

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Negroes Vote To Set Up A Militant Organization

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

By ART PREIS

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

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

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

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

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

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

KEYNOTE ADDRESS OF A. PHILIP RANDOLPH

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

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

(Continued on page 2)

THE MILITANT

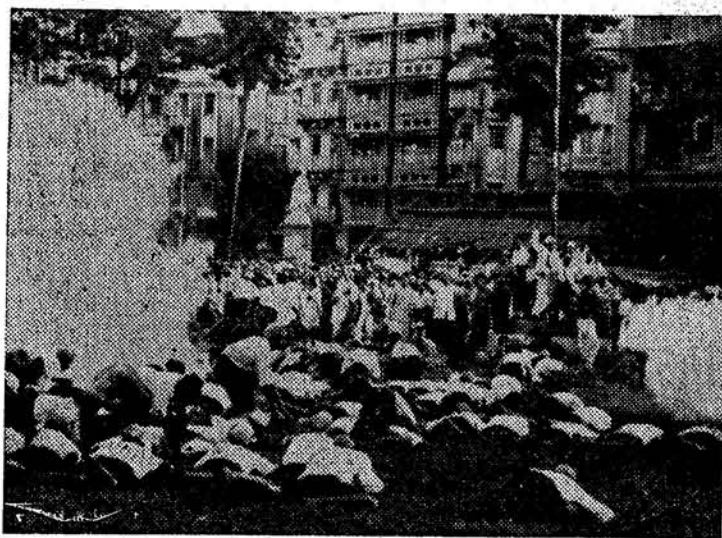
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FIVE (5) CENTS

British Attack Indian Masses



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

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

Army Arbitrarily Fires Unionists In Buick Plant

Precedent Could Be Used to Undermine All Union Activity

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

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

THEIR "CRIME"

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

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

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

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

ACTED AS MILITARY SECRET POLICE

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

The militant unionists in Flint, who forged their union in the great sit-down battles of 1937, must demand that the UAW top leadership defend the democratic rights of the membership against military encroachments. The silence of Thomas-Reuther-Addes Frankenstein has strengthened the hand of the employers and their officer-allies against labor.

Only a vigorous public protest and expose of the illegal action against the two Flint committeemen can prevent a repetition of such flagrant anti-union action.

Labor Is Undefended In Congress Price Fight

Reactionary Congressmen Try To Prevent Vote On Poll Tax

Labor Forces Must Protest Against Threat Of Filibusters and Technical Maneuvers

By ALBERT PARKER

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

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

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

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

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

POLL TAX TRICKS

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

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

2. The poll taxers may launch

a filibuster to prevent a vote on the bills. Unless the bills are acted on and go thru both Houses of Congress before the end of the year, they are automatically killed, and the whole long, wearisome, difficult job of getting it on the floor might have to be begun again next January 1 when the new Congress takes its seats.

The filibuster is a favorite device of the Southern Democrats, and has been used by them to defeat such legislation as anti-lynch 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 way.

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 early this year that he had never favored the poll tax, has never done anything to have it abolished. And when he really wants something done, he knows how to go about it, as he has shown especially in recent months.

It is therefore necessary that every workers' organization in the country let Congress and the administration know that they demand a vote on the anti-poll tax bills, and that they will regard everyone who prevents or helps to prevent such a vote during this session of Congress as an open enemy of the most elementary democratic rights.

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

THE MILITANT has been authoritatively informed from Mexico that the story of the trial of "Frank 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 the conclusion of a "secret Mexican trial" the assassin had been sentenced to three years imprisonment.

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

Wage-Freezing Is Supported By All Congress Groups

Farm Bloc And Administration Aim Blows at Workers

By JOSEPH ANDREWS

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

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

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

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

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

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

LABOR NEEDS OWN PARTY

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

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

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

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

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

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

Grace Carlson Is Trotskyist Candidate For U. S. Senate

SWP Candidate In Minnesota



GRACE CARLSON

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, she obtained as the Socialist Workers Party candidate for Mayor, 3 per cent of the total vote cast.

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

SWP PROGRAM

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

oppression. Other points in her platform call for:

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

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

(Continued on page 4)

More Anti-Trotskyist Slanders

Hollywood Begins Film "Justifying" The Moscow Trials

By JOSEPH HANSEN

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

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

MORAL PREPARATIONS FOR INTERVENTION

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

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

This tremendous propaganda campaign, which had all the earmarks of centralized organization in Washington, constituted the moral preparation to armed intervention against the USSR by the "democratic" imperialists.

Tory Newspaper Peddles GPU Line In Great Britain

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

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

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

THE TRUTH

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

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

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

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

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

ALSO SLANDERS I.L.P. P.O.U.M.

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 I.L.P., the Spanish P.O.U.M. Apparently the GPU still considers it necessary to "justify" its murder of the leaders of the P.O.U.M. during the Spanish civil war.

GPU LIES IN TWO PERIODS

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

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

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

Shipyard Workers Union Is Now 200,000 Strong

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

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

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

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

UNITED WITH STALINISTS AGAINST THE MILITANTS

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

GREEN WINS ANTI-LABOR PRAISE

Instead of defending the working conditions and standards of

Negroes Vote To Set Up A Militant Organization

(Continued from page 1)

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

Randolph was compelled, in fact, to attack the chief embodiment of the war aims of the Allied powers, the Atlantic Charter:

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

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

THE KIND OF ORGANIZATION THE NEGRO PEOPLE NEED

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

Stressing the need for mass organization and action, he cited with enthusiasm the present struggle of the Indian people for national liberation. As an example of the type of actions he had in mind, he stated:

"We must develop a series of marches of Negroes at a given time in a hundred cities or more throughout the country, or stage a big march of a hundred thousand Negroes on Washington to put our cause into the main stream of public opinion and focus the attention of world interests. This is why India is in the news."

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

WANT DEMOCRATIC SETUP

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

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

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

The delegates argued that the constitution represents the decisions of the membership, as expressed in convention, and can only be amended by the national

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

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

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

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

PROGRAM OF ACTION

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

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

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

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

NEEDS OF THE UNION

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

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

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

AN IMPORTANT STEP

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

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

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

A NEW PAMPHLET!

DEFENSE POLICY in the MINNEAPOLIS TRIAL

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

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

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

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

The Negro Struggle

By Albert Parker

Can Equality Be Won Under Capitalism?

Is it still possible for the Negro people in this country to obtain social, political and economic equality under the capitalist system? The partial answer given here represents my own views...

Why USSR And China Are Treated As 2nd Class Allies

By ANTHONY MASSINI

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

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."

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

King and others sent by President Roosevelt to work out a common strategy. Mr. Churchill's visit to Moscow had been decided upon even then...

THE IMPERIALIST AIMS

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

The Question Of The Second Front

By M. Morrison

The discussion and campaign centering around the second front does not get much space in THE MILITANT. And for the good and sufficient reason that a revolutionary Marxist paper need not take a position on the question.

An Instructive Discussion On The Mpls. Defense Policy

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

"On July 15, 1941, an indictment prepared by the United States Department of Justice was handed down by a federal grand jury in St. Paul, Minnesota, against 29 members of the Socialist Workers Party and Motor Transport Workers Local 644-CIO.

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

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!

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.

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THE MILITANT

Published in the interests of the Working People.

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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' Government.

Mediation In India

A full page ad in the Sept. 28 N. Y. Times signed by 57 college professors, writers and other luminaries ranging from Norman Thomas and Upton Sinclair to Alfred Landon and Henry 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 alibi he requires: the military fortunes of the United Nations are at stake in India, Britain is blundering into another disaster as in Burma and Malaya, the American public is demanding "action."

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

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

Labor Needs Own Press And Own Party

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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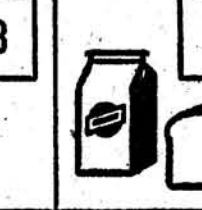



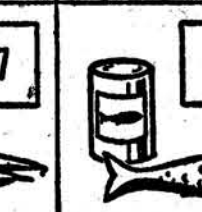
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SOURCE: U. S. DEPARTMENT OF LABOR

GRAPHIC BY PICK-S

Grace Carlson Is Trotskyist Candidate For U. S. Senate

(Continued from page 1)

Grace Carlson's Statement

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

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

In July, 1941, Comrade Carlson was indicted together with 28 other members of the Socialist Workers Party and of Local 644-CIO of Minneapolis on charges of "seditious conspiracy" to overthrow the government by force and violence and of violating the 1940 Smith "Gag" Act.

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

CAMPAIGN PLANS

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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What Is The Farm Bloc?

By HOWARD ALLEN

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

The Different Kind of Farmers

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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