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

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

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

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

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

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

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

THE MILITANT

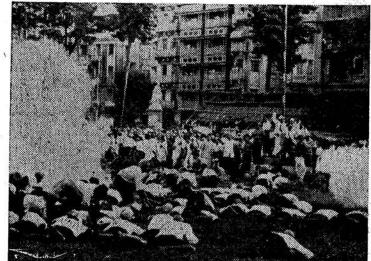
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FIVE (5) CENTS

British Attack Indian Masses



Negroes Vote To Set Up A Militant Organization

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

By ART PREIS

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

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

The planned convention, to be composed of elected representatives from the local units, will establish a permanent organization set-up, amend and ratify the constitution, elect

permanent officers and determine if and when a national Negro mass march on Washington shall take place next summer.

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

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

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

KEYNOTE ADDRESS OF A. PHILIP RANDOLPH

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

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

(Continued on page 2)

Willkie Reveals Extent tary rule in industry last week, The resolutions adopted at the of Soviet Union Losses

By JOHN G. WRIGHT

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

In this connection the statement issued by Wendell Willkie in Moscow is of especial importance. Willkie's statement was featured by Pravda, the official organ of the Russian Communist Party. Stalin's censors released it for foreign publication. This invests Willkie's statement with

at least a semi-official character. The first significant item revealed through Willkie relates to the extent of Soviet military losses. Hitherto Stalin has never admitted more than two million passing, that the specter of casualties. Willkie, however, declared that:

"Five million Russians have been killed, wounded or are missing." (N. Y. Times, Septem-

The loss of 5,000,000 men in fifteen months of warfare by far surpasses even the losses of the Czarist armies in the initial period of Russia's participation in the first World War, i.e., throughout the years of 1914 and 1915. laid down the basic policies and In point of fact, the losses ad-Army exceed those of any army

Coupled with the loss of almost one-third of Soviet civilian population in the territories captured by the Nazis, the drain on Soviet man-power resulting from these staggering losses has had its effect on industry and agriculture, which now depend primarily on women and children

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

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

Willkie further revealed that the Soviet Union faces famine in the coming winter months:

"The great fertile farm lands

The Stalinist campaign for in Nazi hands. Food in Russia

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

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

The shortage in clothing is acute: "Clothing except for the army and essential war workers is

nearly gone."

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

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

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

"Democracy" In Action In Bolivia

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

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

Last February the Bolivian authorities arrested nine members of the Workers Revolutionary Party, section of the Fourth International, on \$ grounds that this organization class centers and was "planning to overthrow the government."

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

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

Army Arbitrarily Fires Unionists In Buick Plant

Precedent Could Be Used to Undermine All Union Activity

The reactionary Army officer caste took a step toward mili-Office ordered the permanent after: black-listing of two union leaders in the Buick aluminum foundry in Flint, Michigan, on the grounds that these unionists dared to walk on a picket line.

After a short strike on August 29 called in protest against the firing of union members, who bill. But Geyer died a year ago. protested an Army-Management attempt to enforce a speed-up. Edmund Geiger and Marion Butler, top committeemen in the may seize upon the flimsy tech-

THEIR "CRIME"

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

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

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

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

ACTED AS MILITARY SECRET POLICE

The Air Plant Protection Office in Flint functioned as a military secret police, questioning arbitrarily framing up two of the top union leaders in starchamber fashion.

The militant unionists in Flint, who forged their union in the great sit-down battles of 1937. must demand that the UAW top leadership defend the democratic Frankensteen has strengthened of this issue. had organized "cells" in the the hand of the employers and mining and other working their officer-allies against labor. Only a vigorous public protest against the two Flint committee-

Congress Price Fight Reactionary Congressmen Try **To Prevent Vote On Poll Tax**

Labor Forces Must Protest Against Threat Of Filibusters and Technical Maneuvers

By ALBERT PARKER

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

introduced, it was referred to the the bills. Unless the bills are House Judiciary Committee, acted on and go thru both Houses which is dominated by the poll of Congress before the end taxers, and it was buried there. of the year, they are auto-To bring it out of this commit- matically killed, and the whole see for a vote by the House re- long, wearisome, difficult job of quired the signature of 218 getting it on the floor might have Representatives to a discharge to be begun again next January petition. This number of signacures has now been secured as its seats. he result of pressure exerted by abor, Negro and liberal organiza-

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

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

The poll tax forces still intend fight to the last ditch and they are prepared to resort to every technical trick and political device when the Air Plant Protection should be called up, and thereon October 12, when the bill

POLL TAX TRICKS

1. A resolution attached to the Geyer bill provides that its early this year that he had never sponsor be recognized by the Speaker of the House directly after the formal reading of the ed. And when he really wants

Committee to Abolish the Poll Tax: "The die-hard poll taxers

nicality that Congressman Geyer the country let Congress and the speak on the third. "Many Russian coalfields have suspended on the order of is not present, in order to have administration know that they Lieutenant Colonel G. E. Strong. the bill declared dead." The Commitee contends that the bill tax bills, and that they will should revert to regular House regard everyone who prevents or WPAT, 930 kilocycles, which can by only from \$36 to \$75 a year. rules, under which any member helps to prevent such a vote dur- be heard as far as New York City who signed the discharge peti- ing this session of Congress as and Philadelphia. tion can call up the bill. .

When the Geyer bill was first a filibuster to prevent a vote or

when the new Congress takes

The filibuster is a favorite device of the Southern Democrats, and has been used by them to defeat such legislation as antilynch bills, etc. There is little doubt that they would resort to it, or threaten the administration with it, if they couldn't destroy the anti-poll tax bills any other

ADMINISTRATION ROLE

There is also the strong possibility that the Roosevelt administration might interfere to sink the bills if the poll taxers demanded it. The administration has always leaned heavily on their support in its Congressional disputes as well as at elections. Roosevelt, who briefly stated favored the poll tax, has never done anything to have it abolishsomething done, he knows how According to the National to go about it, as he has shown

on can call up the bill. an open enemy of the most Watch THE MILITANT for 2. The poll taxers may launch elementary democratic rights.

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

Labor Is Undefended In

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

The New Leader article by Paul Castelar claimed that at 2 the conclusion of a "secret } Mexican trial" the assassin had been sentenced to 23 years 2 imprisonment.

There have been no new developments in the Jacson case. possession of THE MILI-TANT: the assassin's trial has not been concluded, and no verdict has been announced by the judicial authorities. An article } from Mexico on the present status of the case will be printed in a coming issue of this

New Jersey SWP Plans 3 Election Radio Broadcasts

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

It is therefore necessary that a prominent national leader of every workers' organization in the Socialist Workers Party

Saturday, Oct. 17, 24 and 31, from 5:15 to 5:30 P. M. The station is

Workers Party candidate for

two of these broadcasts; arrange- saving contest."

Grace Carlson Is Trotskyist Candidate For U.S. Senate

Offers Socialist Program to End War and Fascism

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

In announcing her candidacy, Comrade Carlson said she still adhered firmly to the election statement she issued last February, after the United States enrights of the membership against | tered the war. This statement, military encroachments. The which attracted wide attention at silence of Thomas-Reuther-Addes | that time, is reprinted on Page 4

The major point in Carlson's and expose of the illegal action election platform is the presentation to the workers and farm-

SWP Candidate In Minnesota



GRACE CARLSON

platform call for:

of Southwest Russia are largely L. such flagrant anti-union action. alternative to imperialist war and and support of the Indian strug-

oppression. Other points in her | gle for independence; the organization of a fighting labor party The abolition of all forms of with an independent program; de-Jim Crowism everywhere; de- fense of the right to strike; govmen can prevent a repetition of ers of Minnesota of a socialist fense of the Soviet Union, China ernmental expropriation of indus-(Continued on page 4)

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

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

By JOSEPH ANDREWS

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

Nor was a single voice heard in Congress in defense of the real interests of the exploited farm laborers and poor farmers, whose substandard i n c o m e s would not be greatly affected one way or the other by the farm price bills under debate.

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

Senator Reed of Kansas correctly described the debate as follows: "The difference is that which lies between Tweedledum Breitman will speak on at least and Tweedledee. This is a face

That both bills would have little appreciable affect on the living standards of the poor farmers is adequately proved by the The broadcasts will be given on fact that even the Farm Bloc bill would increase the income of more than half of the farmers The difference is important, however, to the great farm corporations to whom the higher parity prices would yield extra millions

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

LABOR NEEDS OWN PARTY

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

own party, its own Congressional representatives and its own program to defeat the efforts of the capitalist class to place the burden of the war costs on the

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

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

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

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

More Anti-Trotskyist Slanders

Hollywood Begins Film "Justifying" **TheMoscowTrials**

By JOSEPH HANSEN

Elsa Maxwell, widely-distributed syndicate writer of tidbits and chit-chat, reports in her September 22 column that Hollywood is preparing "one the Dewey Commission, that inof the most remarkable motion pictures ever made," a filming Moscow Trials, proved concluof ex - Ambassador Davies' sively that none existed and none book, Mission to Moseow, in which it "will be proved" that archives were open to inspection, Leon Trotsky was in the "pay of

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

MORAL PREPARATIONS FOR INTERVENTION

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

Books such as Valtin's Out of the Night, which revealed some of the facts in a distorted way, were mushroomed into best sellers over night. The repentance of former "friends of the Soviet "Bolshevism" rated front page fusing to carry on the revolu- "favorable publicity" in the columns. Nothing was too vile to hurl at the USSR.

campaign, which had all the ear terrible defeats and present marks of centralized organization in Washington, constituted the moral preparation to armed intervention against the USSR by the "democratic" imperialists. The second front which the imperialists demanded then was a second front directed primarily at the Soviet Union. Militarists schemed at opening this front through Finland, the Black Sea, ing to sound the "death knell" to assume the responsibility and the issue and declared that "the etc. The only revolutionary voice at that time in opposition to but to preserve it. these interventionist plans of world imperialism was the voice

When Hitler's armies attacked, Allied powers, the Atlantic however, as Trotsky had warned Charter: they would, and Stalin sought new alliances with the "demo- as expressing a vile and hateful PROPOSED CONSTITUTION cracies," Washington flashed the racism and a manifestation of the red light on its well-oiled propaganda machine. Valtin's Out of the Night disappeared back into the night. The columnists found other subjects. The cartoonists and sob sisters became silent about the wounds of justice and the flesh, and blood and sweat press awaited the signal from of the human race and the sons Washington.

THE NEW LINE

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

But now that American imin various types of religious and perialism feels it necessary to bolster the Stalin regime against social groups, "nobody cares how internal repercussions which many whist clubs or churches or might result from the catastro- secret lodges Negroes establish. . . phic defeats it has brought to the socio-economic racial milieu. They Soviet Union, Davies has "changed his mind." He has come to the conclusion-without the slightest shred of any new "evidence"-Negro needs more than organizathat the trials and purges were necessary to rid the USSR of its tion. He needs mass organization possible "fifth column."

sive, bold and challenging in But Davies' book was apparently not enough. Stalin wants, spirit. Such a movement is our March-On-Washington." the "second front in 1942" which the stalinists claim was promised organization and action, he cited by Roosevelt-Churchill. They are with enthusiasm the present giving it to him-in Hollywood. struggle of the Indian people for

"ARCHIVES, LETTERS AND DOCUMENTARY PROOFS"

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

IN HARLEM The Militant

is on sale at the southeast corner of 125th Street

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

These lines sound as if they had been lifted verbatim from a GPU press release. There are no "archives, letters and documenbook. The authoritative John could exist, since Trotsky's since he had defended the Soviet Union from the time he together with Lenin led the October

The GPU has claimed, always n accordance with the necessities difficult to give the real name of Stalin's foreign policy, that of the "Correspondent." It is Trotsky was variously in the pay none other than Stalin's GPU. of France, of Great Britain, and documentary proofs."

The truth is that all the archives, letters and documentary proofs establish with absolute brilliant Tukhachevsky and the ice of "Yankee imperialism." other Soviet generals in secret | With the shift in Stalin's fortrials,-that it was Stalin who eigh policy following the Nazi sabotaged the defense of the invasion of the Soviet Union, it Soviet Union by murdering its was to be expected that the GPU leading figure, Leon Trotsky,- would attempt collaboration with that it is Stalin who today the spy organizations of the sabotages the defense of the "democratic" imperialists. As in Soviet Union by licking the boots the previous period, part of the of Washington-London and re- collaboration would consist of tionary methods of Lenin-that capitalist organs, particularly on Stalin and Stalin alone rests propaganda directed against the This tremendous propaganda the full responsibility for the plight of the workers' state.

Not all the film in Hollywood

THE NEGRO PEOPLE NEED

organization to be established.

They don't seek to transform the

accept and do not challenge con-

Hence, it is apparent that the

with an action program, aggres-

Stressing the need for mass

national liberation. As an example

of the type of actions he had in

"We must develop a series of

marches of Negroes at a given

time in a hundred cities or more

throughout the country, or stage

sand Negroes on Washington to

put our cause into the main

stream of public opinion and

focus the attention of world in-

terests. This is why India is in

Randolph particularly empha-

a big march of a hundred thou-

In Great Britain

The London Sunday Dispatch of August 30 features an article the Moscow trials, not a single Correspondent" which accuses one. There were none in Davies' the British Trotskyists of spreading "radio propaganda from Germany." "A 'Workers vestigated the charges brought in Challenge' station in Germany," declares the unknown "Correspondent," sends out 'Directives' o the Trotskyists in Britain."

> The Sunday Dispatch is not an official Stalinist organ as the above article might lead one to believe. It is a reactionary Tory newspaper of the Lord Rothemere chain. Nevertheless, it is not

While the Stalin-Hitler pact as late as 1940 during the pact was in effect, a number of facts with Hitler-in the pay of United | showed that the GPU and Hitler's States imperialism. In each and Gestapo were in close collaboraevery instance they promised tion. With his dying words, 'certain archives, letters and Trotsky left open the possibility that his assassin might be a "fascist."

GPU LIES IN TWO PERIODS

Part of the work of the GPU preciseness that it was Stalin who during the period of the pact consabotaged the defense of the sisted in obtaining "favorable Soviet Union by slaughtering the publicity" in capitalist organs. Old Bolsheviks,-that it was Thus they spread the slander that Stalin who sabotaged the defense Trotsky was an "agent of the of the Soviet Union by killing the Dies Committee" and in the serv-

Trotskyists who carry the banner of the socialist revolution.

In the United States ex-Ambassador Davies provided a semiofficial outlet for GPU propa- against the Bolsheviks in 1917.

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

The article in the Sunday Dispatch shows the GPU at work in England. It attacks the Socialist Appeal, a paper that adheres to the revolutionary program of tary proofs." There were none in signed "By Our Diplomatic Trotskyism, as trying to "hoodwink the workers"-this in a Tory newspaper!-by opposing Stalin's version of how to fight Hitler via a second front. It mentions that "police inquiries have been going on" of the "activities of the Trotskyists in general and the 'Socialist Appeal' in particular." A typical GPU item, this

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

ALSO SLANDERS ILP.

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

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

But all the resources of the GPU and the British Tories combined will not succeed in besmirching the British Trotskyists as agents of Germany. In the last world war, the Social-Democratic predecessors of the Stalinist bureaucracy likewise slandered Lehin and Trotsky, as "agents" of the Kaiser. The coming socialist present isolation and the impendrevolution in England will dis-

Willkie Reveals Soviet Losses

(Continued from page 1)

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

WHY THE SOVIET UNION IS FIGHTING ALONE

In their agitation for the second front the Stalinist explain that the terrible price already baid by the Soviet Union is due to the fact that it has had to fight alone against the military machine and economic might of imperialist the repair yards, with little eco moment was important to deal pre-war unionism-as-usual. Any Germany, This is true. But what the Stalinists are trying to hide from the workers both inside and Stalinists, cutside of the SU is that they themselves are solely and directly responsible for the complete isolation of the USSR.

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

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

the Soviet Union, above all the workers of Germany and of the occupied European countries. have been prevented from coming to the aid of the embattled Soviet workers and peasants. These reliable allies can be summoned to the defense of the Soviet Union through the launching of a revolutionary struggle for socialism, for the establishment of the UNITED WITH STALINISTS Socialist United States of Europe. There is no other way of rescuing the Soviet Union from its volutin disposed of the slanders and the launching of this strug-

Shipyard Workers Union Is Now 200,000 Strong

The shipyard union, which began as a small organization com-

Walter Reuther of the UAW, pression of the real needs and the would be placed at the disposal quickly forgot their radicalism, real opinions of the workers. Like Reuther: Green and Van Gelder entered the union move- the key industry in which it op- its major time and energy to pament as "socialists" and after a erates, has been the butt of sharp triotic resolutions and speeches short sojourn in the field of mili- anti-union actions by the govern which demonstrated the subservitancy, sold out their socialist brinciples for a career.

Two years ago these leaders and regimentation. were strong supporters of the extreme right-wing bloc in the CIO, the Hillman group. In company with the Reuthers in the UAW. they faight and hitterly dehounced the Stalinists a year and a half ago - not from the viewmilitancy, but because their own nolicy of complete support of the Roosevelt war program conflicted with the Stalinists whose loyalty to the Stalin regime during the Hitler-Stalin pact dictated an anti-Roosevelt line.

AGAINST THE MILITANTS

Bnt, as in the auto union, these leaders have now merged interests with the Stalinists behind ing collapse. Stalin's policies and the war machine, and are busily pose of the present GPU slanders leadership have prevented precl- engaged in giving up the work as effectively as the October Re- sely the issuing of this summons ers' rights at the behest of Roos

With the growth of the union,

The eighth annual convention portant influence, and in the IUMSWA concentrated on pushof the CIO Industrial Union of shippard union convention the ing the speed-up. Green lauded Marine and Shipbuilding Work ers of America, attended by 300 delegates in New York City delegates in New York City Roosevelt and his war machine ing up the workers, and demandlast week, revealed that this a program which if allowed to ed an increase in the production union has undergone a tremen- dominate the union threatens to rate. dous growth in the past two strangle the independence and Green underlined his demands destroy the effectiveness of the for a speed-up with the stateorganization.

Although the convention ses- among us who think we can inposed of a few locals located in sions lasted 5 days, and every dulge ourselves in the luxury of nomic power on a national scale, with the great problems con-delay or stoppage of production has mushroomed in size under fronting the union, the convention can be considered as aid to our the impulse of the expansion in was jammed with speeches by enemies." war production. The union now government representatives such like the statement of an anti-laclaims over 200,000 members, in as Mayor La Guardia and Assisbig locals located in the shippards tant Secretary of the Navy Bard, on the East Coast, West Coast and and was choked with arguments resentative of the workers. It was on the second front, while the no wonder that the labor-baiting The leadership of the union is important problems confronting World Telegram hailed Green for in the hands of John Green and the workers in the plants were his "real leadership." Phillip Van Gelder, former mem- given little time. In this way, bers of the Socialist Party, who the Stallhists and the Green-Van in common with such types as Gelder leadership sidetracked ex- Federal Defense Repairmen, who

> The shipyard union, because of ment. It has been subjected to ence of the leadership to Roosgovernment-enforced discipline. evelt and the war machine.

The shipyard workers have lost premium pay for week-ends and vention floor, was mainly concenholidays: their leaders have aban- trated on attacks against the War doned the strike weapon. The Production Board, which was acshippard industry was the first in cused of holding up production. which wages were regulated by This attack by the leaders on the the Wage Stabilization Board, WPB was mere demagogy. The point of progressive unionism and headed by another ex-Norman leaders' demand for representa-Thomas Socialist, Paul Porter. | tion on the WPB will solve none

The workers in the shippards of the problems of chaos and find themselves working long mismanagement in production. hours at dangerous work, de- Labor representatives on the WPB prived of premium pay for week- serve only as window dressing for ends and helidays, and with no the dollar-a-year men who domicontractual provisions to meet the nate that agency as well as the rising cost of living with a rising rest of the war machine. scale of wages. None of these problems were

lealt with in a serious way by the convention.

GREEN WINS

ANTI-LABOR PRAISE Instead of defending the work- criticism and attack. Green

paper, Labor Action, which riticized the union leadership. NEEDS OF THE UNION

of the government to be shipped

anywhere and in general devoted

What little criticism of the ad-

That the shipyard workers are

by no means satisfied with their

conditions is known very well by

every man who works in the

yards. That there is dissatisfac-

tion was shown by the extreme

sensitivity of President Green to

revealed his fear of a militant

rank and file by a ranting denun-

ciation of the Trotskyists who

have exposed his false policies.

and by an attack on the news-

ministration crept out on the con-

The war, which brought about great growth in the union as result of the boom in the industry, has also put the union in great peril. The war government has already tied the union to the war machine, and with the leadership subservient to Roosevelt, these bonds grow tighter every There is no question but that independence of the union, the MOWM faces a tremendous

The job of the shippard worktask ahead. There are many obstacles, internal and external; ers is to learn the lesson demonstrated by the militant which will have to be surmountrank and file of the UAW, who But the basic and immediately have not allowed their union leadurgent task has been under- ers to choke opposition, and who taken: the establishment of a have defended the democratic nation-wide mass membership or- tradition of their union. If they ganization based on the principle are to successfully defend their of an all-out mass action pro- hard-won gains, shipyard workers gram to battle for the rights of must go even further, and orthe Negro people right now, dur- ganize a militant leadership from among the rank and file who can The program laid out by the give expression to the real needs conference is brave and am- of the workers.

Such a militant leadership would expose the Roosevelt war government, the anti-labor character of the WPB and the WLB, and wage a fight to resist ing people, they are certain to encroachments by the governbring nearer the day of their full ment on the rights and independence of the union.

A NEW PAMPHLET!

est to all who have read the two other Pioneer Pamphlets on the trial -James P. Cannon's "Socialism On Trial" and Albert Goldman's "In Defense of Socialism.

ing the war, and every day.

bitious and sound. If the Negro

masses rally around that pro-

gram, make it their own, and

carry it out in action with the

support and aid of all the work-

emancipation.

DEFENSE POLICY

MINNEAPOLIS TRIAL

1-A Criticism by Grandizo Munis 2-An Answer by James P. Cannon The policy of the defense in the historic

trial of 28 members of the Socialist Workers Party and the CIO is analyzed and discussed from two points of view in this clear and illuminating polemic on Marxist principles and propaganda This pamphlet will be of especial inter-

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an all-Negro organization, it does not aim to evoke an attitude of majority vote." "Black Nationalism." "Our policy is that it be all-Negro, and proand Lenox Avenue

the news."

Negroes Vote To Set Up A Militant Organization American and British capitalism, take the initiative to free them, final authority must rest in the selves. . . because Negroes build hands of the members, either

lics, trade unions and white "We score the Atlantic Charter liberals. . ."

ment of the war aims of the our movement should not call for

The principal discussion and monopoly capitalism. This system stitution, program and strategy, grew fat and waxed powerful off resolutions, etc.

the collaboration of Jews, Catho-

A great part of today's session provisional constitution. The and daughters of color in the undebate on this brought out the derdeveloped lands of the world." keen desire of the Negro ranks India, Negro rights, etc. Her In laying down the broad policy for a completely democratic orof MOWM on the war, he declared ganization. In the course of the emphatically: "We say that the discussion, one young woman Negro must fight for his demodelegate bluntly pointed out, eratic rights right now, for after "We have been attacked as a onethe war it may be too late. This man movement and having an undemocratic structure." This referred to the fact that up to now the MOWM has been con-THE KIND OF ORGANIZATION trolled completely from the top by Randolph and a few hand- OPPOSE STALINISM Outlining the character of the picked aides, and that no organizational structure had been Randolph pointed out that while established to give genuine voice the Negroes are highly organized

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

WANT DEMOCRATIC SETUP

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

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

A further debate arose over the proposal that "this constitution sized that while the MOWM is may be amended by the National Executive Board, by a two-thirds

Randolph was compelled, in an all-Negro movement such as through convention or referfact, to attack the chief embodi- the March, it does not follow that endum." First resolution to come before the conference this afternoon was a brief one calling for endersement of "the fight of the

United Nations," ragic and utter collapse of an debate occurred today, after the strongly opposed this resolution, old, decadent democratic political conference yesterday was divided arguing that "if we give a liberalism which worshipped at up into a number of committees blanket endorsement to the way the shrine of a world-conquering to bring in reports on the con- this war is being conducted, we weaken our own fight here at home." She insisted that any resolution on the war should indemocracy in Finland. The entire and tears of the tireless toilers was devoted to adoption of the clude an analysis of the role and objectives of American and British imperialism, the question of

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

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

interest in advancing the real cause of Negro freedom.

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

The resolution was finally The delegates argued that the passed principally because the constitution represents the deci- delegates desired to place on

struggle.

Louis delegates, who represent a President or the Congress to Imperialism" and that "the freefighting militant local group of recognize the Negroes as first-dom of any section of people in Negroes. These delegates display- class citizens in this so-called the world is not secure so long ed a large scrap-book containing democratic war," and concluded as any other nation is in hundreds of news clippings about by calling upon the forthcoming bondage." their recent mass picket lines and national convention of the demonstrations, which at one big MOWM to "declare its approval AN IMPORTANT STEP arms plant won 3,500 jobs for of a March On Washington of Negro workers recently. The Negroes from all over America scrap-book also displayed a large for the purpose of pressing home leaflet, printed on both sides, put to the President, the American out by the Communist Party, people and the Congress that which directly attacked the picket Negroes want their full demolines and demonstrations as cratic rights now, during the

"disrupting the war effort." Because of the tremendous be covered in a brief time by the conference, most of the resolutions were approved without complete reading and placed

board for final editing. lutions were of an extremely progressive and militant character and undoubtedly, with some overwhelmingly approved by the

PROGRAM OF ACTION

toward organized labor, which An important resolution adopted asserts that "the free trade union covered the question of a future mass Negro March On Washing-

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

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

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

ing that Pepper has sponsored an anti-poll tax bill, the Stalinists hide the fact that only last year he said on the floor of the Senate: "Whatever may be written

into the Constitution, whatever may be placed on the statute books of this nation, however many soldiers may be stationed about the ballot boxes of the Southland, the colored race

(Continued from page 1) that all oppressed people must convention. Randolph spoke on sabotage of the present Negro ton. This resolution declared that the Indian masses." The resolu-"discrimination, segregation and tion stated in part that "the peo-The role of the Stalinists was Jim Crowism are spreading in ple of India are in a desperate clearly brought to the attention this country and there is no struggle to achieve independence of the conference by the St. visible effort on the part of the and freedom now from British

war." Another resolution, titled "Mass scope of the work which had to Action," states that "the day of 'individualism' is passed and that power only resides in the masses" and places the MOWM record endorsing mass-action inin the hands of the new executive cluding marches on city-halls, city councils, defense plants, public utility works, picketing

on the attitude of the MWOM

movement is the bulwark of

democracy and is the most

fundamental and constructive in-

stitution in our contemporary

society-through its principles of

unity of all workers regardless

of race, color, religion or na-

The resolution then goes on to

"endorse the trade union move-

ment and bona fide collective

bargaining and calls upon the

AFL and CIO to abolish discrimi-

nation, segregation, Jim Crow

and the color bar in all forms and

collaborate with the Negro peo-

ple in their struggle for equality

and freedom." It further urges

all Negro workers "to join trade

unions that accept them and form

independent unions when rejected

to continue to fight to break

down the color barriers and

protect their economic interests

The conference did not fail to

tie in the struggles of the Amer-

ican Negroes with the battles of

the oppressed peoples every-

where. It passed specific resolu-

tions calling for the immediate

independence of the peoples of

The resolution on India declar-

ed the conference's support for

the present struggle of the Indian

masses for national independence,

demanded the release of the

arrested nationalist leaders and an end to "the wanton murder of

the West Indies and India.

against the employers."

tional origin."

However, most of these resoand sending mass letters and telegrams to the President and Congressmen and Senators to minor changes, would have been stress the will and desires of the Negro People for their rights as conference had they been read American citizens." A special resolution was adopted

The discussion on this resolution brought out the efforts of the Stalinists to sabotage the MOWM, the complete distrust that the Negro masses today have of the CP, and their recognition that the Stalinists have no

Negro but not anti-white, or anti- sions of the membership, as ex- record their opposition to the Semitic or anti-labor, or anti-catholic. The reason for this is, only be amended by the national the MOWM and attempted

Negro Struggle

By Albert Parker

Can Equality Be Won Under Capitalism?

equality under the capitalist sys-

The partial answer given, here privileges. represents my own views. I would .be glad to print in this column other views, held by both Trotskyists and non-Trotskyists.

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

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

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

Since then things have gotten worse for the Negroes in the South - and we must understand that the Negroes in the other parts of the country will never South, Jim Crow and Judge the last 25 years - the destrucbringing with them such devices greater regimentation for all the as the poll tax, new racial segregation laws, and so on.

Jim Crow is so entrenched in the South today that nothing will own hands of capitalism will fight wipe it out but another kind of to take back, not to grant, democivil war and a new kind of dic- cratic rights. tatorship, supported by the masses of the whole country.

But since the days of Reconstruction capitalism has grown struggle against Jim Crow. That tervention in Europe. . . old and has begun to decay. is still possible - especially if Young progressive Northern cap- a militant policy is followed. But Soviet Premier and his advisers infrequent occasions. italism has become intertwined I do maintain capitalism is so most was that the American lot of capital invested in the depends on the maintenance of Moscow were in such complete Board which is the top planning tainly acted vigorously enough South belongs to Northern bank- Jim Crow and racial prejudices agreement on every military body for Lend-Lease aid. It in sending Marshall and his staff ers and industrialists. Conse- and artificial dividing of the point at issue. Yet that was the determines the allocation of to London last summer to work quently the Northern capitalists | workers, that it can never grant | ourpose of the visit here (London) are as much benefited by South- full equality to the Negro people. early in the summer of General | United Nations in line with the imperialism on all the important ern prejudices and Jim Crow practices as the Southern ruling week.

Is it still possible for the Ne-class. And naturally, they are as gro people in this country to ob- much opposed to any change in tain social, political and economic the South as the Southern rulers - for a change there would menace their investments, profits and

Furthermore, even those capitalists who don't have investments in the South are opposed to any changes — because changes can be brought about there would soon spread to other parts workers everywhere would set off might shake the whole system of

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

Similarly the federal government has changed. From the wielder of a dictatorship against the slaveholders in the 1860's, it has turned into what A. Philip Randolph last month aptly called the "carrier" of the "germ of race discrimination." Instead of combatting vicious Jim Crow practices, as it did to a degree 0 years ago, it how tolerates and mitates and extends those pracices. Instead of getting better in this respect, it is getting worse.

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

Capitalism is now in its be able to get their full rights death agonies. The trend of capiuntil racial discrimination is de- talism has been the same everystroyed root and branch in the where throughout the world in Lynch came back into their own, tion of all democratic .rights, workers, white and Negro. In this period - and until the working masses take things into their

> I don't mean that it is now More on this question next

Why USSR And China Are Treated As 2nd Class Allies

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

BRITISH-U. S. UNITED FRONT AGAINST THE USSR

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

In his London dispatch of Sept. 16 to the N. Y. Times, Raymond Daniell revealed that "the American representatives who accompanied the British Prime Minister to Moscow (for his talks with Stalin) were in complete impossible for the Negro people accord with him in rejecting the cerning their national interest' ... to win any limited gains in their Soviet pleas for immediate in-

> "What apparently surprised the George C. Marshall, Harry L.

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

CHINA'S DISSATISFACTION

the Chinese government,

China's vital interests must be

planned in consultation with

'Allied grand strategy' . . . Chiang Kai-shek must not be

strategists are or are not going

In the August 29 issue of The

Progressive, Lin Yutang pointed

out that it is only a "'purely

ceremonial sense' that today

China and the other United Na-

tions, except England and Amer-

ica, are permitted to attend the

Chinese dissatisfaction has

also been expressed in the recent

recall of Dr. Hu Shih from the

Chinese Embassy in Washington.

Hu Shih is said to have been

'very popular" (and very much

While complaining about this

situation, the Stalinists try to ex-

cowardly, bootlicking manner.

Lapin's Sept. 13 article in The

Worker says the present situa-

tion exists because "the Rus-

sians and Chinese are still con-

our high-ranking military men."

"President Roosevelt is said to

has not acted vigorously enough

Few people acquainted with the

a "sincere" but dull-witted person

The truth-which the Stalin-

And what about Roosevelt?

ignored) in Washington circles.

Pacific War Council in Washing-

King and others sent by Presi-1 dent Roosevelt to work out a American. There are no Chinese common strategy. Mr. Churchill's or Soviet representatives." visit to Moscow had been decided upon even then, and the im- | boards where the same conditions portance of presenting a united prevail: the Combined Producfront at the Kremlin was tion and Resources Board, the recognized. . .'

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

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

"APPALLING LACK OF COLLABORATION"

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

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

"But practically all of the important joint bodies are still biateral. They are still confined to And it lead to their treating the United States and Great

> "The simple bald fact is that there is not a single committee or board of any kind here which in- STALINIST EXPLANATIONS cludes representatives of all four of the most important United Nations: The United States, plain it away in a typically the Soviet Union, Great Britain and China. .

"The top body in the hierarchy of Anglo-American boards here is the Combined Chief of Staff which has the job of planning sidered second class Allies by joint military strategy and co- some influential representatives ordinating the war efforts of the of big business in the production two countries including the pro- setup, particularly by many of duction and distribution of war

"The official War Department release announcing the creation be aware of the problems, but acof this body said that there cording to informed officials he would be consultation with representatives of other United Na- to cut through red tape and obtions, but only on 'matters con- struction," says Lapin. there has been consultation with facts will be taken in by the Soviet and Chinese military Stalinist version of Roosevelt as representatives only on rare and

"Next in importance is the act "vigorously enough" to acwith the Southern ruling class. A decayed, its whole structure so members of the delegation to Combined Munitions Assignment complish what he wants. He cer-Lend-Lease supplies to the other out the united front with British broad strategic decisions of the military questions. Hopkins, Admiral Ernest J. Combined Chiefs of Staff.

plaints, want to hide-is that United States and British imthey are fighting for, and how to act to get what they want. "This board, too, is Anglo-

THE IMPERIALIST AIMS They want, not the equality of

And Lapin lists still other nations after the war, but the supremacy of United States and British imperialism-or of United States imperialism alone. This Combined Raw Material Board, is shown by the way their milithe Combined Shipping Adjusttary and economic boards are set

The fact that they may suffer a little during the war in the China is also eminently dissaform of some inefficiency and lack of military coordination of forces tisfied with this situation. THE MILITANT of Sept. 5 has alis an overhead charge they ready reported the warnings of gladly pay to achieve what they are after. Lin Yutang, unofficial spokesman

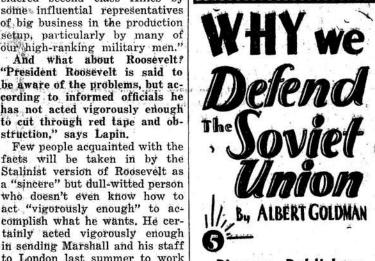
It is of course possible that if "Any Allied strategy affecting China. . . China must be let into the mysterious secrets of the less brazenly, Chinese and Soviet representatives may be given seats on the various boards. kept guessing what the Allied

But that won't and can't materially change the situation which arises out of the deep contradictions between the leading ers with reference to the question 'United Nations.'

They are all fighting a common military foe, but that doesn't ter. liminate the fact that the Soviet Inion wishes to retain its nationalized economy while the demoand subdued colony or semi-

It is these differences which determine the basic policy not against another, then it follows only of the revolutionary party, but also of the imperialists. It is the demonstration of ally in any and all forms.

these differences which disclose the ugly face of imperialism behind the mask of democracy.



Pioneer Publishers 116 University Place New York City

The Question Of The Second Front

By M. Morrison .

tion on the war as a whole. Since it considers the war as imperialst in character and does not support it, it becomes unnecessary to take a position on any particular Hitler first launched his attack military proposal connected with on the Soviet Union the prevailthe war.

Only they who support the war the question of the second front.

and and in this country who support the campaign for a second front do so not only because they support the democratic imperialists in their war against Hitler this situation becomes too scan- but because they are deeply anxidalous or if there is a good deal ous about the fate of the Soviet of protest against it, that some Union. They want to save the Soapparent concessions may be viet Union by means of the secmade; the U. S.-British united ond front and they see in the front may be presented a little | refusal of the imperialist democracies to launch one at the present time, evidence of the contention that the capitalists are not interested in the fate of the Soviet Union. It is because of this feeling on the part of the workof a second front that it is worth while for us to discuss the mat-

From the assertion that a revolutionary Marxist party can uncratic, like the fascist, imperial- der no circumstances demand a ists want to open the USSR to second front the conclusion should capitalist exploitation, or the fact not be drawn that the Soviet that China wants to be a free Union as such is not permitted nation while the democratic, like to demand that its imperialist althe fascist, imperialists want to lies immediately launch a secfix its status as that of a servile ond front. If the Soviet Union is perfectly justified (and it is) in entering into a military alliance with one capitalist state that it is justified in demanding military help from its capitalist

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

for the imperialist ally. Without opposing the military alliance between the Soviet Unis necessary to teach the workers that the imperialist ally cannot be relied on and is in fact a

reacherous ally. Under no condition should we place any confistence in the imperialist ally of the Soviet Union. The failure of the capitalist ally to take certain necessary steps to help the Soviet lutionary Marxists will utilize the Union constitutes concrete evidence to be utilized for the purpose of showing that the imperfalist ally cannot be relied on and that it is essential to replace the capitalist government with a socialist government to assure real help to the Soviet Union.

support of and reliance on the imnerialist allies of the Soviet Un- tion of the Soviet masses have ion. They demand held from failed to achieve victory because those allies and attribute the fail of the policies pursued by the me to furnish such help to individuals in the government hos attitude on the second front is tile to the Soviet Union, Revolutionary Marxists, basing themselres on the fundamental antagonism between every imperialist edvernment and the Soviet Unon, warn the workers of the from the imperialist ally.

the capitalist allies of the Soviet lish a socialist government.

treachery of the imperialist allies reaucracy.

The discussion and campaign of the Soviet Union. Instead of centering around the second front arguing that England and the does not get much space in THE United States are in a position MILITANT. And for the good to launch a second front, but do perialism know exactly what and sufficient reason that a revo- not want to do so because they lutionary Marxist paper need not want to see the Soviet Union detake a position on the question. feated, we should rather empha-Better yet; its position on the size the point that a socialist govsecond front flows from its posi- ernment in the United States and in England would take the greatest risks imaginable in order to help defend the Soviet Union.

It is quite obvious that when ing sentiment and hope in the capitalist ruling circles of Engcan get excited and take sides on land and the United States was to see both the German and So-The masses of workers in Eng- viet armies exhaust themselves in the struggle, thus assuring victory for England and the United States both as against German imperialism and the Soviet Un-Hitler's conquests in the Soviet Union have made these circles quite anxious. They, are no longer afraid of Stalin But they are afraid of Hitler. There is at present plausibility

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

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

The Kremlin is no longer reticent about letting the world know its attitude towards its imperialion and an imperialist country, it ist allies on the question of a second front. On the other hand, Churchill and Roosevelt, through the capitalist press, are preparing their alibis. On both sides it is a question of preparing in advance excuses and justifications for any possible eventualities. As against the imperialists, revo-

second front issue to show the ers' government in order to assure the defense of the Soviet Union and to struggle against and defeat fascism.

As against the Stalinist bureauéracy revolutionary Marxists will The Stalinist leaders advocate utilize the second front issue to show that the heroism and devo-Stalinist leadership, of which its one expression.

The policy of Stalin is to reject an alliance with the working masses to achieve the socialist revolution but to depend on the imperialist allies of the Sotreachery that can be expected viet Union. As a "practical" person Stalin has tied the fate of The question of the second the Soviet Union, or better, the front can and should be used by fate of the Stalinist bureaueracy, us to illustrate our thesis that to the democratic imperialist governments. The second front is Union cannot be relied on to de- only one incident showing how fend the Soviet Union and fur- utterly futile is this "practical" nishes another reason why the attitude. The only force that can masses should struggle to estab- save the Soviet Union is represented by the working masses taking power into their own A word of caution is necessary hands. To utilize that force it is regarding the utilization of the necessary for the Soviet masses second front question to show the to overthrow the Stalinist bu-

An Instructive Discussion On The Mpls. Defense Policy

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

"On July 15, 1941, an indictment prepared by the United States Department of Justice was handed down by a federal grand jury in St. Paul, Minnesota, against 29 members of the Socialist Workers Party and Motor Transport Workers Local 544-CIO. It had been preceded by raids on the branch offices of the party in St. Paul and Minneapolis, in which large quantities of literature had been carted off by the FBI. The indictment was on two counts: (1) conspiracy to overthrow the government by force and violence -the statute involved was adopted in 1861 against the slaveholders' rebellion; (2) conspiracy to advocate such overthrow and to incite disaffection in the armed forces, being a violation of the Smith 'Gag' Law of 1940.

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

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

Despite the clear-cut character of the issues in-

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

Criticism From the Left

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

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

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

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

The Marxist Method in Action

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

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

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

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

On the problem of violence and the transition to socialism, Cannon quotes liberally from the Marxist authorities, beginning with Engels in 1847 and ending with Trotsky in 1940, showing that they preferred peaceful methods in making the transition from capitalist society to socialist. but warned the workers to expect violence from the capitalist minority. Vast historical experience makes it possible to predict such violence. Thus, the defendants, Cannon attempts to prove, did not violate Marxist principles in once again repeating the teachings of our authorities.

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

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

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

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

Reviewed by Joseph Hansen

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THE MILITANT

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

JOIN US IN FIGHTING FOR:

- 1. Military training of workers, financed by the government, but under control of the trade unions. Special officers? training camps, financed by the government but controlled by the trade unions, to train workers to become officers.
- 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. Confiscation of all war profits. Expropriation of all war industries and their operation under workers' control.
- 5. For a rising scale of wages to meet the rising cost of living.
- 6. Workers Defense Guards against vigilante and fascist attacks.
- 7. An Independent Labor Party based on the Trade Unions.
- 8. A Workers' and Farmers' Govern-

Mediation In India

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

most intense exploitation. The British Empire statesmen led by Churchill oppose any such "solution" because, appreciating the economic and financial superiority of the United States, they know they would be swept from the field in any open competition with U.S. interests. Churchill aimed his shafts directly at the possibility of any American "mediation" when he declared in the House of Commons that India was a closed question.

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

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

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

Labor Needs Own Press And Own Party

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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Grace Carlson Is Trotskyist Candidate For U.S. Senate

OURCE: U. S. DEPARTMENT OF LABOR

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

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

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

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

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

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

Grace Carlson's Statement

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

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

perialist government of the U.S. cannot fail to drag this country into war. This will not be a war of defense, or a war for democracy or liberation; it can only be a war for markets, foreign concessions, sources of raw materials and

100% correct. Today I stand more firmly than ever on this

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

I cannot and do not support this war and I intend to exercise my democratic right of presenting, now as before,

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

or domestic brand. But I do not believe that the workers should entrust the task of fighting fascism to Wall Street or its government. Fascism is a product of the decaying capi-

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

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

I see no other way out of the bloody chaos of this capitalist system than that of international socialism. This is the

to the principles of Marx, Lenin and Trotsky. The union of the workers will make the peace of the world. Workers of the world unite!

GRAPHIC BY PICK-\$

In November 1940 I was the Socialist Workers Party

The first plank of my 1940 platform stated: "The imspheres of influence. This is Wall Street's war and not ours."

Events since then have proved that this statement was

caying capitalist system.

the socialist alternative to capitalist slaughter and anarchy.

am unalterably opposed to fascism, either the foreign

talist system which they represent.

Because I have opposed imperialist war and because I

only road to a world of peace, freedom and plenty for all. I stand for international socialism; I am firmly pledged

by James P. Cannon

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What Is The Farm Bloc?

By HOWARD ALLEN

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

The Different Kind of Farmers

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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