, 1941.)

It will be recalled that at the British Trade Union Congress, Aircraft Production Minister Moore-Brabazon was accused of having said that the Russians and Germans should be left to kill each other off, leaving Britain master of the Continent.

Pollitt, in short, is now implicitly charging that the Churchill government has no desire to see the Soviet Union victorious.

Why doesn't the Churchill government want to see its Soviet ally emerge victorious? Pollitt dare not ask, much less answer, that question. The Stalinists must avoid that question at all costs. For the answer to that question would condemn the Stalinist policy of supporting Churchill and Roosevelt.

Instead, the Stalinist call for continued support of the Churchill and Roosevelt governments' war and for "public pressure" as a means of securing adequate aid from Churchill and Roosevelt for the Soviet Union. That is, the sole explanation offered by the Stalinists for the failure of the "democracies" to aid the Soviet Union is that as yet there has been insufficient "public pressure" on the rulers of the "democracies."

We can see the problem a little more clearly, perhaps, if we examine the demand raised by the Stalinists for the opening of a western front.

Is it militarily possible for the British to open a western front—that is, land a major expeditionary force on the European continent? The Stalinists insist that it is not only possible, but the best move now open to the British in the war against Hitler. Some Stalinist commentators refer particularly to Spain as the best place for a British landing. With Gibraltar already in British hands, and with the Spanish people utterly opposed to Franco and his collaboration with Hitler, a British landing could easily be effected, say the Stalinists. It is undoubtedly with reference to opening up a western front that Litvinov, in a telegraphed article to a British paper, pointedly warns that humanity is following with deep interest "not only the military events on the eastern front but also the relations between the Allies."

The Stalinist insistence on opening up a western front is supported by certain obvious facts. The main forces of the Nazis, both on the land and in the air, have been for three months involved on the eastern front. The weakness of the Nazi air resistance to British raids on Germany and occupied territory indicate that the Nazis for the present do not have a major air arm in the west. Under these conditions it is certainly plausible to argue that a western front could be opened by Britain.

Under infinitely less favorable conditions the British landed an expeditionary force in Greece. Why, then, couldn't they land an expeditionary force now which will, at the very least, draw off a considerable section of the Nazi forces from the eastern front and thus ease the situation of the hard-pressed Red Army?

Why? Is it merely a difference of military opinion? If that were all, then the British military authorities might be convinced by the arguments of the Red Army staff. But the form of argument in which the Stalinists put their main hope is not the opinions of military experts but mass demonstrations in Britain. That means that the difference of opinion is not one between military experts but of political outlook.

Why, if it is militarily possible, don't Churchill and Roosevelt

(Continued on Page 4)

### NY Banquet To Honor Indicted SWP Leaders

A solidarity banquet to honor the leaders of the Socialist Workers Party who are under federal indictment for "seditious conspiracy" will be held at the Hotel Diplomat, 108 West 43rd Street, New York City, on Friday, October 3, starting 7 P. M.

This banquet, which is being sponsored by the New York Local of the SWP, will be the last opportunity for the New York party members and sympathizers to express their solidarity directly with the indicted leaders before they leave the city for their trial in Minneapolis beginning October 20.

Among the speakers at the banquet will be James P. Cannon, SWP National Secretary and Trotskyist Anti-War candidate for mayor of New York, and Felix Morrow, editor of the MILITANT, two of the 29 defendants whom the Roosevelt Administration is seeking to frame up for their militant anti-war

Subscriptions for the banquet are \$1 per plate, the proceeds to help finance the defense.

### Cannon Petition Drive Nearing Successful End

NEW YORK, September 23.—The campaign to place the name of James P. Cannon, Trotskyist Anti-War candidate for Mayor, on the ballot in the coming New York City elections is rapidly nearing a successful conclusion as the collection of signatures on the nominating petitions approaches the full quota.

We have now collected 14,500 signatures from the workers of New York", Robert H. Chester, Cannon campaign manager, announced today. "Only 7,500 signatures are required to place our candidate in nomination, but we intend to file twice that number."

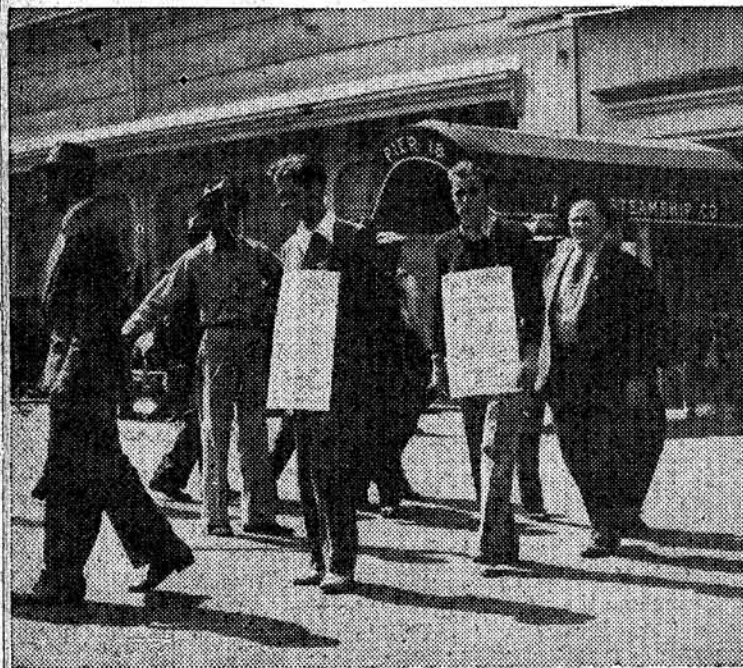
Comment on the elections this week in the capitalist press featured the "Apathy" of the voters towards the campaign. Only 14 percent of the eligible Republican registrants came to the polls to vote in the primary contest between LaGuardia and Davies.

Comrade Chester pointed out that, although this "apathy" may have created concern among the Republican politicians, it never hindered the work of the canvassers for the Trotskyist Anti-War ticket, who found that the workers everywhere in the city respond with enthusiasm to the labor anti-war program of our party.

Referring to the scandals over the collection of signatures for the bosses candidates in the election by paid canvassers, Chester said: "Our comrades' loyalty is not for sale or for hire. They go out and hit the ball with everything they have and their only incentive is their loyalty to the workers of this city. And now they intend to wind up our campaign by getting out a strong workers' vote for Cannon."

Another article on the New York election campaign will be found on page 2 of this issue.

### Picketing Aluminum Trust



Striking members of the Seafarers International Union (AFL) picket the Alcoa Steamship Company docks in New York City, after tying up three Alcoa boats to enforce demands for war risk compensation and bonuses. The strike was spread after the government intervened and "seized" the struck ships, rounded up scab crews, and pulled port with two ships manned

### War Bonus Issue To Be Negotiated With Employers

Successful Strike Smashes Government's Attempt to Force Seafarers Union Into Compulsory Arbitration of War Bonus

— BULLETIN —

NEW YORK, September 24. — The Seafarers International Union (AFL), striking 25 ships in Atlantic and Gulf ports, won an important victory yesterday when the U. S. Maritime Commission, which had tried to smash the strike by seizing the first three tied-up vessels and operating them with scab crews, was forced to withdraw completely from the dispute and permit settlement of the war risk bonus issue through direct negotiations between the union and shipowners.

The strike was precipitated by the Maritime Commission, when it prevented the union from settling the bonus question by direct negotiations with the shipowners. Instead, the Commission instructed the owners not to negotiate and insisted that the union submit to compulsory arbitration.

The SIU today voted to return to work pending the outcome of the direct negotiations with the National Defense Mediation Board participating. The negotiations are scheduled to start Monday.

The government was forced to retreat and withdraw the strike-breaking Maritime Commission

from the situation when the Commission proved unable to properly man the three vessels seized — not to mention the other 22 ships already tied up.

NEW YORK, Sept. 22. — The Seafarers International Union, AFL, has struck 23 American-flag ships with which it has contracts on foreign runs. Twenty of the vessels are now tied up in major Atlantic and Gulf ports and are surrounded by strong picket lines. The number of struck ships is mounting daily as the SIU continues to call off the crews of every contracted foreign run boat as it hits an American port.

Strike action was taken by the union on September 12 to enforce its demands for war bonus payments in Caribbean runs and a boost in war-risk insurance rates of \$5,000 per man. The seamen contend that if they risk their lives, they should get paid for it. Bonuses are now paid on African runs, but the shipowners have refused to extend the bonus system to the Caribbean and South American runs.

The success of the union in completely tying up the struck ships for two weeks would have led to the capitulation of the bosses in most strikes. This time, however, the United States Maritime Commission has intervened and instructed the shipowners not to negotiate with the union until the strike has been called off.

#### GOV'T. STRIKEBREAKING

The Maritime Commission has assumed open strike breaking tactics. The moment the tie-up was called, the Commission served an ultimatum on the union, demanding that the strike be called off within 24 hours and that the seamen submit their dispute to a lengthy and involved system of arbitration while sailing the ships. When the union ignored the ultimatum, the Commission requisitioned three Alcoa ships, manned them with scabs, and sent them loaded with supplies to the new U. S. military bases in the Caribbean.

Due to the fine union solidarity shown by rank and file members of the National Maritime Union, CIO, the government experienced great difficulty in recruiting crews for the Alcoa ships. One vessel had to delay its sailing because it was short-handed. Moreover, these strike-breaking moves have not intimidated the SIU, which has continued to strike one ship after another.

Ever since the sinking last spring of the S.S. Robin Moor, manned by a full SIU crew, the union has been trying to obtain protection for its members. Last July the union struck the

The bosses had given the line. (Continued on page 2)

## Minneapolis Drivers Are Refused Elections

Right to Vote to Determine Which Union They Want Is Brazenly Denied to Minneapolis Motor Transport Workers by State and National Administrations Violating Their Own Laws

MINNEAPOLIS, Sept. 22. — The motor transport workers of Minneapolis were denied their right to elections to determine which union they want to represent them, in an unprecedented decision handed down Friday by reactionary Republican Governor Harold Stassen's State Labor Conciliator, certifying without elections Daniel J. Tobin's AFL Teamsters' Local 544-CIO, Motor Transport and Allied Workers Union, said of the brazen decision of the State Administration:

"Democracy is all right to talk about, and to send abroad on the tips of bayonets. But democracy is beyond the reach of the Minneapolis drivers." This is what Governor Stassen's Labor Conciliator is saying to the public through his decision to deny the drivers petitions for elections.

More than three and a half months ago, on June 9, a Local 544 membership meeting of nearly 4,000 motor transport workers voted almost unanimously to disaffiliate from Daniel J. Tobin's AFL Teamsters' International and accepted a charter from the CIO. When Tobin sent hundreds of thugs in here in an attempt to drive the motor transport workers back into the AFL, Local 544-CIO offered to put the question directly up to the men through elections by secret ballot under government supervision. Tobin, who looks upon the drivers as his personal property, refused to agree to an election.

When Local 544-CIO filed petitions with the State Labor Conciliator and the National Labor Relations Board seeking elections, Tobin countered by petitioning the State Labor Conciliator to certify the AFL for the entire industry without elections.

#### NEXT FIGHT IN COURTS

Local 544 is applying for a court review of the decision. Everyone in the Twin Cities, including every boss in the trucking industry, knows that if an election were held today Local 544-CIO would carry every plant and every section of the industry.

That is precisely why the State and National Administrations, openly in alliance with Tobin, have done everything in their power for three and a half months to deny the workers elections.

#### WHY STASSEN DID IT

In an amazingly frank and cynical article by its political commentator, M. W. Halloran, the reactionary Minneapolis Star Journal of Sept. 21 explains why Republican Governor Stassen

is but the latest move of the State and National Administration to aid Tobin in driving the motor transport workers back into the AFL. On June 13, in answer to a telegram from Tobin appealing for aid, President Roosevelt condemned as "union-raiding" the granting of a CIO charter to the Minneapolis truck drivers, and sent Department of Justice officials into Minneapolis to aid Tobin. On June 27 FBI agents raided the Socialist Workers Party headquarters in St. Paul and Minneapolis — a move openly characterized by the Twin Cities press as directed against Local 544-CIO.

On July 15, 29 defendants, including 16 leaders of Local 544-CIO, were indicted for "seditious conspiracy" and go on trial on October 20. After an investigation of this case, the American Civil Liberties Union declared it "reasonable to conclude that the government injected itself into an inter-union controversy in order to promote the interests of

ROOSEVELT HELPED TOBIN  
The state conciliator's decision

aligned himself with the Democratic National Administration and Democratic National Com-

mitteeman Tobin to prevent the drivers from having elections.

"It was Stassen luck that the (state conciliator) Blair ruling went AFL instead of CIO, because there always has been bad blood between him and that organization (the CIO), and even a decision in their favor wouldn't have reconciled them."

In other words Stassen, who is now on good terms with the AFL, backed the AFL because they would help him get re-elected. The Minneapolis Star Journal goes on: "With the drivers' organization the heart of the whole union setup in this city, the decision is bound to give the AFL unions right down the line a tremendous lift here, assuming the ruling is sustained in the courts."

## Warren K. Billings Joins Committee Defending 29

Joins Other Labor and Liberal Figures in Organization Formed to Defend Indicted Leaders of SWP and Local 544-CIO

NEW YORK, Sept. 23. — Warren K. Billings, famed labor martyr, who, with Tom Mooney spent 22 years in prison as a result of the frame up engineered by the bosses during the first World War, has joined the San Francisco branch of the Civil Rights Defense Committee, which is conducting a nation-wide campaign in labor and liberal circles to rally support for the 29 defendants who go on trial Oct. 20 in Minneapolis in the federal government's "seditious conspiracy" case against the Socialist Workers Party and Local 544-CIO.

National Chairman of the Civil Rights Defense Committee is James T. Farrell, well-known author of "Studs Lonigan" and other novels.

Carlo Tresca, editor of "Il Martello" and for many decades an outstanding figure in the labor movement, is Vice-Chairman of the Committee. Another Vice-Chairman is John Dos Passos, noted liberal author.

Among other prominent figures who have joined the National Committee of the Civil Rights Defense Committee are: Kenneth Crawford, former president of the American Newspaper Guild

and Washington correspondent of the "Louisville Courier-Journal," Dr. John Dewey, world-famous educator; Emmett E. Dorsey, Negro leader and professor at Howard University; Waldo Frank, well-known novelist; Professor George W. Hartman, Socialist Party candidate for Mayor of New York City; Dorothy Kenyon, noted labor lawyer; Max Shachtman, Secretary of the Workers Party; William Rose Benet, Poet; Ludwig Lore, "N. Y. Post" columnist.

Extensive plans are being developed to broaden the activity of the Committee and constitute it on a firm foundations in the next few weeks.

The Committee announces that it requires \$7,500 immediately to pay expenses for the forthcoming trial of the 29 defendants. Make all checks payable to the Civil Rights Defense Committee, 160 Fifth Avenue, New York.



# Minneapolis Drivers Are Refused Elections

### Right to Pick Union They Want Denied by Gov't Agencies

(Continued from page 1)

### STASSEN'S RED-BAITING EXCUSE

The state conciliator's decision makes no attempt to justify the refusal to submit the controversy to balloting by the motor transport workers. Instead, the conciliator asserts that the issue "does not present a dispute of the ordinary type between the AFL and the CIO, but rather presents a dispute between the AFL union of long standing and a comparatively small group of men under a leadership actively affiliated with the Socialist Workers Party, who withdrew from the AFL to avoid being expelled from this organization and who have sought to create a union for their own purposes under a charter from the CIO. . . the dispute over representation arose on June 9, 1941, by reason of an attempt of certain officers of said union to secede and create a new union under charter by the CIO."

Thus the state conciliator's red-baiting reference to the Socialist Workers Party is designed to cover up his complete distortion of the real facts. He dare not admit that the "certain officers" of Local 544 are the entire leadership of the union, the same leadership that has been re-elected each year in the union since it built the union in the great strike victories of 1934. He dare not admit that the decision to secede from the AFL was taken, not merely by this leadership, but by the almost unanimous decision of 4,000 members at a membership meeting on June 9.

### POLITICAL ARITHMETIC

The state conciliator then blandly goes on to credit the AFL with 4,251 members out of the 5,473 drivers and helpers in the Minneapolis area. How did he arrive at that figure? A public accountant added up for him the number of names inscribed in the AFL ledgers!

But the real issue was that these ledgers were stigmatized as fakes by the CIO and the CIO offered to prove that they were taken in a government-supervised election.

Then, to cap this outrage, the state conciliator concedes to the CIO as members only the 172 workers who testified during the AFL petition hearings concerning the activities of Tobin's thugs.

In short, the state conciliator proceeded to arbitrarily establish that which could only be established by the elections

## New York Opens Cannon For Mayor Drive

Dear friends and sympathizers: On October 1st we are filing our petitions. At that time we will start what we expect to be the most intensive propaganda campaign in our history. Right now, we've undertaken to build a campaign fund that will allow us to carry through this campaign as part of the great fight against the imperialist war. Are you ready to help us collect this fund? Do you want to see this fight carried on in a manner worthy of the party of Lenin and Trotsky?

From various parts of the country, Trotskyist friends such as J. of Rockville, Conn., and C. of Akron, Ohio, have sent us donations and expressions of support. Let New Yorkers follow their encouraging example. Send in your donation today! Address it to Robert Chester, Chairman, Cannon Campaign Committee, 116 University Place, New York.

which Local 544-CIO is demanding. Typical of the way in which this kangaroo decision against Local 544-CIO was engineered, the text of the state conciliator's decision was in the hands of the daily papers and the press services hours before Local 544-CIO received a copy. Tobin's yellow sheet here, the Minnesota Teamster, was out on the street with the text of the decision and comments on it from Judge Parway and other Tobin lawyers, hours before Local 544-CIO received the decision.

The CIO had, in the light of the other anti-CIO moves of the State and National Administrations in this situation, anticipated such a decision. Meeting Friday night, a few hours after the decision, the Local 544-CIO Stewards meeting was well attended, the men took the decision in their stride, and grimly pledged to continue the struggle for the right of the workers to designate a union of their own choosing.

The rank and file gave the Stassen-Blair ruling a cold reception indeed, as was indicated when the Tobin henchmen tried to hold a mock funeral Saturday noon to bury Local 544-CIO. Tobin's representatives had notified all drivers in the city to attend a special meeting Saturday noon. When a few hundred men showed up and found they were expected to march in a parade celebrating the fact that Stassen had refused them an election, they walked away in disgust and came over to the 544-CIO headquarters. The henchmen, by handing out money for beer, finally induced about 40 dehorned to accompany the casket. An American Legion band came out to help the Tobin machine try to make the mock funeral look like something, but it

## Newark Defense Committee to Hold Banquet for 29 This Saturday

NEWARK, N. J.—The Newark Branch of the Civil Rights Defense Committee this week announced the holding of a banquet and reception on behalf of the 29 defendants facing trial in Minneapolis on October 20. Speakers at the banquet will discuss the reasons for the prosecution and the circumstances leading up to it. All proceeds from the affair will be used for the defense of the 29.

## SEAFARERS DEFEAT MARITIME COMMISSION

... I strongly contend that you (Admiral Land), as chairman of the Maritime Commission, Ryan's telegram read, "should call a meeting of the operators and representatives of the Seafarers International Union at once, so as to relieve our men of the embarrassing situation they are now in, where their allegiance to the government compels them to load and discharge ships where non-union crews are being employed."

The Maritime Commission is continuing to press the union for a cancellation of the strike and acceptance of arbitration while the ships are being sailed. The union has made a standing offer to meet the shipowners at any time, but has refused to man the ships until some concrete bonus offer is received.

Joseph Ryan, President of the International Longshoremen's Association, sent a telegram to the Maritime Commission requesting that it continue efforts to settle the strike.

## Packinghouse Strikers Defy Injunction

### Chicago CIO Unions Rally in Defense of Picketing Rights

CHICAGO, September 21.—The militant two-week old strike of packinghouse workers at the Illinois Meat, Agar and Brehran packinghouses here is entering its third week with the strikers, Negro and White, fighting back at the all-embracing injunction issued against them by the labor-hating Judge Rusch.

The company had locked out all the leading stewards and officers of Locals 23, 24 and 56 of the Packinghouse Workers Organizing Committee (CIO) following a previous three-day walk-out early this month. The union responded with a strike that shut the plants down solid.

The local CIO unions have decided to smash the injunction with a huge picket line this coming Monday morning. Packinghouse workers from the heart of the stockyards, Armour's, Wilson's and Swift's, are expected to join the strikers on the picket lines. Workers from the huge Carnegie-Illinois Steel plant and other South Chicago steel plants and from the International Harvester Company will also march.

The principal demand of the strikers is the preservation of their union by the reinstatement of the locked-out union leaders. This lock-out was an attempt by the companies to compel the striking unions to select leaders amenable to company dictates. The slender excuse for the lock-out was that the union leaders were "subversive saboteurs" who had put ground glass in the meat.

# LaGuardia Gets Stalinist Boost For Reelection

### CP Mayoralty Candidate Praises Union-Busting Mayor in Own "Campaign Speech"

Israel Amter, Communist Party Candidate for Mayor of New York City, indicated this week that his party has no intention of conducting an independent campaign in the municipal elections. In a speech made before a Young Communist League rally on September 19, the Stalinist "mayoralty candidate" finally gave up the ghost.

The decisive portion of Amter's talk came after a reference to the Jewish New Year: "In the election campaign, the Jews, as a very important section of the New York population, will not be misled, but will be found in only one camp — the genuinely anti-Hitler camp headed by Roosevelt and LaGuardia." (N. Y. TIMES, Sept. 20).

Parties don't usually refer to their opponents in this fashion when they intend to carry through a serious fight against them. And so it is clear that, whether Amter is formally withdrawn from the campaign or not, the Stalinists are out to toe the mark for the mayoralty representative of Wall Street LaGuardia.

This development will surprise no one but the rank and file Stalinists, to whom the policy of their own party is as a book sealed with seven seals. The Stalinists decided upon this course of action a long time ago. The "left-wing" Stalinist-controlled American Labor Party made that clear many weeks back when it decided to support LaGuardia. In addition, the Daily Worker for many days previous to the final unveiling of this new monument to Stalinist treachery, carried enough hints to make the matter plain to all who have eyes to see.

The Daily Worker for September 15, featured the contest between "appeaser Davies" and LaGuardia, and the next day triumphantly reported: "LaGuardia Beats Appeaser Poe." The Communist Party, municipal slate, rushed into print with a message of congratulations:

"The results of Tuesday's primaries clearly prove that a real basis exists for unity of the people on the main issue of our time, the defeat of Hitlerism." ("D. W.", Sept. 18).

The statement continues in the usual "fighting" tone that the Stalinists adopt when they get ready to eat dirt: "The position of Mr. LaGuardia needs strengthening."

You can bet it does! It's going to take an awful lot of white-wash to cover up LaGuardia's brutal assault on the Transport Workers Union, his red-baiting forays against the city educational system, and such liberal larks.

Friday's Daily Worker chortles with glee: "Mayor Rip's O'Dwyer on 'Economy.'" The "Mister Mayor" is himself no slouch when it comes to "economy" as the retrenchment in the school system will testify. The Daily Worker

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## Text Of Local 544's Statement

MINNEAPOLIS, Sept. 20. — The following is the text of the statement of Local 544-CIO's Executive Board on the Stassen-Blair decision to deny Minneapolis Motor Transport workers their right to elections to determine which union represents the workers:

"Democracy is all right to talk about, and to send abroad on the tips of bayonets. But democracy is beyond the reach of the Minneapolis drivers." This is what Governor Stassen's labor conciliator is saying to the public, through his decision to deny the drivers' petition for elections.

Blair's ruling is based from beginning to end on deceitful logic and brazen lies. It goes without saying that Local 544-CIO will challenge Blair's decision. Attorneys for the union are moving as a first step to obtain a court review of the conciliator's ruling at the earliest possible moment.

Through this dispute between the Minneapolis drivers and Tobin, the only consistent exponent of democracy and a democratic solution has been Local 544-CIO. Not a single politician, not a single metropolitan newspaper, has lifted a finger to aid the drivers to win their democratic and legal rights to an election.

What Blair Is Covering Up  
To arrive at his crooked decision, Mr. Blair has had to disregard the testimony of hundreds of drivers that the Tobin hoodlums sent into Minneapolis collected dues and members only through force. Blair's cynical claim that the drivers "voluntarily paid dues" to the AFL will be recognized as a lie by every employer and employee in the motor transport industry.

They Distort the History of 544  
When Blair states that to recognize the rights of Local 544-CIO would "defeat the purposes of the Minnesota Labor Relations Act," he really means that for him to recognize the democratic right of the drivers to their election would defeat the

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and  
**The FOURTH INTERNATIONAL**  
in conjunction with  
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One pamphlet or book will be given free with each subscription either to the MILITANT or to the FOURTH INTERNATIONAL:  
For each 6-month subscription of \$1.00 one of the following:  
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The Third International After Lenin (\$1.25)  
\*List prices for the publications.  
Mail your subscription money and the name of the pamphlet or book you wish to: THE MILITANT, 116 University Place, New York City



The work of constantly widening the sphere of influence of the MILITANT is being carried on seriously in every part of the country. New Haven, for instance, has the following interesting story to tell:  
"During the rush of shoppers Saturday, we experimented with street-selling of the MILITANT. Our comrade stood before a large five-and-dime on a busy street during the rush hours from 12 to 2 and sold a total of 17 MILITANTS!  
"Some of the slogans used were: 'Buy the MILITANT — the only workers' anti-war paper sold on the streets of New Haven!' Read how Roosevelt leads us to war!"  
"Our comrade reports that she found a great deal of friendly feeling toward the MILITANT — workers approached with 'Anti-war? Well, that's the paper for me!'  
"From this experience, the New Haven branch can heartily recommend this way of getting our message across to workers. Besides, it helps with the literature bill!"  
("P. S." This branch increased its bundle 100% shortly after the above experience.)  
Pittsburgh writes: "We got a break in some of our door-to-door work. This was in the Negro district, a section where we have been circulating the paper every other week for a couple of months. Last Saturday we went person-to-person and got a swell reception plus 55¢ — pretty encouraging! We would have gotten more if it hadn't been Saturday."  
And from one of our subscribers, who hastens with a check for renewal of his subs to the MILITANT and the FOURTH INTERNATIONAL, we hear these welcome words: "As I cannot get along without my papers any longer you will find the money for renewals enclosed."  
"Once you get used to getting the news straight from the shoulder you cannot let your sub run out. Your papers must continue to brighten my doorstep."



# 'INSURGENT' MINERS OPPOSE CIO POLICIES

By ANTHONY MASSINI

The capitalist press has given much publicity during the past two weeks to a walkout by a group of miners in the anthracite region in Pennsylvania.

If this publicity is different from that usually given to strikers by the boss press, if there have been none of the usual denunciations and attacks on the people involved, then it is for a very good reason. Because the "strike" is directed not at the mine owners but at the union which has a closed shop contract in these mines, the United Miners.

The stoppage began in District 7 of the union, ostensibly over the question of an increase in union dues and assessments after the mine owners in the area had refused to dispense with the check-off on dues and assessments, provided for in the union contract.

At the last convention of District 7 in September, 1940, the union had voted to increase its dues from \$1.00 to \$1.50 a month, to become effective July 1 of this year. Also involved is a \$4.00 a year increase in the international union assessment, voted by the international executive board and approved by a referendum of the membership.

Thus the total dues increase against which the walkout has supposedly been called amounts to only \$10 a year. As a result of the latest contract negotiated by the union last May, the miners received a 7 1/2 per cent wage increase from last May to October 1, with the increase then rising to 10% plus a \$20 Xmas bonus.

A walkout under such conditions is certainly unusual. When, to these circumstances, is added such things as an attempt to extend the work stoppage to other districts, the announcement of the election of a set of officers dual to the regular officers of the union, and the flat refusal of the leaders of the walkout to even meet with three members of the international executive board sent by John L. Lewis from Washington to try to settle the controversy, then the whole situation seems stranger yet.

One need not be surprised, therefore, to be told by the New

Leader, organ of the Social Democratic Federation, which wholeheartedly defends the so-called insurgents, that the dues argument is a cover for issues far more fundamental and important.

The September 20 issue of the New Leader approvingly quotes the statements of Garrett Miller, leader of the walkout, in which he attacks Lewis and his policies.

"Specifically," the New Leader says, "the miners' charges against Lewis, as expressed by Miller, cover an impressive bill of particulars. . . . They take cognizance of the fact that Lewis and his rubber-stamp executive board have spent \$2,000,000 or more in the past five years in helping subsidize the civil war in American labor by means of 'loans' to CIO and its affiliates, 'loans' which, will never be repaid.

"The miners see no reason why Lewis has twice torpedoed reasonable and acceptable plans for peace between the AFL and CIO.

"They no longer intend to stand idly by while he uses the United Mine Workers and its treasury as if they were his own. They want to remove Lewis as the chief obstacle to labor peace. . . ."

If the New Leader correctly reports the views of the "insurgents," then it is obvious that the dues issue is only being used as a means of winning support among scissorbill and anti-union elements for an attack against progressive policies of the CIO.

When Lewis is attacked for helping to build and extend the CIO, when it is proposed that he be removed to facilitate the hegemony of the craft union policies of the AFL Executive Council in

# CP Makes Bid for Unity with Hillman

## And Hillman Plans to Drive CIO Into Suicidal 'Unity' With AFL

The Communist Party has launched an all-out campaign for a united front with the Hillmanites in the CIO against John L. Lewis.

Roy Hudson, Stalinist chief of trade union work, launched the campaign in two articles, in the Sept. 21 Sunday Worker and the Sept. 22 Daily Worker.

Hudson sharply complained that, although "the left progressive forces and the Hillman forces within the CIO" have a "basis of collaboration," they have not yet "found the way to united struggle for their common program and against those forces which seek to disrupt and to sabotage this struggle."

The Stalinist-Hillman united front, Hudson makes clear, will be openly directed against the John L. Lewis forces in the CIO. And the Stalinist-Hillman united front also will seek to carry out Hillman's program of CIO-AFL unity.

Hudson complains that "some progressives, including Left forces within the CIO, did not sufficiently take advantage of the opportunities for bringing about the realignment of forces as quickly as possible. . . . An illustration of this was the lack of understanding expressed by such a prominent person as Harry Bridges at the NMU Convention, who favored aid to the Soviet Union but spoke against an A.E.F. aid to Britain."

John Anderson, Stalinist whip in the auto workers, is castigated by Hudson for his failure to unite with the Reuther right wing forces at the UAW Convention. Hudson says: ". . . a few people identified with the Lefts, such as Anderson, failed completely to understand the change in the situation. . . . By thus seeing only the old issue of Hillman vs. Lewis, they failed miserably to give any leadership to the workers in this convention."

Calling for "unity" of all "progressive" forces in the CIO, Hudson openly makes a bid to Hillman: "The Amalgamated Clothing Workers, and those workers considered under the influence of its leadership, whose stand in support of the for-

a "unified" labor movement, then it is clear that this work stoppage is the result of a reactionary anti-CIO movement and that its victory would be a blow at all the progressive policies and forces within the CIO.

Progressive trade unionists can, therefore, have nothing in common with such a movement.

## DEFENDING "DEMOCRACY"



St. Louis cops man-handling women strike pickets and "protecting" scabs at the Gardner Pocketbook Manufacturing Company, where the International Fur and Leather Workers Union (CIO) has been on strike since August 4. This is just one tiny sample of that "democracy" which Roosevelt wants the workers to defend against Hitler.

ign policy of the Administration is an established fact, undoubtedly are an important section of those forces who could support such a position and leadership."

Hudson attacks the Lewis forces for their organizing drive among the Teamsters and the Construction Workers, saying: "Where, in a certain period it was correct to bring large sections of workers affiliated to the AFL into the CIO,

today such a course would be harmful to the CIO and to the interests of labor as a whole."

The main emphasis of Hudson's articles is a sharp criticism of those who have not already come out openly for war against John L. Lewis. He calls Lewis "the main obstacle" to carrying out the Stalinist-Hillman policy. He says: "While Lewis' position did not get endorsement, the fact that it was not immediately understood, challeng-

ed and exposed prevented the CIO from actively fighting for an anti-fascist program. While waiting to see what was going to happen some people failed to see that Lewis' position had already become the main obstacle preventing the CIO from effectively fighting for its own interests and weakened the struggle against fascism."

This Stalinist bid to Hillman has already evoked a favorable, though still private, response from the Hillmanites. The sole objection of the Hillmanites, it is reliably reported to us, is to the Stalinist proposals for a public and open united front. The Hillmanites prefer to have the Stalinists support them "unofficially."

The Hillmanites are laying their plans for a wide-spread "CIO-AFL unity" campaign that will add the conservative craft unionists of the AFL Executive Council to their forces in the struggle against John L. Lewis.

Last year the Hillmanites raised the question at the CIO convention only to meet an overwhelming defeat at the hands of the Lewis forces supported by the Stalinists. This time they propose to proceed in a more cautious and a far better organized fashion.

In all the local councils and unions of the CIO where they have a chance to pass them, the Hillmanites are going to introduce and push resolutions calling on the CIO National Executive Board to immediately reopen negotiations with the AFL. In this way the campaign will be given the character of "a rank and file move," rather than one instigated from on top by Roosevelt, and those who oppose it will be denounced as "dictatorial."

In line with this strategy within the CIO, a move will be initiated within the AFL to "retire" William Green and replace him with someone to negotiate unity for the AFL who would be "more acceptable" to the CIO. One candidate being considered for Green's job is Senator Mead, Democrat from New York.

In these plans of Hillman, the Stalinists will undoubtedly play a large part, for they control a sizeable number of locals and central labor councils, and in other cases their forces added to the Hillmanites would provide the necessary majorities.

# Meaning of the Moves For CIO-AFL Unification

By GEORGE BREITMAN

The coming annual conventions of the AFL (Seattle, October 6) and the CIO (Detroit, November 17) will again bring to the forefront the question of trade union unity.

Militant trade unionists, who want to work out an answer to the problem of unity not on the basis of an abstract formula or ideal but on the basis of the concrete interests of the working class, will profit from a study of the positions taken by the different groups today advocating CIO-AFL unity.

Such an analysis will demonstrate that the slogan of unity as such is not progressive today, and that it is being used as the cover for extremely reactionary and conservative forces operating against the best interests of the labor movement.

### ROOSEVELT'S AIMS

Why, for example, is the Roosevelt administration so concerned about unification of the two union groups? Certainly not to enable the unions to better fight for improvement of labor's conditions and protection of labor's rights, because more than ever that fight in these days has to be directed against the efforts of the government as well as the bosses.

Roosevelt's main interest in the unions, both craft and industrial, is to tie them to the war program, to get them in the interests of "national defense" to "make sacrifices," to persuade them to give up many of their hard-won rights for the sake of "national unity." A divided labor movement, entailing competition and a struggle for hegemony that leads to increased organizational activity, makes Roosevelt's task more difficult. Roosevelt wants "peace" between the two labor federations as a prelude to "peace" between labor and the capitalists.

It is not hard to see that unity on the basis of Roosevelt's program will reduce, not increase, labor's strength.

### THE AFL CONDITIONS

By and large, the bureaucrats of the AFL Council hold the same position today as they held a year ago when they expressed their willingness for "unity." But the unity they want is the kind that will give craft unionism the domination of the unified movement and leave the industrial

unions at the mercy of those who opposed their creation.

Such a unification as the AFL Council wants would be a blow to all of labor, for it would not only weaken the strongest unions in the labor movement, but it would encourage the bosses to go after the remainder, craft or industrial. One of the progressive consequences of the AFL-CIO split was that, in the wake of the pro-union spirit engendered by the organizational gains of the CIO unions, the AFL was also able to add many new members. The dismemberment of the unions in the mass industries by the craft union leaders of the AFL might easily lead to the destruction by the bosses of the craft unions built near and around them.

### WHAT THE HILLMANITES WANT

The Hillmanites in the CIO also support moves toward unification. They are not interested in seeing that the craft unionists become the dominant force — for they would prefer themselves in the dominant role, of course — but they are not worried about the prospect either. They feel that they could easily come to terms with the Greens and Wolls. Like Roosevelt, their main concern is in tying the unions in with the government.

At last year's CIO convention the Hillmanites were the chief advocates of "resuming unity negotiations." Although Hillman's proposal was decisively rejected by the Lewis forces at the convention, and although Hillman himself was the object of an invitation to get out of the CIO and go back to the AFL by himself, he has chosen to keep his followers in the CIO. The reason for this was two-fold. First of all, his use to the administration and the war machine rests on the idea that he "represents" the dynamic section of the union movement,

the CIO. If he returned to the AFL, he would quickly sink to the status of another Dubinsky, a captive of the AFL Executive Council.

Secondly, Hillman has kept his forces in the CIO because it is there that he can be of most service to the administration in its drive to unify the unions on the basis of support of the war.

In the year since the Atlantic City convention, the Hillmanites have been "boring from within" the CIO, and it is unquestionable that they have made considerable headway since November, 1940.

### ROLE OF THE STALINISTS

Last year the Stalinists fully backed the Lewis position against any unity proposals that would not guarantee the victory of industrial unionism.

This year, however, they loudly proclaim, "conditions have changed." Now they give unqualified support to the Roosevelt war program. Instead of collaborating with John L. Lewis against Hillmanites in the unions, the Stalinists have declared war against Lewis, although he is pursuing more or less the same union policies today as a year ago.

Criticism of Green and Hillman has entirely disappeared from the Daily Worker. The Stalinists have adopted the AFL Executive Council's formula on "strikes and national defense," namely, that unions must retain their right to strike but they must not utilize that right (Daily Worker, Sept. 20.)

The Stalinists are all-out for labor unification today. But unification on the basis of their program will be no different and no better than unification around the Roosevelt, Green and Hillman proposals.

### LEWIS' STAND ON UNIFICATION

The Lewis group is the only major force that shows any signs of resisting a unification that will put the craft unions in the saddle and make the labor movement wholly subservient to the war program.

Events of the last year have shown how correct was the decision of the CIO last November

# What The Communist Party Supports When It Backs Hillman's Program

By ART PREIS

The Stalinist Daily Worker is making ever more tempting bids to Hillman and his followers to achieve organizational, as well as political, unity against the militant and anti-war sectors of the CIO.

As ardent wooers of the Hillmanites, the Stalinists place no conditions on the terms which they are prepared to accept in the proposed marriage contract.

The Hillmanites, for their part, are quite willing to be the object of such an eager courtship, provided they write the resultant contract in toto, along the lines they have pursued unremittingly in the labor movement.

Thus, the unity forged between these two most reactionary pro-war tendencies in the labor movement, will be a unity built four-square on Hillman's program. And that is the program which the Stalinists, along with the major section of the CIO led by John L. Lewis, decisively repudiated less than a year ago at the last CIO convention.

What is this Hillmanite program around which the Stalinists today are willing to unite? It is unqualified endorsement of Hillman's concrete strike-breaking and union-smashing acts of the past two years.

### HILLMAN'S PROGRAM OF STRIKEBREAKING

Hillman has served as the out-

standing "labor" front for the Roosevelt Administration in its attempts to break the strikes of the CIO, hog-tie organized labor with repressive anti-labor legislation, and conceal the corporations' domination of the government and the government's war agencies.

It was Hillman who went to the front for the Administration a year ago in sanctioning the policy of granting big government war orders to corporations like Bethlehem Steel, which had consistently flouted every labor law in the land.

In the name of "national defense," for months Hillman prevented the Bethlehem Steel workers from striking for union recognition, while over a billion dollars of government war orders poured into the corporation's files. Hillman directly intervened to intimidate the Bethlehem workers and attempted to force them back to work without any conditions.

Hillman's policy has been to get organized labor to yield its right to strike "voluntarily." Had his policy been adopted by the CIO in the past year, Bethlehem Steel, Ford, International Harvester, the great aircraft corporations, might still be operating on a completely open-shop basis.

Hillman gave direct sanction to reactionary Governor James of Pennsylvania to send the state troopers against the Vanadium Corporation strikers at Bridgeville, Pennsylvania, last March. Hillman himself issued and signed the order demanding that the strikers permit scabs to enter the plant to ship materials, the order which gave James the go-ahead signal for strikebreaking.

Hillman has intervened directly, or indirectly, against the strikers in every important CIO strike of the past year.

Not one person at the recent CIO legislative conference in Washington attempted to refute John L. Lewis' specific charges that Hillman had stood at Roosevelt's elbow when the President signed the order sending regular army troops against the North

American Aviation strikers, and that Hillman was behind the action of the National Defense Mediation Board in attempting to put over the proposals of the Southern coal mine operators during the strike of 400,000 miners last April.

Although an associate director of the OPM, Hillman did not raise his voice against the OPM policy of preventing industrial expansion in the interests of the aluminum, steel and other monopolies.

His sole plea against repressive labor legislation was that such laws are "unnecessary at the present time." He proposed, instead, that union "leaders" like himself be permitted a further opportunity to persuade the union members to a "voluntary no-strike" policy. Hillman, during the few times he testified on such legislation, did not oppose it on any principled basis. He was for compulsion against the unions if "voluntary" methods "failed" to prevent strikes. In this, his policy differed not one whit from that expressed by Knudsen and the rest of the "ex"-corporation heads running the government's war production program.

At the last convention of the CIO, Hillman and his henchmen proposed that the CIO accept Roosevelt's demand that the CIO and AFL unite on terms which

would mean the liquidation of industrial unionism in America.

Lewis and the great majority of the CIO members, including the Stalinists, wisely and correctly repudiated Hillman's treacherous proposal.

Today, however, the Stalinists are backing this program of suicidal "unity" to the hilt. It is the proffer of support for Hillman's "unity" program which constitutes a chief lure now being put forth by the Stalinists to attract the Hillmanites to a united front against Lewis and the CIO progressives and militants.

Hillman has been the most widely despised labor "leader" among the ranks of the CIO. His support of government strike-breaking, his efforts to tie the CIO to the government, his bootlicking of the Administration and the employers, in the past have made his name anathema to most of the CIO workers.

Hillman is preparing to shove over his full pro-war, strike-breaking, anti-industrial union program at the coming CIO national convention. His most devoted followers in this traitorous move will be the Stalinists.

### IN MEMORIAL

"I am enclosing a check for \$100. Please use it the following way:

"\$25 toward the collection at the Trotsky Memorial meeting.

"\$25 for protecting the prosecution of the SWP.

\$50 for the War Chest in Anton's memory, who has been devoted to the party's program to his last days."

So writes Comrade Maria, widow of Anton Penyaska who was cremated at Astoria, Long Island, on August 9th. We print this excerpt from her fine letter as one of the best examples of loyalty and devotion among the sympathizers of the Socialist Workers Party.

Except for a small insurance, a good portion of which had to be used for funeral expenses, comrade Maria was left with no means and is now job-hunting. In view of this fact, her contribution assumes greater significance.

The funeral of Anton Penyaska took place the very day our comrades had to leave for Minneapolis to appear for arraignment. None of the party leaders could therefore be present. But the Party was represented by a group of comrades and a floral wreath from Local New York and Rose Karsner delivered a short funeral address.

# HELP FIGHT THE INDICTMENTS

29 people—members of the Socialist Workers Party and the leaders of Motor Transport and Allied Workers Industrial Union, Local 544-CIO have been indicted in Minnesota on charges of "conspiring to overthrow the government."

This sweeping attack upon civil liberties and labor's rights must be repelled! The job of defending the victims of this prosecution is up to the workers themselves. Roosevelt's administration isn't subsidizing this defense project.

Aid the defendants by giving promptly and generously to their Defense Fund.

SEND YOUR CONTRIBUTIONS TO:

THE CIVIL RIGHTS DEFENSE COMMITTEE

Room 809, 160 Fifth Ave., New York City

I enclose . . . . . for your Defense Fund

Name . . . . .

Address . . . . .

The Government prosecution has been con-

demned by the

CIO

LABOR'S NON-PARTISAN LEAGUE

UNITED AUTO WORKERS

AMERICAN CIVIL LIBERTIES UNION

NATION

NEW REPUBLIC

and other labor and liberal spokesmen



# UAW Board Reaffirms Union's Support For CIO Organization Of Teamsters

Votes to Uphold Convention Decision Which Reuther-Hillmanites Attempt to Violate

By JOHN ADAMSON

CHICAGO, Sept. 22. — The International Executive Board of the UAW made a resolution public late Saturday pledging its support to the United Construction Workers Organizing Committee, CIO, in its drive to organize the Motor Transport Workers. Officials of the UCWOC hailed this resolution as a complete endorsement of the drive.

Passage of this resolution was an important victory for the pro-John L. Lewis forces in the UAW. Although the International Executive Board was under instructions by a resolution of the recent Buffalo convention to support the CIO drive to organize the motor transport workers, the Reuther-Hillman group on the board had attempted to prevent the carrying out of the convention resolution.

This was the Board's first meeting in Chicago since the important Buffalo Convention. And as was to be expected, the first important problem confronting the UAW again split the Board wide open into two widely divergent factions.

The militancy displayed at the Buffalo Convention, and the distinct unpopularity of Hillman and the OPM among the Auto Workers, served to break Frankenstein and R. J. Thomas from the Reuther-Hillman group. Afraid of being compromised by identification with Hillman and his associates in the CIO, Frankenstein and Thomas have left the Reuther group and are attempting to stand, as it were, above the two warring factions in the UAW and to duplicate inside the union the role of Murray in the CIO.

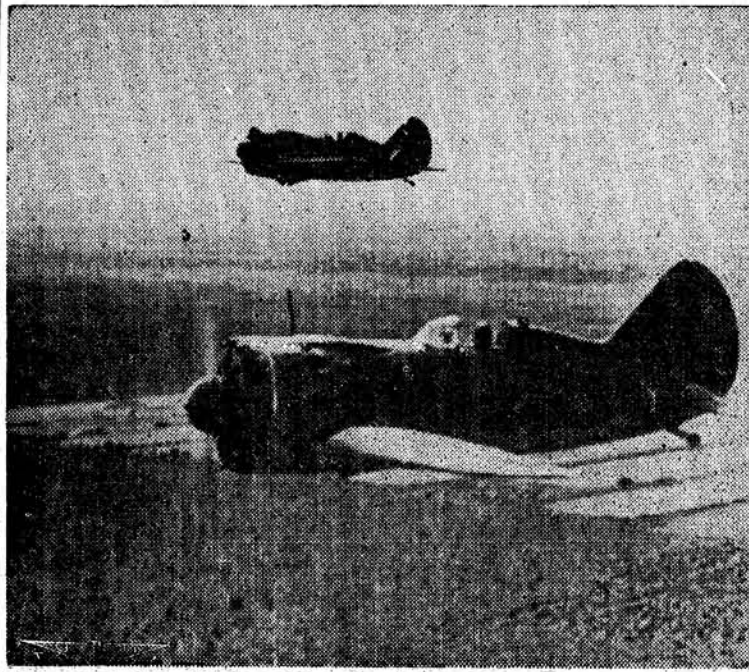
## SUPPORT FOR UCWOC ASKED

As soon as the Board meeting was called into session, Russell Turner, in charge of the United Construction Workers Organizing Committee drive among the Motor Transport Workers, requested that the UAW give full aid to the UCWOC organizing campaign. This drive has already formally been launched in Detroit, Flint, Lansing, and other Michigan centers.

The whole previous week Detroit had been seething with the announcement of the Motor Transport Workers drive. Hundreds of teamsters have been coming up to CIO headquarters, and Flying Squadron men gathered from different auto locals are pledging to aid in the drive and to ward off any goon tactics on the part of the AFL.

There should have been no question at all on the stand of the UAW Executive Board. The Buffalo Convention had issued clear and explicit instructions on this matter. The resolution unanimously adopted by the Convention stated "That this, the Sixth Annual Convention of the UAW-CIO go on record welcoming the Motor Transport Workers in the CIO, and pledge its full support to the organizing drive of the United Construction Workers Organizing Committee in this field." It is further a matter of record that neither Reuther nor any of the caucus leaders of his group took the floor at the Convention

## Soviet Air Fighters



Soviet war planes winging their way to the Eastern Front give the lie to the Nazi boast of three months ago that the Soviet Union's air fleet had been wiped out in the first week of the Nazi invasion.

instructions of the Buffalo Convention and at the same time did not answer the question of UAW support of the teamsters' drive, leaving the whole problem in essentially the same position as before the Board meeting.

Fortunately, this "compromise" lasted only until Saturday, when it was replaced by a resolution explicitly backing the CIO truckers drive.

The Transport Workers drive will unquestionably be pushed with full vigor and militancy and there is no question but that the auto workers in this vicinity will give all adequate and necessary assistance to this drive to insure that the Motor Transport workers will be allowed to build the democratic industrial union that they want.

While the Board was in session, ominous warnings came from the auto industry that soon thousands of auto workers would be walking the streets and, true to form and to its past history, the Executive Board merely reaffirmed its program of protecting the seniority of all auto workers who are transferred to "defense" industry, and then declared the problem closed. As everybody in the Auto Union knows the safeguarding of seniority rights does not even begin to solve the problem of priorities unemployment.

Seniority alone does not provide jobs to those thousands of auto workers who cannot find work in war-orders plants. Seniority does not take care of those workers who may have to wait from one to six months before they are placed in war production. Seniority does not protect the worker who is asked to leave his home town for a job in a different city hundreds of miles distant. Seniority likewise says nothing about those workers who are offered war-orders jobs at 80c an hour in contrast to the \$1.15 or \$1.25 that they are now earning in the automobile shops.

uled to be held in Detroit on November 17. The delegates were more or less evenly divided between the Addes and Reuther groups plus Frankenstein and Thomas. The Buffalo Convention instructed its delegates to vote for the reelection of Philip Murray to the presidency of the CIO, but apparently this will not be a contested point as Lewis representative, Allen Heywood, publicly announced at Indianapolis to the Rubber Workers' Convention that all good men in the CIO were rallying around Philip Murray, who would run for reelection.

## The Flint Program

The plan of the Flint UAW locals to halt priorities unemployment in the auto industry, to which the foregoing article refers, includes: the establishment of rank-and-file committees in every plant to head the fight; preferential consideration on a seniority basis for workers covered by UAW contracts in transference; to jobs in war production; maintenance of the same rate of pay on new war production jobs as in the auto plants; reorganization of the auto industry and plants to provide jobs within existing plants for the auto workers, so that they do not have to leave their present communities; equal participation of the union with the management in determining the allocation of war orders, where they shall be produced, and where new plants shall be located; adequate cash relief of no less than \$25 weekly for auto workers unable to get jobs because of priorities unemployment; and, finally, an all-out national union campaign of economic and political action to put this program over.

# Randolph Calls For A New Negro Movement

Says Million Negroes Must Organize for A Serious Struggle Against Jim Crowism

By ALBERT PARKER

In an article printed in a number of Negro newspapers last week, A. Philip Randolph, president of the AFL Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters and national director of the March on Washington Committee, called for the organization of a million Negroes to fight against racial discrimination.

"Negroes," said Randolph, "must no longer think in terms of little units, or small maneuvers. To this end, the March on Washington committees are out to enlist a million Negroes to increase the striking and driving power of the Negro masses for their rights."

"Recent history in international and national affairs shows that it is not enough to be right. You must also be powerful. You must also build the machine with which to work and fight for justice. . . ."

"It was just, proper and right for the President to issue an Executive Order in the early stages of discriminations in national defense on account of race, color, religion or national origin as it was proper and just, June 25,

take concrete steps to actually organize a Negro mass movement.

At any rate, his actual proposals are quite vague. All he says about the organizational work involved in creating such a movement is that it would be "an herculean task" and that "it perhaps will not proceed with a blitzkrieg tempo" because the March on Washington committee "does not have a quarter" and therefore the work will have to be carried forward "with volunteer workers."

No Negro worker will deny the need for a mass organization that will fight for equality. With production expanding, with talk about democracy increasing on all sides, with their youth being called on to undergo military training, the Negro masses are ready to conduct a vigorous fight for their rights.

Money is not the decisive question. Plenty of organizations with finances cannot win the allegiance of the masses — and for a very good reason. They

me that it gets them in a lot of trouble in school. The teachers here are all for the company. If they know any better, they're sure afraid to say so. During the sit-downs they canned the few teachers who did come out in favor of the strikers.

Well, Jim is sure looking forward to hunting this fall. It makes me laugh, sometimes we go without butter and sometimes we eat pheasant. I understand the President is very fond of game so that's one thing we have in common. Which just goes to prove that this is a land of equal opportunities.

Now if I could figure out how to get both of the kids winter coats I'd maybe believe that. I guess I'll start knitting again now that it's turned cooler, but it won't be for Britain. I can remember when the people who are always getting their names in the paper for Aid to Britain turned a pretty cold shoulder to us when we were out on strike. Somehow I keep going back to those days. We stood up for our rights then and it looks as if that's the only way you ever get anything.

Sometimes it worries me. The children hear so much talk around the house about the union and the radical movement and they are so loyal to their dad and

they are so loyal to their dad and

# Why No Western Front Is Opened

(Continued from page 1)

didn't think it is the best step now to be taken in the war against the Nazis, there would ordinarily be the problem of making concessions to a valuable ally. The Soviet Union is now bearing the brunt of the struggle. A demand from such an ally should be acceded to if the demand is one which can physically be carried out. One could cite instances from the World War where the insistence by the French government or the Czarist Empire for a certain form of aid was acceded to by Britain, even though the British High Command would have preferred to do something else.

Here, then, is the heart of the question. Churchill and Roosevelt will not do for the Soviet Union what they would have done for the Czarist Empire. They accept the Soviet Union as an ally — but only on their own terms. They look upon the Soviet Union, not as an ordinary imperialist ally, but as a WORKERS' STATE, and they would not dream of doing for that workers' state what they would do for the Czarist Empire. Renegades from the revolutionary movement may call the Soviet Union imperialist or fascist; Churchill and Roosevelt know better.

Harry Pollitt is absolutely correct in asserting that there is no real difference between Moore-Brabazon's brazen statement and the more diplomatic formulations of the Churchill government. The rulers of the "democracies" have no desire whatsoever to see the Soviet Union victorious. They want the Soviet Union to expend its life blood in weakening Hitler but simultaneously they want to see the Soviet Union weakened to the point where its fate will be at the mercy of the "democracies." As the Daily Worker's own military expert said on July 13, "The (British) idea might be to see the Soviet Union win the war with one division left." What would happen to the Soviet Union if it "won" the war with one division left? It would be at the mercy of the "democratic" imperialists who would then destroy it. This is the objective of Roosevelt and Churchill, and no amount of "public pressure" will cause them to drop it. The only way to "change" their war aims is to overthrow the capitalist class they represent.

If Leningrad and Moscow fall, as Kiev has fallen, and the Soviet Union is left depleted of its industrial resources, then the "democracies" will probably forward large quantities of armament to the remnants of the Soviet Union. That is, they will arm the Red Army in the same sense that China is now being armed — under conditions where the Red Army would be completely at the mercy of Churchill and Roosevelt. Unable to provide its own arms, dependent for arms upon its "allies," the Red Army would then be subject to the orders of Churchill and Roosevelt, its strategy dictated by them, its objectives dictated by them. It would, like the Chinese forces, have the second-class status of a colonial army, forced by the weakness of its industrial resources to bow to the dictates of its imperialist allies.

If this strategy is carried out, the defeat of Hitler would not save the Soviet Union. Hitler's removal from the scene would only mean that the "democracies" would take his place as the destroyers of the Soviet Union.

This is the terrible prospect, yet it is along this road that the Stalinists, by supporting Churchill and Roosevelt, are travelling.

These latest developments eloquently testify to the correctness of the Trotskyist program for defense of the Soviet Union. We do all we can to defend the Soviet Union. But we do so in the spirit of Lenin and Trotsky. It is not the task of revolutionists to "demand" that the imperialists open a western front. It is our task to call upon the workers to continue irreconcilably the class struggle against the rulers of the "democracies." For only the overthrow of capitalism and the establishment of Workers' and Farmers Governments in the "democracies" can save the Soviet Union from destruction at the hands of Hitler or the "democracies." The Stalinist program surrenders the Soviet Union into the hands of those would-be destroyers. Our program is to extend the October revolution to the rest of the world.

don't have the proper program,

they don't have the proper internal structure. These are the "Let the Negro masses speak through a million voices," says Randolph. Yes, but what words Randolph offer as the program for this organization? Is it going to make deals with the powers that be and call off militant action in return for promises, as the March on Washington Committee did last June? Is it going to be democratically run? Are the masses going to have the decisive word about the organization's policies? Or is the organization to be controlled and directed from the top with a small committee not only making day-to-day organizational decisions but also the vital and fundamental decisions of policy?

All that Randolph has said on the question is this: "In it (the organization proposed) every Negro will count. The highest will be as low as the lowest and the lowest will be as high as the highest." This may be the answer in Randolph's own style. But then again it may only be an evasion of the question.

But Randolph has never asked the masses to decide anything of importance — the program of the March on Washington, the right to decide whether the March should have been called off or carried through, the right to decide on the personnel on the national committee "announced" by Randolph after the March was called off.

Such a handling of questions is not only dangerous for the future of the proposed organization, but it also tends to hold back the initial steps. For many of the local committees will think: "If Randolph doesn't let us decide what our organization should do on a question like this, what reason do we have to believe that we will be permitted to decide policy later on? What guarantees then will be have against being sold down the river by a leadership over which we have no

We warned that nothing could come of deals with the Jim Crow forces, that Negroes must organize to fight them all the way through. Randolph's article is proof that we were correct, that his past procedure was incorrect and inadequate.

Negroes can learn much from the lessons of that March, and it is their duty to do so if they want within the proposed organization to avoid the mistakes its leaders have made in the past.

# 'MY DAY ON LOW PAY' by A Housewife

By a Flint Housewife  
Flint, Michigan  
Dear Editor,

I have been reading the MILITANT for some time now and I got to thinking that if so many people were interested in My Day by Mrs. Roosevelt, perhaps the men and women who read your paper would be interested in a different sort of My Day, the sort of day the wife of an auto worker spends. So I'm sending along some of my diary for you to use.

Sept. 9, 1941 — Well, the lay-off is over and we start a fresh year. I used to start my diary on New Year's Day but now I start it after the lay-offs. We are always flat broke then and starting from scratch. Last year Jim made \$1400 but that isn't much help in figuring out the budget for this year. Everything is so unsettled that the men were talking about lay-offs, and cuts in production before they even went back to work.

I canned about 250 quarts of fruit and vegetables and that will help some no matter what happens this winter, but it isn't real-

ly enough to see us through any long lay-off and the kids get awfully sick of going without meat and eggs like they did in '32 when we hit such a low.

It seems funny though, that when we had that little spurt this spring and Jim got overtime every week, we didn't have any more than we usually do. It makes you feel good for a while and you seem to have more money, but it doesn't go any farther — eggs and butter both went up 10c at a crack as soon as they started working the men a little more.

They say business boomed, but around here it was all credit buying. It seems everybody wanted a refrigerator or a new stove. I don't blame them. I get awfully sick of emptying the pan under the ice-box and putting stuff out in the winter. But it seems a pity, because they'll lose everything as soon as work stops. I know a woman who has bought a washing machine five times and lost it every time her husband got laid-off.

Anyhow, I went downtown the other day to get the children some socks and stuff for school

and the only stores that were busy were the dime stores. It's because, like I say, you're getting more money and you feel good, but way down you know it won't go any farther for the things you really need, so you splurge and buy a new lampshade for a quarter and then you can come home with a big package and feel that you got something anyhow.

Well, I have to finish my ironing so I guess that's all for now.

Sept. 12, 1941 — I burned my hand on the coffee pot because the handle fell off. It reminds me of the aluminum drive. They collected a pile of stuff and had it all dumped in front of the City Hall. At the time I told Jim I had half a notion to go down and see what I could pick out and now I'm darned sorry I didn't. I'll bet I would have found a better coffee pot thrown away than the one we are using.

Well, Jim didn't think that was funny at all. He still isn't working full time and the talk is all about a big cut in auto production. Flint hasn't got hardly any de-

fense orders except out at the A. C. where they built a big new plant. The defense orders General Motors got didn't come here. They built new plants in other places. We know why, they don't want to pay union wages to union men, but they never WANTED to give us anything. It's what we fought for that we got.

That's what I keep telling Jim, but he says they'll do something about it. The only thing I've seen done yet is a bright idea that men ought to be transferred wherever work is according to seniority. So everybody in Flint that has good seniority has got to pick up and go trekking around the country. And who pays your travelling expenses, I'd like to know? They don't say about that.

I get awfully steamed up I know, and Jim says I sure am radical, but he works all day and when he comes home he wants a couple of bottles of beer, or to go fishing or hunting, and now that the kids are older, I have a little more time to think. And I think Jim isn't going to have his bottle of beer or be



**The Negro Struggle**  
By ALBERT PARKER

**North or South?**

Even before the latest series of attacks on Negro soldiers stationed in southern camps, the demand was raised by various groups that all Negro soldiers be transferred to northern camps. But after the murder of Private Ned Turman at Fort Bragg, N. C., and the mass desertions from Arkansas by Negro troops who had been assaulted by white mobs for marching on the highways and denied ammunition by their officers for self-protection, it became a leading slogan of many papers and writers.

On September 6 the Chicago Defender printed a front page editorial which declared that "removing Negro troops from the South because of unprovoked attacks by prejudiced civilians as advocated by one of our contemporaries is far from being an adequate, honest solution of the problem. Besides being an unwarranted, indefensible concession, such a step would be equivalent to an official condoning of the inexcusable barbarities that have been committed against Negro soldiers."

The Defender asserts that Negro troops "should be kept in the south or in any other section of the country where it is necessary and convenient to train them," that the "government ought to be prepared to defend its defenders at all costs," that the soldiers should be equipped to defend themselves.

**Schuyler's Answer**

The following week George Schuyler, Pittsburgh Courier columnist, stated his disagreements with the Defender: "Any step that removes these soldiers from insult, persecution and brutality because of their color is an adequate step."

He points out that the administration is "not going to MAKE the South accept these Negro soldiers as anything but outcasts" and that it is not going to permit Negro soldiers to defend themselves from unjustifiable attacks. He reminds the Defender also that Negro troops are not being attacked by civilians alone for the "cold, hard fact is that most of their mistreatment has been at the hands of the Army's military police."

"Since the question of honesty has been raised," he continues, "why not be ENTIRELY honest, and urge that all separate Negro units be abolished and Negro recruits and selectees sent to the same units as white men? Why not be TRULY honest and admit that segregation and discrimination are inseparable, and that fair and equal treatment is impossible of attainment in a segregated setup?"

And Schuyler concludes his defense of the slogan demanding transfer of Negro soldiers to northern camps by declaring: "Keeping the present Negro soldier in the South will neither halt the outrageous treatment they are experiencing nor cause the Administration to end it. Hence the best solution is to not station these young men in the South."

Schuyler finds it comparatively easy to discredit the proposal of the Defender editorial because it is based on a false premise: namely, that Negroes have reason to believe that the Jim Crow government might be interested in doing anything about persecution and brutality against Negroes.

The government has shown that the only concessions it "cannot afford to make" are concessions that might weaken the whole system of Jim Crowism in the south. Today especially it does not dare to do anything to offend the southern ruling class because most of the administration's support for the imperialist war comes from the poll tax south. Dependence on the government or its War Department is nothing short of blindness. And that is the chief weakness of the Defender's criticism of the proposal to move Negro troops north.

**Both Viewpoints Are Wrong**

But the fact that the Defender editorial presented a poor case, does not make Schuyler's case any stronger. For his own arguments are full of holes, and Schuyler himself sows illusions that are as dangerous and misleading as the Defender's. While the Defender fools itself with the idea that "our" government will help fight Jim Crowism, Schuyler fools himself with the idea that Negro soldiers are removed from Jim Crowism in the government's northern camps.

Of course, "any step that removes these soldiers from insult, persecution and brutality because of their color is an adequate step." But who dares to say that Negro soldiers don't face insult, persecution and brutality in northern camps?

Schuyler reminds the Defender that it's not only civilians but Army MP's as well that mistreat the Negroes. Does he realize that this is an argument as much against himself as against the Defender? Or does he contend that northern MP's love Negroes, while southern MP's don't?

Schuyler asked the Defender an interesting question. "Why not be TRULY honest and admit that segregation and discrimination are inseparable, and that fair and equal treatment is impossible of attainment in a segregated setup" (which exists just as much in the north as in the south?) But we'd like to have him answer it himself, and then justify his proposal as "an adequate step."

But Schuyler's argument can be punctured without referring to the obvious contradictions in his article. All we need do is refer to an incident that took place, a few days after his article was written, in the north, at Fort Ontario, New York, to be exact. For at this camp there occurred the same kind of attack on Negro soldiers by white soldiers that occurs in the south. Negro soldiers were attacked, beaten and driven out of the hospital. What does Schuyler propose for them? To go further north, perhaps? To Canada or Alaska?

**Famous American Labor Trials**

**THE UNITED STATES vs. EUGENE V. DEBS**

By Lydia Beidel

**EUGENE V. DEBS**

Sentenced to ten years in the Federal penitentiary at Cleveland, Ohio, on September 14, 1918.

"They are trying to send us to prison for speaking our minds. Very well, let them. I tell you that if it had not been for men and women who in the past have had the moral courage to go to prison, we would still be in the jungles. . . ."

"No, I am not opposed to all war, nor am I opposed to fighting under all circumstances, and any declaration to the contrary would disqualify me as a revolutionist. . . ."

"I am opposed to every war but one; I am for that war, with heart and soul and that is the world-wide war of the social revolution. In that war I am prepared to fight in any way the ruling class may make it necessary, even to barricades."

—From the speeches of Eugene V. Debs.

**BACKGROUND OF THE CASE**

In June, 1917, the St. Louis convention of the Socialist Party of America adopted a famous declaration in which the World War was denounced as an imperialist venture and the international solidarity of the working class in opposition to the war was proclaimed. Many militants in the Socialist Party and the Industrial Workers of the World carried on agitation against the capitalist war.

Eugene Victor Debs, one of the founders of the IWW and the most prominent member of the Socialist Party, devoted himself tirelessly to the propagation of the ideas of the St. Louis Declaration. "When capitalists declare war," he said, "it is then for us to declare war on them. . . and fight every battle for the overthrow of the ruling class."

**THE CANTON SPEECH**

On June 16, 1918, at the Ohio State Convention of the Socialist Party, Debs spoke in the City of Canton. He reiterated his opposition to the war, declared his solidarity with the Russian Bolsheviks, and was arrested and charged with treason under the Espionage Law of June 15, 1917.

He delivered his now famous speech immediately after having visited a number of his comrades, held in jail for speaking out as he did against the mass slaughter of workers for profit. Thinking of them, he said, "I may not be able to say all I think, but I am not going to say anything I do not think. And I would rather a thousand times be a free soul in jail than a sycophant or cow-

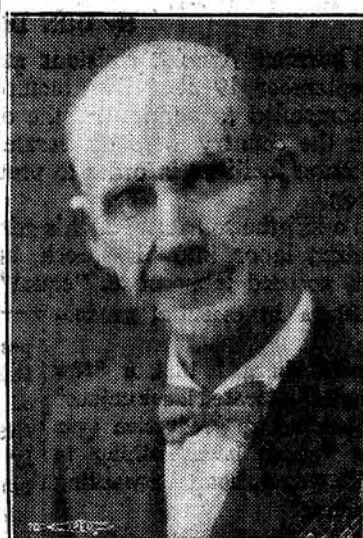
ard on the streets. They may put those boys in jail and some of the rest of us in jail, but they cannot put the Socialist movement in jail. Those prison bars separate their bodies from ours, but their souls are here this afternoon. They are simply paying the penalty that all men have paid in all the ages of history for standing erect and seeking to pave the way for better conditions for mankind. . . ."

"They who are animated with the unconquerable spirit of the Social Revolution, they who have the moral courage to stand erect, to assert their convictions, to stand by them, to go to jail or hell for them — they are writing their names in this crucial hour, they are writing their names in fadeless letters in the history of mankind. . . ."

"In all the history of the world, you, the people, have never had a voice in declaring war, and strange as it certainly appears, no war by any nation in any age has ever been declared by the people.

"Wars throughout history have been waged for conquest and power. The strong have always tried to rob the weak. The masters have always declared war. They never did any of the fighting; they have always sent the workers to fight for them.

"The masters alone declare war and they alone make peace. They have everything to gain and nothing to lose. You, the workers, have nothing to gain and every-



EUGENE V. DEBS

thing to lose — especially your lives. . . ."

**THE TRIAL**

In Cleveland on September 9, 1918, Eugene V. Debs went to trial in the court of Judge D. C. Westenhaver on a charge of treason. The case of the Federal government was based entirely upon statements made by Debs in his speech at Canton, Ohio, recorded by a government agent stationed in the crowd.

Debs delivered the plea to the jury himself.

"When great changes occur in history," he said to the jury, "when great principles are involved, as a rule the majority are wrong. The minority are usually right. In every age there have been a few heroic souls who have been in advance of their time, who have been misunderstood, maligned, persecuted, sometimes put to death. Long after their martyrdom monuments were erected to them and garlands woven for their graves.

"I cannot take back a word I have said. I cannot repudiate a sentence I have uttered. I stand before you guilty of having made this speech. I do not know, I cannot tell, what your verdict may be; nor does it matter much, so far as I am concerned. . . ."

"Revolutions have a habit of succeeding. When the time comes for them. . . . The most heroic word in all languages is Revolution."

On September 14, he was sentenced to ten years in the Federal penitentiary. Taking advantage of his right to make a final plea to the court he said: "Years ago I recognized my kinship with all living things, and I made up my mind that I was not one bit better than the meanest of the earth. I said then, and I say now, that while there is a lower class, I am in it; while there is a criminal element, I am of it; while there is a soul in prison, I am not free."

His lawyers immediately appealed to the Supreme Court and Debs was released on bond and allowed to await the decision of the higher court at his home in Terre Haute, Indiana.

**THE SUPREME COURT DECISION**

On March 10, 1919, prosecutor Wertz telephoned Debs at his home and informed him that the Supreme Court had upheld the decision of the lower court — with the concurrence of the liberals Holmes and Brandeis. Debs, 65 years old and suffering from heart disease, packed his bag and took the train for Cleveland, to surrender to the Federal police.

"The decision is perfectly consistent with the character of the Supreme Court as a ruling class tribunal," he said.

"Great issues are not decided by the courts, but by the people. I have no concern in what the coterie of begowned corporation lawyers in Washington may decide in my case. The court of final resort is the people, and that court will be heard from in due time."

It was on April 19, 1919, five months after the World War had ended, that Debs entered Moundsville jail in West Virginia, since the Federal jails were too crowded with political prisoners to accommodate him. He was later transferred to the penitentiary at Atlanta.

**CANDIDACY FROM JAIL**

In the elections of 1920, Debs was nominated to run as a can-

didate for the presidency of the United States from behind prison bars. Appealing to the working masses of the country from behind the locked doors of his cell, he polled the imposing total of 919,799 votes.

Once during his term he was offered a pardon on condition that he recant. He declined the offer and said he would wait until he could leave jail without having to violate his principles.

**COMMUTATION**

Two years and nine months after he had entered prison, Debs was pardoned and on December 25, 1921 he left Atlanta on his own terms, having repudiated

none of his ideas and none of his words. His health was broken, but that great spirit, which set him apart as the kind of man who would "go to jail or to hell" for his revolutionary principles, was untouched and unblemished.

"I am not a capitalist soldier; I am a proletarian revolutionist. I do not belong to the regular army of the plutocracy but to the irregular army of the people. I refuse to obey any command to fight for the ruling class, but I will not wait to be commanded to fight for the working class."

That was Gene Debs.

**THE INCREDIBLE STORY OF THE 'ALBERT DEWEY'**

The seaworthiness of a vessel is an important consideration to the men that sail it — but not always to the bosses who don't risk their lives on the open water.

In the August 26th issue of the *Seafarers Log*, official organ of the Seafarers International Union, AFL, a letter to the editor written by A. W. Armstrong relates the true story of an ocean-going tug so unseaworthy that it became a death trap for its sailors as far back as the Spanish-American war. Yet this ship has been kept afloat all these years and was recently pressed into service to carry sup-

plies to the new American military bases in the Caribbean.

The Albert F. Dewey is the name of the vessel and it was built, according to Armstrong, in Newport News in 1895. After 41 years of service it was laid up and seamen thought they had seen the last of her. In 1936, however, Jahnecke Service, Inc., saw a chance to turn a nice profit and bought her for \$3,775.55. Jahnecke, Inc., proved to be foresighted for it sailed the ship for four years and was then able to resell her to the Minden Construction Company for \$47,000 — a profit of about \$43,000. At the time Jahnecke bought the ship, it had been labeled by the U. S. Engineers as "in a completely unseaworthy condition."

"National Defense" REFLOATS THE DEATH TRAP

The Minden Company immediately placed the ship in service carrying building supplies to the naval and air bases in the Caribbean. The author of the letter has no information as to just what repairs were made before she put to sea this last time, but he reports that "the tug was absolutely unseaworthy when leaving the New Basin Canal."

His letter continues:

"She was taking water at such a rate that they had to put into Madisonville for repairs. This, mind you, before she could even get over Lake Pontchartrain. Nearly turning over, 80 miles from Gulfport and again in Panama City, convinced the crew that they had had enough. Upon asking to be paid off, they were appealed to on the grounds that the delivery of the Dewey was vital to National Defense. Being more interested in the nation's program than in safeguarding their own lives, the S-IU crew sailed the ship.

"One interesting thing came to

light while in Florida. A colored lineman rubbed his eyes, looked at the ship and asserted in no uncertain terms: 'I am seeing ghosts.' Asked why, he replied: 'This same tug, during the Spanish-American War had overturned and drowned a number of Cubans.'

"Jahnecke, Inc., are noted for running their tugs as long as the bottom holds enough to keep some sort of running power in her, so you can see what the crew was up against.

**BOSS PROFITS VS SEAMEN'S LIVES**

"The U. S. Engineers sold this tug as absolutely unseaworthy. They should know, Jahnecke used her for five years, then sold her at a very, very, very nice profit. John Sap, the sailor, believing he was helping his country, sailed her. Of course, all the stake he had was his life. What is that against the company's pocket book?"

"A few short weeks back was 'Aluminum Week.' The kids of the country were out bunning aluminum from door to door to help Mrs. Housewife give all the pots she thought she could do without. Every week is DEFENSE STAMP AND BOND WEEK. The working stiffs throughout the country are passing up a few beers, a show, a ball game, etc., to do their bit. THE BOSSES, the CORPORATIONS, etc., are losing sleep to be sure they make unheard of profits.

"In the near future the seamen on both coasts are going to be asking for wage reviews.

"Do you think that increases will be allowed?"

"Or do you think that the patriotism of the seamen will again be appealed to?"

"Summed up, this shows to what lengths the capitalists will go for their lucre!"

**Japan's Dilemma-- Dare It Attack The USSR Now?**

By JACK WEBER

**The Unsettled Pacific**

The attempt of a desperate Japan to "negotiate" her differences with the United States for a moment eased the crisis in the unsettled Pacific. It would be highly interesting for us to know just what was said in the conversations between the August Mikado and the All-Highest Roosevelt. Not only were the Japanese and the American people left outside the sphere of diplomacy, but — more important — the Chinese were not consulted in any way whatsoever. Yet it was the fate of the Chinese people, more than of any other perhaps, that was under discussion. This fact alone throws the clearest light on the nature of the imperialist conference, as well as on the meaning by application of the Churchill-Roosevelt eight points.

Both the Japanese and the American ruling classes find themselves in an insoluble dilemma. The Japanese dare not face a war on all fronts at once. Their next move in the looting of the Pacific area would almost certainly bring war, a war which in the shortest time would find Japan on one side, and America, England, China, the Dutch East Indies and Soviet Russia on the other. The outcome of such a war can hardly be doubted, with Japan already weakened by the never-ending war in China. It thus devolved on Japanese diplomacy to try to separate the enemies, the most powerful being the U. S. Japan would like to be ready for an instant assault on Siberia, since the advances of the German armies in the West encourage such a move more and more. Put in the most blunt terms, the Japanese therefore explored the question: what would Roosevelt demand as his price for permitting the Japanese to make the attack on Russia without interfering?

Roosevelt would like nothing better than to have some sort of temporary settlement of the Pacific problems so as to move the entire navy into the Atlantic. But what settlement is possible? The future of United States capitalism is as much involved in the Far East as in Europe, although the war in Europe will decide the fate of the world including the Far East. American imperialism cannot allow the Japanese to swallow up all of Asia, especially China, despite the menace of Hitler. Japan demands too high a price of the United States for a temporary agreement in the Pacific — a free hand in China and in Siberia.

**The Price the U. S. Wants**

But then the United States also demands an impossible price of the Japanese imperialists; namely, no attack on Siberia while Stalin is engaged with Hitler, and some form of settlement of the "Chinese incident" that would mean even less for Japan than the present status quo. If it were merely a matter of sacrificing the interests of the Chinese people, there would be no hesitation on either side. But the clash of interests of the two powers is far too fundamental to permit even a temporary agreement at the most critical stage of the second World War. The Japanese may hesitate a little longer before making their "sudden" move into Siberia. But the postponement is not expected to be long, as is seen by the removal of Soviet nationals from Japan.

The development of the second world war follows basically the same line of economic, imperialist interests that clashed in the first world war. While the United States and England were deeply involved in Europe, the Japanese generals sent their forces into China and then into Siberia (after the Bolshevik Revolution) to gobble up all they could at the expense of the other powers while the situation permitted. Wilson knew very well that the Japanese intended to keep the territory they grabbed if they had the power to do so. Wilson feared then what Roosevelt fears now: that the Japanese would establish themselves so firmly on the Asiatic mainland as to make it impossible for the United States to dislodge them. That is why the American troops sent to Siberia primarily preoccupied themselves with obstructing the Japanese army there.

Roosevelt remembers that it was only after extreme pressure, and as late as 1923, four years after intervention had begun and five years after the end of the "official" war, that the last Japanese soldier was removed from Siberia. This time Roosevelt does not propose to consent to Japanese invasion. On the contrary, he will oppose it with force if necessary — and it will be necessary. The United States will be helping Russia not out of any altruistic love for the Russians, certainly not out of friendship for Stalin or for the revolution which he betrayed, but because of its own imperialist interests.

The breakdown of the conversations between the two powers that hope to dominate the Pacific is clear evidence that both feel that matters of life and death for imperialism are involved. In such a case no basis for agreement, even temporary agreement, exists. The United States navy has already received orders to shoot at German and Italian submarines and naval ships. It is extremely likely that the Pacific squadron will receive like orders with respect to Japanese battleships. The Japanese will hardly attempt to invade Siberia without at the same time trying to shut off all supplies for Russia. Vladivostok will be declared under blockade. The United States will then become involved in the war by attempting to break the blockade, using its navy for the purpose. Imperialism cannot solve its problems peacefully. The methods of diplomacy inevitably give way to the methods of force so long as capitalism continues to dominate the earth.

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

—LEON TROTSKY

## JOIN US IN FIGHTING FOR:

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

## The 'Impartial' State

The ganging up of the national and state governments against Local 544-CIO of Minneapolis is perhaps the crudest instance in our generation of open governmental aid to the employers and reactionary labor officials. For seven years the bosses have tried in vain to smash Local 544. Three times in those seven years AFL Teamsters Chief Daniel J. Tobin has tried to help the bosses: he branded the union as "red" and "outlaw" during its great strikes of 1934, he lifted the charter of the union in 1935, and in June of this year he tried to appoint a dictator-receiver over it. Neither the bosses nor Tobin got very far in all their attempts. What they could not do, the state and national governments have attempted to do for Tobin and the bosses in a blitzkrieg during the last three and a half months.

Week by week we have recorded the horrible story of these governmental moves against a union which, despite all the terror directed against it, has retained the allegiance of the motor transport workers of Minneapolis. Nor are we, and the national CIO, the only ones who have stigmatized the blitzkrieg against Local 544-CIO as a cynical and deliberate use of governmental power against a militant union. The ultra-cautious American Civil Liberties Union, after a long and careful investigation of one of the governmental moves against Local 544-CIO — the "seditious conspiracy" case against the Socialist Workers Party which is to be tried in federal court in Minneapolis on October 20, in which 16 of the 29 defendants are leaders of Local 544-CIO — informed Attorney General Biddle that it is "reasonable to conclude that the government injected itself into an inter-union controversy in order to promote the interests of the one side (Tobin) which supported the administration's foreign and domestic policies."

Many of the liberals who are protesting against the Department of Justice's "seditious conspiracy" prosecution would, nevertheless, like to believe that the government's onslaught against Local 544-CIO is an exceptional occurrence and that ordinarily the government does not interfere with the progress of the trade union and labor movement.

The truth of the matter is that the only thing exceptional about the Minneapolis situation is that Local 544-CIO has fought so exceedingly well and so intelligently that the union-smashing moves of the Roosevelt administration have been completely exposed for all to see. In the usual union-employer battle the government's representatives, appearing in the guise of "impartial" umpires, are able to deceive the union into accepting less than the strikers have already won on the picket line. A private threat by an OPM official, or a National Defense Mediation Board official, has often in

these last months been sufficient to send union officers to keep their members from striking, without the members even hearing about the government threat.

What has been exceptional is the case in which a union firmly refuses to submit to governmental threats or deception and the government has to show its hand openly. Recent instances of this were the Knox-Knudsen, threats against the Allis-Chalmers strikers, the use of troops to break the North American Aviation strike, the manning of three ships with scabs by the U. S. Maritime Commission last week.

By firmly resisting the bosses and Tobin, Local 544-CIO forced the Roosevelt administration to show its hand openly throughout this three and a half months of battle. Hundreds of thousands of workers in the CIO, who never before grasped the anti-labor role of the government, have had their eyes opened as they watched the heroic battle of the Minneapolis motor transport workers. Many more workers will learn the falsity of the "impartial" disguise donned by the Roosevelt administration when the trial of the 29 opens on October 20. This battle in Minneapolis is a major step in the political education of the American working class. No matter what its immediate outcome, this struggle will shatter forever the myth of the "impartial" state in the minds of millions of workers. What they learn from this struggle, will arm these workers for ever more effective action in the coming battles of American labor against the bosses and their government.

## Second International Slogan and Politics

In 1918 the Finnish capitalists and landlords, headed by the butcher General Mannerheim, drowned the Finnish workers, revolution in blood, and conducted a war against the Soviet Union which, as part of the general imperialist intervention, almost destroyed the young workers' state.

At that time, Vaino A. Tanner, a leader of the Finnish Social Democratic Party, gave full support to Mannerheim's war and appealed to the workers to support it because the Finnish government was fighting a war "for national independence."

In 1941, at the order of the German fascists, the Finnish capitalist class is again waging a war for the destruction of the Soviet Union. One of the leading figures in the cabinet of the war government is this same Vaino A. Tanner, now holding the post of Trade Minister.

In Berlin last week Tanner told reporters that he is supporting the Nazi war against the Soviet Union because it will lead to an economic and political "United States of Europe." "Unfortunately," he added, "it does not seem possible to achieve such a United States without war."

There is really not much difference between the 1918 and 1941 of Tanner. To him "national independence" meant independence from revolution and full dependence on Finnish capitalism operating in the interests of world imperialism. By a "United States of Europe" he means the unification of the continent under German imperialist capitalism.

Tanner's party belongs to the Second International. The British section of that International is also supporting the war under a slogan calculated to win the support of the workers for the war. Their slogan is "for democracy," which to them means the right of British imperialism to dominate the world.

These are the politics bred by the Second International. Their slogans may change from time to time, but never their subservience to the interests of their "own" imperialist rulers.

## War and Taxes

The war tax bill signed last Saturday by Roosevelt gives only a hint of the stupendous taxes which will be levied from the workers and lower-middle class in the coming war years.

Commenting on the new bill's inadequacy to meet the government's voracious war demands, the *New York Times*, September 20, reports:

"Another large tax bill, therefore, is likely to be introduced this Fall or early in 1942."

Just how deep the Roosevelt war budget will dig into the workers' pockets is indicated by the fact that Congress has already voted almost \$60 billion for war purposes. And conservative estimates place the minimum appropriations, including those yet to come, at the staggering total of \$150 billion.

A huge chunk of these billions, via government war contracts, will go into the coffers of the big monopoly corporations. Yet, it is these corporations which are most favored by the tax bill just passed. War profits will remain virtually untouched under the new measure. Persons raking in annual personal incomes of \$2,000,000 to \$5,000,000 will pay two per cent more in income taxes. Those in the lowest income brackets face increases of 400 to 500 per cent.

It is this iniquitous taxation system that results in OPM head Knudsen stating that "longer working hours and a lower standard of living were just ahead for America under the national rearmament program" (*New York Times*, Sept. 23).

How long this ever-increasing tax extortion will last, and how truly onerous it will become, the Roosevelt war administration dare not even intimate. For it dare not tell the masses the bitter truth that this war will drag on for years; that, in fact, the war rulers of America can see no end to this war.

The capitalist system is doomed to ceaseless warfare. And there will be no let-up in the tax onslaught until capitalism, breeder of imperialist war, is banished from the earth.

# Arnold Attacks Labor For Production Curbs

Assistant Attorney General Tries to Hide Full Responsibility of Big Industrialists for Impeding Expansion of War Production

By DON DORE

Thurman Arnold, assistant attorney general, in a speech on September 19 about the factors impeding war production, was compelled to admit that the owners of every basic industry in the country were deliberately holding up expansion of production facilities in order to prevent potential post-war competition.

To kill the sour taste of this admission, Arnold then dragged organized labor into his speech, and by implication and emphasis accused labor of an "equal" responsibility for the present delays in essential production.

Arnold charged that a "few strategically located labor unions" were holding up production over issues "which have nothing to do with wages, hours or working conditions."

The chief of the anti-trust division of the Department of Justice revealed the real point of his talk, however, when he asserted that the anti-trust laws enabled the government to deal with "sabotaging" industrialists, but not with unions which "impede" production.

### FOR COMPULSORY METHODS AGAINST LABOR

Therefore, Arnold concludes, voluntary methods of dealing with organized labor are inadequate and the nation must come to realize "that the voluntary system may not be the key to the labor problem."

Who is responsible for sabotaging industrial production? What is Arnold driving at when he speaks against the "voluntary system" for organized labor?

All we have to do is observe the situation with respect to priorities unemployment to know that it is the industrial monopolies — and they alone — which are responsible for the present restrictions on production.

The War Department and similar boss-dominated government agencies loudly clamor at regular intervals that strikes are costing 200,000 to 400,000 man-hours of production per month. Priorities unemployment — brought on directly by the refusal of the big industries, steel, aluminum, auto, etc., to expand production — has already resulted in the firing of several hundred thousand workers. That means, that several hundred thousand man-days of labor per day are being lost to production.

### WHAT BOSSES HAVE COST IN LOST LABOR TIME

Within the next few weeks, two to three million workers are threatened with lay-offs and

part-time employment. Compare this loss of hundreds of millions of man-hours of labor caused by the bosses, to the loss of a measly few hundred thousands of man-hours allegedly the "responsibility" of labor.

Let us examine this "responsibility" of labor for strikes. In every single major strike it has been clearly shown that the employers were directly responsible for precipitating the strike.

There has not been a single strike in the past year of any importance in which the responsibility was so clear that the employers did not have to concede to the workers' demands.

Even in such strikes as the North American Aviation and Allis-Chalmers, in which the government attempted to break the strikes by every violent means, in the end the justice of the strikers' demands had to be acknowledged and their major terms met. In every single instance, however, when it came to forcing the employers to accept the labor laws and grant the strikers their just demands, and thus ending the strikes quickly or preventing them altogether, the government stalled and delayed or refused to take action against the employers.

Production of coal was held up for four weeks by the arbitrary refusal of the southern coal operators to accept terms which even the Mediation Board had to admit were fair. And then the Mediation Board further held up the settlement by backing the operators on two of the most reactionary conditions asked by the operators.

In the Federal Shipbuilding strike at Kearny, New Jersey, involving 16,000 workers, the Administration permitted the bosses to openly thumb their noses at a Mediation Board recommendation and precipitate a lengthy strike. In the North American Aviation strike, when the workers refused to return to work without any terms whatever, the government

broke the strike in less than a week with thousands of troops. But the Administration stalled for weeks on actions against the Federal Shipbuilding Corporation, and in the end, although seizing the struck plant, has not yet definitely granted the strikers' legitimate demands.

### ADMINISTRATION BACKS "SABOTAGE" BY TRUSTS

What has the government done about these curbs on war production by the big industrialists? Nothing. For over a year, the War Department and the OPM aided and abetted the aluminum and other monopolies in preventing expansion of production facilities. Arnold himself, with a great fanfare, started a number of federal anti-trust suits against the Aluminum Corporation of America and other big trusts last winter.

Every single one of these suits has been buried. But not the suits against labor unions and leaders. Scores of union officials have been indicted and convicted in "anti-trust" frameups during the past two years.

Arnold's talk makes amply clear that the Administration intends to take no fundamental action against the monopolies and trusts. At most, Arnold will indulge in some more "tough talk" against the industrialists, and institute anti-trust actions against some of the small-fry manufacturers.

### TALK AIMED AT LABOR'S RIGHTS

The heart of his program is aimed directly at organized labor and its rights. He — and it is the Roosevelt Administration for which he speaks — wants to do away with the "voluntary method" for dealing with labor.

The Department of Justice will invoke instead compulsory methods of destroying organized labor's right to strike and to conduct an independent policy free of government and employer interference.

That method already has received its sharpest expression, in the indictments against the leaders of Local 544-CIO Motor Transport Workers Union of Minneapolis for "seditious conspiracy." Arnold's speech is a further warning that the attack on Local 544 is merely the beginning of a general attack on all militant unions.

## Anglo-Soviet Trade Union Committee Aids British Imperialists

By JOHN G. WRIGHT

### What the Old Joint Committee Did

The Russian and British Trade Unions have agreed to form a joint committee to aid in the successful prosecution of the war against Hitler. This maneuver of the Kremlin recalls to mind Stalin's previous venture with a similar body, the Anglo-Russian Committee which was formed in May, 1925.

The purpose of the 1925 committee was declared to be to promote international trade union unity, to conduct a struggle against the march of reaction, and to prevent the outbreak of the second world war. The Stalinist bureaucracy hailed it as a bulwark in the defense of the USSR.

In July 1926, Stalin declared:

"The task of this bloc (the Anglo-Russian Committee) consists in organizing a broad movement of the working class against new imperialist wars and generally against an intervention in our country especially on the part of the mightiest of the imperialist powers of Europe, on the part of England in particular."

The Party Moscow District Committee boasted: "The Anglo-Russian Committee can, must, and will undoubtedly play an enormous role in the struggle against all possible interventions directed against the USSR. It will become the organizing center of the international forces of the proletariat for the struggle against every attempt of the international bourgeoisie to provoke a new war."

This committee achieved none of its purported aims. Instead, it dealt a terrible blow to the English labor movement and weakened the international position of the Soviet Union at the time. Far from serving in the interests of the USSR, it promoted only the interests of the British imperialists. The reactionary leaders of the General Council of the British Trade Unions were able to utilize their cordial relations with the Red Trade Unions and the Kremlin in order to smash the British General Strike of May 1926. The Committee continued to exist for a year after this treachery to the English labor movement, and was dissolved not on Stalin's initiative but by the demonstrative withdrawal of the British labor leaders, after the committee had served all their purposes.

### Treachery On A Grand Scale

The Anglo-Russian Committee was an important stage in the degeneration of the Stalinist bureaucracy. At that time, the bureaucrats undermined the defense of the USSR and betrayed the interests of the proletariat by conniving with and covering up the labor agents of British imperialism. The Kremlin now repeats its treachery on a grander scale in collaboration not only with the lackeys but the masters.

The basic lessons of the debacle of the Anglo-Russian Committee remain their full force today. In 1925 the Stalinist bureaucracy revealed the same contempt and distrust of the masses that characterizes its present conduct. It seeks allies only among the tops — in the war cabinets of the "democratic" imperialists and in the ranks of the labor bureaucracy. During the existence of the Anglo-Russian Committee, Stalin shunted the Communist International aside in favor of his bloc with Purcell and Hicks, which he then palmed off as an "organizing center of the international forces of the proletariat." Today the Communist International has been completely gagged. It has not issued even a formal statement in connection with the defense of the Soviet Union.

In the period of the first Anglo-Russian Committee, Stalin at least pretended that the bloc with the reactionary trade union leaders was directed "against the counter-revolutionary imperialists of their own country," i.e., against Churchill and Co. The reconstituted bloc is based on the open support of this same Churchill.

Bevin-Morrison and Co. are as faithful servants of the ruling class as were Purcell and Hicks. If the latter were able to cover themselves with the prestige of the Soviet Union in breaking the 1926 General Strike, then Bevin and Morrison are now supplied by Stalin with the same cover in their support of the imperialist war and the imperialist aims of their masters.

We have no objection to the Soviet Government asking and seeking to obtain material aid from either Roosevelt or Churchill. But Stalin is making the Soviet Union pay a political price for this aid which far outweighs any immediate advantages.

Let us grant for a moment that this trade union bloc will serve in the next period to increase the flow of material aid to the Red Army. What weight has this temporary advantage as against the terrible weapons Stalin's policy leaves in Hitler's hands? The chief hold of the Nazis upon the people of Germany consists in the latter's dread of a new Versailles for a defeated Germany. Stalin by his policies links the defense of the USSR with the program of a worse edition of Versailles for Germany. Stalin's bloc with Bevin commits both the Red Trade Union and English organized labor to this same program.

Such a policy can never disintegrate the morale of the German army, or shake Hitler's regime. On the contrary, it supplies Hitler with advantages that no superiority of tanks, planes and other armament could avail him.

Churchill and Co. will send only the amount of material aid that serves their purposes. They and they alone will determine the quantity of tanks, planes, etc., that will be shipped. Today, as yesterday, far from promoting the interests of the Soviet Union, the trade union bloc, the revival of the Anglo-Russian Committee under wartime conditions, can promote only the interests of British imperialism. Stalin is once again bartering the political interests of the Soviet Union and of the world working class in return for immediate and picaresque advantages.

To give effective aid to the heroic workers and soldiers of the USSR, the English workers must break with their reactionary labor leaders. They must oppose the imperialist war and its program of a new Versailles, and must raise high the banner of international solidarity. The German masses will join them in the fight for the Socialist U. S. of Europe.

This program, and this program alone will overthrow Hitler, destroy fascism and preserve the Soviet Union.

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In honor of the 29 defendants who will face trial in Minneapolis on October 20 on charges of "seditious conspiracy."

Speakers:

**JAMES P. CANNON**

National Secretary, Socialist Workers Party

**FELIX MORROW**

Editor of The Militant

(The names of other speakers will be announced next week)

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