

## The Miners And The Government

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# THE MILITANT

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## Militant Files Application For 2nd Class Rights

NEW YORK, July 6. — *The Militant* announced today that it was filing with the Post Office a reapplication for second-class mailing privileges. This step was taken on the basis of recommendations made by the attorneys for *The Militant* and the American Civil Liberties Union, who believe it is advisable to reapply before challenging in the courts the order of Postmaster General Frank C. Walker under which this paper's second-class privileges were revoked last winter.

The Post Office's interference with the delivery of *The Militant* began last November, when several issues were withheld from the mails and some destroyed. This continued, without any explanation by the postal authorities, until January of this year, when a hearing on *The Militant* was ordered by the Postmaster General acting on the recommendation of Attorney General Biddle.

### WASHINGTON HEARING

At the hearing, held in Washington on January 21, the attorney for the Post Office, cited as "objectionable" 105 excerpts from *Militant* articles printed since the United States entered the war. The excerpts consisted of attacks on Big Business; criticisms of administration policies on such questions as wage-freezing, the Darlan deal and Jim Crowism; and arguments showing the need for the workers to create an Independent Labor Party and to establish a "Workers' and Farmers' Government."

The Post Office attorney argued at the hearing that *The Militant's* second-class mailing priv-

ileges should be revoked because its criticisms of the government and Big Business might persuade some individual reading them not to enlist in the armed forces. Albert Goldman pointed out in reply that following this line of reasoning the Post Office could revoke the mailing privileges of any paper in the country which criticized a government official, for all such criticisms might have the effect of persuading someone not to enlist.

On March 3 the Postmaster General signed the order cancelling this paper's second-class privileges, and since then it has had to go through the mails at the much more expensive third-class and fourth-class rates.

### WIDESPREAD OPPOSITION

The Post Office's revocation order has been the object of a great deal of opposition. The American Civil Liberties Union condemned it as "the gravest threat to freedom of the press that has thus far arisen in this war," a verdict which was concurred in by many labor and liberal papers and organizations. Criticism has also been voiced by many powerful capitalist newspapers, including the *N. Y. Times*, the *Philadelphia Record*, *Chicago Daily News*, *Chicago Tribune*, *Colliers*, etc.

## MARCH-ON-WASHINGTON GROUP SCORES ANTI-NEGRO TERROR

Convention Votes Permanent Organization  
But The Program Adopted Is Inadequate

By Art Preis

CHICAGO, July 4 — The March-On-Washington Movement today concluded its five-day constitutional convention, held here at the Metropolitan Community Church, after adopting a program calling for direct mass action methods to fight Jim Crowism and fixing a share of the responsibility for the recent murderous mob assaults on Negroes upon the administration.

About 110 delegates, representing local Negro groups from 36 communities, adopted a constitution and by-laws establishing the March-On-Washington Movement as a permanent all-Negro organization dedicated to securing full economic, political and social equality for the 13,000,000 American Negroes. A. Philip Randolph, president of the AFL Sleeping Car Porters union and founder of the MOWM, was elected National Director.

As stated in the new constitution, the objectives of the organization will be to "awaken, teach, organize, mobilize, direct and lead the Negro masses to struggle and fight for their own liberation" and to "cooperate and collaborate with all progressive movements," including the labor movement, to achieve real democracy and full equality for the Negro people and all oppressed minorities.

### WHETHER TO MARCH

The convention, by overwhelming majority, reaffirmed the original intent of the MOWM to organize an all-Negro march on Washington, although no date was set for the action. The National Executive Board was instructed, however, to fix a date for a feasible time. In the meantime, the resolution called for taking immediate steps to organize local marches for specific objectives to organize and discipline groups in preparation for a national march.

This resolution was countered

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## Michigan CIO Urges Launching Of An Independent Labor Party

### Food Profiteers On Sitdown Strike To Raise Prices

By JOHN ADAMSON

Big Business in the food industry, headed by the billion dollar food processing corporations, the giant meat packers, the millionaire farmers, is on a sitdown strike. They are striking to starve out the cities and by their man-made famine, to smash all price controls, regulations and ceilings and force cost of food still higher. The food profiteers are raking in millions of dollars. But they are not satisfied. They are determined to make billions just like the barons of the steel, munitions and chemical industries.

This all-national sitdown strike of Big Business of the "food sector" follows the pattern set by the heavy industrialists. The auto, steel, rubber corporations refused to accept government war contracts in the fall of 1939 until the government granted their demands. Heavy industry called off its strike only when the government approved legislation which granted the corporations free of charge new plants and equipment, worth billions of dollars, only when the government guaranteed them unlimited profits. Now the food monopolists are staging their hold-up.

### THE BIG BOY'S PROGRAM

Clarence Francis, President of General Foods, Inc. and Chairman of the War Food Committee, disclosed the program of the big boys at a specially called press conference in Washington's swanky Mayflower Hotel. "It isn't possible," Francis stated, "to permit agricultural prices to rise at fixed levels of September 16, 1942. . . . We are opposed to subsidies at any level."

Francis offered a program of "controlled inflation." What "controlled inflation" means was explained by Senator Byrd, America's largest apple grower, who told the Senate that prices could not be held down at the present time as wages were too high. It is necessary, according to Byrd, to allow prices to go up and keep wages frozen, until prices achieve a proper "balance" with wages.

Food prices have gone up 17.5% in the past year and over 46% since January, 1941. The actual prices paid in the grocery stores have risen even higher than these figures indicate. But the profit-hungry wolves are still not satisfied. They are now closing in for the kill.

### WHY THE FAMINE

There are over 130 million pigs in the country's farmyards today and corn is bulging high in the nation's cribs and elevators. Yet the cities are facing a meat famine, the slaughter of cattle is reduced by almost one-half and

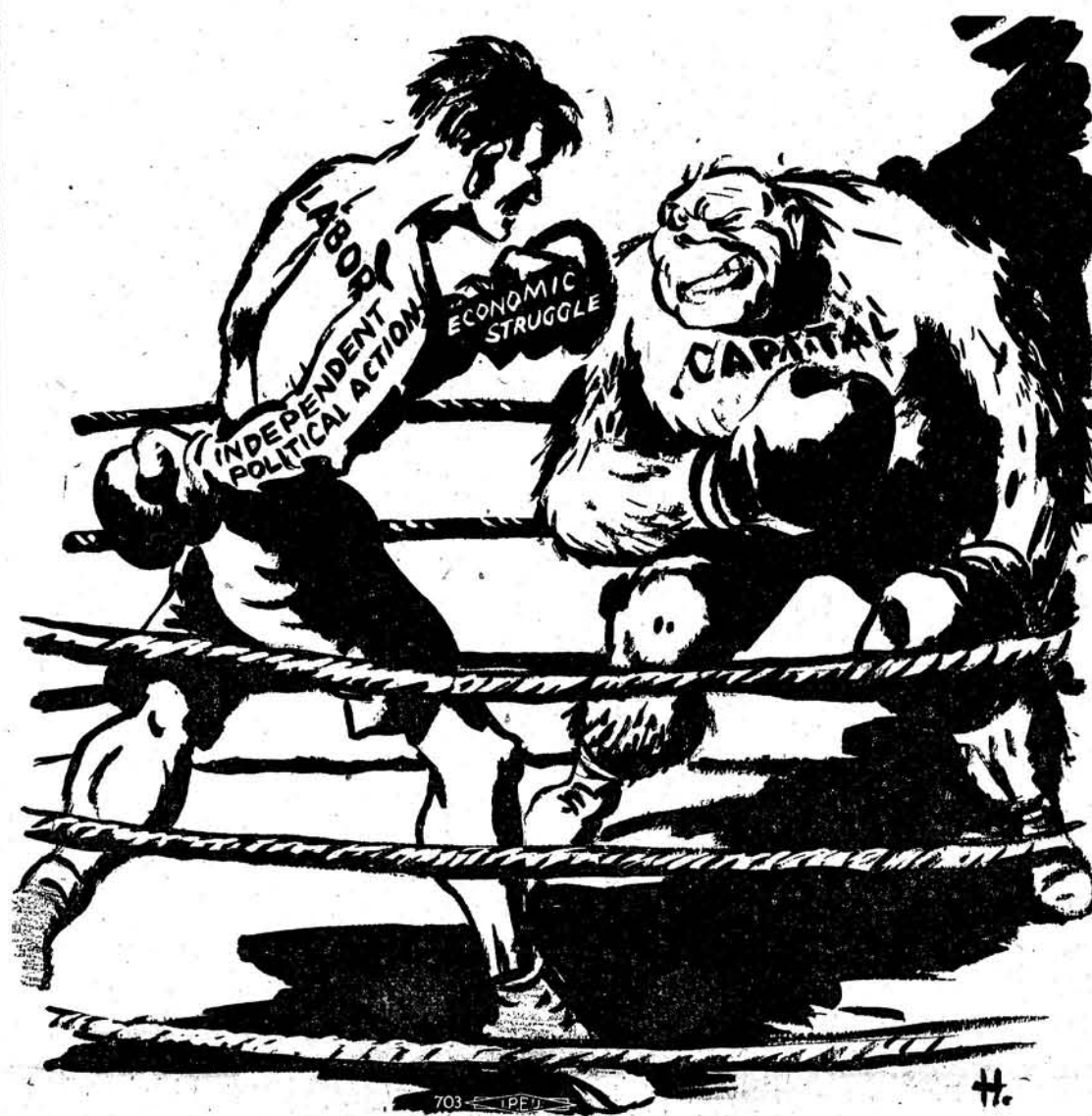
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## Dobbs To End Tour On August 1 After Covering Eastern Cities

As Farrell Dobbs, National Labor Secretary of the Socialist Workers Party, left the Midwest nation-wide tour, final dates and visit to several important cities along the East Coast.

As originally announced, Dobbs was to have arrived in New York City on July 18 and then made a swing around New Jersey and Pennsylvania. Under the revised and final schedule, he will cover those states first and finish the tour in New York on August 1. Following are the dates and

### Use Both Hands!



## KELLY POSTAL PARDON GOAL OF CRDC DRIVE

Committee Begins Its Third Year Of Work  
With Campaign To Free Mpls. Union Leader

The Civil Rights Defense Committee marks its second anniversary on July 15 by the opening of a nation-wide campaign to secure the pardon of Kelly Postal, Minneapolis union leader now serving a five-year sentence in Stillwater Penitentiary because he fought for trade union democracy. Plans of the CRDC include a petition campaign in both Minnesota and other states, and the collection of thousands of individual signatures and trade union and other organizational resolutions calling on the Governor of Minnesota to free Kelly Postal.

As it enters its third year of work this week, the national office of the CRDC also issued a brief report on its activities, the issues involved in the cases it has handled and the manner in which it met the tasks facing it. The report, submitted to the local branches of the Committee, read as follows:

**MINNEAPOLIS LABOR CASE**  
"Two years ago, on July 15, 1941, 29 people, members of the Socialist Workers Party and leaders of Teamsters Union Local 544-CIO, were indicted by a Federal Grand Jury in St. Paul, Minnesota, on charges of 'seditious conspiracy.' This prosecution was

the most sweeping government attack upon the democratic rights of labor in many years. After the 5-weeks trial, in December of the same year, five of these people were dismissed by the judge, five were freed by the jury, and 18 were given 12 to 16 month prison sentences.

"This government prosecution arose out of a long-standing conflict over questions of trade union democracy between Local 544 and Daniel J. Tobin, President of the AFL Teamsters International, which came to a head when the membership of Local 544 decided in June, 1941, by a virtually unanimous vote at a regular membership meeting, to disaffiliate from the AFL and join the CIO. Tobin secured the aid and intervention of President Roosevelt's office, of federal, state and county officials, the FBI and the Department of Justice, with the result that the raids and arrests soon followed.

"These were the first indictments under the Smith 'Gag' Act, which made the mere expression of the political opinion a federal crime. This clearly unconstitutional act was the forerunner of the current flood of restrictive anti-labor and anti-democratic legislation. The CRDC, together with the American Civil Liberties Union, is carrying the conviction of the 18 through the Courts in order to test the constitutionality of this anti-free speech law and to obtain the freedom of the defendants.

"Today the defendants are still awaiting a decision from the Federal Circuit Court of Appeals at St. Louis, and the CRDC is prepared to appeal the case to the Supreme Court if the decision is adverse.

### PERSECUTIONS FOLLOWING THE MINNEAPOLIS CASE

"In addition to the original indictment of the 29, a veritable hailstorm of indictments was heaped upon the officers of 544-CIO. On July 14, 1941 the Hennepin County Grand Jury, on a Tobin complaint, indicted Miles Dunne, President, and Kelly Postal, Secretary-Treasurer, for 'em-

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## Convention Demands Junking Of CIO No-Strike Pledge

Stalinists And CIO Top Leaders Join In  
Vain Effort To Halt Rank And File Action

By John Saunders

DETROIT, Mich., July 3 — 1800 delegates, representing approximately 700,000 unionists at the sixth annual convention of the Michigan, CIO answered the Smith-Connally "slave labor" Act by taking steps to launch an Independent Labor Party and by voting to request the national CIO to junk the "no-strike" pledge.

CIO organization director Allan S. Haywood, John Brophy, head of Industrial Union Councils, UAW President R. J. Thomas, and State CIO President August Scholle joined with the Stalinists in a bitter attack against the resolution advocating the withdrawal of labor's no-strike pledge. But to no avail. The convention by a two-to-one majority on

June 30 passed the resolution "recommending to all of the affiliated unions and to the CIO that unless assurances that were made to labor are immediately and effectively put into operation, we consider our 'no-strike' pledge no longer binding and labor will settle the problems in the future in the only manner left open to it by the use of its economic strength."

The Stalinists did most of the talking against this resolution. Lawrence Blythe, Stalinist delegate from the State, County and Municipal Workers Union, stated that "we must support Murray and Thomas and must not provoke more action like the Smith-Connally Bill." A Stalinist woman delegate insisted that the resolution "was an insult to Murray and Roosevelt."

Dodge Local 3 of the UAW which went out on strike a month ago, gave a fitting reply: "We of labor should stay on the side of labor. The only way we can get gains, and there is no use kidding ourselves, is by striking. When we went along with the no-strike pledge our people were fired and those with seniority were placed on lower paying jobs. The Chrysler Corporation refused to put our people back on their jobs. When we were out for three days, they were damn glad to do it. After a three day stoppage we told them that if they discharged anyone else we would close all their plants down. As a result no one else has been fired. The Chrysler owners understand only one language, the language of strike, and I say let's give it to them."

"Let's get back at management," cried John A. Cole of UAW Local 50. "We don't want any dictation; neither by Philip Murray nor Green."

"Does any one question that the commitments made to labor

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## Only Labor Can Destroy Power Of Monopolies

An Editorial

The International Executive Board of the CIO United Auto Workers, the largest union in the country, has formally sponsored a post-war program. Its key plank, made public on July 3, calls for government ownership and operation of the basic industries. This will make it possible, in the opinion of the UAW board, to ward off unemployment and assure social security, along with adequate housing, schools, highways, hospitals, recreational, public power and conservation projects, etc. The plan further envisages a solution of the farm problem, ample provisions for the veterans, including a bonus of \$2,500, and the establishment of a 30-hour week.

The basic idea of this program is absolutely sound. The chief brake on the advancement of this country, as well as the world as a whole, is the private ownership of the basic means of production, now a monopoly in the hands of an insignificant minority. To do away with this reactionary obstacle is to take the first step toward building a world really fit for human beings.

However, it is not enough to advocate a sound idea. One must in addition have equally sound means for realizing it in life. The UAW Board falls down precisely where the task begins.

The sponsors of the UAW program begin by postponing its measures until after the war. Why? Nothing is false than the notion that the baneful influence and power of the monopolies are in any way altered by the war. Just the contrary. They seek to profit from the war above all in order to increase their strength and influence. If it is good for the workers to fight against monopoly in peacetime, why should this struggle be suspended at a time when the harshest burdens and sacrifices are imposed upon the workers by the monopolists? Why should the workers wait while the monopolists wax fat and ever more powerful? Only the monopolists can gain from the postponement of the struggle.

Here we come to the second important point: How to attain the abolition of monopoly. According to the UAW board, this is to be accomplished by making "demands on the government." Every militant knows that the most justifiable union demand remains an illusion if not backed by the full strength of his organization. The monopolies never fail to back their demands by their strength which is so thoroughly organized that they are the ones who dominate the government nationally and locally. How? Through their control of the only two powerful political parties on the scene today, the Democratic and Republican. The struggle to abolish monopolies is a political struggle. Where is the political weapon — the Independent Labor Party — without which the workers cannot even talk of realizing any kind of program, let alone the one proposed by UAW? Yet the sponsors of the latter remain strangely silent on this all important point.

Every worker has felt on his own back what resources and forces the monopolists are able to bring into play whenever even a portion of their profits is threatened. Only fools or scoundrels will propagate the idea that these gentlemen will sit with folded hands when the very foundation of their power and privileges is attacked. The working class is fully capable of achieving the abolition of the monopolies. But if this is to be a serious program and not radical phrasemongering designed to distract the workers' attention away from present-day tasks, a serious fight must be organized, and the necessary powerful weapons created.

Among these indispensable weapons, without which such a fight cannot even be contemplated, is the immediate creation of labor's independent party which will seek to arouse the people and win their support in the fight against the monopolists.



# The Coal Miners And The Government

By Art Preis

PITTSBURGH, Pa. — Within the past few weeks the nation's 530,000 coal miners have made a great forward leap in their political thinking.

The remorseless onslaught against the miners by the War Labor Board in league with the coal operators, the sinister anti-strike actions of Congress, and President Roosevelt's illusion-shattering mine labor draft threat have slashed like a sharp razor across the traditional political attitudes of the miners.

## The Question Being Posed

One question, more significant than any other, more filled with promise for the political advancement of the American working class, has been posed openly at virtually every local miners' meeting in the past few weeks, and sooner or later bursts from the lips of almost any individual miner you talk with.

"Who is the government?" they are asking. "Just what is the government? Are we, the people, the government, or are the operators, the bosses, the government? We want to know."

At one UMW local meeting in this area, during a heated debate on whether to accept the latest mine strike truce, a Negro worker rose and stated bitterly:

"The Emancipation Proclamation was passed in 1862, and now the government that's supposed to be of, for and by the people, is threatening us with slave labor in the army and to throw us in jail when we refuse to work without a contract. President Roosevelt himself told us that we are the government. If we're really the government, how come the government is trying to make slaves of us again, just as if

the Emancipation Proclamation don't count any more? That's the question I want answered: Is the working man the government, or is the boss-man the government?"

Three months ago such a question would have startled any miners' meeting and probably evoked violent opposition. But at this meeting it was met with applause. Question the very nature of the government? Of course! For this Negro worker was merely mirroring the question that has been driven most persistently into the minds of the miners by their bitter experiences of the past two months.

## "Is It Our Government?"

"Why can't this government make the operators sign a contract giving us our just portal-to-portal pay, if it can threaten to throw us into jail and draft us because we refuse to lie down when the operators crack the whip? Is it our government, or isn't it?"

Those are the words of a leading union member at one of the large captive mines of Jones & Laughlin steel corporation. They were uttered at a meeting where the miners voted to continue their strike in defiance of Roosevelt's military forced labor threat. The speaker continued amidst shouts of approval:

"Why, we pay the War Labor Board and Congress and President Roosevelt. And while we go down in the pits and risk our lives every day to dig the coal to keep the rear ends of these officials warm, they're trying to put a ball and chain around our necks. Who is the government, anyway? Are we the government like they say?"

Those are not mere rhetorical questions. They are being wrung from the lips of the miners by one terrible governmental blow after another.

Like most other workers, the miners up to now have never thought much about

the nature of the government, one way or another. Offhand, they could usually express only a very hazy idea of what the government is, whom it represents. To some it was simply, "Why, President Roosevelt — I guess." To others it was, "The men we elect to go to Washington." And to most it represented some vague, powerful force emanating from Washington, standing above classes, impartial, something you could not even question, let alone oppose. "The government? Why, you can't fight the government," they would say. Yet last week some tens of thousands in this area alone were openly defying the new anti-strike slave-labor law.

## The Answer Given Today

"Who is the government?" you will ask. And the miners today will give an answer:

The government? Why, that's the War Labor Board which has been completely brazen in its open compliance with the schemes of the operators. The government? Why, that's Congress, Republicans and Democrats alike, which has leaped like a wolf-pack on the miners and their rights—"Shoot them, jail them, crucify them!" The government? Why, yes, that's Roosevelt, too, who has backed the hand of the corporation-dominated War Labor Board, who has called for military forced labor to whip the miners back into the pits without a fair union contract, who vetoed the anti-strike-slave-labor bill only because it wasn't sufficiently air-tight!

So it is, out of their own living experience, that the miners are beginning to piece together an answer to their own question. To them the government has come to appear as a vast coercive body of officials and agencies to protect the interest of the oper-

ators and bosses at the expense of the workers and producers.

But the miners have been getting an even closer glimpse of the government. They are seeing it identified directly with the mine owners and management.

For the government has come home to them. It has posted itself on every mining property. It looks arrogantly at them from the eyes of every mine boss and operator.

When the government "took over" the coal mines two months ago, most of the miners were under the impression at first that some great beneficial change was about to take place. Now, they are beginning to believe that they have been face to face with the real government all their lives without knowing it. For the government representatives in the mines are none other than the owners and bosses — only more arrogant than ever as they walk around vested with the seal and badge of the United States Government.

## No One Defends Present Setup

No miner will defend the present government setup in the mines. But many will say that it isn't what they mean by "government management." They will tell you that the present setup is just a trick, that it's not "really" government control.

Thus, one officer of the Vesta No. 4 mine local at California, Pa., stated: "We're not fooled by this so-called government management. It's the same owners and management running the mines as before. But," he added, "the truth is, the men don't feel they've been working for the government."

This reflects an opinion in some mine union circles that some fundamentally different setup is being secretly planned by Ickes for running the mines, that he is going to pull out of his sleeve the "real" government control, eliminating the private owners from

management or curtailing their powers to a marked degree.

Some union officials hint at a new system of government book-keeping, pay checks issued through the government, "tighter supervision by the government." But this does not answer the questions that are continuously raised by the miners.

"Will that bring us our just increase in pay? Will it bring us more say-so about conditions in the mines?", and the key question: "But if the mines remain the property of the private operators, and if we continue to work for their profit, won't we really be working for them and not the government? Or are the operators and the government ONE AND THE SAME?"

These are the profound political questions which the miners today are asking openly. But, as yet, and that is one of the unfortunate weaknesses of the present UMW national policy, the miners are not receiving any satisfactory political answers from their own leaders.

The traditional policy of entrusting their interests to so-called "friends of labor" in the capitalist political parties, trying to play off one against another, stands exposed to the miners as not merely fruitless but a betrayal of their interests, continuously blocking their development as an independent political force.

## Political Answer Needed

Above all, the miners realize they cannot simply ignore politics, for every problem confronting them ends up in the key problem of government, and sharply poses the need for political solutions.

What shall be the next political step? Shall the miners crawl back to Roosevelt once more, to his "impartial mediation" system, his alliance with the Southern poll tax Democrats who fathered the slave-labor

law, his clearly revealed support of the mine operators against the miners? Shall they turn instead once more to the Republicans, the party of the Steel Trust which blocked their contract, and whose representatives in Congress helped to push through the Smith-Connally Act? Or perhaps Willie will give them "a break," this liberal-talking barefoot boy of Wall Street and the utilities, who remained aloof and silent through the whole anti-labor frenzy winding up in the slave-labor law?

Every question etched by acid experience on the consciousness of the miners tells them they need a fundamentally different political answer to the one they have traditionally accepted and supported in the past.

And the answer they are today most prepared to welcome, it can be confidently asserted, is the formation of an Independent Party of Labor.

If the United Mine Workers leaders were to seize the initiative today to strike boldly at the roots of corporation political power by proclaiming the need for the immediate formation of an Independent Labor Party, 530,000 miners and their families would rise almost as one to greet that call. And millions of other workers, facing the same problems of frozen wages, staggering taxes, soaring prices, intimidation and suppression, would join the miners in this historically necessary, imperative, progressive step forward.

## "Who is the government?"

Out of this and similar political questions stirring in the minds of the miners may well come the answer: "We are not the government today. The corporations and bosses are. But we must become the government, we, who dig the mines, run the factories, do all the productive work of society, we, labor, must be the government."

## TRADE UNION NOTES

By E. R. Frank

The U. S. Congress has inserted an amendment to an appropriation bill barring NLRB action against union contracts which have been in existence more than 90 days. While the immediate purpose of the bill, which has been pushed by the AFL Metal Trades Department, is to keep the CIO out of the Kaiser shipyards, it opens the door wide for the signing of "sweatheart" back-door agreements, thus depriving the workers of their democratic rights to organize and join unions of their own choosing. It also puts the stamp of legal approval on company unions.

Reaction in the march in Washington. In this particular case, it is aided and abetted by the stupid and reactionary Frey, head of the AFL metal trades department.

The War Labor Board has reaffirmed its decision to grant the Akron rubber workers only a three cent hourly wage increase.

The labor crisis is now raging on the railroad front. William Green and the officials of the non-operating railway unions are engaged in a frenzied series of conferences trying to win back the eight cent hourly wage increase originally granted by the Rail Labor Board and set aside subsequently by Vinson. Director of Economic Stabilization. The non-operating railroad workers are talking about a strike vote.

Meanwhile Alvaney Johnson, Grand Chief Engineer of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers, charged that Vinson has destroyed the Railway Labor Act. Appearing before the Emergency Board of the National Rail Panel, now conducting hearings on the demand of the "Big Five" brotherhoods for a 30% wage increase, Johnson stated: "Notwithstanding the fact that the board spent many weary weeks and even months in hearing both employees and the carriers, the Economic Stabilization Director assumes to deny the employees this wage increase in utter disregard of the board's findings and recommendations."

Speaking in behalf of his union and the Brotherhood of Railway Trainmen, Johnson told the board that undoubtedly Vinson had already prejudged their case and "it would certainly be a farce to continue this proceeding."

Brother Johnson is certainly in a tough spot. Here is what the old-line labor official is up against trying to hold his members in line: "The members of the Railroad Operating Brotherhood are among the conservative labor groups in this country, but if they lose confidence in their leaders and their leaders' ability to help them they are going to become radical. This board is confronted not merely with the question of an increase in wages but with a question of morale."

Judge Padway, General Counsel

of the AFL, similarly tried to frighten the big boys to loosen a bit. Addressing a large audience composed of delegates to the western conference of the Teamsters Union, he said: "If these men do not take care, they will bring about a condition of such dire consequences that they will have good cause to fear it. I do not know what is going to happen in the days right after the ending of this war, when millions of men will be idle, more millions will be turned off the federal payrolls and still more millions demobilized from the armed forces."

"The crushing of labor by law may very well lead to the very conditions none of us want. Out of the whole condition may come Communism. I hope not, and I am certain none of us here want that to happen, but it is time for thoughtful management to give this matter some serious consideration."

The Industrial Union of Marine and Shipbuilding, CIO, won the National Labor Board election by a narrow margin at the huge yards of the Sun Shipbuilding and Drydock Company, at Chester, Pa., after one of the most bitterly fought labor board elections in recent labor history. The CIO was on the ballot with the company-sponsored union, the Sun Ship Employees Association. The yards employ 34,000 workers.

The next big union election battle is scheduled to take place the week after July 4 at the Glenn L. Martin Aircraft plants at Baltimore. The UAW-CIO and the International Association of Machinists are both fighting for sole collective bargaining rights. Glenn L. Martin is one of the "Big Three" in the aircraft industry.

Approximately one to two thousand workers staged a walkout at the Crucible Steel Company plant at Harrison, N. J. on Tuesday, June 29 and did not return to work until Friday, July 2. The men were fed up with the stalling of the company on job reclassifications and the refusal of the company to engage in real collective bargaining on the grievances of the men.

Army and Navy officials stepped into the situation and called on the men to return to work. Immediately the flaking sheet of the Stalinists, the Daily Worker, came to the company's rescue. On Thursday, July 1 it carried an article on the Crucible walkout under the screaming headline "Trotskyite Hand Seen Back of Eighth Stoppage at Crucible Plant." The article singles out a number of union men who are running against the administration slate in the local union election and labels them as "Trotskyists."

All union militant must watch out for this flaking outfit. The Daily Worker is going to dub every militant worker, every red blooded union fighter a "Trotsky-

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have not been kept?" asked James Lucas, president of the Pontiac Motor Local. "The no-strike pledge was given on the basis of equality-of-sacrifice at a UAW conference. I then voted in favor. Wise men change their minds, fools never do. I say the no-strike pledge was the biggest mistake the labor movement has ever made. It should be revoked here and now."

Even Victor Reuther, sensing that the Michigan CIO men were determined to break out of the no-strike strait-jacket, spoke in support of the resolution.

The convention delegates joined in singing "Solidarity Forever" as soon as the announcement was made that the resolution had been passed. There was a general realization that labor had taken a great step forward.

## STALINIST DISRUPTION

Only the Stalinists remained unrecalled to the convention decision. They immediately demanded a reconsideration of the resolution and were informed that under the rules nothing could be done until the following day. State Senator Novak, a delegate from the SCWMA, then called for a roll-call vote. The convention defeated his motion by four-to-one.

When the Stalinists continued with their disruptive tactics the chairman, who himself was opposed to the resolution, called them to order: "There is a hubbalooboo by this small minority which attempts to flout the majority will of this convention."

But the Stalinists continued with their points of information, points of order, points of special privileges, etc. Even in the final session of the four day convention, they twice moved for reconsideration of the resolution; each time they were defeated by an overwhelming majority. Individuals and groups of Stalinists then took the floor and announced that they would "follow Murray in the no-strike pledge which he gave to our Commander-in-Chief."

## DEBATE ON LABOR PARTY

The sharpest fight occurred in

ite in an attempt to get the company to fire him off the job.

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The Minnesota Teamster of June 24 announces proudly that Sidney L. Brennan, Secretary-Treasurer of General Drivers Union 544, was appointed ninth vice-president of the Teamsters Union by the International Executive Board. To what does Brennan attribute his success? "The Minn. Teamster knows: 'The election of Mr. Brennan is in recognition of outstanding work the past two years. Mr. Brennan was the leader in the successful fight to rid the union of the Dunnes and subversive influences.'"

George Meany, Secretary of the AFL, reported to the Executive Council that dues paid membership in the Federation at the end of April stood at the all-time high of 6,226,950.

the convention over the question of launching an Independent Labor Party. Here too the top bureaucrats of the CIO and the Stalinists worked as a bloc in opposition to the demand of the rank and file for independent political action.

Only last month the Wayne County LNPL Convention had voted by an overwhelming majority to request the State CIO to take the necessary steps to launch an Independent Labor Party. The top bureaucrats and the Stalinists had their forces all lined up to defeat this proposal at the Michigan CIO convention.

August Scholle was the first to speak on this resolution. He launched a furious attack on the idea of forming a labor party in this period of reaction when, according to him, there was danger of labor becoming isolated from the farmers and liberal elements. "Now is not the time," he said.

He was answered by James Lucas: "The song sung by Brother Scholle is one of defeatism. I agree with him that the CIO does not know where it is going. Who ever said that the Democratic Party was a friend of labor? I don't expect that we will elect a president of the United States the first time we run a candidate, but at least we will have the knowledge of casting a large protest vote."

"If we waited till everybody joined a union before we started organizing, we would never have had a union."

## "NOW IS THE TIME!"

A rank and file delegate from Chevrolet Local 262 reminded the delegates that this resolution "was put through the LNPL Convention by a practically unanimous vote with only 7 or 8 delegates voting in opposition, and I believe there should be no more than 7 or 8 who should oppose it in this convention. We have been dilly-dallying for a long time and it is now time to start. If not now, when will it be the right time?"

## STAND ON THE SMITH-CONNALLY ACT

The convention declared that the Smith-Connally anti-strike act "made a mockery out of avowed claims that this is a war for democracy. . . . The passage of this bill should bring home to every lover of democracy that we have a real fight on our hands at

"Right now!" the convention delegates roared back.

The previous question was called after this short debate. Most of the leading speakers had not yet taken the floor. It was 5:30 P.M. and the delegates were restless and anxious to leave for the day. A voice vote was called and amidst general turmoil and confusion the chairman declared the resolution defeated and adjourned the session.

Emil Mazey of Briggs Local and Paul Silver of Detroit Steel Products Local, who were leading the fight for the labor party resolution, were bitterly complaining to their bewildered followers after the convention session that they had been doublecrossed by their own leaders of the Reuther group.

The Political Action Committee introduced a labor party resolution on the following day. But it was apparent that Mazey and Silver had made an opportunistic concession to the top leaders of the Reuther group. The new labor party resolution stated that "support of Roosevelt in Michigan can best be served by an independent labor party." The resolution also proposed a referendum vote by the affiliated unions on whether or not they "favored setting up an independent labor party."

The opposition to the revised resolution from the Stalinists and reactionaries was just as strong as to the original resolution. The vote was so close that after several counts the tellers could not agree and the delegates agreed to vote by ballot. The counting of the ballots disclosed that the labor party resolution had been carried by a vote of 2519 to 1909.

## STAND ON THE SMITH-CONNALLY ACT

The convention declared that the Smith-Connally anti-strike act "made a mockery out of avowed claims that this is a war for democracy. . . . The passage of this bill should bring home to every lover of democracy that we have a real fight on our hands at

home to preserve democracy."

But even this resolution was too radical for the Stalinists. Their spokesman, Nat Ganley, business agent of UAW Local 155, immediately rose in protest. "Regardless of what reactionary legislation is passed, this war still remains a just, progressive war against fascism. We shouldn't sneak into our documents that it is an imperialist war or not a war for democracy. How can the State CIO Convention pass this resolution without praising our Commander-in-Chief who vetoed this bill? And how can we do so without praising Philip Murray who told the CIO not to be provoked and who reaffirmed the no-strike pledge."

Mazey pointed out in reply that "the only reason Roosevelt vetoed the bill was that it gave us the right to strike at the end of thirty days. Those who followed Roosevelt in Congress led in overriding the veto. The veto was only a smoke screen."

Victor Reuther attacked the Stalinists: "There are those who seek to confuse every resolution by introducing matter that does not belong in it. It is not a war for democracy if we allow fascists to destroy our democratic rights at home."

## ANTI-NEGRO RIOTS DENOUNCED

The Stalinists caused the greatest confusion in the convention on the issue of the Detroit anti-Negro riots. The resolution proposed by the Committee blamed the anti-Negro violence in Detroit on intolerance fostered by the employers and their agents. The Stalinists, however, were determined to blame the riots on Hitler and to absolve the Jim Crow policies of the corporations and the government. "The resolution failed to trace the riots right back to Berlin where it was started," complained a Stalinist delegate from a steel local. This cry was taken up by every other Stalinist at the convention.

A small group of reactionaries took advantage of the confusion created by the Stalinists on this issue to try to pin the blame for the riots on the Japanese and the Communist Party. Between the Stalinists and the reactionaries the convention was thoroughly confused on the issue and voted the first day of the convention to defeat the resolution. The convention recovered from its bewilderment, however, the following day. When virtually the same resolution was again brought up for consideration, the convention repulsed both the Stalinists and reactionaries and voted overwhelmingly in favor of the resolution.

The convention went on record in favor of permitting management and labor to sign contracts for higher wages without the approval of the War Labor Board. Again the Stalinist whip, Ganley, came to the assistance of Roosevelt and the employers. "Without the approval of the WLB, the system of wage stabilization would be abolished. In that event

## L. A. Holds Successful Rally On 'Mission To Moscow' Film

LOS ANGELES, Cal. — A public meeting to protest the Warner Brothers' frameup film, "Mission To Moscow," was held at the Embassy Auditorium here Sunday, June 27, under the auspices of the Socialist Workers Party.

The speaker, Murry Weiss, pointed out at the beginning of his talk that it is not necessary to agree with the political views of the Socialist Workers Party to recognize the frameup nature of the film. He then proceeded to prove conclusively that Warner Brothers' version of the Moscow trials is a "frameup within a frameup."

Weiss discussed the background of the original trials, cited evidence of public opinion at the time of the trials, quotations from Ambassador Davies' book describing his impressions at the time of the trials, evidence from the official Soviet reports, and the findings of the Commission of Inquiry headed by John Dewey which investigated the accusations made against Leon Trotsky and his son, Sedov, in the trials. He demonstrated that the trials were Stalin's frameup of the old Bolsheviks and that the film is Warner Brothers' frameup, made with the tacit approval of the Roosevelt administration as a concession to Stalin.

Janet Bowers, chairman of the

you, cannot roll back prices and stabilize the price structure in the U. S.: Besides the resolution should praise President Roosevelt for rolling back prices."

The convention rocked with laughter when Mazey asked, "Can anyone say that prices have been rolled back?" The resolution was adopted.

The Stalinists tried to have the convention condemn Lewis when a resolution in favor of the miners was proposed by the resolutions committee. John Anderson, Stalinist President of Local 155, warned the delegates: "You cannot pass on the miners' question and ignore Lewis. You cannot win the war and strike as you damn please."

A rank and file provided the answer. "If Lewis pulled the strike to protect the rank and file, hats off to Lewis." Delegate Olsen stated that "if the administration weren't so busy fighting Lewis, the Smith-Connally Bill would not have passed." This resolution also was adopted. A resolution was overwhelmingly carried against incentive pay and "piecemeal under any name." The convention jeered at a Stalinist delegate from UE Local 197 of Grand Rapids when he pompously declared: "This resolution is an insult to my international union."

John Gibson of the United Dairy Workers was elected president of the Michigan State CIO, defeating C. Pat Quinn, the Stalinist-backed candidate, by a vote of 2709 to 1752. Ben Probe was re-elected secretary-treasurer by acclamation and the entire anti-Stalinist slate of 17 vice-presidents won by a two to one margin.

meeting, appealed to the large audience present for aid in the fight to protest and publicize the frameup nature of the film. The audience responded by contributing \$44.46 to the collection and buying considerable literature from the display in the back of the hall.

## Buffalo SWP Tells Truth About Picture

BUFFALO, N. Y., July 2 — "Mission To Moscow," opened here at the Shea's Great Lakes Theatre last week. The film was shown for a week to small audiences. (Most first-run pictures stay two, sometimes three weeks at this movie house).

Distributed among members of the first night audience upon their exit were leaflets of the Socialist Workers Party containing the statement of John Dewey, the famous educator, to the effect that the trials were frameups and the chief defendant, Leon Trotsky, was innocent. The leaflets were received favorably by the great majority.

Several people confided to the distributors their agreement that the film was a whitewash. The Stalinist clique, who attended the first night to help put the film over by applauding at appropriate intervals, tried the tactic of ignoring the leaflets as much as they could. A couple felt called upon to spit upon the leaflets and tear them up. The distributors were called filthy names by one of them. There was no disturbance and no fighting. Everyone interested had a chance to read the truth.

## Demonstrate Against Movie In Boston

BOSTON, July 5 — The first showing of "Mission To Moscow" was held here on July 1 at a smaller theatre and on a later date than originally scheduled. Reason for the change was the storm created by the Boston City Council proposal to ban the film from this city.

The Boston Branch of the Socialist Workers Party had already differentiated itself from the supporters of such a move by letters to the Council and the papers. At the opening of the film members of the branch were present distributing leaflets exposing the lies and slanders in the film. Some Stalinists engaged in verbal and unorganized attack on the distributors.

The theatre was also picketed by two members of the Socialist Party, who were halted by police on the ground that they were loitering and dismissed by a judge the next day.

The SWP held a second distribution of leaflets on July 3.



## March-On-Washington Group Scores Anti-Negro Terror

(Continued from page 1)

the attention of the delegates was whether or not to limit membership to Negroes only. The opinion was almost unanimous to continue the policy of confining actual membership to Negroes.

Most of the speakers who spoke in favor of an exclusively Negro organization made it clear that they were opposed to Negro nationalism or black chauvinism. They emphasized the desire of the organization to work together with all groups, progressive and trade union in particular, in fighting Jim Crow. However, in their opinion, the need for this type of organization was dictated by "social necessity" as a means of self-defense so long as the predominantly white organizations fail to use their power in militant defense of the Jim-Crowed, lynched and mobbed Negroes.

Neva Ryan, head of the Chicago Domestic Workers Union, expressed the feeling of most of the delegates: "White people who are anxious to join the MOWM might do us more good by going into white groups or inter-racial organizations. We don't need them in our group as members, we need them in their own groups educating them against Jim Crowism."

### WAR RESOLUTION DEBATED

The most debate centered on the first resolution introduced, which called for a blanket support of the war.

This resolution, supported by Randolph, was vigorously opposed by Layle Lane, a member of the MOWM national committee. She pointed out that this resolution was in conflict with other resolutions which would be introduced which correctly characterized the war as "imperialist on both sides" and "a struggle for the right to exploit the colored peoples in the colonies."

This contradiction was even more sharply shown in Randolph's address at the public mass meeting closing the convention this afternoon. He opened this address by emphatically declaring his support for the war and the United Nations.

Then he went on to declare, concerning the real objectives of the war and its character:

"But, be not deceived. This is not a war for freedom. It is not a war for democracy. It is not a war to usher in the Century of the Common Man. It is not a People's Revolution. It is a war to maintain the old imperialism. It is a war to continue white supremacy and the subjugation, domination and exploitation of the peoples of color. It is a war between the imperialisms of fascism and the imperialism of monopoly capitalistic democracy. Under neither are the colored natives free."

In effect, despite his strongly critical attitude toward the conduct of the war and its objectives, Randolph was calling upon the Negro masses, in the name of democracy for themselves, to aid in an imperialist war to enslave further the hundreds of millions of colored peoples of the colonies.

Following the adoption of the resolution on the war, the convention proceeded to enthusiastically endorse resolutions in support of the struggles of the peoples of India, China, Africa, the West Indies, etc., for immediate, unconditional independence.

### ANTI-NEGRO ATTACKS

The convention was held while Negro and progressive white sentiment was at its highest peak of fury and indignation against the recent anti-Negro terror in Detroit, Beaumont, Mobile, Los Angeles, etc.

The resolution adopted on these mass lynchings was declared "that this meeting states definitely that it is unsound to place the blame for the cause of these race riots upon Hitler. The blame must be put where it belongs, that is, at the door of the present government itself. The cause of these riots is not Hitler but the policy of Jim Crow, segregation and discrimination, in and by the government and in education, housing, recreation, amusement, before the courts, in the armed forces and defense industry. Race riots and mob law, lynchings and racial terrorism obtained in America long before Hitler was ever heard of and will continue long after he is dead and forgotten unless Negroes receive the status of first-class citizenship in America."

However, the proposals of the resolution for stopping the mob attacks included merely a request that Roosevelt set up a National Commission on Race, composed equally of Negro and white members, to "study" the conditions leading to this expression of Jim Crowism and to bring in a report of findings and methods to stop these attacks; that Negro as well as white soldiers be sent into riot areas; and that a Congressional investigation be made of the recent riots with the aim of enacting legislation to protect the Negroes and other minorities.

As in all the other resolutions dealing with specific aspects of Jim Crowism, there was no recognition of the fact that the organized labor movement is the most reliable ally of the Negro people. While stating the willingness of the MOWM to cooperate with other groups, including the unions, no direct appeal or concrete proposal for joint action was made, other than calling on other groups to demand that Roosevelt agree to meet with a committee of the MOWM.

### POLITICAL ACTION

The struggle of the Negro masses was emphasized largely as independent of the struggle of the working class as a whole for its rights and conditions, although it was pointed out on several occasions that the onslaught against the Negro people paralleled a tremendous drive against the working class and the unions.

Thus, while acknowledging the responsibility of the government and the administration for the attacks on the Negroes, no genuine proposal for the political emancipation of the Negro, along with the entire working class, was put forth. On the contrary, Randolph projected the idea of a "non-partisan political bloc" of all the Negroes to use their organized strength within the framework of the existing capitalist parties. As Randolph stated it in his public address this afternoon:

"This bloc does not require that Negroes come out of either the Republican, Democratic, Socialist or Communist Parties. But it does require that when a crucial question of universal concern and importance to the Negroes arises, that Negroes will express their united political strength, regardless of party politics, on the issue. When this is done, it will strengthen the position of the Negro leaders in the Republican and Democratic parties."

In the same speech, however, Randolph sneered at the "black petty bourgeoisie and intelligentsia" who first unloaded on the G.O.P. on the grounds that it was the party of Father Abraham Lincoln and "then when the political pickings got kind of slight... fled to the Democratic Jackass." He concluded: "Ere long they will learn that there is no fundamental difference between Democrats and Republicans either with respect to Negroes or labor, that they are like two peas in a pod, two souls with a single thought—twined and twined."

Here Randolph indicates the need for a great new independent party of the masses, Negro and white—a Labor Party—but all he continued to advise was the old policy of Negroes bargaining away their political power with one or another of the old-line capitalist Jim Crow parties.

### CONFUSED PROPOSAL

While the convention went on record for a policy of direct mass action, a great emphasis was placed by some of the leaders on what was termed "non-violent, good-will direct action." This idea, as was made clear by several of the speakers, was literally Gandhianism, passive resistance. The injection of this "good-will" concept was a reflection of the influence on the convention of pacifist elements from such groups as the Fellowship of Reconciliation and the Norman Thomas Socialists.

In the course of the discussion on this proposal, it became clear that some of the delegates and leaders had in mind the discontinuance of mass action in favor of small localized actions of a few individuals, such as going into restaurants which barred Negroes, etc.

One delegate, who identified himself as an active unionist in the steel industry, declared:

"We didn't build our unions that way. When the strikebreakers and cops attacked our picket lines, when their bullets began ripping and their clubs to hitting, then we had to fight to defend ourselves and prevent them from smashing our lines. If we didn't do that, there wouldn't be any unions today."

Although there was obvious confusion as to the exact meaning of non-violent, good-will direct action, a resolution endorsing it was passed.

A disappointing feature of the convention was the little time set aside for the delegates to discuss and legislate.

A good deal of time was taken up with too many "prominent" speakers whose contradictory ideas only served to confuse and discredit the convention. It seemed as if an effort was being made to give the MOWM a "respectable front," even to the detriment of the convention and its actions.

(Next week's issue of The Militant will contain an analysis of the MOWM convention.—Ed.)

# The Schneiderman Decision And The Minneapolis Case

By Albert Goldman

The decision of the Supreme Court of the United States in the Schneiderman case affords some hope that the Circuit Court of Appeals, before which the Minneapolis case of 18 Socialist Workers Party and CIO members is now pending, will come out with a decision favorable to the defendants. It certainly affords hope that the Supreme Court will reverse the conviction if the Circuit Court of Appeals affirms it.

No decision is certain to determine the outcome of a subsequent case. There is always the possibility of distinguishing a case so that it is not completely applicable to another case. A great deal depends on what the court wants to decide and it can then find points of resemblance or distinction in any opinion.

At any rate the liberal decision written by Justice Murphy, representing the majority of the Supreme Court, constitutes a considerable hurdle which the judges who will want to affirm the Minneapolis verdict will have difficulty in clearing.

One of the principal questions in the Minneapolis case is whether or not the Socialist Workers Party advocates the

overthrow of the government by violence. The government, contending that such was the party position, introduced an excerpt of the "Communist Manifesto" into evidence. This was also done by the government in the case which it filed against Schneiderman to deprive him of his citizenship. In 1927 Schneiderman was naturalized. At that time he was a member of the Communist Party, and the government contended that the Communist Party in 1927 advocated the overthrow of the government by violence, and hence Schneiderman was not entitled to citizenship at that time, since he did not reveal the fact that he was a member of the Communist Party.

Dealing with the "Communist Manifesto," the Supreme Court said practically what the defense in the Minneapolis case contends in its brief, namely, that the "Communist Manifesto" must be interpreted in the light of the conditions under which it was written; that in 1848, when the "Communist Manifesto" was issued, there was no democracy whatever in Europe; hence, there could be no way of effecting a revolution other than through violence.

The brief for the defense in the Minneapolis case argues that Marxists do not advocate, but predict, violence as a result of the

resistance of the ruling class to any attempt by the workers to gain power. The Supreme Court, in the Schneiderman decision, refused to state flatly whether the Communist Party in 1927 did or did not advocate the violent overthrow of the government. It held that it was unnecessary to decide that question definitely, but it did say that two interpretations of the Communist Party program are possible.

One, that it advocated violence, and the other that it predicted violence, and the Supreme Court further held that the government did not, by a clear and convincing preponderance of the evidence, prove that the Communist Party advocated the violent overthrow of the government. The Supreme Court held that a lower court must adopt that interpretation of the program which is in accord with Schneiderman's innocence, and since the lower court adopted the contrary point of view, the Supreme Court reversed the decision.

This conception of two possible interpretations of a set of facts or of any documents, one leading to a verdict against the defendant and the other to a verdict for the defendant, is certainly applicable to the Minneapolis case. If the Supreme Court held in the Schneiderman case that a lower court must adopt the interpretation of

a program which accords with his innocence, it certainly should hold the same in the Minneapolis case, in the sense that the trial court should have instructed the jury in the Minneapolis case to adopt that interpretation of the program which would be consistent with the innocence of the defendants. The Minneapolis case is a criminal one, and the burden of proof on the government is greater in such a case than in one to denaturalize a naturalized citizen.

### NECESSITY FOR PROOF

Another point which the Supreme Court touched upon and which is argued in the defense brief in the Minneapolis case is the one dealing with the necessity for the government to prove that each defendant interpreted the program of the party to mean the advocacy of the overthrow of the government by violence.

It is not enough, argued the attorneys for the defense in their brief on behalf of the Minneapolis defendants, that the jury should believe that the program of the party advocates the violent overthrow of the government. It is necessary that the government prove further that the defendants interpreted the program in the same way. Otherwise it is obvious, the jury, without any evidence, attributes its own interpretation of the program to the defendants.

The opinion of the majority of the Supreme Court in the Schneiderman case lends support to this argument of the attorneys for the defense in the Minneapolis case. The Supreme Court held that where two interpretations of the program are possible, one reprehensible and the other permissible, the Court cannot attribute the reprehensible one to a member of the party in the absence of overt acts indicating that such was his interpretation.

Should the Circuit Court of Appeals follow this rule, it would have to examine all the evidence to determine first, whether two interpretations of the program are possible and second, whether there is any evidence that the defendants adopted the "reprehensible" interpretation. It is difficult to see how, in the light of the Supreme Court decision, the judges of a lower court can take the flat position that no two interpretations of the SWP program are possible and that the only interpretation is the one that the party program advocates the violent overthrow of the government.

The only evidence in the record in the Minneapolis case that may possibly be construed as indicating that the defendants interpreted the program to mean the advocacy of the violent overthrow of the government consists of the testimony of the Tobin adherents in the union. The value of that testimony can be nothing more than zero on any point, especially on the question of interpretation of a program. Reading the testimony should convince anyone of that fact. There is not one document written by any of the defendants interpreting the program to mean advocacy of the violent overthrow of the government.

Whether the Circuit Court of Appeals will interpret the Schneiderman opinion as I do, that is, that it makes obligatory on that Court to reverse the judgment of the trial court in the Minneapolis case, will be known only when that Court renders its opinion. This will probably occur in the fall.

## Stalinists Infuriated By Labor Party Developments

By ANTHONY MASSINI

The idea of labor ending company unionism in politics by setting up its own party infuriates the Stalinists almost as much as the miners' fight to win wage increases to meet the rising cost of living. The Communist Party is as bitterly opposed to independent action by the workers on the political field as it is to such action on the economic field.

The Stalinist press has generally avoided discussion of the growing sentiment in labor's ranks for a break with the two capitalist parties and the launching of an independent labor party. But the issue has been brought to the fore in the call for such a party by the recent convention of the Wayne County, (Mich.) Labor's Non-Partisan League, and interest in the question has been heightened by the enactment of the Smith-Connally Bill, so the Daily Worker had to say something on it — and naturally what they had to say was against it.

### WHY THEY ARE OPPOSED

It is wrong, says a front page Worker editorial on June 27, "to judge members of Congress only on the basis of the vote on the (Smith-Connally) bill." For after all, it points out, Senator Pepper voted in favor of the slave-labor bill while at heart he is a true member of the "win-the-war forces." Then it continues:

"It is especially important to guard against the Lewis-Dubinsky-Norman Thomas-Trotskyite type of labor party that is now being put forward ostensibly as labor's answer. Coalition with all the win-the-war forces must be labor's real answer."

In other words, the Stalinists don't want a labor party because they want to keep the workers tied to the coat-tails of the fake "friends of labor" like Pepper who can be depended on only to stab the workers in the back at the crucial moment.

And to discourage the formation of a labor party the Stalinists are appealing to the most conservative sections of the working class with the most backward and reactionary arguments.

### WHO HELPS THE GOP?

The chief point they make is that the creation of an independent party of labor — by taking workers' votes away from the Democrats — will aid the Republican Party! "State Republican leaders are very interested in the fate" of the Michigan move for

a labor party, the Daily Worker insinuates on June 28. "Such a move would serve only to split labor away from President Roosevelt, and would correspondingly strengthen the most reactionary sections of the Republican Party which are dominant in Michigan," it repeats the next day.

Thus, by that curious logic which characterizes the Daily Worker, the creation of a party to challenge the power of both the Republican and Democratic Parties is transformed into aid for one of them. The Republican leaders are unquestionably interested in labor party developments — but their interest is comparable to that of a convict watching the erection of the gallows which is to hang him.

Actually it is the Stalinists, and all others who seek to keep labor chained to the Democratic Party, who are adding the Republicans, as was shown in the 1942 elections where the Republicans made big gains in Congress because many voters saw no alternative to the poll-tax dominated Democratic Party and either voted for the Republicans or abstained from voting altogether.

### A PONEY ARGUMENT

Another Stalinist "argument" against labor party action at this time is that "state election laws are such that a third party could not get on the ballot without a very prolonged struggle."

True. But since when is the fact that a struggle is difficult an argument against the struggle itself? It is difficult to overthrow Hitler; do the Stalinists contend that therefore the German workers should not try to overthrow him?

It will take prolonged and bitter struggles to repeal the Smith-Connally Act, to halt price profiteering, to abolish the poll tax; do the Stalinists say that therefore the workers should not fight for these necessary things? Only a liar pretends that postponing any of these struggles will make it easier to win them.

If the Communist and Socialist Parties can get on the ballot in most industrial states, the numerically more powerful labor movement should not find it too difficult.

The Stalinist arguments for upholding company unionism in politics are as vile as their alibis for strikebreaking on the economic field. They merit the same contempt and must be combated with the same vigor.

## Profiteers Strike To Raise Food Prices

(Continued from page 1)

corn refineries are forced to shut down for lack of grain.

C. M. Elkington, OPA food price executive, testified before a House investigating committee that ranches in the south-west were crowded with "more stock than has ever been available."

"Cattlemen believe that the price of cattle will go up — that the breaking of the subsidy program will raise prices. . . Farmers are just like any other businessmen with something to sell. If there is a chance of getting a higher price by waiting, they wait."

The food processing corporations, the meat packers, the cattlemen are all lined up at the present time to smash even the present, pitifully inadequate price control regulations. That is why they incited Congress to reject the "subsidy" program. The buccannery and adventurers who own and run American industry are serving notice that they will not tolerate even the mildest government restraints or control in their drunken orgy of profiteering.

But Congress has upheld Roosevelt's veto on the Commodity Credit Corporation bill and Roosevelt will apparently proceed with his plan to subsidize sections of the food industry. Will not this program halt price inflation and thus defeat the conspiracy of the food profiteers? Unfortunately, no. Subsidies to industry cannot halt or even abate inflation. They can only regulate to a degree the rise of the price level.

The proposed rollback of meat and butter prices will reduce the cost of living, even according to the most optimistic OPA calculations by only 1%, although this subsidy alone will cost hundreds of millions of dollars a year. And now Roosevelt himself announces that a rollback of all prices to last September's level is "impracticable." This statement, included in his last veto message to Congress, gives the lie to his promise to the labor movement in March of this year that he would roll back prices to the level of September 15, 1942.

Roosevelt is so insistent upon keeping his "subsidy" program because it is the only measure with which he hopes to regulate to some small degree the war inflation now threatening to get out of bounds. The government is now the chief buyer and every increase in prices adds additional millions to the already swollen war budget. In addition, he hopes to keep the labor movement in line with this program and convince the people that he is doing everything in his power to control prices and to check inflation.

### THE ENGLISH EXAMPLE

The AFL and CIO officials, in their fight for "subsidies" as the cure-all to halt the rise in prices, point to England as a shining example of what can be done. Has inflation really been stopped in England? What is the condition of the English working class?

Since the beginning of the war in 1939, the rise in wholesale prices has been 90% greater in England than in the U. S. And wholesale prices are the most reliable index to price inflation. Retail prices have been held down more effectively in England, but even this provides no saving for the British people. What they save in the price of food is taken out of their pockets by extra heavy taxation to pay the subsidies. Even so, retail prices have risen far more in England in this four year period than in the United States. The most that can be claimed for the subsidization program in England is that it has regulated to some degree the rise in prices.

Roosevelt is apparently determined to carry out his "subsidization" program. But it is already clear from the statements and actions of the administration leaders that further holes are due to be sprung in the already disintegrating price control system. Roosevelt will halt the present sit-down strike of the food kings in the same way that he stopped the sit-down strike of the steel and munitions kings in 1939. He is going to give in to their major demands. And that means higher prices for food.

## Kelly Postal Pardon Is Goal Of CRDC Campaign

(Continued from page 1)

ezzing funds' claimed by the AFL. On July 18, Carl Skoglund, organizer of 544-CIO, was arrested and held for deportation on \$25,000 bail. On July 28, the Hennepin County Grand Jury voted four new indictments against Secretary-Treasurer Kelly Postal, and organizer Moe Hork, for "first degree larceny." In all, a total of 68 charges were made against those connected with the Minneapolis labor case.

"Although Skoglund is now out on bail, the premium on his \$3,500 bail bond amounting to several hundred dollars must be met in July, and the CRDC is preparing to raise funds to meet this expense."

"On June 18, 1943, the Minnesota Supreme Court upheld the conviction of alleged 'embezzlement' against Kelly Postal. Pos-

## Anti-Negro Terror Is Analyzed At Newark Meeting

NEWARK, N. J. — July 3 — Speaking under the auspices of the Progressive Workers School on "The Anti-Negro Terror in Detroit," George Breitman last night gave a rounded analysis of the basic causes of the rioting, explained that the local and federal authorities like the Ku Kluxers and native fascists did not want an honest investigation because it would show that they were all implicated, directly or indirectly, and outlined a program of action for the labor movement and the Negro people.

The audience was particularly interested in the proof he gave that the police were responsible for most of the deaths and serious injuries, and the many evidences he cited from the capitalist press and eyewitness accounts in *The Militant* to show that the great majority of the white workers in Detroit strongly disapproved of the lynch assaults.

After a question and discussion period, the audience composed of both Negro and white workers, adopted a resolution promising to honor the innocent victims in Detroit by continuing the struggle against Jim Crow and opposing all efforts to weaken the labor movement by dividing Negro and white.

tal, the victim of one of the most vicious frameups against a militant union leader in American labor history, is now in Stillwater State Penitentiary, serving his five-year sentence. The CRDC has resolved to fight this gross violation of trade union democracy, and to take all possible steps to secure Postal's freedom. We will also provide relief for Kelly Postal and his family while he is in prison.

"On March 4, 1943, a decision revoking the second-class mailing rights of *The Militant* was handed down by Postmaster General Frank C. Walker. This persecution, an outgrowth of the Minneapolis labor case, is the first attack upon an anti-fascist labor paper since the war began. It has been widely condemned by labor and liberal journals throughout the country, and the American Civil Liberties Union has branded the Post Office action as 'the gravest threat to freedom of the press that has thus far arisen in this war.'

"The CRDC, together with the American Civil Liberties Union, has undertaken a fight to restore the second-class mailing rights of *The Militant*."

### WORK OF THE CRDC

"Immediately after the original raids and indictment of the 29, on July 15, 1941, the CRDC was formed, with national headquarters at 160 Fifth Avenue, N. Y. Over 70 prominent liberal and labor spokesmen joined its National Committee. Although these labor, liberal, university and religious leaders have diverse political views, they have united to defend the democratic and constitutional rights imperiled by the above mentioned prosecutions. The work of the CRDC has been endorsed by leading labor and civil liberties organizations, including the ACLU and the Workers Defense League."

"Today there are over 35 local committees of the CRDC throughout the country, all actively engaged in publicizing our work and raising funds to defray the legal and other expenses involved. A large share of the credit for the achievements of the CRDC must go to these loyal and hard-working committees."

### PUBLICITY AND FINANCES

"Through the efforts of the CRDC, the Minnesota labor case, the Kelly Postal case, the *Militant* case, have become issues of national importance. Hundreds

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

— LEON TROTSKY

## A Lesson From American History

In the 1850's a pro-slavery Congress passed the Fugitive Slave Law which tried to convert the entire population into bloodhounds for the slaveholders and made it a crime to assist the escape of any slave from bondage. This oppressive law so outraged the free men of the United States that it proved incapable of enforcement. Its main effect was to open the eyes of the opponents of slavery to the tyrannical character of their rulers and to harden their resolve to get rid of them.

Now almost a hundred years later another Congress has passed the Smith-Connally bill. This legislation is no less infamous and oppressive than the Fugitive Slave Law. That Slave Law was designed to keep chattel slaves, no matter how abused, working for their masters. This 1943 slave-labor act aims to keep the wage-slaves sweating for their capitalist bosses, no matter how great are their grievances. And anyone who tries to aid the wage-slaves in their fight against their oppressors and exploiters is subject to fine and imprisonment.

The ranks of organized labor have already indicated that they do not intend to have this vile legislation imposed upon them without protest and struggle. In rebelling against the Smith-Connally Act, the workers of today are carrying on the traditions of free men in America.

The resentment against attempts to enforce the Fugitive Slave Law stimulated the anti-slave forces to create a new political party for themselves, the Republican Party, to fight against the old-line parties which had betrayed the people to the slaveholders. The American workers would do well to follow this precedent. Their answer to the passage of the 1943 slave-labor law should be the immediate formation of an Independent Labor Party which can help them to beat back the union-smashing offensive of the bosses and their political agents and to go forward to institute genuine workers' democracy in the United States.

## A Book On The Organization Question

To Lenin the organization question embraced all the problems involved in the building of the proletarian revolutionary party. Marx and Engels had posed this task. Lenin was the first to solve it. Lenin taught that such a party, profoundly different from all other political organizations, must at all times safeguard and advance a rounded revolutionary program.

Without ever watering down its principles or making the slightest concession to opportunism, the party must understand how to achieve the necessary flexibility in its tactics in order to win over the working class to its banner. Such a party must guarantee the fullest democracy of discussion and debate so that the organization can learn, grow and mature through its own experiences and can develop a leadership that has won its confidence and support. Because it must be a combat organization equipped to lead the working class in action, the party must at all times maintain thoroughgoing centralization.

This combination of democracy and centralism is achieved by Lenin's organizational method which can be summed up in the single formula: democratic centralism.

The literature on the organization question in this Leninist sense is very small and not generally accessible. Most of the younger revolutionists have had to learn much in this important sphere of Marxist thought from experience.

The publication by Pioneer Publishers of James P. Cannon's book, "The Struggle for a Proletarian Party," is therefore cause for rejoicing to students of Marxism, to all who aspire to be proletarian revolutionists, not only in the U. S. but throughout the world. This book, basing itself upon the

teachings of Lenin, the experience of the Russian revolution, Trotsky's Left Opposition as well as the 15 years of experience in the building of the proletarian party in the U. S., brilliantly analyzes and illumines the problems facing revolutionary workers today in the building of a Marxist workers party. It is a companion volume to Trotsky's "In Defense of Marxism" and definitively rounds out the lessons of the struggle of the Trotskyist movement in 1939-1940 against the revisionism of the petty-bourgeois opposition.

## Nationalize The Coal Mines

The coal operators and their spokesmen of the kept press continue to howl against the government custodianship of the coal mines under Secretary of the Interior Ickes. They complain that the government is accepting dictation from John L. Lewis and the miners union and that the coal operators are being penalized for accepting fully all of the decisions of the War Labor Board.

Why are the coal operators, why are all the capitalists so alarmed? The same people who previously ran and managed the coal mines are running and managing the coal mines now. The miners have been forced back to work while their modest demands for wage increases have been denied. The government has appointed a trusted capitalist, Carl E. Newton, President of the Chesapeake and Ohio Railway Company, as director of the coal mines. The government guarantees to continue turning over to the mine owners the lush profits that they have been enjoying.

Why then do the coal operators continue to demand that the mines be turned back to them with no further delay?

The operators are fully aware that they really lose nothing by the present setup. They are alarmed for one reason only. They fear that under the present setup the coal miners are going to get wise very quickly to the fact that the millionaire coupon-clippers and absentee owners are completely unnecessary, that they perform no useful function in industry or in society.

They fear that the miners will quickly learn with what ease the coal industry can be run, maximum production guaranteed, safety conditions enforced and decent wages paid to its workers once the rapacious crew of profiteers is removed. They fear that the miners will say: Let us expropriate this useless gang of drones and profiteers, let us have government ownership of the coal mines under workers' control.

## Get Off The War Labor Board

Philip Murray said last week that if Congress does not pass legislation by July 15 to insure an immediate rollback of prices, labor will be compelled to fight for wage increases.

July 15 is almost here. Prices have not been rolled back to the level of September 15, 1942. As a matter of fact, prices have risen steadily and ever more rapidly in this ten month period.

Congress has demonstrated that it has no intention to legislate in favor of a rollback of prices. At the present time, Congress is busy knocking down all price controls and restraints.

The actions of the Roosevelt agencies are not essentially different. The OPA has failed miserably to exercise the price control powers granted it over a year ago. And now Roosevelt himself comes forward and announces in his veto message to Congress in connection with the Commodity Credit Corporation bill: "I do not think that a reduction of all living costs or wage increases to the September level is practicable. We all must be prepared in total war to accept a substantial cut in our accustomed standards."

Roosevelt is not telling the truth when he speaks about the impracticability of putting wages back to September levels. Wages, by and large, have been kept down to September levels. What Roosevelt means is that he does not think it practicable to hold down the prices of the products of the billionaire food processing corporations, the millionaire plantation owners and growers.

The government has demonstrated that it will neither roll back prices nor prevent their continued rise. Will Murray now make good his promise to fight for higher wages?

How can labor wage an effective fight for higher wages so long as its representatives remain on the War Labor Board? The only purpose of this body is to keep wages frozen, to enforce Roosevelt's hold-the-line order. How long will the ranks of labor permit the Murray and Greens to hide behind the sham of WLB "majority rule," of 8 to 4 anti-labor decisions?

The rank and file of the unions must force the AFL and CIO representatives to withdraw from the WLB. The independence of the labor movement must be re-won. This is the first necessary step in the fight for wage increases.

## IN DEFENSE OF THE SOVIET UNION

By LEON TROTSKY

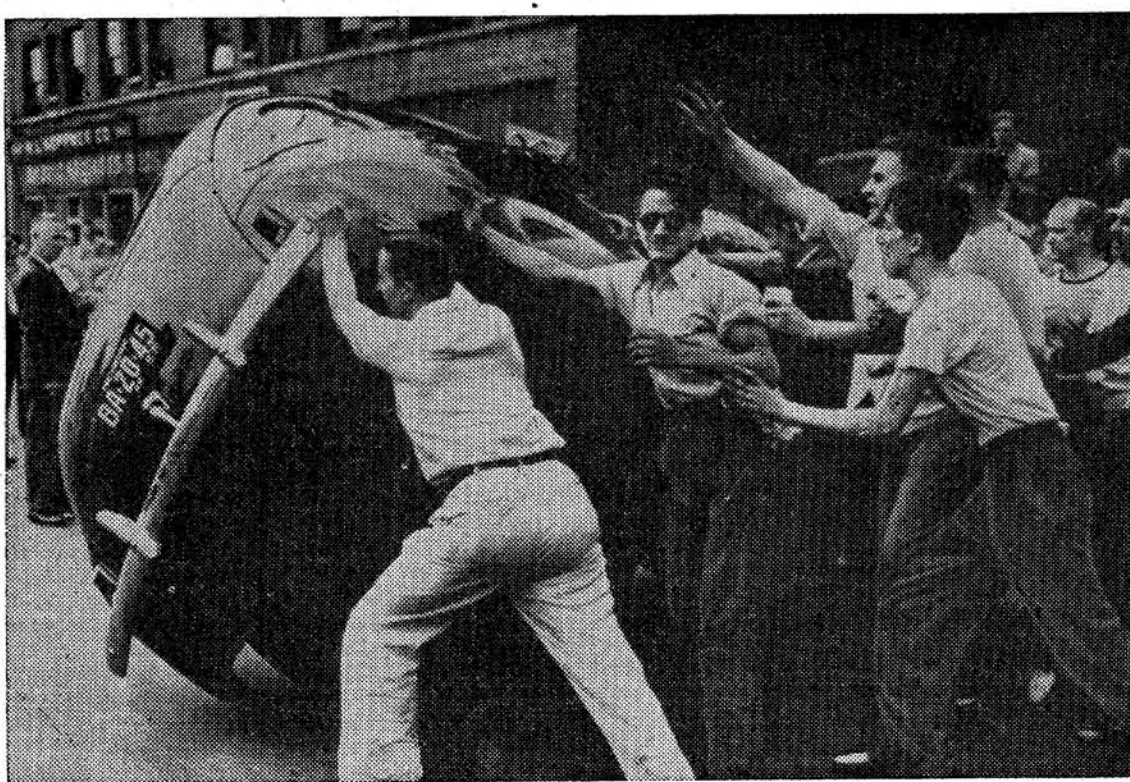
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## Street Scene In Detroit



(Federated Picture)

White hoodlums are shown overturning a car belonging to a Negro in the above scene from the anti-Negro riots in Detroit on June 20-23. The death toll has now reached 36, of whom 27 were Negroes. Police admit killing most of the Negro victims and inflicting the greater part of the blows against the Negroes severely injured.

There is a strong reluctance on the part of most officials to investigate and punish the native fascist elements who organized most of the white hoodlum bands. The Michigan governor has failed to call for a grand jury investigation; so has Detroit's Mayor; so has Detroit's City Council; so has the head of the FBI in the Detroit area; and the White House and the Department of Justice remain as silent as the tomb.

These officials have all been criticized for failing to do anything about the anti-Negro elements although it was well known that they have been organizing for over a year. Now the suspicion is growing in Detroit that many "accessories after the fact" are to be found in high places of office.

# WORKERS' FORUM

The columns are open to the opinions of the readers of The Militant. Letters are welcome on any subject of interest to the workers, but keep them short and include your name and address. Indicate if you do not want your name printed. — Editor.

## Crucible Worker Slanders 'Militant'

Editor:

I am sure that you will be interested in the enclosed clipping, a "letter to the editor" printed in the June 25 issue of *Steel Front*, paper of the Crucible lodge of the United Steel Workers in Harrison, N. J.

As you can see, the letter makes three main charges: 1. That you are the paper of "a group that preaches world revolution." 2. That you are "carrying on a campaign with intent to foment the nation in a wave of strikes, and upset our nation's entire war production schedule, thus giving aid and comfort to the fascist axis." 3. That "the paper is opposed to labor's 'no-strike' pledge and strongly endorses John L. Lewis' defiance of the War Labor Board." For these reasons the author of the letter urges workers not to read *The Militant*.

I am sure that other workers beside myself would be interested in your comment on this letter.

S. A.

Newark, N. J.

(The letter referred to above is a mixture of falsehoods and truths. The lie of lies that *The Militant* and the Trotskyists are fascist agents, "Fifth Columnists," etc., is today the chief stock in trade of the degenerate Communist Party or its dupes. The statement that we preach world revolution, which has always been denied by the Stalinists, would indicate that the author of the letter is the *Steel*

*Front* is probably only a victim of Stalinist falsehoods.

All our political opponents, including the Stalinists, know very well that the Trotskyists have been and remain the most consistent fighters of fascism abroad as well as at home. The Trotskyists were fighting fascism while American and English business men were still extending financial aid to Hitler and while Stalin had his pact with Hitler. The truth is that Trotskyists are tortured and executed in Hitler's prisons because of their mortal opposition to his regime and their struggle for socialism. The latest victims in the long list are three Belgian Trotskyists whose execution was reported in *The Militant* for June 19.

As touches the no-strike pledge, *The Militant* does not deny but reaffirms its opposition to this pledge which increasing numbers of workers are beginning to understand as a menace to the unions and as an invitation to the bosses and reactionaries in Washington to speed up their anti-labor activities. Nor have we any reason to deny that we, unlike the strikebreaking *Daily Worker*, supported and still support the struggle of the miners, on behalf of all the workers, against wage-freezing and the "Little Steel formula" of the corporation-dominated War Labor Board.

Those who weaken the labor movement at home strengthen the cause of reaction everywhere. Those, like *The Militant*, who fight to maintain the independence and rights of the labor movement are the true anti-fascists

who are hated and feared by the enemies of labor in all countries, fascist and "democratic" alike.—Ed.)

## Explains How to Describe Giraud

Editor:

It was disturbing to find, in "Fear of Revolt Keynote in Pope Pius' Speech" in the June 26 *Militant*, the phrase "the fascist Giraud." It is, granted, only a single careless phrase buried in a long article, but it can cause serious confusion unless promptly set right. Unlike the Stalinist falsifiers and reformist muddleheads, we Trotskyists make a clear distinction between classic reaction, dependent on mercenary police power alone, and fascism, one of whose principal distinguishing characteristics is that it rests on a mass base of fanatic partisans convinced largely by its anti-capitalist, anti-monopolist demagoguery. Both, it is true, are enemies of the workers; but a clear understanding of the difference in their support can have great importance in the determination of the tactics to be used in combating them. The military Bonapartist Giraud is backed only by Anglo-U.S. capitalism, a certain sector of the top French bourgeoisie, and the higher officers' caste; his mass-following is practically nil; and his program contains no fascist demagoguery. To call him fascist can only lead to a confusion which should be promptly clarified.

Terence Phelan  
New York City

## Stalinists Blame Miners For War Casualties

When it comes to slim lies the Stalinists are generally hard to beat. These strikebreakers are outdoing themselves in their attempt to smear the miners. The latest whopper they are trying to circulate is that the past, present and future casualties in the Second World War are the direct and sole responsibility of the underpaid coal-diggers. It may be objected that this is too incredible even for the Stalinists. But here it is, black on white. On the front page of the July 3 *Daily Worker*, I Kostrow "Anthracite Representative of the Communist Party," writes:

"You shake with anger when you think of the millions who have died in the Soviet Union, France, Yugoslavia and other conquered countries, and millions more who will die — Russians, Lithuanians, Poles, Ukrainians, and all other nationalities including our own boys, because these miners did not produce enough coal to make ships, guns and tanks."

It is not difficult to determine just what causes the Stalinists to foam at the mouth. They are completely discredited among the miners. They have taken the lead in misrepresenting the miners' struggle. They have played the operators' game all the way down the line. And for all their pains they have not succeeded in making the slightest dent in the solidarity of the miners.

Even the old time followers of the Stalinists have turned against them. Here is what strikebreaker Kostrow is compelled to report about a Russian-speaking miner in Carpenter, Pa., a worker 55 years old who still remembers a few things from the past:

"How are things elsewhere?" he asks in Russian. "You know we had a meeting here and some of those Italians argued to go back to work, but I got up and fought like H—. We should do here what the Russian workers did." (*Daily Worker*, July 3).

This is what makes the *Daily Worker* "shake in anger" and throw all caution to the winds.

## Nazis Suppress News Of U. S. Coal Strike

One of the favorite devices of the capitalist press is to pretend that workers and in particular the coal miners by fighting to protect their living standards are playing into the hands of the Axis. To believe these gentlemen the news of the coal strike was just so much grist to Goebbels' propaganda mill. Thus, on June 29 the N. Y. Times featured an article with the headline: "Coal Crisis Whets Axis Propaganda."

On the very next day, the editors of the *Times* gave themselves the lie direct by printing the following in a dispatch from Stockholm:

"Further illustrating the present state of mind on the German home front is Dr. Goebbels' failure to play up the United States coal strike situation. Neither on the radio nor in the press has there been any prominent mention of this subject. Such is the low state of morale in Germany now that Dr. Goebbels deems it more prudent not to publicize the word 'strike' to remind the workers of their lost privilege."

In printing this true report, the capitalist liars not only expose themselves but provide added testimony that far from serving the ends of fascism abroad the militant struggle of the workers in this country can only serve to inspire their brothers in Germany and in the occupied countries in Europe to overthrow their fascist oppressors.

## Minneapolis Columnist Denounces Davies' Film

In the steadily rising tide of criticism and denunciation of the Davies' whitewash film, "Mission To Moscow," one note is beginning to be heard which has been hitherto curiously absent. There has been little reference to the findings of the Dewey Commission of Investigation into the Moscow frameups and almost no reference at all to the hearings themselves. The notorious Stalinist stooge Arthur Upham Pope in a letter to the N. Y. Times on May 16 tried to impugn the integrity of the Dewey Commission and its findings. Here is the honest opinion of William J. McNally, a columnist for the Minneapolis Tribune, who, as one of newspapermen present, was an eyewitness at the Coyoacan hearings of the Commission. He has this to say on the subject:

"Take the trial scene, for example. As I sat looking at this distorted version of one of the most shocking and disgraceful episodes in the last 300 years, I couldn't help thinking of another — and complementary — trial scene that I witnessed in Coyoacan, Mexico. This was Trotsky's so-called trial. Here, for hour after hour, I listened to Trotsky furnish in tireless, merciless, damning particularity the documentary proof of where he was at a given time by contrast with where these phony confessions said he was. I didn't care for Trotsky, but at least you could see that the man was telling the truth. I don't see how any disinterested observer, who took the trouble to examine the testimony, could come to any other conclusions than the confessions of Bukharin, Radek et al were shameless fakes and God only knows under what hideous pressure they were procured. And yet 'Mission To Moscow' whitewashes this whole bloody performance, and even has the impudence to ask you to admire it. I say it's going a bit far when you're asked to bow the knee reverently before murder." (Minneapolis Tribune, June 28).

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