

Introducing the 6-Page 'MILITANT'

TO OUR READERS:

With last week's issue we began publication as a six-page paper. Much important class-struggle news which we were unable to find room for in the four-pager will now be yours each week. In addition, we shall have room now to print more analytical articles on the war and the labor movement. And last, but at least as important as anything else, we shall now be able to print many more letters and articles from our worker-readers.

Help us get THE MILITANT into the hands of the many workers who haven't had a chance to see our paper as yet. To introduce THE MILITANT to new readers, we have made a special arrangement to get it to them at a very nominal price. Clip the coupon on page 2 and send THE MILITANT to a friend for a trial period.

It's your paper! Help spread its weekly message!

VOL. V—No. 6

NEW YORK, N. Y. SATURDAY, FEBRUARY 8, 1941

267

FIVE (5) CENTS

THE MILITANT

Formerly The

Socialist Appeal

Official Weekly Organ of the Socialist Workers Party

WAR BILL WILL PASS BY "COMPROMISE"

SWP Candidate For Congress

Arthur Burch Is Named As Our Candidate In 17th Congressional District Election Contest Against Both Boss Parties

Arthur Burch, labor attorney, veteran of the first World War, and organizational secretary of the New York local of the Socialist Workers Party, has been nominated as the candidate of the S.W.P. for Congress from the 17th Congressional district, New York City.

A special election has been set for March 11 by official proclamation of Governor Lehman. The campaign to obtain sufficient signatures to place Comrade Burch's name on the ballot will have to be a speedy one, for the Governor has set Feb. 25 as the filing date.

The election has already received wide attention, since the



ARTHUR BURCH

FIGHT BOSS PARTIES

In presenting its candidate the S. W. P. will make clear to the workers in the district and throughout the country that there is no real difference between either of the two boss party candidates.

The campaign committee of Local New York has announced that it will publish within the next few days its program for the election, consisting of a four page folder, which will be distributed in many thousands throughout the district and other parts of the city.

The election program will describe the attitude of Burch and the S. W. P. towards the "lease-lend" bill and the war policies of both major parties. The campaign will serve as an opportunity for the party to make known its determined opposition to the reactionary bills now pending in Congress and in the State legislature aimed against the Communist Party and other working class organizations.

Full details of the program will be given in the next issue of THE MILITANT.

Arthur Burch, the candidate, is

Chicago Strikers Are Still Out, 6,500 Strong



Militant strikers of the Tractor Plant of the International Harvester Company, Chicago, are seen as they picket the deserted plant. Scabs

stayed clear of these sturdy pickets!

Navy Negotiating With Ford For New Contracts

Ballyhoo About Small Contract Refused To Ford Covers Up Big Contracts He Got And Equally Big Ones He's To Get

DETROIT, Mich. Feb. 3. — A typical bit of Roosevelt shadow-boxing went on exhibition last week, when the Ford Motor company was the victim of a gingersly slap on the wrist; the Army announced that Ford had refused to accept inclusion of the labor clause in a contract for trucks amounting to \$10,000,000, and although Ford had underbid the Fargo company by a quarter of a million dollars the Army would not give him the contract without the labor clause.

Burch has given up the active practice of law to do full time work for the Socialist Workers Party in the capacity of Secretary of the New York City organization.

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department immediately after this slap on the wrist began to dicker with Ford for a contract amounting to over \$100,000,000 for big navy guns. Nothing was said about the labor clause in these negotiations. The War Department refused to award Ford the ten million dollar contract was obviously a cover for the Navy contract which mounts into really important figures.

Meanwhile the crucial situation in the Ford organizing drive of the UAW-CIO still prevails.

That the militancy of the Ford workers has not yet subsided may be seen by the fact that R. J. Thomas, President of the UAW, felt compelled to make statement, at an open hearing in Lansing on "National Defense," that the UAW could make no promises not to strike at Ford.

Should this be done, as it was in the great struggles with GM and Chrysler, Ford will go down to defeat.

Now more than ever it is becoming

obvious to UAW militants that a well-thought out program of action must be launched at Ford.

There is a rising feeling that huge mass meetings should be held, and a top bargaining committee elected to present a contract to the Ford management; this contract to include at least as good conditions as prevail now in GM and Chrysler, and to provide for the abolition of the hated service department.

Should Ford refuse to bargain on such a contract, the union membership is determined that serious preparations for a strike be made; strike kitchens to be set up; supplies of cots and first aid; in short, a well prepared campaign to force Ford to surrender.

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WORKERS' FORUM

Write to us—tell us what's going on in your part of the labor movement—what are the workers thinking about?—tell us what the bosses are up to—and the G-men and the local cops—and the Stalinists—send us that story the capitalist press didn't print and that story buried or distorted—our pages are open to you. Letters must carry name and address, but indicate if you do not want your name printed.

Colored Worker Says His People Should Read the MILITANT

Editor

In many sections of the country there are white newspapers that have their columns of news devoted to the colored citizen. They are usually innocuous gossip and tales of no particular interest to the working class.

The real fighting strength of the Negro cannot be built up through such chronicles of "so-

ciety doing" but only by the labor press that is interested in the masses and their sufferings.

While the colored press has plenty of fight, it does not occupy the place a genuine fighting paper does. The colored people need to read a completely whole-hearted revolutionary journal like THE MILITANT. We need something that will give us heart and strength for the hard struggles ahead, and the revolutionary press has that needed surge.

Yours truly
JAMES MILLER
Chicago, Ill.

Reuther Tries To Outwit Locals

He And Thomas Are Trying To Find Way To Overrule General Motors Conference

DETROIT, Mich., Feb. 3.—Walter Reuther and R. J. Thomas are frightened at the possibility of a revolt of the rank and file of General Motors workers against the Reuther-Thomas policy of conservatism and inaction, are maneuvering to sidetrack the decisions of the GM conference into the harmless hands of the International GM council, a body largely controlled by Reuther.

It was announced, in the Feb. 1 issue of the United Automobile Worker, that a revised contract would be drawn up at the meeting of the GM Council on Feb. 10th and 11th, while the GM conference of delegates from all GM locals, which will undoubtedly be made up of a real representation of the ranks, will confine itself to "recommendations."

It is already well-known that Reuther, GM director, is talking of a "nickel wage increase," while the rank and file are determined to get at least a ten cent blanket raise, in addition to raising the level of those plants which are far below the average GM wage levels.

PAY FOR DRAFTES

While Reuther and Thomas have announced that they will ask for an increase from 40 to 80 hours pay to draftees, representatives of several locals have made it known that they will demand

ATTENTION Local New York

There will be a special membership meeting Friday Evening, February 7th at 8 p.m. sharp at Beethoven Hall, 210 East 5th St. (near 2nd Ave.)

Phelps-Dodge Strikers Victory; Company Agrees To Negotiate

Boss Had Refused To Agree To An NLRB Election

ELIZABETH, N. J., Feb. 2—Another big open-shop corporation has been set back on its heels by union strike action. 1600 workers of the Phelps Dodge Copper Products Corporation, employed in the Baywater plant here, return to work tomorrow morning after the company acceded to the strikers' demands that an NLRB election be held in the plant immediately and that the company agree to negotiate a union contract.

The Baywater plant was shut down last Friday morning, after the company refused to consider union demands for opening of contract negotiations.

The company will enter contract negotiations starting tomorrow, for a contract which will go into effect when the CIO union wins an NLRB election.

The contract demands which the union will raise will include wage increases for production workers from the present 55 cent hourly minimum to 65 cents, and for women from the present 45 cents to 50 cents and then to 55 cents after three months.

The union shop, a 5 day-40 hour week, time and a half for Saturdays and double time for Sundays and holidays will also be sought.

Company officials were howling that 30 million dollars in war contracts are being worked on in the Baywater plant. In addition, they claimed that the strike tied up production of orders to other manufacturers with war contracts totalling over \$200 million.

Before the strike settlement was reached, Peter Besch, international representative of the UERMWA, who participated in the strike conferences, declared that the strike would be spread to the Los Angeles and Fort Wayne, Indiana, plants of the corporation, where the CIO has contracts. Another plant, at Yonkers, has a contract with the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers (AFL) which defeated the UERMWA in an NLRB election. The UERMWA has filed a protest against this election, charging that the company influenced the voting.

The refusal of the company to negotiate a contract with the CIO union was based on the argument that the company already had a contract with an "independent union," the Baywater Copper Products Employees Association. There is no doubt that Local 441 will make a clean sweep of the coming NLRB elections and that the Baywater plant will be working under a CIO union contract in the near future.



These smiles spell Victory, as strikers of the Elizabeth, N. J. Phelps Dodge Copper Products Corporation, give the open-shop the go-by despite wet feet. And victory did come Monday!

Grace Carlson Thanks N. Y. For Banquet

BY GRACE CARLSON

NEW YORK, Feb. 4—I am sure that everyone who attended the Banquet given by Local New York on Feb. 1 at Germania Hall agreed that it was a huge success.

The hall and the tables were beautifully decorated; a fine crowd of 125 comrades and friends were in attendance; last, but not least, the collection taken up by Comrade W. Wards for refugee aid was over \$250.

Felix Morrow acted as toastmaster. Farrell Dobbs, Albert Goldman, Henry Martin, Larry Williams and I were on the speaking program. It was interesting to note that the speeches all dealt with various phases of Party work—the distribution of the MILITANT, trade union work in New York, recruiting in New York and throughout the country, etc. These practical, down-to-the-earth speeches were listened to by the comrades and friends with the greatest interest.

A further indication of the wonderful change in the New York Party.

In my speech at the Banquet, I took occasion to thank the New York comrades in the name of the Minnesota Party, since I understand very well that the Banquet—formally in my honor—was intended to honor the Minnesota comrades for the good work done in the election campaign.

As I leave New York, I want to thank all of the New York comrades again for the very pleasant time that I had during my stay in the "Big City."

Waller Death Sentence Is Appealed

Petition for a writ of error has been filed with the Virginia Court of Appeals in the case of Odell Waller, 23-year old Negro sharecropper whose conviction for the self-defense killing of his landlord is being appealed by the Workers Defense League.

In a few days the court will set a date for argument to be presented by the league's counsel, Thomas H. Stone and John F. Finerty.

Finerty, formerly Tom Mooney's counsel, will handle the constitutional aspects of the case, the league charging that Waller's trial, before a jury drawn only from those able to pay their poll tax, excluded sharecroppers and other poor people and was in violation of the 14th amendment to the Constitution, which guarantees all citizens the right of trial by a jury of their peers.

Waller was sentenced to die December 27, but the Workers Defense League won a stay until March 14. Now the league is appealing, with the cooperation of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters.

Join the Socialist Workers Party

SCHEDULE OF CARLSON TOUR

Sun.	Feb. 9	Philadelphia
Mon.	Feb. 10	"
Tues.	Feb. 11	"
Wed.	Feb. 12	Baltimore
Thurs.	Feb. 13	"
Fri.	Feb. 14	Pittsburgh
Sat.	Feb. 15	"
Sun.	Feb. 16	Indianapolis
Mon.	Feb. 17	"
Tues.	Feb. 18	"
Wed.	Feb. 19	St. Louis
Thurs.	Feb. 20	"
Fri.	Feb. 21	Memphis
Sat.	Feb. 22	"
Sun.	Feb. 23	Arkansas
Mon.	Feb. 24	"
Tues.	Feb. 25	Texas
Wed.	Feb. 26	"
Thurs.	Feb. 27	"
to Thurs.	Mar. 13	"
Fri.	March 14	Los Angeles and vicinity
Sat.	March 15	"
Sun.	March 16	"
Mon.	March 17	"
Tues.	March 18	"
Wed.	March 19	"
Thurs.	March 20	"
Fri.	March 21	"
Sat.	March 22	San Francisco
Sun.	March 23	"
Mon.	March 24	"
Tues.	March 25	"
Wed.	March 26	"
Thurs.	March 27	"
Fri.	March 28	"
Sat.	March 29	"
Sun.	March 30	Portland
Mon.	March 31	"
Tues.	April 1	Seattle
Wed.	April 2	"
Thurs.	April 3	"
Fri.	April 4	Plentywood
Sat.	April 5	Williston
Sund.	April 6	"
Mon.	April 7	Fargo
Tues.	April 8	"
Wed.	April 9	Twin Cities

enthused, got up and made an excellent speech urging the workers present immediately to respond to the Party's appeal for immediate action, and urging those present to become members of the Socialist Workers Party. Indeed this was an excellent ending for a good meeting. Due to the widespread flu epidemic in Youngstown, we were unable to have approximately eight sure people to the meeting, who were all ill at home with the flu. However, thanks to the papers distributed, we were able to reach the workers and those who could attend. The people there were militant workers. To date we haven't a paper on hand, except the new bundle that just arrived tonight.

"In the near future we hope to increase our bundle." Thanks, J. C., for the excellent report.

RESULTS IN CHICAGO

CHICAGO, Ill.—"Last night we covered the local NAACP meeting. When we arrived there, there were already 150 persons in the building, and when we started distributing the papers several persons came out to get more for those inside. Our paper was very WELL received at this meeting." This was apparently not the only Chicago mass meeting at which our paper was well received. For the recent UAW mass meeting Comrade H.

J. Chicago agent, found it necessary to order an extra thousand papers.

Highlights In The Labor Press

By CARL O'SHEA

The AFL CLEVELAND CITIZEN disputes the assertion of the CIO Cleveland UNION LEADER that Sir Walter Citrine is a "wealthy, titled and aristocratic British labor faker."

The AFL sheet says Sir Walter "is paid just about one-fifth as much as John Lewis, Philip Murray or William Green."

That could still leave Sir Walter a wealthy labor faker.

President Sal Hoffman of the Upholsterers International Union gave President Roosevelt a 100% union-made upholstered chair on his birthday last month. Incidentally the new organizational Director of the Upholsterers International is Albert Weisbord.

We see that J. S. Potofsky, general secretary-treasurer of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, is still talking in the ADVANCE about "making unionism a way of life." All workers must have unions, but what enlightened worker wants to accept the continuance of his wage-slavery as a "way of life?" Yet this is what Potofsky means. What must be done is to go BEYOND unionism to the creation of a workers' political party and a workers' government that can end this "way of life" and really permit the toilers to live for the first time.

A sharp labor criticism of the military caste is contained in an editorial in the January 24th West Coast SAILOR:

"The anti-union stand of many army men, who consider wages, initiation fees and dues too high and hours of work too short, is becoming more manifest in the discussions between union officials and Army officers... The tendency of the military to set itself up as a privileged caste over and above that of the body of civilians is nearly too obvious to require any great amount of elucidation. Without stopping to realize the strategic position occupied by industrial workers in any national economy and the severe grind they have to go through to acquire the status of skilled or semi-skilled workers, it (the army) arrogantly approaches the problem as if they

were buck privates to be commanded at will.

"Unfortunately for the army officers, but fortunately for organized labor, the workers do not give away what they have fought so hard to gain merely because of a high-handed attitude and ignorance. It is becoming plain to the more experienced men connected with national defense that the army personnel is very much in need of a liberal education when it comes to handling problems involving labor..."

The NEW LEADER, pro-war organ of the Social-Democratic Federation, has certainly got itself in a ridiculous position for a sheet calling itself socialist. In its anxiety to convin the people that the United States should at all costs go to war against Hitler, it now confronts the argument of some American industrialists that Britain is going socialist. The New Leader says it ain't so, and urges the businessmen not to abstain from aid to England because of any fear of "post-war Socialism" (the ironical quotation marks are the New Leader's). This paper quotes from the program of the British Labor Party to PROVE that it won't lead England to socialism. The New Leader convinced me, all right. The New Leader may win the support of Big Business for its program. But why it should win the support of a single American working man is beyond me.

"The sympathy of the rich for poverty never preserved the poor from humiliation and need"—Trotsky, Whither England? Page 70.

Under capitalism, democracy is narrowed, crushed, curtailed, mutilated by all the conditions of wage-slavery, the poverty and misery of the masses. This is the reason, and the only reason, why the officials of our political parties and trade unions become corrupt—or more precisely, tend to become corrupt—under capitalist conditions, why they show a tendency to turn into bureaucrats, i.e., privileged persons detached from the masses, and standing above the masses."—Lenin, Toward the Seizure of Power, Book 2, Page 243.

TROTSKY MEMORIAL FUND

109% Score As Drive Closes!

By FARRELL DOBBS

We're over the top in the Trotsky Memorial Fund campaign! The total contributions to the Fund exceeded the original quotas by 9% as the campaign closed on February 1st. Fifteen branches exceeded their quotas, several by a quite substantial percentage. Another fifteen branches came through an even 100%. Only one branch found itself unable to make only through serious effort. The task was not in any sense a pushover.

This eloquent material demonstration of vitality speaks for itself. It is something of a record in our own party. Not to mention the sharp contrast between this dynamic performance and the calamity howling of our impotent, pseudo-radical political opponents who grow weaker and less confident every day.

We have demonstratively revealed our growing strength and effectiveness. A commendable job of providing material means for our work, comrades. Go Forward!

Branch	Quota	Amount paid	%
BOSTON	\$ 100.00	\$ 152.00	152%
NEW HAVEN	20.00	26.00	130
DETROIT	200.00	250.00	123
NEW YORK	1000.00	1206.79	121
PITTSBURGH	10.00	12.00	120
CHICAGO & ILLINOIS			
HARBOR	200.00	215.07	108
LOS ANGELES	150.00	162.45	108
QUAKERTOWN	7.00	7.50	107
FLINT	150.00		

Internal Stalinist Declaration On 'Trotskyism'

It Launches Witch-Hunt Against Communist Party's Own Members

The important advances made by the Socialist Workers Party in the last few months—indicated by the returns in the Minnesota elections, the expansion of our press, the very successful tour of Comrade Grace Carlson, new successes in the trade unions, etc.—have driven the leadership of the Communist Party to launch a new campaign against "Trotskyism." The opening gun in their campaign, laying down the line that is to be followed, is not a public document, but an internal one, published in the internal bulletin of the National Committee of the Communist Party. We publish it in the adjoining columns, and we propose to answer it in this article.

The document of the National Committee of the Communist Party is typical of what goes under the name of "self-criticism" in the Stalinist apparatus. It raises the question, why the Trotskyists made such gains in Minnesota, but deliberately avoids really answering the question. The answer it expects from its Minnesota subordinates is indicated in advance: a perfunctory amount of breast-beating about the failure of the Minnesota Stalinists to adequately combat the Trotskyists. This is the answer of a police mind. It is like the Pinkerton explanation of a strike: not enough was done in advance to destroy the influence of the union leaders. *Why* the Trotskyists win mass influence: that question the Stalinist leaders will not and cannot answer. But we can: elsewhere in this paper Comrade Grace Carlson explains the Minnesota developments.

Apart from the complaints about Minnesota, the rest of the Stalinist document consists of a discussion of ways and means of preventing "Trotskyist penetration" within the Communist Party.

The document's reference to the proposals of Comrades Trotsky and Cannon is thoroughly distorted. The interested reader need only look up the issues of the *Socialist Appeal* where these proposals were openly published in full detail, and he will find that what we were talking about was the task of *united fronts* of the Socialist Workers Party and the Communist Party on certain specific issues on which we can jointly act against the reactionaries. These discussions on the united front are not honestly identified in the Stalinist document because the last thing the Stalinist leaders want their members to know is that the Trotskyists are prepared to discuss joint action against the reactionaries and war-mongers.

This distorted reference in the Stalinist document is designed to cover up the real purpose of that section of the document: namely, to organize a witch-hunt within the Communist Party, not against Trotskyists at all, but against all members of the Communist Party who, without any contact with the Trotskyists or without any knowledge of the program of the Trotskyists, have nevertheless begun to think seriously about the fundamental problems confronting the revolutionists.

Note who are to be the victims of this witch-hunt: "honest rank and filers" spreading doubt," those attempting "to undermine the confidence of the membership in the leadership," those making "very 'left' proposals," those "expressing 'doubts' regarding various phases of Soviet policy." In a word, all those thinking workers in the Communist Party and its periphery, who are beginning to critically examine the preposterous Browder leadership, who want a firm revolutionary policy, who are increasingly disturbed by Stalin's reactionary role—those, and not the Trotskyists, are to be the victims of this witch-hunt.

And here we must correct our introductory remarks. We said that our successes have driven the Communist Party to launch this campaign. It would be more accurate to say that the present world situation has driven them to launch this campaign. The unfolding of all the implications of the second World War, including as an integral aspect Stalin's reactionary policy, are the root causes of this desperate campaign of the Communist Party. Our successes are but the result of our correct policy of struggle against the imperialist war and against Stalin's counter-revolutionary policy. The evident panic of the Communist Party leadership, as indicated in their document, is fear not only of the Socialist Workers Party but fear also of what the membership of the Communist Party is thinking about—and what that membership will do when it has thought things through.

Why They Fear Their Own Members

The war, which strips everything bare, is more and more exposing the real nature of the Stalinist bureaucracy and its perfidious policies. The National Committee of the Communist Party is really disturbed about "expressions of doubt regarding various phases of Soviet policy." The Moscow Trials, the Stalin-Hitler pact, and the subsequent Stalin-Hitler trade agreements, the joint partition of Poland with Hitler, the invasion of Finland, Molotov's kow-towing before Ribbentrop, these and other recent events have provoked the greatest consternation and convulsions in the ranks of the Communist International. They have created doubts in the minds of revolutionary workers everywhere about Stalin's policies and the role of his International.

But these doubts are nothing compared to the doubts in store tomorrow when Communist workers in this and other countries learn about recent developments within the Soviet Union which have hitherto been kept from them by their own party leaders. In his recent dispatches from Moscow, Walter Duranty, inspired by the Kremlin, is already attempting to cushion public opinion against the shocks it will receive when it hears of Stalin's new blows against the Soviet workers.

The Stalinist press here has not yet printed a word of the so-called pre-conference discussion which has been published in the Soviet press in preparation for the 18th Party Conference. Ask the Communist party leaders why the *Daily Worker* remains silent on the preparations for this Conference.

Stalin's Recent Anti-Labor Laws

The Communist Party has launched a gigantic publicity campaign to sell a million copies of the Dean of Canterbury's book "The Soviet Power." (Incidentally, what would Lenin have said of the fact that, twenty-four years after the establishment of the first workers state, its official representatives must lean upon a pacifist sky-pilot of the reactionary Church of England as its principal defender in the English-speaking world?) The Dean's book praises the system of free education in the Soviet Union. But since he wrote his book that free educational system has been abolished. On October 2, 1940, a Kremlin ukase provided that all secondary school students henceforth have to pay tuition fees. With the low wages paid to the average Soviet worker this means that his children are deprived of the possibility of education. In the *Daily Worker* and other C. P. papers you will not find either the text or a description of this reactionary order which sets back the Soviet educational system, once the best in the world, behind that of the United States.

The Dean's "Soviet Power" asserts that child labor has been eliminated in the USSR. But the primary purpose of the October 2 ukase was to drive the children of the Soviet workers and peasants out of the schools and into factories, fields and mines. This ukase was supplemented on the same day by still another, officially setting up the child labor system. Again the Communist Party papers are silent about this ukase. You will find only one or two meager and obscurely-worded references to "in-

Text of Communist Party Statement On Trotskyism

PARTY NEWS

Issued by the National Committee, Communist Party

For Members of the Communist Party

Page Four

F. O. Box 87, Station D

JANUARY, 1941

Struggle Against Trotskyism

When a Trotskyite can secure some 6,000 votes in the case of the Trotskyite candidate for U. S. Senate in Minnesota, it is something to think about.

everywhere profit by the Minneso- experience. It is not necessary to wait until we are confronted with similar situations in other localities. Now is the time

and what is this "new approach" to consist of? Here it is. "We must devise a more flexible tactic towards the C. P. and look for suitable opportunities to penetrate

membership and organizations are activated, and made sensitive to all deviations from the correct Party policies.

NECESSITY OF STRUGGLE

The following is the verbatim text of an article, "Struggle Against Trotskyism," which was published by the National Committee of the Communist Party in the January, 1941 issue of the National Committee's internal party organ, *PARTY NEWS*.)

When a Trotskyite can secure some 6,000 votes in the case of the Trotskyite candidate for U. S. Senate in Minnesota, it is something to think about. And when this vote even exceeds the vote cast for our Party candidate in Minnesota then it is really a serious challenge to our Party, and not alone in Minnesota. The fact that our comrades in Minnesota tell us that these votes, like the votes for Norman Thomas, should really have gone to our Party only emphasizes the problem. Surely no one thinks that all of these 6,000 who voted for the Trotskyites are counter-revolutionary paid agents of Wall Street. But the fact remains that they did vote for the counter-revolutionary espionage agency that parades under the name of "Socialist Workers Party."

Dangerous Underestimations

Nor is the problem settled or answered by pointing to the fact that nowhere else with the possible exception of New Jersey have the Trotskyites ever made such a showing in an election. True, nowhere else have the Trotskyites been able to secure control of sections of the labor movement

as in the case of the teamsters' organization in Minneapolis and St. Paul. But the fact that they are able to retain this control over a number of years, and to use this control not only for disrupting the progressive movements in that state but also to win the allegiance of such a large number of workers to their candidate, represents a challenge that must be met. Unless this challenge is met and the Trotskyites exposed and defeated, there is no guarantee that under similar circumstances they may not be able to mislead workers in other parts of the country.

For Vigilance and Education

We do not here wish to go into a detailed examination of the causes for this situation in Minnesota. This will have to be done, and the comrades in Minnesota must do it and do it quickly and thoroughly. Here it is enough to repeat what the Minnesota comrades have already offered as an explanation. They admit that they did not carry on a struggle against the Trotskyites because they believed them to be very weak, and thought that by attacking

industrial education" in an attempt to cover up the real meaning of these edicts.

The Dean's "Soviet Power" praises the labor laws of the Soviet Union. On June 26, 1940—since the Dean wrote his book—ukases which have since become known as the June 26 laws were decreed which make a mockery of all previous labor legislation guaranteeing freedom to the Soviet workers. The hirelings of the Kremlin who run the Communist Party press have not yet dared to print the text of these June 26 laws. If they did, you would learn that the factory worker is no longer free to leave his job, he can be sent by the arbitrary order of the Kremlin to any factory in any corner of the Soviet Union, wages have been cut once more, and for any infraction of the June 26 laws, workers can be sentenced to forced labor.

What Happened in the Red Army

The Dean's "Soviet Power" admirably describes the conditions of the Red Army soldiers. Since he wrote that book, the Kremlin has issued a new series of statutes for the Red Army which reduces the soldier to the status of a slave over whom the officers have powers of life and death. These statutes are described in this issue of *THE MILITANT*. Previous issues have discussed the other ukases mentioned above.

Whatever doubts about Stalin's policies existed before will be multiplied a hundredfold once the Communist worker conducts independent investigations to verify the facts about the statutes which we have just described. It is to prevent them in advance from undertaking any such investigation, to cow them into unthinking submission, and to forestall us Trotskyites from explaining the significance of Stalin's ultra-reactionary moves that the party leaders now initiate their campaign against their own members.

Stalin's Foreign Policy

Lenin laid down the principles that international policy is the continuation of domestic policy. Stalin's reactionary course against the workers within the Soviet Union is supplemented and extended by his no less reactionary policy in the world arena. That policy has been characterized by sudden zigzags which have produced the greatest demoralization in the ranks of the Communist Parties and among advanced workers in general. Instead of conducting a fearless and consistent line of revolutionary internationalism based upon the independent class action of the working masses, Stalin has veered from one imperialist camp to another. Stalinist diplomacy strives to lean upon whichever one of the imperialist camps seems strongest at the moment, for Stalin has no confidence in the only reliable ally of the Soviet Union, the workers of the world. This policy of independence, of humiliating submission before the imperialist overlords is camouflaged as cunning maneuvers designed to outwit this or that imperialist grouping. In reality, however, the Stalinist zigzags have succeeded only in disorienting and demoralizing the workers of the world.

Stalin's international policy is conducted not only through the Soviet officialdom but also through the Communist Parties throughout the world. When Stalin signed his pact with Hitler, crude efforts were made to indicate that this pact would not affect the policy of the Communist Parties. For a brief period, the British and Canadian Communist Parties were even permitted to come out for support of British imperialism in the war.

All this was bunkum to deceive and confuse. Within a few weeks the Communist Parties everywhere dropped their slogans supporting democratic imperialism and adopted new policies in accordance with the needs of the Stalin-Hitler alliance. During the first part of the war, when Hitler's armies were marching from victory to victory, the Communist Parties were broadcasting formulas which depicted the "democracies" as the chief inciter to war. This propaganda was undistinguishable from that of Goebbels.

Only after Hitler's drive slowed up and the full menace of his conquests on the European continent became apparent to the Kremlin, only when it became clear that the United States would back Great Britain, did the Kremlin permit the Communist Parties

entering the struggle who have not yet learned the character and role of the Trotskyites, who do not know its treacherous history. Even in our Party there are many thousands of members who, having joined in the last few years, have not gone through the struggle that our Party has carried on against this counter-revolutionary agency.

It is necessary to teach the Party membership the history of Trotskyism, its role from its very inception, its final degeneration into an espionage agency of imperialism. It is necessary to acquaint the broad strata of the working class and toilers, who may be fooled by its camouflage pose, with what Trotskyism really is. Especially is this necessary today when, on the one hand the masses are moving leftward, and, on the other hand, the forces of reaction are unleashing the sharpest attack against the working class and its organizations, using all varieties of methods including frontal attacks, corruption, and espionage.

THE PARTY LEADERS AND THE OLDER MEMBERS WHO HAVE GONE THROUGH ALL PHASES OF THE FIGHT AGAINST TROTSKYISM MUST MAKE IT THEIR DUTY TO TEACH THE NEWER MEMBERS, MUST SEE TO IT THAT THE PARTY ORGANIZATIONS CONSTANTLY CARRY ON THE STRUGGLE AGAINST TROTSKYISM AND LEARN TO DETECT TROTSKYITES PENETRATION INTO THE LABOR MOVEMENT AND EVEN INTO THE PARTY ITSELF.

Guarding Against Trotskyite Penetration

In this connection we must take note of the recent decisions of the Trotskyites to concentrate their efforts to penetrate our Party organizations. This policy is openly stated in a report of James Can-

non in which he admits that this will be able to detect them directly, or those whom they are beginning to influence and use as tools in their disruptive work. But such detection will be possible only to the extent that the Party membership understands the policies of the National Committee, that the membership and organizations are activated, and made sensitive to all deviations from the correct Party policies.

The Necessity of Study

The attitude we often come up against is one which considers it a waste of time to spend effort in combating Trotskyism, since Trotskyites are a small sect and we have so many important tasks to fulfill. It is precisely such an attitude which makes it possible for these traitors, saboteurs, and spies to carry on their disruptive work. We must acquaint all members and all Party organizations to be vigilant against such Trotskyite infiltration into our ranks, as well as into the ranks of the workers' organizations. And we may be sure that these spies will not come in announcing themselves as Trotskyites. Where they succeed in penetrating our ranks, they will camouflage themselves as "honest rank and filers" spreading doubt, passivity, aiming to disrupt the Party's activities, acting as finger men against our most active comrades. Where they can succeed, their method will also aim at provocations in order to prepare the open attack against us.

It is essential that the Party everywhere profit by the Minnesota experience. It is not necessary to wait until we are confronted with similar situations in other localities. Now and all the time we must everywhere carry on the struggle against Trotskyism. It must be admitted that in the recent period the struggle against this counter-revolutionary poison has been neglected. Our job is not only to fight Trotskyism when it has already poisoned sections of the working class. We must carry on a constant struggle against Trotskyism in order to immunize the workers against it.

We must bear in mind that always new strata of workers are to change their tune and to assert in recent days that all the imperialist powers are equally guilty. Tomorrow, if the world situation compels Stalin to conclude another alliance with the democratic imperialists, the Communist Party will return to a pro-Roosevelt line upon orders from the Kremlin. The Dean of Canterbury's book, which advocates a Washington-London-Moscow alliance is a sign of coming events.

Remember that in 1935-39 the Communist Party of the United States shouted for a war of the "democracies" against fascism. It supported Roosevelt in the hope that American imperialism would become an ally of Stalin against Hitler. During those five years of the Popular and Democratic Front, every bourgeois "liberal" was represented as a progressive friend of the workers and peace was to be guaranteed by the League of Nations and a policy of collective security. We don't have to remind anyone in detail of the support accorded Roosevelt during those five years. Recall the 1936 electoral slogan of the Communist Party: "Defeat Landau at all Costs."

United Fronts With Trotskyists

Not the least among the reasons why the Stalinist leaders fear their rank and file is this: The present line of Comintern propaganda opposing the participation of the United States in the war appears to coincide with the policy of the Trotskyists. This apparent identity in slogans has had the effect of drawing closer together the members of the Communist Party and of the Socialist Workers Party in common struggle against the imperialist war mongers and their agents within the labor movement. We could name several important unions in which Communist Party members and our own comrades have effected united fronts of struggle against the reactionary policies of labor bureaucrats.

The Communist Party leaders cannot permit their members to know about these joint struggles. They try to suppress and to deny them. For knowledge of them would destroy at one stroke the whole edifice of lies they have built up around us. If we are agents of fascism or counter-revolutionary agents of Wall Street, as they call us in this document, why have the Stalinist leaders given their party fractions in those unions permission to combine with us in common struggle? If we are reactionary enemies of the working class, how is it that we are found in the forefront of the struggle against the bosses and their lieutenants? If it is a crime punishable by expulsion in the Communist Party to consort with Trotskyists, why has their National Committee permitted these union fractions to cooperate with us?

They do so because they must. Within the progressive wing of the trade union movement, the Trotskyist members and sympathizers stand out as the most irreconcilable opponents of the war mongers and the reactionaries. They are always ready to join with any group of workers or any workers' organization that will really fight in defense of trade unionism and workers rights. Under the blows of reactionary repression, the Communist leaders have found it absolutely imperative to form blocs with the Trotskyists. The Communist Party members should demand that their leaders inform them about these united fronts between Trotskyists and Communist Party groups. We have no intention of publishing in a public organ the concrete facts about these situations lest our common enemies seize upon them and use them.

Unfortunately for the interests of the working class, the instances in which the Communist Party leadership has thus far permitted its followers to cooperate with Trotskyists have been exceptions to the rule. Wherever it has any other alternative, at no matter what cost to the unions and other workers' organizations, the Communist Party leadership strives to keep the Trotskyists and Communist Party workers apart from each other and thereby cripples the struggle against war and reaction.

We have spoken of the apparent similarity at present in the policies of the Communist Party and ours. But this similarity is superficial. There is a world of difference between us, and we are the first to insist on this fact and to explain it. At this moment the Communist Party is whooping up the American Peace Mobilization. Demonstrations in Washington and in other localities, picket lines at the houses of Congressmen, are being

conducted in connection with this mobilization. Picket lines and demonstrations are good working class weapons. But what slogans are the pickets and demonstrators instructed to shout? "No, sir, the Yanks are not coming," "Defeat the Lend-Lease Bill," "We Want Peace," etc.

Stalinist "Anti-War" Pacifism

This is a purely pacifist campaign against war. There is only one difference between this pacifist agitation and that of the Norman Thomas sect and other pacifist groups. This is the addition of one other slogan, "Friendship with the Soviet Union." This slogan is not designed to promote an alliance between the Soviet and American workers, but to promote an alliance between Washington and Moscow, similar in its reactionary consequences to the Franco-Soviet pact and the Stalin-Hitler pact.

The National Committee of the Communist Party talks about the necessity of studying. We suggest that every Communist Party member read Lenin's writings during the last war. The document also advises study of the history of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. We suggest that every class-conscious worker read the theses of the first four congresses of the Communist International as well as its program, written in 1928, on the revolutionary proletarian methods of struggle against imperialist war. Compare these documents with the present pacifist claptrap which Browder is passing off as a truly Leninist program. The Stalinist leaders occasionally polemicize against pacifism, but in essentials nothing distinguishes the Communist Party's "anti-war line" from that of the most treacherous petty-bourgeois pacifist.

We Continue Lenin's Program

Our policy is the real policy of Lenin in the struggle against war. This struggle must be conducted as part of the daily struggle of the working class and the trade unions. We Trotskyists do not believe that peace can be regained or maintained by any reliance upon any imperialist government, whether or not it is temporarily "friendly" to the Soviet Union. We fight against the war and defend the Soviet Union through the methods of the international class struggle.

We realize that all important questions are decided arms in hand in this terrible epoch of wars and revolutions. The workers require military training. In opposition to the conscription imposed upon the workers by the capitalist government, we call for the military training of the workers under the control and supervision of the trade unions, their own class organizations. Our military policy has nothing in common with the pacifist poison spread by Stalinism. Nor do we rely upon theatrical conventions or parades to stop the war. Only the action of the workers directed toward the overthrow of capitalism can put an end to war and the system which breeds wars. This was the teaching of Lenin. This was the teaching of Trotsky.

The Communist Party leaders are victims of their own propaganda against the Trotskyists. For years they asserted that the Trotskyites were simply personal followers or hirelings of the counter-revolutionary Trotsky. Therefore, the Communist Party leaders themselves came to believe that when Trotsky had been assassinated, Trotskyism would seize to exist.

But this, as they themselves are now compelled to admit, was a "dangerous underestimation." They are now obliged to revise their official estimate by the force of facts. The Trotskyist movement in the United States has become stronger since Trotsky's death, for it was not Trotsky by himself that gave birth to our movement, but the ideas of Trotskyism. These ideas form the basis of our party. They are beginning to penetrate wider and wider circles of the advanced workers in the United States. They

The New Statutes of the Red Army

Officers' Control Is Now Complete

Can Now Shoot Their Subordinates For The Slightest Act Of Insubordination

By L. POKRAS

The Red Army which was forged by the revolution and differs in its spirit from all the armies in the world—this same Red Army, which despite all the attempts of the ruling clique has nonetheless remained the army of the workers' state—is now placed under disciplinary Statutes harsher than those in any other army, even that of the Nazis.

The new Statutes introduced on October 12, 1940 give the commander unlimited powers:

"In case of insubordination, the commander has the right to apply all measures of coercion up to and including the application of force and firearms."

"The commander bears no responsibility for the consequences in case he finds it necessary to apply force and firearms in order to compel an insubordinate to fulfill a command and to restore discipline and order."

"On the contrary, 'the commander who does not in such instances evince firmness, resoluteness, and who does not apply all necessary measures to fulfill an order is remitted to trial before the court martial'" (Red Star, No. 242, October 15, 1940).

Without any control from any side whatever, a superior officer has the right in peace time to shoot down a Red Army soldier for not fulfilling a command—not for mutiny, not for an insurrection, but for insubordination!

Article 7 of the old statutes which were in force from 1925 to October, 1940 reads:

"The nachalniki (men in charge) have the right to apply armed compulsion only in a military situation and only in the execution of battle orders." Here is an accurate enough description of this aspect of the new statutes: "The disciplinary statutes considerably extend the right of commanders as regards the use of force and firearms"—such is the conclusion of the notorious V. Ulrich, presiding judge of the Moscow Frame-up trials, in an

Red Caps Union Presents Case

Presents Court With Damning Evidence That Railroads Violated Wage Law

CHICAGO, Ill., February 2.—1,000 Red Cap porters from twenty cities are suing six railroad companies for \$1,550,961.75 as double indemnity on unpaid back wages.

During the trial which opened January 20 before Federal Judge Sullivan a so-called "Accounting and Guarantee Plan" was brought to light. This "plan" provided that the Red Caps report all tips to the companies which would make up the difference between the tips and the legal minimum of 25c. per hour. It was revealed during the trial that the railroads in many cases violated even this, their own "plan," by forcing the workers to report 25c. per hour regardless of what the tips actually were.

Despite the protests of the union, the United Transport Service Employees of America, which declared that the "plan" is based upon coercion and intimidation, the companies continued to force the "plan" down the throats of the workers under threats of discharge. As soon as the union filed suit, the companies scurried for legal cover and abandoned the "Accounting and Guarantee Plan," placing the Red Caps on the payroll at 25c. per hour. This was an admission that they knew full well their "plan" would not stand up in court.

RED CAPS TESTIFY

Thirty Red Caps from all parts of the country, including the deep South, came to Chicago to testify in court on behalf of the union. The high-light of the trial was the testimony of Felix Braton, who came up from Jackson, Mississippi. He stated that his Station Master had compelled him and other Red Caps under the threat of firing to report \$1.50 in tips for six hours work when their actual receipts were about 60 or 70 cents for six hours work.

It was also shown that Braton joined the UTSEA at its very beginning and was a courageous fighter in its behalf. His courage

New Army Statutes Indicate Stalin's Agenda For The 18th Conference

Beria Removed as Head of the GPU

An Associated Press dispatch dated Moscow, January 31, 1941 brings news of the removal of Laurenti Beria from his post as chief of the GPU. The dismissal of Beria means that the GPU itself is being reorganized along the lines of the reorganization which has already taken place in the trade unions, the party, the army, in industry, trade, finance, etc. Every sphere of Soviet life has now been affected by deep-going changes by means of which Stalin is seeking to stabilize his regime.

The old instruments of suppression, the entire repressive apparatus of the regime has crumbled and has been revamped by Stalin in point of personnel through the purge and in point of structure and role through the new set-up, in which the army i.e. the officers' corps, plays a major role.

No reason was given for Beria's removal. His predecessor, Yezhov, was purged "for reasons of health." Yezhov's predecessor, Yagoda, was shot. Since the Moscow Frame-ups, Stalin has been using up GPU chieftains approximately at the rate of one a year.

Let us see just what the "program of party control and co-oper-

ation" amounts to in the Red Army, where things have gone beyond the point of discussion, elaboration, or ratification. In fact, the new "program" was already in force in the Red Army a month before the Conference call was issued. Complete political authority has been for months in the hands of the self-same commanders who as Comrade Pokras describes elsewhere in this issue are invested with the power of life and death over their subordinates.

"On the commanders, the plenipotentiary leaders of the troops, has likewise fallen the whole burden of responsibility for the political work in the sections. This has still further raised," insists *Pravda*, "the authority of commanders and has determined the direction of the party political work in the Red Army." (*Pravda*, November 19, 1940). This was written more than two months before Duranty began writing his dispatches!

This statement is then clarified as follows: "It has now been determined (by whom? where? when?—J. G. W.) that control shall not mean interference or divided local authority but *watchfulness* to see that the orders of the central authority—and also production plans—are carried out and to help in carrying them out."

If these words mean anything at all, they mean that the party's role is henceforth to be, if not that of "watchdog," then, at most, that of a "watchman" and a "helper."

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The old formula used to read "rally around the party, the Central Committee and Comrade Stalin." For the time being we reserve comment on the new formula, "the Central Committee, Comrade Stalin." Suffice it to call attention here to this noteworthy change, in connection with the new role of the officers.

Duranty does not lie when he says "It is the biggest thing in the U.S.S.R. today, this adjustment of the Communist party . . . to the Red Army and, for that matter, to industry, too." It certainly does look bigger and bigger.

If the "adjustment" in the Army is any gauge, then the party's role in industry will not be a major one. Stalin, when he takes the floor at the Conference, will undoubtedly clarify matters more fully than Duranty is permitted to. But it is possible to say in advance that Duranty's formula of "watchfulness" comes close to summing up the program as regards the party.

Duranty even supplies the key-

note of Stalin's speech at the Conference, namely: "Stop Playing Politics!" "Work for National Progress!" Duranty himself assures us that "the Communists themselves are learning . . . are working for national progress instead of just playing politics." That sounds very authoritative. And no doubt it is.

In 1937, Stalin "taught the Communists" that they had become too preoccupied with economic successes and had forgotten all about politics. At the plenum of the Central Committee he said at the time: "It should be explained that economic successes themselves, their stability and duration wholly and fully depend on the successes of party organiza-

Duranty, like all of Stalin's hired hands, has to lie about the Draconic June 26 labor laws. In his dispatch of January 29, Duranty tries to convey the impression that the Soviet workers are getting higher wages because of longer hours.

"And longer working hours also mean higher wages, as German statistics showed, a point in the Nazi success some people are apt to forget." (N. Y. TIMES, January 30, 1941).

Duranty, it will be observed, refers to "German statistics" as evidence of higher wages in the Soviet Union!

To expose this shabby lie we quote again what Shvernik the head of the C.C.T.U. (trade union center) had to say on this subject:

"The lengthening of the working day is most closely bound up with the question of wages. An objection may be raised that the proportional increase of the working day must be accompanied, if you please, by a similar increase in wages. It would be absolutely incorrect to pose the question in this way. Were we to permit an increase of wages proportionate to the increase of the working day then there could not even be talk of any necessary sacrifices." (BOLSHEVIK—No. 11-12, June 1940).

The section of the *ukase* pertaining to wages reads:

"That the norms of output be raised and piece work rates be lowered in proportion to the increased working day." In other words, instead of getting higher wages, the workers got cuts in pay, in addition to longer hours.

tional and party political work; that without this condition economic successes may prove to have been built on sand." And again: "And he who thinks to separate economy from politics in our practical policy, to strengthen economic work at the cost of belittling political work, or contrariwise, to strengthen political work at the cost of belittling economic work, will inevitably find himself in a blind alley." (*Daily Worker*, March 30, 1937).

In 1941, he is evidently preparing to instruct the party to forget all about politics. The formulas may alter but the conclusion remains the same: 'In a blind alley.'

The Vote For Trotskyism In Minnesota

By GRACE CARLSON

(Trotskyist candidate in Minnesota for U. S. Senator in the last election).

When 8,761 workers and farmers of Minnesota record their support of the Trotskyist program by voting for the Trotskyist candidate for U. S. Senator, and when this represents 6,050 more votes than the Stalinist candidate for president received, that is, in the words of the National Committee of the Communist Party, "something to think about."

If a worker does think seriously about the meaning of these election returns, he can come to only one conclusion, namely that the advanced workers and farmers of Minnesota, who have had a long acquaintance with Trotskyists, realize that the Trotskyists and not the Stalinists stand for militant working class action.

Workers Remember Stalinist Crimes

For the Minnesota workers and farmers have had a long acquaintance with Stalinism too. They recall vividly the criminal and irresponsible attacks made by the Stalinist officials on the valiant leaders of the truck drivers strikes of 1934. They haven't forgotten the adventurous Stalinist criticism made against the Trotskyist leaders for "accepting the support" of the Farmer-Labor Governor Floyd Olson in the victorious settlement of the strikes. As late as October, 1934, the Communist Party published a 58-page pamphlet entitled, "Permanent Counter-Revolution: The Role of the Trotskyites in the Minneapolis Strikes," and written by two Stalinist big-shots, William F. Dunne and Morris Childs. Despite the plain evidence of the success of the great strikes, and the growth of the General Drivers Union on the firm foundation of that success, this nationally-distributed pamphlet sought to prove that the Trotskyists had sold out the strikes. Try and

find a copy of that absurd pamphlet in a Stalinist bookshop now! The growth of Minneapolis into the best-organized city of its size in the country, thanks to the drivers' victories, has made that pamphlet a curio worth having. And we have copies that any interested worker can see.

Minnesota workers and farmers also have long enough memories to recall how the Stalinists overnight turned from a policy of attacking Farmer-Laborites to the "Popular Front" policy of capturing the Farmer-Labor Party and pushing it far to the right. The small-town banker, Elmer Benson, who was elected Governor in 1936, was an easy stooge for the Stalinists, and turned over all patronage to the C. P. machine. Minnesota Farmer-Laborites remember very well the bitterness felt by those rank and filers who had fought in the ranks of the F.L.P. for years to see a group of C. P. carpet baggers come in to the state, take over their Party by control of state jobs and turn it into an appendage to Roosevelt's machine.

Stalinists Wrecked Farmer-Labor Party

Farmer-Labor workers don't forget that the many attempts to "broaden" the Farmer-Labor Party into a Popular Front by coalition with the Democrats and "liberal" Republicans were Stalinist-engineered. These reactionary proposals were repudiated time and again by the advanced workers in the trade unions affiliated with the F.L.P.

Because of the succession of C. P.-inspired outrages, Benson was defeated in the 1938 election. The Socialist Workers Party gave critical support to Benson in the election against the Republican Stassen. In an *Open Letter to Governor Benson*, presented to him during the campaign, we warned that he could not rally the workers and farmers unless he made "a sharp

break with the Democratic machine nationally" and "a clear ideological break with Roosevelt's most vociferous supporters, the most determined pro-war group in the country today, the Communist Party."

With the signing of the Nazi-Soviet pact in 1939, the Communist Party again changed its line, and it now tries to use for the new line the remnants of the Farmer-Labor party which survived after the disastrous defeat of 1938. And with no explanation of the somersault.

Nor can the Communist Party of Minnesota erase from its record its shameful, union-smashing campaigns of 1937 directed against the organized machinists, hospital workers and others in AFL unions. Working in the name of the CIO, Bill Mauseth and other Stalinist leaders succeeded in reducing strong and powerful AFL unions into weak "paper" organizations in the Stalinist-dominated CIO movement in Minnesota. This whole program of union disruption was carried on with the fullest cooperation of the Stalinist-controlled Governor's office. The bona fide CIO national movement suffered as a result. Despite all efforts of the Minneapolis union leadership—who are pro-industrial union and recognize the progressive and major role of the CIO nationally—many workers identify the national CIO with the caricature concocted by the Stalinists in Minnesota.

The thinking worker can therefore easily understand that advanced workers and farmers of Minnesota responded eagerly to the proletarian, revolutionary program of the Socialist Workers Party in the 1940 election campaign.

The Trotskyist Record is Clear

For, unlike the Stalinists, the Trotskyists have a clear record of unwavering support of the Marxist method of struggle. The Marxist method is the method of support of all of the day-to-day struggles of the workers against the bosses, and of militant struggle within the Farmer-Labor Party to draw the workers further along the road of independent working-class action.

The militant activity of the Trotskyists in the great strike struggles of 1934, in the demonstrations and struggles of the unemployed and WPA workers during the past six years, in the campaigns of the trade unionists and organized farmers of the Farmer-Labor Party against the reactionary Republican and Democratic machines, is well known.

The militancy and working class solidarity demonstrated by the Trotskyists of Minnesota have won them the respect of the vast majority of the organized workers of Minnesota and the hatred of the capitalists and their government. The ranks of the Trotskyists of Minnesota number many class-struggle fighters who have been imprisoned because of their activities in behalf of trade union and unemployed workers.

The 1940 Election Campaign

This is the stainless record of the Trotskyists in Minnesota, and none of the smearing attempts of the Stalinists could blacken it in the eyes of the workers and farmers of Minnesota. We appeared on the ballot as the "Trotskyist Anti-War Party."

We were careful in all of the speeches, leaflets and radio propaganda of the campaign to make clear that our attacks on the Communist Party, were attacks of revolutionists against reformists. One of the planks in our platform called for "Defense of the Soviet Union Against Imperialism and Stalinism."

We appealed to the Communist Party workers

Walter Duranty--LIAR

Duranty, like all of Stalin's hired hands, has to lie about the Draconic June 26 labor laws. In his dispatch of January 29, Duranty tries to convey the impression that the Soviet workers are getting higher wages because of longer hours.

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"That the norms of output be raised and piece work rates be lowered in proportion to the increased working day." In other words, instead of getting higher wages, the workers got cuts in pay, in addition to longer hours.

In Los Angeles

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The Negro Struggle
By ALBERT PARKER

Fight Against Byrnes's Appointment

Shortly after the announcement that McReynolds was retiring from the United States Supreme Court, word came that Roosevelt had already chosen the man he was going to nominate to fill the vacancy, although he did not intend to make the name known for several weeks.

However, at the same time, "authoritative sources" disclosed that the man Roosevelt was referring to was Senator James Byrnes of South Carolina, one of his chief aides in pushing the "Lend-Lease" War Powers Bill.

Immediately, protest action was called for by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, which said it would conduct a fight against the selection of Byrnes because he "has been absolutely consistent in opposing any and every effort to give to Negro citizens the protection of the United States Constitution."

The NAACP also pointed out that the three senators who most strongly favor Byrnes's appointment, Carter Glass of Virginia, Pat Harrison of Mississippi, and Alben Barkley of Kentucky, are all opponents of any kind of federal anti-lynching legislation.

The Pittsburgh Courier went back to the record and dug out the following information:

While Byrnes was in the House of Representatives, he tried to obstruct and voted against appropriations for Howard University.

He spoke and voted against the Dyer anti-lynching bill.

He voted against the resolution providing a loan of five million dollars to Liberia.

He placed the blame for the 1919 "race riots" in Chicago and Washington on "would-be leaders of the (Negro) race," instead of on the boss-inspired anti-union campaigns, and said:

"If the two races are to live together in this country, it may as well be understood that the war has in no way changed the attitude of the white man toward the social and political equality of the Negro."

"If, as a result of his experience in the war, he does not care to live in this land without political and social equality, then he can depart for any country he wishes and his departure will be facilitated by the white people of this country who desire no disturbing factor in their midst."

The Courier asks: "Can the man who made the above statement and has the above record mete out equal justice to all citizens of the United States?"

"If you think so, read until you're sleepy and go on to bed."

"If you don't think so, prepare to act."

New Deal Testimony Against Byrnes!

But not even the Courier has told the whole story about Byrnes, as can be seen by a reading of "Dixie Demagogues" by two New Dealers, A. Michie and F. Rhylick, who will be embarrassed, after they exposed Byrnes's record and his opposition to the more liberal legislation of the earlier New Deal, to see how closely Roosevelt is working with him today.

For Byrnes is every bit as much anti-labor as he is anti-Negro. And his nomination must be opposed not only by fighters for equality for the Negro people, but by organized labor as well.

In 1937 Byrnes was among the first to rush forward with a denunciation of the sit-down strike, and he introduced an amendment to the Guffey Coal Bill to bar sit-downs, one of labor's strongest weapons.

He opposed the Wage-Hour Bill in the Senate, and attempted to use his influence in the House to prevent its passage. He thinks that the thousands of textile workers and sharecroppers of South Carolina are getting along well enough in their present starving, highly exploited condition.

He was one of the leaders in Congress of the relief-slashing bloc that has cut WPA to ribbons, always favoring the lowest figure offered for WPA appropriations, always in favor of the move to turn relief over to the states' control.

An example of his die-hard opposition to the anti-lynching bill, was his reply to the question asked him in 1938 as to what likelihood there was of ending the filibuster against the anti-lynching bill:

"Not until the year 2038, unless the bill is withdrawn before then!"

The fact that Roosevelt even considers such a man for appointment to the Supreme Court should serve to disillusion many colored and white workers who have supported Roosevelt because "he's a little better than the Republicans."

Citizenship Lost in Panama

When the Panama Canal was being dug back at the beginning of the century, thousands of Negroes in the British West Indies were brought over to help dig it.

Most of them, after pouring out their sweat and blood building it, settled down to live in Panama, and to raise their families there.

Today, these Negro workers and their children who were born in Panama, have lost their rights of citizenship under the new constitution that went into effect at the beginning of the year.

The children of the diggers of the Panama Canal and the children of Asiatics all thus become people "without a country," and are placed in a position where it will be much easier for them to be exploited and oppressed in the future.

We can be sure that those who are whooping it up most loudly for a war "for democracy" against Germany will have nothing to say about (and will silently approve) this almost unprecedented repression. For all that the government of Panama has done is to proclaim in law the same conditions of servitude that are imposed in fact and in deed on over nine million Negro workers and sharecroppers in the South.

How They Let Hitler Take Power

The Second And Third Internationals Let Him In Without A Fight

By HARRY FRANKEL

It is now eight years since Hitler came to power in Germany. Since that time the reactionary consequences of that great catastrophe have fully unfolded themselves, but the lessons of this defeat for the working class have not been widely spread among even the thinking workers. There has been much weeping, but very little has been understood. For this reason, we must once again weigh the lessons of Germany and take them to heart. Then we will be better armed for the future.

In Germany before Hitler the working class was very well organized. The trade unions encompassed millions, the fraternal and sports organizations of the workers were extremely powerful, and the enormous support given to the Socialist and Communist parties by the workers testified to the almost unanimous desire on the part of the masses for Socialism. On the other hand, the economic situation in Germany was becoming steadily worse. Production was disorganized, wages were low and declining, and the enormous mass unemployment grew like a cancer on the body of German society. In the face of this situation, the continued stability and growth of the working class organizations was possible only if they began to take control of the economic life of the country. The only road for them was to form the government and take over power themselves.

THE TASK OF SMASHING FASCISM

The Fascist camp of Hitler grew and fed itself on the social decay and on the refusal of the working class leaders to translate their words into action. The unemployed, the youth who had never had jobs, the ruined middle class—all the demoralized and declassed sections of the population—served as the reservoir from which Hitler drew his support. Official society had squeezed them from its pores; Hitler organized them, gave them a "mission" and a banner, told them that the workers and worker's organizations were their main enemies. Hitler spoke often, in those days, to meetings of manufacturers' associations; he won their support mainly by his success in breaking up worker's meetings.

How was it possible to fight this plague? First it was necessary to organize a working class united front for action against the fascists. It was necessary to meet force with force. In the course of this united front, the further necessity of taking over governmental power and nationalizing the important industries and the banks would have become plain to all workers. In the

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1938, at the post office at New York, N. Y., under the
Act of March 3, 1879."FIGHT WITH THE
SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY

ON THE WAR FRONT:

For:

1. Military training of workers, financed by the government, under control of the trade unions.
2. The establishment of special officers' training camps, financed by the government and controlled by the trade unions, to train workers to become officers.
3. Confiscation of all war profits—all company books to be open for trade union inspection.
4. Expropriation of all war industries and their operation under workers' control.
5. Trade union wages for all workers drafted into the army.
6. Full equality for Negroes in the armed forces—Down with Jim Crowism.
7. An end to secret diplomacy.
8. A peoples' referendum on any and all wars.

AT HOME:

For:

1. A job and decent living for every worker.
2. Thirty-thirty—\$30 weekly minimum wage—30 hour weekly maximum for all workers on all jobs.
3. \$30 weekly old age and disability pension.
4. Full social, political and economic equality for the Negro people.
5. Workers Defense Guards against vigilante and fascist attacks.
6. A twenty-billion dollar Federal public works and housing program to provide jobs for the unemployed.
7. Expropriate the Sixty Families.
8. An Independent Labor Party based on the Trade Unions.
9. A Workers' and Farmers' Government.

Green's Offer to Ford

William Green's announcement on Monday that a "majority" of the production workers in the River Rouge and Lincoln plants of the Ford Motor Company "have taken the necessary preliminary steps to become organized into American Federation of Labor unions" is news not only to American labor generally but, above all, to the Ford workers themselves.

There is but one bona fide union of automobile workers in this country, the United Automobile Workers of the CIO. Within this great industrial union are the organized workers of General Motors, Chrysler and the host of auto-parts plants. There can be no genuine union in the Ford plants which is not an integral part of the UAW-CIO. The UAW-CIO has fought the battle for the auto workers and smashed through to victory in every open-shop stronghold in the vast auto industry with the single exception of one, the Ford Motor Company.

The UAW-CIO is now engaged in the greatest struggle of all. It has flung the gauntlet into the face of Henry Ford, and the Ford workers are joining the CIO by the thousands. The iron bars of the Ford prison have begun to bulge apart under the impact of the CIO.

Green's statement has but one intent: to prevent at all costs the organization of the Ford workers into the CIO. And that means, to prevent altogether the genuine organization of the Ford workers, for no real union can exist in Ford's without the backing of the rest of the organized auto workers.

Green's claim to a majority in the principle Ford plants is a bald-faced lie on the face of it. It is inconceivable that an organizing campaign which could win a majority in plants of the immense size of Ford's could have been undertaken and carried through in such a fashion that news of it would not have leaked forth. It is a task of such scope as to require an army of organizers and union personnel. Who are these organizers, where have they been hiding? No one knows, because they do not exist.

Compare Green's invisible campaign with the far-flung offices, organizers and activities of the UAW-CIO Ford drive!

The game which William Green is attempting to play now is the same dirty game at which Homer Martin tried his hand and so miserably failed. Like Martin, Green is preparing to sell himself and the fair name of that great body of union men at whose head he stands, into the services of the vilest exploiter of labor in the country. He has proffered a deal to Henry Ford, whereby in return for a sham contract with a "union" in which the Ford workers will have had no part, Green will provide Ford with a "legal" excuse for continuing to refuse to deal with the union of the Ford work-

ers' choice, the CIO United Auto Workers Union.

Green and the AFL leaders have not in the past evinced the slightest desire to organize the Ford or any other industrial workers. The entire history of the AFL top leaders, and particularly during the last eight years, has revealed them as implacable enemies of industrial unionism, the only type of unionism which can organize Ford.

If anything reveals the scummy intent of Green's statement, it is the following words of his public announcement:

"None of these (Ford) employees was ever discriminated against by the management of the Ford Motor Company because of membership in the American Federation of Labor unions."

"The right of the production workers to voluntarily become members of a union of their own choosing, as provided for in the National Labor Relations Act, was freely exercised, without interference by the management of the Ford Motor Company."

These statements are a brazen attempt to whitewash the vilest anti-union boss in the land. If the AFL members who, Green claims, have always worked in Ford's plants, have never felt the weight of Ford's terrorism, if they have never been interfered with in their union rights, how does it happen that the AFL did not succeed long ago in winning a contract for the Ford workers? Why is it that only since the CIO has been making organizational gains in the Ford plants has Green recognized the need for unionism in Ford's?

If the facts of Ford's tyranny, his low wages and man-killing speed-up, his huge army of thugs and spies which have kept his realm a kingdom of fear, were not known to every American worker, a whole series of NLRB decisions exist to testify to the countless violations of labor laws and workers' rights which have transpired in the plants of Henry Ford. Within the past week, the War Department, which has demonstrated no sympathy for the rights of labor, was nevertheless constrained to deny Ford a war contract because he arrogantly refused to accept a clause in the contract agreeing to live up to the requirements of existing labor laws.

We have no doubt that Henry Ford, if faced with the final choice of signing a real union contract with the Ford workers voluntarily organized into the CIO, or penning his name to a counterfeit "contract" with the name AFL attached but which the Ford workers never saw or ratified, Ford will unhesitatingly choose the latter.

But it will be the contract not of a real union, but of a "union" organized within the offices of Harry Bennett. It will be a "union" which the Ford workers will join when confronted by Harry Bennett with a dismissal notice in one hand and an AFL application blank in the other. It will be the polar opposite of real unionism, a company owned and operated union.

There is not a single honest unionist in America, AFL or CIO, who does not hate and despise Henry Ford.

Members of the AFL! The honor of the AFL as a genuine body of union labor is at stake. William Green and the rest of the AFL Executive Council must not be permitted to sell the name of the AFL to Henry Ford. If the membership of the AFL permitted that to happen, the labor movement would be plunged into nation-wide internal warfare. On the other hand, if the CIO is helped to succeed in organizing Ford, the entire labor movement will be given the most tremendous impetus, just as the UAW-CIO victories of 1937 in General Motors and Chrysler directly fostered the growth of all unions, AFL and CIO alike.

William Green must be stopped. The AFL workers owe it to themselves to stop him.

Spell Is Free

The acquittal of Joseph Spell, Negro worker, at the hands of an all-white Connecticut jury, of the charges of rape and assault brought against him by his white employer, a wealthy and prominent club woman, caused general surprise and elation.

The very fact of the wide-spread publicity given to this verdict and the unexpected satisfaction it has brought to all unbiased people is testimony in itself of the true conditions under which the Negroes live and the customary character of the "justice" they receive at the hands of the white courts.

In itself, the case was an open and shut one. The factual evidence was wholly in favor of the accused man. Had Spell been a white man, the woman, under the circumstances of the relationship which she had herself solicited, would never have thought, in all probability, of charging him with rape. Or if she had, the public prosecutor would himself tossed it out of court.

This case will no doubt be used by the liberal reformists, both Negro and white, as an argument that at least in the North, the Negro can expect an even-handed justice from the courts.

But the truth must be recognized that the outcome of this case was an exception, and that the Negro people in the North, as well as in the South, have little chance of securing justice in the courts or in any other of the capitalist state institutions.

They will continue to be segregated, insulted, ostracized and degraded, socially and economically, so long as the present oppressive social system endures.

For every case where an individual Negro receives some isolated semblance of justice, there are a thousand others which prove that the Negro people as a whole can never expect to receive decent and fair treatment under the rule of the boss class.

The sole guarantee that the Negroes will achieve that social, economic and political equality and justice to which they as human beings and workers are entitled, in the exact same measure as the white workers, is to join hand in hand with the white workers and the oppressed of every race and nationality for the abolition of the capitalist system and the building of a socialist society.

West Coast Sailors Blast Dirksen Shipowners Bill

Sailors Union of the Pacific Launches Struggle to Defeat "National Defense" Bill Designed to Destroy the Union Hall

SAN FRANCISCO, Feb. 3.—The Headquarters Branch of the Sailors Union of the Pacific last night adopted a strong resolution denouncing the Dirksen Bill as a union-smashing plan of the ship-owners and launching a struggle of the union to defeat the bill.

The resolution is going before all other SUP branches and will undoubtedly be adopted.

The text of this important resolution follows:

WHEREAS: under the pretense of serving the most patriotic interests of the United States, Representative Dirksen, of Illinois, introduced Bill HR 2662, which is now before the Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries, and

WHEREAS: this bill is by far the most vicious yet formulated and embraces every strategy for the destruction of the seamen's unions against which the Sailors Union of the Pacific has been fighting right along, and

WHEREAS: this bill provides for the establishment of fink halls which are termed "employment centers," and declares that the "employment center at each port shall be operated by, and be under the exclusive control of, the shipping commissioner at such port, subject to the general supervision and direction of the Secretary of Commerce." Not only would this eliminate the union hiring hall, but the bill further provides that "Whoever engages, or furnishes facilities for the engaging of seamen, otherwise, of the names and characters" of the seamen. Here's the good old blacklist! Not even the United States Navy maintains a more strict control over its personnel. The shipping commissioner will also have the right "to provide means for securing the presence of men who are so engaged," and "to facilitate the making of apprenticeships to the sea service." This is complete regimentation and takes all control whatsoever out of the Union's hands, and

WHEREAS: the bill provides for the continuous discharge book, which the SUP fought successfully, but this time it is even more vicious than the Copeland fink book. The book as defined in this bill can be issued by the shipowners, or by individuals, which means one thing: crimp joints. In this book the complete record of the seaman will be kept in a manner that even Copeland did not dare to propose in his fink book plan. Nearly five and a half pages of the bill are devoted to including every possible item, thus making a chattel slave of the seaman with such a record at the disposal of the shipowner.

WHEREAS: in order to sugar-coat this union-smashing process, and thereby confuse the seamen, the bill provides for union representatives to "advise" the shipping commissioner "of the rights and claims, contractual or otherwise, of the various labor organizations in connection with the engaging of seamen for any vessel at the employment center, and to present to the master of such vessel, or his representative, seamen who are eligible to be engaged on such vessel." But the person who would determine such rights and have complete say so about them would be the shipping commissioner. And this means that the Union representatives would only be stooges, because the bill goes further to say that the master or his representative "... shall have authority to reject any seaman so presented, and upon failure of the advisory board to present him sufficient seamen to enable him to engage the number of seamen required who are satisfactory to him, he shall have authority... to engage from any other seamen who there present themselves to him such number as may be necessary to complete the number required." This is hiring off the dock with a vengeance!

WHEREAS: the bill provides that the "distribution by any seaman among other seamen of any book, pamphlet, leaflet, or other publication or item of written, printed, or graphic matter which in the opinion of the master is encouraging, or is calculated to encourage, mutinous or rebellious conduct, or disloyalty to the United States or the principles of the Constitution..." shall be considered a violation of what is defined as "lawful command"... This obviously means that if he wants to, the captain can declare a seaman guilty of encouraging mutiny by passing out an issue of the WEST COAST SAILORS, because the captain has all the authority to engage the number of seamen required who are satisfactory to him, he shall have authority... to engage from any other seamen who there present themselves to him such number as may be necessary to complete the number required." This is hiring off the dock with a vengeance!

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RESOLVED: That we go on record to condemn this proposed measure as a measure of prosecution, persecution and abuse of the seamen, and as a violation of their constitutional rights, as well as the rights long since guaranteed them by the law of the land, and be it further

RESOLVED: That we reaffirm our position to have our Secretary fight the passage of this bill unrelentingly and use all the resources at our command to prevent it from becoming a law, and be it further

RESOLVED: That we send copies of this resolution to all the Congressmen who have any voice in the discussion and deliberation of this act, and to all other interested parties, and be it further

RESOLVED: That we call upon the whole organized labor movement to join us in this fight to prevent this bill from becoming a law.

complaining of their piling-up grievances. They demand a just settlement. Seasoned veterans of many strikes begin to look askance at the halo of militancy with which the Stalinists have surrounded themselves. Even Stalinist rank and filers are losing faith in their leaders.

TASKS THAT ARE FACING THE UNION

The officers to-be-elected must consider that the Bohn Corporation is piling up profits each year. Their new plants and machinery, which will still further intensify production and speed up men are paid for by the government.

Union militants are demanding that a new leadership be elected which will counteract the vicious company campaign. They desire a local executive board which will stop the speedup and defend the union contract.

They want leaders that will see to it that new and reclassified men get their proper wage, and they want to educate and organize the membership—through leaflets, meetings, etc.—against the plans of the corporation to extract more profit from the hides of the men.

As part of the company campaign to intimidate the men and undermine the union, letters have been sent to all workers to beware of spies and saboteurs in the plant and to report any suspicious persons or actions. Men leaving the plant are all "frisked" as part of this process of intimidation.

IT'S JUST WORDS IN THE DAILY WORKER

The Bohn local leadership has been seriously influenced by the Communist Party for the past three years. These hypocrites pretend opposition to the "National Defense" program and the war drive of the Roosevelt government—in the DAILY WORKER. It is an entirely different story in practice. Conditions in the Bohn plant are rotten, and under the C. P. influenced leadership headed by Fred Williams, are daily growing worse.

For every case where an individual Negro receives some isolated semblance of justice, there are a thousand others which prove that the Negro people as a whole can never expect to receive decent and fair treatment under the rule of the boss class.

The sole guarantee that the Negroes will achieve that social, economic and political equality and justice to which they as human beings and workers are entitled, in the exact same measure as the white workers, is to join hand in hand with the white workers and the oppressed of every race and nationality for the abolition of the capitalist system and the building of a socialist society.

Instead of a militant, fighting policy to protect the gains of the membership, the leadership has permitted transfer of men from lower to higher pay jobs without

complaining of their piling-up grievances. They demand a just settlement. Seasoned veterans of many strikes begin to look askance at the halo of militancy with which the Stalinists have surrounded themselves. Even Stalinist rank and filers are losing faith in their leaders.

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The local leadership answers this anti-union campaign by being "respectable." The fact is that the leadership is scared and is doing everything to tone down the militancy of the men.

However, union meetings today find young, recently-hired men

complaining of their piling-up grievances. They demand a just settlement. Seasoned veterans of many strikes begin to look askance at the halo of militancy with which the Stalinists have surrounded themselves. Even Stalinist rank and filers are losing faith in their leaders.

He Knows What's Coming!

It's all there in black and white. Send away to Mr.

Charles Wilson, President, General Electric Company, Schenectady, N. Y., and get a copy of his plan.

See how it all ends up in... prayer. Thus does Mr.

Wilson exemplify the utter bankruptcy of his class.

Even the reformist and piddling concessions proposed to the masses by this "public-spirited" industrialist,

who of course sees no means of providing them, other

than through the generosity of his class, have to be invoked by... prayer. So unreal does his proposal seem to him that he has to bring in magic to get it.

In his heart he probably knows that ritualistic incantations are more likely to produce those reforms than his brother-capitalists are likely to part with some of their spoils!

Yes, every worker who finds himself faltering in the class struggle should get a copy of Mr. Wilson's plan.

It's the best testimony we've had in a long while to

the bankruptcy of the ruling class and their fear-

knowledge that the curtain is about to go down on them.

The Spectre of the Revolution Haunts This Industrialist