

# STALINGRAD FIGHTS

By GEORGE COLLINS

## BERLIN BROADCASTING:

"More than 1,000,000 Russian troops, aided by thousands of civilian volunteers, are defending Stalingrad with a bitterness unmatched in this war."

"Military observers said the resistance put up by the Russians was so desperate that it was impossible to predict how soon the city would be overcome."

"The Russians... must surrender or fight to the last man and they certainly will not capitulate." (Reported by A.P., Sept. 6.)

Hitler's broadcasters are admitting for the one-hundredth time not only that they could not walk over the Soviet Union as they did Norway, France, Belgium, etc., but that the German legions are being plunged into the buzz-saw of the October Revolution.

The October Revolution is represented in the spirit of the workers and soldiers defending Stalingrad against one of the greatest concentrations of military power and machinery ever hurled against a city. "They certainly will not capitulate," the German High Command admits. Neither did they capitulate in Moscow. Not in Leningrad. Not in Rostov. Not in Sevastapool. Not in Odessa.

The defenders of the October Revolution do not capitulate. Capitalists, bankers, brass hats and the whole run of parasites — they capitulate to foreign invaders to protect their privileges and dividends — and their own hides — against the threat of their own revolutionary working class. They capitulate so that colonial slaves will not achieve their independence. They capitulate so they can share at least part of their profits with the capitalist invader. They did it in Norway, Belgium, Burma and Singapore.

But the workers and Red soldiers of the Soviet Union fight with a "bitterness unmatched in this war" because they are defending the socialist achievements of a workers' revolution. Factories, mines, mills, railroads, workshops belong to those who work them. The soil belongs to those who till it. A man who will not defend such treasures is either a coward or a traitor; a man who fights to the death for them is more than a hero — he is a socialist worker.

The journalists and politicians of the imperialist democracies are at a loss to understand the great heroism of the Soviet worker. They say he gets his courage and morale from the "defense of the great Russian fatherland." Stalin echoes them with his exhortations to defend the "holy Russian soil." Let them explain then why the French, the Poles, the Norwegians, and all the others who fought Hitler on their own soil hardly dented the German armies while the Red Army not only cracked the German armies but annihilated its most effective sections.

They do not explain this contradiction, not because they don't know the answer, but because they are afraid of the answer. The courage of the defenders of Stalingrad fighting with a "bitterness unmatched in this war" knows no country; it is international. A revolution under siege and invasion in Germany, France, England or the United States would evoke heroic actions in no way inferior to that of the Russians.

Roosevelt and Churchill know this, so they talk mystically of "the Russian soil" for fear their own workers might learn the real lesson of Russian resistance.

Hitler knows this so he tells his regiments and the population at home that the Russians are "beasts" and "barbarians."

Stalin knows this but he has betrayed the October Revolution and he fears to arouse its great internationalist power, a power mightier than all Hitler's armies, for fear that a new rise of working class revolution will sweep him and his bureaucrats into the rat-holes along with Hitler and the other capitalist rulers.

The Soviet workers and soldiers show such splendid morale because the revolution is in their hearts and minds. But the Soviet soldiers, despite terrific damage inflicted on the enemy, lose city after city because the revolution is not a weapon in their hands. Stalin has deprived them of the weapon of revolutionary propaganda and for this reason above all others he is principally responsible for the defeats.

The morale of the Russians is international, we repeat. Transformed into conscious, active propaganda it can become the international weapon of working class revolution. Let the Soviet workers once revive this weapon of revolutionary propaganda and victory will be theirs. The German soldiers will then fight not to destroy the October Revolution. They will join with the Russians in a fight to the death against Hitler and international capitalism.

# Breitman Files As S.W.P. U.S. Senate Candidate

## N. J. Trotskyist Calls For a Workers' and Farmers' Government

NEWARK, N. J., Sept. 8.—Nominating petitions for Geo. Breitman, Socialist Workers' Party candidate for United States Senator, were today filed with the Secretary of State in Trenton. 800 signatures are required for a place on the ballot in the coming November elections, and almost twice that number were submitted on behalf of Breitman's candidacy.

Immediately after the petitions had been filed, Breitman issued the following statement:

"I am running as a candidate for the U. S. Senate because my party believes the workers should have the opportunity to vote for a socialist alternative to imperialist war and oppression, fascism, Jim Crow and increasing attacks on labor's rights and standards.

"This war is not a war to destroy fascism. The only way to destroy fascism in Europe is by taking the economic and political power away from the capitalist class. Neither Roosevelt nor Churchill proposes to do that — they both intend to leave the capitalists as the dominant class in Europe.

"The only way to prevent fascism in the United States is by abolishing capitalism before the Sixty families have the chance to set up their totalitarian dictatorship here. Needless to say, the Republican and Democratic Parties will fight any attempt to abolish capitalism far more vic-

## Runs for Senate



GEORGE BREITMAN

ously than they now fight the Axis.

## HOW TO END IMPERIALIST WAR

"Nor is this a war for lasting peace. Peace cannot be maintained by the rule of the bayonet, and the administration's promise to 'police the world for the next hundred years' is proof that World War II will be followed by other wars unless the basic cause of imperialist war is done away with by the laboring people of the world. The only way to do away with imperialist war is by doing away with the capitalist system that breeds the kind of struggle for profits, markets and colonies which led to the present war.

"Only a Workers' and Farmers' Government will seek to destroy fascism, for only such a govern-

(See Page 2 of this issue for the text of the Socialist Workers' Party platform for the New Jersey elections.)

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# ROOSEVELT THREATENS TO ASSUME DICTATORIAL POWERS

## Indian Factory Workers Go Out On Political Strikes

### British Censorship Conceals Facts About Participation of Workers In Struggle

By FELIX MORROW

The 50,000 Hindu and Moslem workers of the Tata munition and steel works — the largest industrial enterprise in India — launched a political strike on August 21 demanding the release of the imprisoned Congress leaders.

This is but one of a wave of political strikes which is sweeping India.

In spite of the totalitarian British censorship, the facts are beginning to seep out. In the Sept. 5 *Nation*, Louis Fischer reports the beginning of the Tata strike and adds:

"The strike wave in India is spreading. The most disturbed areas are the vital mining and

factory region of Behar, Madras, the United Provinces, the Central Province and the Bombay Presidency. In many places the tearing up of rails has completely disrupted railroad traffic. Telegraph service is frequently discontinued and always quite unreliable. Riots and sabotage throughout India are on a much larger scale than the British government in India had anticipated, the semi-official daily Statesman of New Delhi admits."

In the Sept. 5 *N. Y. World-Telegram* Raymond Clapper reports:

"India has dropped out of the news, but it is an artificial silence. Lack of news from India is caused by the tight censor-

ship. War production there is seriously crippled by strikes. Steel works, tinplate mills, cotton mills and other establishments have been affected. Railroad traffic was interrupted on one main line, forcing an attempt to move vital strategic materials out of India by airplane. One important industrial center was cut off from all communication by railroad, telephone and telegraph for four days."

Clapper also reveals that the British have rejected Washington's proposals for new negotiations with the Indian Congress: "Thus far," he says, "Washington's efforts to persuade the British government to undertake new negotiations with the Congress have been unfruitful."

Clapper also hints at repercussions in Egypt, where the government is controlled by the Wafd party, which has had close relations with the Indian Congress. Wafdist delegations having attended the annual sessions of the Congress. He says, in the same column which we have quoted: "Relations with the Egyptian government have not been good and there is no assurance that, when the crisis comes with Rommel's full drive, our side will have any more help from the native population than it had in Malaya and Burma."

Fischer and Clapper appear to be getting their information from diplomatic circles in Washington whose reports from India are not controlled by the British censorship. The few correspondents in India who have been trying to give an accurate

## Indian Steel Worker



This Indian worker operates a Bessemer converter turning iron into steel at the native-owned Tata plant in Bijur province. Two weeks ago 50,000 workers in this steel plant went on strike in support of the demand for Indian independence.

picture have been prevented by the censorship, as they have indicated in various ways.

For example, A. T. Steele, *Chicago Daily News* correspondent, writes: "For security reasons it is not possible to discuss in detail the effects of the civil disobedience movement on matters closely connected with the war effort," i.e., political strikes in the factories.

Steele does manage to get through a few details on the attitude of the Indian people as a whole. In the Sept. 4 *Chicago Daily News* he reports "the growth of anti-British feeling among the Indian people. The longer the civil disobedience campaign continues, the deeper this hatred becomes. Every Indian testifies to it in conversation with neutral correspondents, yet it is a fact of which British officialdom, committed to its present policy, seems neglectful. Perhaps the opinion that the Japanese will be unable to attack India in the near future accounts for the British position. If, however, the Japs do the unexpected

and try invasion, the sullen state of the Indian mind will be a problem of the first magnitude."

Steele emphasizes that "The organized phase of the civil disobedience movement has not gone much beyond propaganda so far." The real test of strength is still to come.

More and more, the Indian masses are beginning to realize that they can depend only on their own strength to win independence. The illusions they had

(Continued on page 3)

## Will Rule By Decree Unless Congress Grants His Demands

### Unprecedented Ultimatum On Labor Day Is Threat to Masses' Rights and Standards

By George Breitman

President Roosevelt has threatened to institute rule by decree laws after October 1 unless Congress by that time specifically authorizes him "to stabilize the cost of living," including the reduction of all farm commodities to parity or at levels of a recent date, whichever is higher. This unprecedented and arrogant procedure is so ominous that it overshadows all other aspects of Roosevelt's Labor Day message to Congress and his radio address, even the immediate "stabilization" program he wants to put into effect.

Roosevelt's dictatorial threat to go over the head and against the wishes of Congress was accompanied by an assurance of his "deep and unalterable devotion to the processes of democracy," and the promise that after the war the powers under which he acts "automatically revert to the people — to whom they belong."

He also recalled that other wartime presidents had resorted to the use of executive power. Nevertheless, Roosevelt's ultimatum to Congress has no parallel in United States history, and the rule by decree which he says he will establish is a far more drastic and brazen encroachment on the powers of Congress and the rights of the people than any ever undertaken by the executive of this country.

It is true that when Congress failed to act on President Wilson's request for authority to arm United States ships shortly before this country entered the first World War, he went ahead and gave himself the authority. But the present situation is different.

Ceilings for farm products have been fixed at 110% of parity by act of Congress; what Roosevelt proposes to do unless Congress accedes to his demand is to nullify this Congressional act by an executive decree fixing farm products at parity — not merely to decree a law where none existed before, as Wilson did.

In this difference is reflected the decay of American capitalism since World War I. American democracy, it is clear, has been no more able than other capitalist countries to resist the tendency toward centralization of authority and dictatorial rule that naturally grow out of the contradictions of capitalism, in the epoch of imperialism.

WHY HE TOOK THIS STEP. Roosevelt's assertion of the right to rule in opposition to existing laws results from the efforts of monopoly capitalism to solve some of the problems and difficulties that interfere with the prosecution of the war.

1. Roosevelt is genuinely concerned about the possibility in the very near future of a runaway inflationary trend which might play havoc with the American economy and arouse the masses into a wave of class struggles in defense of their living standards. He knows that as shortages of consumer commodities increase, the cost of living must necessarily go up, and so he has no expectations of com-

(Continued on page 2)

## WHO BENEFITS FROM PRICE RISES?

By C. CHARLES

In his Labor Day radio speech President Roosevelt openly lined up with that group who assert that the farmers and the workers are to blame for the swiftly rising cost of living.

He said in the course of his speech: "Our entire effort to hold the cost of living at its present level is being sapped and undermined by further increases in farm prices and wages."

Thus the President shields the real main causes for the increased prices of the articles workers and farmers use, namely (1) the capitalist class who are quick to take advantage of war conditions to increase their profits and (2) the entire capitalist system which by its wastefulness, increases the cost of food and the necessities of life and allows speculators, middlemen and other parasites to profit in the process of distribution.

Mr. Roosevelt has a large staff of statisticians in Washington. He could easily have verified the facts and figures on what causes the increase in prices and who benefits by this increase.

All the figures and facts we are citing in this article are from government sources; the reason Roosevelt did not and will not mention them is that they expose the entire swindle of his fight against the high cost of living and reveal his defense of the capitalist class and the capitalist system.

### What The Dirt Farmer Gets

The dirt farmer—we are not speaking of the large scale capitalist farmer who exploits labor, but the sharecropper, the tenant farmer and the farmer whose land and other property are heavily mortgaged—receives but a small percentage of the money spent by the consumer on food.

For example: A farmer now receives \$2.25 for a 60-pound bushel of sweet potatoes. The retail price in the cities is \$5.10 a bushel.

Farmers in the State of Washington have to sell onions at 1/4 of a cent a pound but the eastern city housewife pays 5 cent a pound.

The producing farmer receives only about 40 cents on the consumers' food dollar. Out of this he has to pay rent to the landlord, interest to the bank which often also owns the factory where the worker is employed, prices to the monopolistic farm

(Continued on page 4)

# Negro Group Calls National Conference

## Will Discuss March On Washington After Roosevelt's Refusal to Meet With Randolph

By A. STEIN  
NEW YORK, Sept. 8—

The Negro March-on-Washington movement will hold a national conference in Detroit on Sept. 26-27 to decide if and when a march to the nation's capital will be held, THE MILITANT learned last week in a special interview with B. F. MacLaurin, national secretary of the movement.

This information was obtained shortly after A. Philip Randolph, national director of the movement, announced that President Roosevelt had refused to meet with Randolph and a number of other prominent Negro leaders to discuss growing complaints of

racial discrimination and attacks on Negro rights. Randolph has also issued a statement claiming that a previous announcement of his had been misinterpreted and that "The plan to march on Washington has not been abandoned; it was only postponed."

TO DRAW UP CONSTITUTION. Indicating that the coming national conference will also discuss other problems connected with placing the movement on a more permanent footing, MacLaurin said, "The conference will draw up a constitution and decide on a national policy." A number of delegates representing the rank and file members of the movement from all parts of the country are expected to be in Detroit, added MacLaurin, who is also an organizer for the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, AFL.

(MacLaurin also called attention to "the opening gun in the fall campaign of the movement

in New York"—the holding of a mass meeting on Friday, Sept. 11, at Harlem's Golden Gate Ballroom, 142 Street and Lenox Ave., at which Randolph will be the main speaker. Tickets for the rally are on sale at the movement's headquarters, Hotel Theresa, 125 St. and Seventh Ave.)

"The March on Washington movement is going to continue its fight against the federal government's policy of treating Negroes as inferior citizens," MacLaurin continued. "The government must be awakened, in one way or another, to the fact that it cannot continue its accepted policy of treating Negroes as second-rate citizens. The President should be well aware by now of the dangerous situation existing in the South and the real failure up to now to solve the problem of Negro and white relations."

But while Roosevelt is very

well aware of present conditions and the Negro people's protests against continued discrimination and growing Jim Crow terrorism, his autocratic refusal to meet with Randolph indicates that he has no intention of doing anything about them.

### ROOSEVELT'S REFUSAL

His attitude toward Randolph now is in marked contrast with his attitude of last year. At that time, when a march on Washington by several thousand Negroes was scheduled, to take place, it was Roosevelt who was trying to arrange a conference. But this year Roosevelt gave the Negro leader the brush-off, although Randolph emphasized in his telegram to the White House that he and other Negro leaders want "to discuss the status of the Negro in the present emergency in the interests of national unity, effective defense and victory for

the United Nations and the cause of democracy."

### "TOO BUSY"

This communication, sent August 1 although not publicized until last week, was curtly answered by Roosevelt's secretary on Aug. 6: "Regret that owing to extreme pressure on the President's time impossible to make appointment requested."

At that time the White House was too busy to be bothered with a discussion of the problems of 13 million American Negroes; Roosevelt was then entertaining Queen Wilhemina of Holland, and probably assuring her of the administration's determination to help restore her oppressive rule over the 67 million colored slaves of the Dutch East Indies.

(See Page 3 of this issue for Albert Parker's column dealing with the coming conference in Detroit.)



# 50,000 Live In Unheated Trailers In Detroit Area

## And the Prospects Are That They Will Still Be Living In Them Next Winter

By LARISSA REED

DETROIT, Mich. — The paper of the United Auto Workers-CIO reported last week that there are an estimated 50,000 workers in the Detroit area living in unheated trailers. It also reported a statement by Raymond M. Foley, state FHA director, that Detroit residents may have to billet defense workers in their homes. And officials in Washington and Detroit continue to make surveys and prom-

And meanwhile, retreating before the bitter opposition put up by Ford and the real estate and banking interests, the UAW-CIO has whittled down its Bomber City plan. The union leaders now ask for 2,000 instead of 6,000 permanent dwellings; for 3,000 instead of 10,000 temporary dormitories; and 2,500 instead of 4,800 units in the Wayne-Fisher area, also designed to service the Willow Run bomber plant. They have agreed also that 90% of the housing should be temporary and removable after the war. The model city plan is being transformed into barracks. But even these concessions have not appeased Ford.

### FORD'S STAND

On June 7 the *Detroit News* announced: "Within a few days, with the breaking of ground for the first dormitories, the gigantic Federal program to house workers at the Willow Run plant will begin its transformation from blue prints into reality." But the real action was Ford's direct action in opposition to the project. Ignoring the placating assurance of Col. Starr that the dormitories would be "nothing fancy and designed for removal after the war," Ford's strong arm thugs forcibly ejected government surveyors from the land and pulled up the 700 stakes which they had driven.

Through his No. 1 mobster, Harry Bennett, Ford informed Col. Starr that he would fight "by every legal (!) method at his disposal," not only the acquisition of his property, but the government's continuation of this project. The bomber city project, he said, was "not only a mistake, but an unnecessary, wasteful and extravagant use of Government funds and vital war materials." This, while the Government was spending hundreds of millions of dollars in new plants and equipment for Ford's own company!

### TRUMAN COMMITTEE

On June 23 Ford's lawyer, I.A. Capizzi, went to Washington to argue against the housing project before the Senate Truman Committee. Previously, in April, Truman and seven other senators had

ing money wisely or wasting it," states the *Detroit News* of June 25. Priorities on building materials are being used, like barbed wire, to tangle up any progress toward housing construction. "There is baffling confusion between the statements of high officials over whether sufficient critical materials will be available to build any permanent type housing, war or otherwise, in Detroit or anywhere else," states the *Detroit News*. Big officials were making each other look like fools. While Blandford insisted he expected to receive priorities, Donald Nelson, War Production Board chairman, stated: "I think Blandford is all wet if he expects to get critical priorities for housing."

**"DETROIT IS DYNAMIC"** Where, in all this conspiracy, is President Roosevelt, who a year ago publicly declared that he was interested in "making a reality... a city of homes, well-planned, designed and owned by defense workers as a symbol of the America we are defending and the America we are rebuilding for the future?" Like Henry Ford, Roosevelt has taken refuge in a discreet and opaque silence. His underlings continue to shove around the UAW-CIO model city and all other housing construction in their Federal, state, and local departments. While Detroit's Mayor becomes "freaked" at housing delays and local newspapers howl daily protests, the homeless and high-rent-paying war workers and their families are the victims.

In a heated argument with Blandford, Senator Ralph O. Brewster insisted that he was "underestimating the patriotism of American labor by asserting that it was necessary to build family homes to house laborers in a time of great crisis." Obviously, patriotism and rat-ridden shacks are for the workers; the profits and the mansions are for the capitalists!

**SELECTION OF KANZLER** While winter approaches and workers and their families continue to pour into Detroit, housing officials keep stalling through their favorite device of "fact-finding committees." The latest, appointed by the War Production Board as a result of the Truman investigation, is headed by Congressman Maury Maverick and includes Ernest Kanzler, former production manager of the Ford Motor Company and brother-in-law of Elsel Ford.

Behind the smokescreen of charges and counter charges, information and misinformation, the big capitalists have succeeded in blowing up the UAW-CIO's model city and blocking all steps to alleviate the housing crisis. These reactionary interests are also operating on a national scale to oppose further government housing. With a bill pending in the House to appropriate, an additional \$600,000,000 for war housing, a new insinuation appears. "From a purely Detroit controversy the dispute has spread to include such issues as to whether the new housing agency is spend-

# PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT THREATENS TO ASSUME DICTATORIAL POWERS

(Continued from page 1)

pletely or satisfactorily halting this inflationary trend. Nevertheless, Roosevelt hopes that some of the consequences of inflation which might cripple the war machine can be escaped for the time at least by the application of tighter economic controls. It is not concern for the living standards of the masses which motivates his interest in inflation, but rather his desire to win the war and to head off militant labor struggles.

2. Roosevelt is also concerned about the conflict of interests between the various sections of the capitalist class. The capitalists in the stockyards, the food processing industry, the grain exchange, etc., represented in Congress by the "farm bloc," have different views on how the war should be financed than the monopolists in the banking field and heavy industry, for example, Roosevelt, as the representative of monopoly capitalism, feels called upon to settle the controversy in the interests of the dominant financial groups. He hopes by decree law to unite all sections of the ruling class behind the program of monopoly capitalism.

3. The military prospects for United States imperialism are so grave that Roosevelt is determined to do away with the inefficiency that results from divided authority. Congress has been horsing around with the administration's tax bill for many months. "The Federal Treasury is losing millions of dollars a day because the bill has not yet been passed," he complained in his radio address, and this is a situation he intends to correct. Roosevelt professes devotion to the processes of democracy, but he is quite willing to scrap those processes in return for less "bickering" and more efficiency.

### DILEMMA OF CONGRESS

4. Congress is far more sensi-

tive to public opinion and pressure than the executive. Roosevelt often experiences interferences, delays and even restraints from the Congressmen, who are always looking backward over their shoulders to see what the public reaction is. Roosevelt wants to free his hands of Congress in order to be able to devote his attention more fully to the prosecution of the war.

If he can do this by caving them with his ultimatum, and thus setting a precedent for his future relations with Congress, he will probably be quite satisfied.

Congress has been put on the spot. If it submits to Roosevelt now, it admits his right to force their submission in the future. Will it resist? It knows that this would mean a fight, for Roosevelt now has no alternative but to go ahead and carry out his threat. If he does, then Congress will have a real fight on its hands with its commander-in-chief. Under these conditions such a fight could be successful only if waged by revolutionary means. Congress of course has no stomach for such a fight.

Furthermore, elections are less than two months off, and Congress feels that Roosevelt would be able to get the support of the voters on the issue of inflation. Most Congressmen would rather be in a Congress wholly subordinated to Roosevelt than not in Congress at all. And after all, Congress is supporting the war too, and it does not fancy any struggles which might interfere with its prosecution.

Thus Roosevelt, who thought the matter over very carefully, has good reason for believing that he will have his way not only on the question of prices for farm commodities but also on the question of his relations with the present Congress and the future Congress.

5. Roosevelt is now also in one

# 1942 Election Platform

## Of Socialist Workers Party In New Jersey

The Socialist Workers Party asks the voters to support George Breitman, its candidate for United States Senator on the following platform:

The people of New Jersey together with the people of the United States and the entire world are today engulfed in the Second World War. In this period of terrible conflicts, mass misery and slaughter, the people of our state, as everywhere are grappling with two great problems: (1) They are anxiously seeking a solution to eliminate war, fascism and all the other evils which a decaying capitalist system inflicts upon them. (2) They are, at the same time, striving to maintain the social gains and standards of living they have won over decades of struggle through their trade unions and other organizations.

These two problems are really one. The working masses can defend their welfare only by their own independent efforts directed towards the establishment of a Workers' and Farmers' Government and the institution of socialism.

In the name of a war to "destroy fascism," the Democratic and Republican candidates call upon the workers to make sacrifices and to carry the burden of the war program.

**This Is Not a War To "Destroy Fascism"** It is not the fascist type of government which the bosses in the democratic countries fear or oppose. On the contrary they looked on the rise of fascism with satisfaction. Churchill was only expressing the sentiments of all capitalists when he declared on November 6, 1938, less than a year before war broke out: "I have always said that if Britain were defeated in war, I hope we would find a Hitler to lead us back to our rightful place among nations."

The outbreak of hostilities made no essential difference in the appreciation the "democratic" capitalists hold for fascism. As late as January of this year Anthony Eden, Foreign Secretary in Churchill's cabinet, admitted: "The trouble with Hitler was not that he was a Nazi at home. The trouble with him was that he would not stay at home."

Some honest people may feel shocked that leaders of the United Nations in charge of a war ostensibly to "destroy fascism" could express sympathy for fascism. These leaders, however, were expressing nothing more than the fact that the capitalists of the Axis Powers and the capitalists of the United Nations are blood brothers under the skin.

Recently a tiny corner of the veil behind which Big Business operates was lifted when government investigators revealed thousands of ties between German industrial firms such as Farbenindustrie and American industrial firms such as Standard Oil. Big Business operates patent pools on an international basis with private agreements as to the quantities, qualities, and kinds of strategic goods each country shall produce. Markets are divided among the various monopolies. Profits from American concerns seep into the hands of German capitalists and vice versa. It was disclosed that these giant concerns who dominate the economic life of the world have even made agreements to set aside reserves so that profits due for production of war goods can be paid the "enemy" capitalists after the "duration"!

The close ties between the French and German capitalists were revealed for the whole world to see when the French capitalists made a deal with Hitler. The French capitalists feared that if they continued the war, the people would set up a Workers' and Farmers' Government in France which would really do away with fascism and along with it the entire profit system. They feared the loss of their profits more than the loss of some of their privileges.

The real quarrel between the capitalists of the Axis Powers and those of the United Nations is solely over which group shall have first place in exploiting the peoples and the resources of the world. The British and American capitalists want to continue playing first fiddle. The German capitalists and their satellites believe they are now strong enough to replace their rivals. That is why armies of millions of poor farmers and workers have been set at each other's throats.

Thus it is easy to see why even a United Nations victory—which would force Axis capitalism to remain in a subordinate place through another Versailles Treaty far worse than the first and which, according to Secretary Knox, contemplates "policing the world" for a hundred years—would not establish world democracy nor do away with world fascism. A new Hitler would arise, more terrible than the first one, just as the second edition of the World War is, more terrible than the first. Then World War III would break out on a scale of devastation and slaughter eclipsing everything before it.

The conclusion is inescapable: so long as the capitalists remain in power democracy will grow weaker, the forces of fascism stronger. Fascism is only one of the terrible aspects and consequences of dying capitalism. It can be ended only by ending capitalism. And capitalism can be ended only by putting into power a Workers' and Farmers' Government. The establishment of such a government in the United States would mean the beginning of the end of world capitalism and along with it the end of imperialist war and fascism forever.

**Defend the Rights of Labor!** Far from conducting a war to "destroy fascism," Big Business has actually launched a drive to destroy the American labor movement.

What Big Business is out to do to civil liberties is clearly shown in the case of the 18 defendants in the Minneapolis "sedition" trial. Some of these defendants were heads of the Socialist Workers Party. Others were militants in the Minneapolis local of the truck drivers union. They were sentenced to prison. Because of their opposition to war and because they took part in a movement to defend the truck drivers local from dictatorial attempts of AFL bureaucrats to harness the truck drivers to the imperialist war machine.

Civil liberties, freedom of press, freedom of speech, all the hard won gains of generations of struggle are endangered. Under cover of the war Big Business through its Washington representatives demanded that labor "voluntarily" give up its vital right to strike.

The cost of living has already sky-rocketed to more than 20 percent above the January 1, 1941 level. Tax bills have been cooked up in Washington to further drain the working man's pocket book. Administration spokesmen openly admit the stand-

difference whether Roosevelt has a Caesar complex, as some of his isolationist opponents charge, or whether he is sincere in his promise. What is important is the forces which drive him to his present course, what is important are the laws of capitalism in the process of decay.

The workers must resist all moves toward assumption of dictatorial powers now, or they may

find themselves living under fascism after the "war for democracy" is won.

**IN DOWNTOWN NEWARK** THE MILITANT may be purchased at newsstand, 11 Springfield Avenue (near Court House.)

**For an Independent Labor Party** In its drive against labor, Big Business holds a tremendous advantage in the field of politics. The major political parties represent Big Business. The labor movement does not have a single Congressman in Washington to defend its interests when Big Business decides to pass reactionary legislation. It is high time that labor challenged the Republican and democratic machines with its own political party!

Defend civil liberties! Defend the right to strike! For a rising scale of wages to meet the rising cost of living! For an independent Labor Party! For a Workers' and Farmers' Government that will eliminate once and for all the danger to labor from Big Business!

**For Democratic Rights in the Armed Forces** Millions of workers and farmers now pouring into the military training camps suffer a complete black out of their trade union gains and their democratic rights. The average soldier is defenseless against the most reactionary type of officers. Trial by a jury of his peers is denied him. He cannot even express legitimate grievances without fear of reprisals. Nor can he elect representatives to petition the authorities. Wages are far below the union standard. Anti-labor agitation is rampant in the armed forces. It is clear that Big Business plans to turn the soldier against the labor movement.

To guard against this danger and to safeguard the elementary rights of the soldiers, the trade unions should begin a public campaign for democratic rights in the armed forces.

In the interests of the workers, the trade unions should at the same time demand the establishment of military training, including schools for officers, under the control of the trade unions.

**Against Jim Crow!** One-tenth of the population of the United States today suffers a fate that can only be compared to that of the Jews in Germany and Poland. What the Nazis call "Aryan superiority" translates in the USA into "white supremacy." The American pogrom is called "lynching." The American ghetto is established according to the rules of "Jim Crow." Even in the armed forces supposed to be fighting for democracy the Negroes are segregated. Discrimination in industry, social barriers, all of the infinite forms of persecution which hound the colored people in the United States, existed long before Hitler began his movement to convert the Jews into the Jim Crowed people of Europe. Those who remain silent about this fact when they denounce Hitlerism for its viciousness to the Jews, expose themselves as tools of Big Business whose policies should be opposed by the Negro people and the natural allies of the Negro people, the labor movement.

The struggle to establish a Workers and Farmers Government is the struggle to smash Jim Crowism wherever it exists. For full economic, political and social equality for the Negro people and all other minorities!

**Support China's war against Japan!** **Support India's struggle to be free from Britain!**

All the peoples in the world are entitled to what the American people fought for in 1776—the right of self-government. We are opposed to Japan's attack on China and support China's struggle against imperialist domination. We unconditionally support the struggle of India to free itself from British imperialist rule, and we call upon the American workers to oppose the brutal killings and arrests of the Indian people by their British oppressors.

**Defend the Soviet Union!** During the first World War the first Workers and Farmers Government in history came into power. On the day that the Russian masses seized the reins of government in their own hands a shiver of apprehension swept through every capitalist in the world. The poor people on the other hand everywhere rallied to the support of the first government they could really call their own.

We defend the Soviet Union unconditionally. We advocate the establishment of a Workers' and Farmers' Government in this country as the only kind of government that will really defend the Soviet Union from the assaults of imperialism.

We oppose the Stalinist bureaucracy because it has deprived the Russian masses of all their democratic rights and by its policies mortally endangered the Soviet Union. The heroic Red Army would not have suffered such terrible defeats if Stalin had not murdered the political and military leaders who played such great roles in the success of the Russian Revolution.

Stalin sells out the world's workers and colonial peoples for the sake of temporary alliances, now with Hitler, now with Churchill and Roosevelt. These betrayals have dealt the heaviest blows of all to the Soviet Union itself.

The workers of the world thrilled at the bravery of the Red Army that successfully defended the workers' state in 1918-1920 from the forces of 14 capitalist countries including the United States. This success resulted not only from the heroism with which the Red Army fought but also from the disintegration of the opposing armies. This was brought about by the revolutionary appeals of Lenin and Trotsky to the soldiers in the opposing armies to support their real allies, the Soviet workers and peasants and to join in the common struggle for socialism.

Today the armies and peoples of the world are better prepared than ever to heed such a call. It is Stalin's greatest crime that he has not only failed to issue such an appeal but is preventing it by backing up the aims of the United Nations imperialists. In exchange for the worthless promises of men such as Churchill, who led the imperialist intervention against Lenin and Trotsky, Stalin has bargained away the only program that could save the Soviet Union as well as end World War II.

**For a Workers and Farmers Government!** The Socialist Workers Party proposes that the workers of America replace the government of their enemy Big Business with a Workers' and Farmers' Government of their own. The masses of Germany, Japan and Italy will respond to the appeal of such a government that they overthrow their fascist rulers. Only this program can end imperialist war and form a world socialist society that will provide plenty and security for all the peoples of the world.

**Sniper Ludmilla Pavlichenko**

By MILTON ALVIN  
Some additional evidence of the type of war Stalin is conducting against the Nazi invaders was provided last week. Present in this country to attend the International Student Assembly is Ludmilla Pavlichenko, a girl member of the Red Army. She is reputed to have killed 309 Nazis in sniping operations, and as a reward has been given the highest Soviet citations.

The very fact that the Red Army has female members engaged in active combat recalls the basic difference between the position of women in the Soviet Union and in capitalist countries. The October Revolution took gigantic steps towards freeing women from their traditional position in society and placing them on an equal footing with men. In the early days of the revolution women were given the opportunity to participate to an unprecedented extent in industry, the arts, scientific research, politics, sports and other fields. The first workers' state truly enabled women to throw off the chains of kitchen drudgery.

However, all is not the same in the Soviet Union as it once was in this respect. The Stalin regime has little by little encroached upon the gains made by the women of Russia and to some extent has succeeded in restricting their newly-won freedom. Still, the presence of women in the Red Army, taking an active part in the struggle, indicates that many of the gains of the revolution are still in existence.

The greatest burden that Stalin has placed upon the people of the Soviet Union, men and women, is the type of war that his regime conducts against Hitler. This was graphically illustrated by a remark made by Pavlichenko during an interview in Washington. Indicating her hostility to the invaders of the Soviet Union, she spoke in the vein of one who wants to see the whole German people wiped out.

"Every German who remains alive will kill women, children and old folks. Dead Germans are harmless," she said. This was an accurate statement of the official Stalin policy towards the soldiers of the German army. "The Stalin policy is in marked contrast to that pursued by Lenin and Trotsky in 1918. The latter made every effort to win over the German army of occupation by means of revolutionary propaganda. The Brest-Litovsk negotiations were delayed and dragged out in the very end in order to give Bolshevik propagandists time in which to spread their ideas among the German soldiers. Fraternization—this was the method of the founders of the Soviet Union. And this method was successful. It resulted in the moral disintegration of the German army and led to the uprising of the German people at home which overthrew the Kaiser's regime and put an end to the first World War.

The defeat of Hitler's army by the Soviet Union is impossible without the help of the German workers themselves. From a material standpoint all the advantage is on Hitler's side and he is pressing it to the utmost. Stalin's policy—and Pavlichenko's statement—help Hitler, for they are used by Goebbels as "proof" to convince the German workers that the victory of the Soviet Union will mean their doom.

Stalin's representatives cry out for the blood of the German people without making a distinction between the Nazi leaders and the masses of the people who would gladly rid themselves of Hitlerism if only someone would offer them some help from the outside, particularly from the Soviet Union where they know there is no predatory capitalist class to impose the war guilt and reparations upon them. Thus Stalinism shuts the door on the German revolution.

Revolutionary methods of struggle are foreign to the Stalinists who direct narrow nationalistic appeals to the Soviet people and threats of extirpation to the German people. But a revolutionary appeal to the German workers to overthrow the Nazi regime and cooperate with the Soviet workers in the building of a Socialist United States of Europe, can still save the Soviet Union from defeat. The feat of destroying 309 German soldiers amounts to nothing when weighed against the effects of some revolutionary propaganda directed towards Hitler's army.

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The Negro Struggle

By Albert Parker

The Conference In Detroit On Sept. 26-27

This—a comment on A. Stein's article reporting the plans for a national conference of the March-on-Washington movement and the refusal of President Roosevelt to discuss the problem of the Negro people with A. Philip Randolph, should not be read until Stein's article on the front page of this issue has been read.

Although the eyes of every militant Negro in the country will be turned toward the conference to be held in Detroit, it is not yet possible to predict what will happen at that conference. The chief reason for this uncertainty is that the Randolph leadership of the movement, which was never chosen democratically by the rank and file but still has their support and respect, has not indicated what proposals it will present in Detroit.

It would be foolish to assume that Randolph has overnight changed from a policy of vacillation, based on the hope that talk alone will bring concessions for the Negro people to a policy of aggressive militancy, arising from the understanding that the Negroes will make no gains in this period except by fighting for them against both the Jim Crow capitalist class and its political agents.

At any rate, there is not yet any evidence that the proposal to hold the Detroit conference arose from such a change in policy. Rather, the decision to hold the conference seems to have resulted from two events which plainly faced the leadership of the movement with a "do or die" alternative.

These two events were the aftermath of the story in the press last month that Randolph had announced the abandonment in this period of any perspective to call a march on Washington against Jim Crowism, and the brush-off given Randolph by Roosevelt.

The reaction to the story in the press was pretty much the same, among both the supporters and opponents of the movement; and it must have been strongest among the masses. If the March-on-Washington movement is not going to hold a march, if it is going to conduct the same kind of activities as other Negro organizations now in the field and it is going to carry on those activities in the same old way as these other organizations—then, the prevailing sentiment was, what the devil use is there in having a March-on-Washington movement?

Randolph waited a few weeks after this story first appeared in the press before denying it as a "misinterpretation." In that time, we can be sure, he was able to estimate the response of the members. It was his estimation of their response more than anything else which led to his vigorous denial.

The other event—Roosevelt's contemptuous refusal to meet with Randolph—also put the issue squarely up to Randolph. We must remember that ever since he revived the movement last spring, Randolph has said that the need of the day is a "frank" discussion of the Negro problem in the White House. With Roosevelt refusing to even discuss, Randolph realized that either he must take some action or lose face.

While the call for a conference does not flow from a basic change in Randolph's policy therefore,—but rather from conditions over which Randolph has no control—we can be certain that even Randolph and his

associates had to draw certain conclusions from Roosevelt's attitude, namely:

1. That Negroes are not going to improve their conditions by declarations of patriotism. Randolph hastened to assure Roosevelt in his telegram asking for a conference that he wanted to act "in the interests of national unity, effective defense and victory for the United Nations and the cause of democracy." But Roosevelt was not at all moved by this—he still refused to let Randolph into the White House even by the back door.

And 2. That Roosevelt will not give the Negroes anything unless they start to fight for it. Randolph must remember that last year it was Roosevelt who was sending the telegrams and asking for conferences. The reason was that Negroes were then ready to march on Washington, and Randolph was then not merely the author of telegrams, but the representative of militants organized and ready to take action.

But whatever Randolph's motivations for calling the conference, and whether he is ready to change his policies or not, there are many encouraging signs about the coming gathering in Detroit as reported to THE MILITANT.

The first is that the conference will be made up of representatives of the rank and file in the movement, as well as leaders selected from the top. Their participation in the deliberations and decisions can have only a healthy effect on the proceedings and the future of the movement.

The second is that a constitution for the movement will be drawn up. This too is all for the good, for it will strengthen the movement, put it on a sounder organizational footing, make it more democratic and therefore attract a lot of workers who feel that the movement may be a flash-in-the-pan affair.

Third, of course, is the fact that the conference will decide "if—and when a march" on Washington will be held, as well as other questions of policy. Needless to say, such a discussion can kindle a new enthusiasm among the Negro masses, especially if the conference adopts a militant program and authorizes a fighting alliance of the organization with the labor movement against the economic and political enemies of both Negroes and labor.

This is the opportunity for the Negro people! It may not come again during the war. The struggle against Jim Crowism cannot stand still—either the masses will push it forward to new heights, or the enemies of the Negroes will smash it back to earth.

This opportunity to go forward must not be muffed now. If advantage is not taken of it, there is every danger that frustration and defeatism will set in among Negro ranks, there is every likelihood that the March-on-Washington movement will collapse in short order. Perhaps Randolph is calling the conference as a bluff—as pressure on the White House gates; and perhaps he isn't. That isn't the important question. It is up to the Negro militants to let their voices be heard, to indicate that they are serious about wanting to press forward for full equality now.

If they do this in Detroit, and if the conference adopts a program and perspective of struggle, it may well go down in history as the most important Negro gathering of all time.

Stalinists Try To Explain Away Pro-Franco Proposal

Poor Roosevelt Is Only a Victim of the 'Appeasers,' the 'Daily Worker' Explains

By ANTHONY MASSINI

No one—not even the professional liberals—has been more embarrassed than the Stalinists by Roosevelt's offer of collaboration to the fascist butcher, Franco. Although Roosevelt's "art and culture" plan to help put fascist Spain "on its feet economically" was announced on Friday, Aug. 28, the Daily Worker couldn't find room to deal with this matter until Thursday, Sept. 3. By that time the Stalinist hacks had worked out a formula for complaining about Roosevelt's proposal without being too critical of Roosevelt himself.

On all occasions, the Stalinists are embarrassed when their "commander-in-chief" takes steps which expose the real character of the war and belie the window-dressing about the "four freedoms." But the Stalinists would not have been so tongue-tied on this particular occasion if it weren't for the fact that in recent weeks they have been writing so much about fascist Spain in connection with the current gubernatorial campaign in New York.

NEW YORK CAMPAIGN

Their chief complaint against John J. Bennett, Democratic nominee for Governor, was that he had acted as chairman at a pro-Franco fund-raising meeting shortly after the beginning of the Spanish Civil War. For this reason, they said, he was unfit to be a representative of the "win-the-war" Roosevelt administration, and so they supported the nomination of the Tammany Democrat Alfange at the ALP convention as a true New Dealer and even decided to run their own Amter, also a firm supporter of Roosevelt, for Governor.

(The fact that Roosevelt too had helped to crush the Loyalists—and even more actively than Bennett—by denying them arms while Franco was being supplied by Hitler, is something which they have chosen not to discuss since the end of the Stalin-Hitler pact.)

Now Roosevelt has expressed friendship for fascist Spain and pledged himself to continue collaboration with Franco after the war. This must have had a depressing effect on all supporters of the Stalinists, and they had to try to make an explanation that would fit in, or at least not conflict too sharply, with their policy of complete support for Roosevelt's policies. This they attempted in a small, unsigned article on page 2 of the Sept. 3 Daily Worker.

WHO'S DOING THE 'APPEASING'?

In this article, entitled "State Department Appeasers Cook Up Franco Deal," the Stalinists whimper piteously that there is dirty work at the crossroads. Roosevelt is making concessions, and the forces of "appeasement" are making advances. Does this mean that Roosevelt is an "appeaser" of Franco? Not at all, according to the writer: "The proposal can only be viewed as a concession to State Department die-hard Munichers." The responsibility for the plan, you see, belongs with people in the State Department; they want to "appease" Franco; all Roosevelt has done is to "appease" them.

THE VICTIM

Three days later the Sept. 6 Worker carries this explanation further in an article by its foreign news commentator, J.S. Allen. Allen warns that Franco is preparing to join the war on the side of the Axis and declares that it is therefore foolish to try to "appease" Franco. Shaking his head over those "who inexplicably still hold positions in the leadership of the United Na-

the plan to besmear our nation in the eyes of the Spanish people and the peoples of Latin America. . ."

Poor Roosevelt! Just a victim of bad people, an innocent who lets himself be led around by the nose. It's not his fault that our nation is besmeared. It's the fault of those scoundrels, the "appeasers." They're the ones who should be blamed for Roosevelt's not knowing how to run the war.

And then, getting "tough," Allen says: "We can no longer afford to stomach the pernicious game now being played by Munichite elements. . . For the salvation of all peoples, for the salvation of America itself, labor especially must insist on an immediate and decisive change from this light-hearted and suicidal manner of conducting our people's war against Axis tyranny. "We must act immediately to demand that our Government immediately break relations with Franco. . ."

WHY IT'S 'SUICIDAL'

Every reader of Allen's article will be struck by the fact that the Stalinists' chief objection to this "suicidal" policy of appeasing Franco is that they believe it won't work. It won't work, they say, and therefore it's no good. And if it did work, as Roosevelt evidently thinks it may? Why, then, the Stalinists would have no more objection to collaborating with the butcher of the Spanish revolution than they now have to collaborating with and supporting Dictator Vargas of Brazil, who smashed the labor movement and outlawed the Communist Party. For according to the Stalinist line, the war of any reactionary government is a progressive war if only it is fought on the same side as the Soviet Union.

Widespread Protests Follow Williams' Hanging In Ireland

Irish People Are Still Opposed to Partition of Their Country

The execution in Belfast, Northern Ireland of Thomas Joseph Williams, 19-year-old member of the Irish Republican Army, for the alleged killing of a constable, has raised to the fore an issue which transcends the fate of the individual, Williams. What is at stake—and what caused the agitation surrounding Williams' execution—is the question of unification and independence for Ireland.

Following the last war and the widespread struggles for Irish independence, British imperialism was compelled to make an offer to Ireland. But instead of permitting the Irish people to establish their own government, the British partitioned the country and established their own Quisling government in the six northern counties (four of which had voted for a free, united Ireland.) The great majority of the Irish people at that time protested against this move as a trick to maintain a British base which could be later extended throughout the whole country.

CRISIS OF THE BRITISH EMPIRE

The coincidence between the present struggle of the Indian people for independence and the revival of the Irish struggle marks the deepening of the crisis of British imperialism. Like the Indians on the other side of the world, the Irish knew few of the benefits of British democracy aside from periodic famines, exploitation and brutal repression. The Irish people, especially the workers, have a long tradition of struggle against imperialist oppression. Their rebellion in 1916 was hailed by Lenin as the first glimmer of light in the darkness of the first World War. Only the immaturity of the Irish working class prevented them from winning important victories in those days. Their sons, however, have apparently lost none of the spirit of the generation that struck the first blows against imperialism during World War I. The Irish workers have

powerful allies in the masses of India, the people of China and the Soviet workers, all fighting also against imperialism.

The Irish workers, while rejecting the method of individual terrorism as a substitute for mass action, should appeal for the aid of the British and American workers. This will put an effective stop to the vicious propaganda of the British that finds a sympathetic echo in the American capitalist press. For just as they are trying to paint the people of India with the Japanese brush, the English government is applying the Nazi brush to the Irish. If the British are taken at their word, it would appear that the hundreds of millions of subjects of the empire in Malaya, Burma, India and now Ireland are willing to exchange British democracy for the rule of the Japanese and German imperialists. This in itself constitutes a crushing indictment of English rule.

But the truth is that far from desiring to exchange one set of masters for another, the various subject peoples of the British Empire are determined to gain their independence and to decide their own fate. For this elementary right they are mobilizing their forces in one part of the world after another. Nothing can stop this movement once it is launched on the basis of the unity of the oppressed against the oppressors. The American workers, who have previously shown sympathy for the cause of Irish freedom will come to their aid again, once the truth is sifted from the monstrous lies of the press and radio.

Breitman Files As S. W. P. Candidate

(Continued from page 1)

prevent another war in another generation. "The Socialist Workers Party calls on the workers of New Jersey to vote and to fight for such a government."

Other points in Breitman's election platform call for the abolition of all forms of Jim Crowism everywhere; defense of the Soviet Union, China and support of the Indian struggle for independence; the organization of a fighting labor party with an independent program; defense of the right to strike; governmental expropriation of industry and operation under workers' control; democratic rights for the armed forces; defense of civil liberties; opposition to Roosevelt's "wage stabilization" program, the sales tax and all other attempts to place the burden of the war program on the workers.

The Democratic and Republican primaries will be held on Sept. 15. It is already certain that the Democratic nominee will be the unopposed incumbent, William Smathers, endorsed by all factions of his party, including Roosevelt, Mayor Hague and Governor Hudson, and supported by the American Labor League, formerly Labor's Non-Partisan League, which was originally supposed to organize a labor party. It is expected that the Stalinists will also support Smathers, who has always acted as a rubber-stamp for Roosevelt, on the ground that he is a "win-the-war candidate."

The Republican nomination is being contested by a former national president of the Chamber of Commerce, a "successful banker," and an obscure functionary in the state government.

Although still comparatively young, Breitman has been active for many years in the New Jersey labor movement and in struggles on behalf of the unemployed, Negro people and civil liberties. He was instrumental in 1937 in the formation of a joint CIO-AFL Trade Union Committee on Unemployment which united trade unions in action on behalf of the jobless. He helped thousands of workers in trade unions get relief when they went on strike.

As a state leader of the Workers Alliance before that organization was discredited by Communist Party domination, he played an important role in the Trenton Siege of 1936 when the unemployed took over the State House for nine days. Shortly after he was active in leading a

Stalinists Put Socialism In Cold Storage

By M. MORRISON

If any proof is necessary to convince a militant worker that the Communist Party is not interested in fighting for socialism, it is now to be found in the speech delivered by Earl Browder, at the New York State Communist Party Nominating rally. (See Daily Worker, Aug. 31, 1942.)

To be absolutely accurate it is necessary to state that the lack of interest in socialism on the part of the Communist Party is limited, in Browder's speech, to the duration of the war. For that period, Browder says that he is not only not interested in but actually antagonistic to socialism.

Those who know the Communist Party well understand that it is not interested in fighting for socialism at any time, war or no war. It pretends to be a party interested in the welfare of the working class, and consequently in achieving socialism, but in actuality it is nothing but an instrument of the Stalinist bureaucracy, defending the interests of that bureaucracy in the United States.

For the duration of the war, however, the C. P. has found it necessary to do away with pretending. "The Communist Party," says Browder, "has set aside every other consideration for the duration to concentrate upon the single aim of doing its part in the organization of the people under the government for victory in this war." There is no mincing of words here about struggling for socialism but at the same time fighting under this government for victory. Browder leaves that kind of nonsense to well-intentioned Norman Thomas.

Congratulations to Browder for his frankness. Here is hoping that this frankness will abide with him until he admits that the Stalinist leadership is not under any circumstances interested in socialism.

Lest there be any doubt about his intentions, Browder proceeds to state that "the necessary forms of war economy are not socialism at all, and only fools can propose a socialist transition in the United States at this moment of crisis as a means of winning the war. A war economy fully centralized, would be the highest form of capitalism, not socialism. It is the essential form of war economy. . ."

It is difficult to imagine how so much nonsense can be packed into so few lines.

To say that "the necessary forms of war economy are not socialism" is to utter an utterly meaningless statement. The forms of war economy depend on the economy that is fighting the war. There is nothing "necessary" about it. If a capitalist nation is fighting a war, then necessarily the war economy is a capitalist one. It may differ somewhat from a capitalist economy in peace but it is nevertheless a capitalist economy.

Would Browder say the same thing about the Soviet Union which is also waging war? He surely accepts Stalin's theory that socialism (more or less) has been established in the Soviet Union. Hence it must be a socialist economy that is waging war in the Soviet Union. If that is so, why cannot a socialist economy wage war in the United States? It could, if capitalism did not prevail in this country. That's simple enough.

Browder's statement reduces itself to the profound observation that the necessary forms of war economy for a capitalist state are . . . capitalist. What he means is that he is satisfied with capitalism and only fools want socialism.

When the leading theoretician of the Stalinist party says that only "fools can propose socialism as a means of winning the war," he comes a little closer to sense and to truth, provided we attribute to his words a meaning it does not possess. The war that is actually being waged between the imperialist states cannot be won by socialism for the simple reason that socialism would not fight an imperialist war. If socialism were to come into power in the United States or England, it would not be this war that

would be fought but an altogether different one, assuming that war would continue. It would be a war of socialism against fascist capitalism.

If, by his statement, Browder means to attack the revolutionary socialists, we say to him that we do not propose socialism for the purpose of winning this war being waged by the democratic imperialists for their imperialist interests. We warn the workers who want to destroy fascism that they can do so only if they take power into their own hands and fight in their own interests. Hitler may be defeated by the democratic imperialists but fascism will not be destroyed except by workers' governments.

Let us not, however, be too technical. Let us simply accept Browder's thesis that Hitler has to be beaten and it is a matter of indifference to the masses by whom he is beaten and for what purpose the war is being waged.

Even from this point of view a socialist regime would have tremendous advantages over a capitalist one. In fact it is difficult to see how Hitler could possibly win against a socialist England and United States. I list some of the more important advantages of a socialist regime.

1. A far greater efficiency in production of war material as a result of the abolition of private ownership and the centralized planning which would be introduced under a socialist regime. Under the best of circumstances the existence of a private profit motive is a hindrance to production; under the worst, the capitalists actually sabotage industry.

2. A much greater enthusiasm for the war on the part of the masses who are now supporting the war passively. A socialist regime would give the masses an ideal to fight and die for. At present they support the war because they fear Hitler.

3. The unqualified support of the millions of colonial and semi-colonial peoples who would be certain that under a socialist regime they need not fear for their independence.

4. The undermining, by revolutionary propaganda, of the support which the masses of Germany, Italy and Japan give to their governments because they fear the results of a victory for the imperialist democracies.

Let the rank and file of the Communist Party begin to ponder the tremendous advantages which a socialist regime would have in the struggle against Hitler and, even if they are convinced that the war of the democratic imperialists against Hitler should be supported, they will reject Browder's proposal to give up the struggle for socialism for the duration of the war.

And it is not only the struggle for socialism that the Communist Party proposes to place in cold storage for the duration. It is also the struggle for the everyday needs of the working masses. If a centralized capitalism is necessary to win the war, then all the consequences of that capitalism must be endured by the masses and a deterioration in their living conditions, at the same time that they want, is necessarily one of those consequences.

The revolutionary worker who understands the nature of the war on the part of the imperialist nations and does not support it will have no difficulty in answering Browder. To such a worker it is clear that to defeat fascism everywhere it is essential to establish a socialist regime.

The militant worker who supports the war because he thinks it is a war against fascism will discover through bitter experience that, following the advice of the Communist Party, he together with his class will bear all the burdens of the war. And should Hitler be defeated by the capitalism that Browder insists is so necessary, the militant worker, together with his class, will discover that the defeat of Hitler by the imperialist democracies defeated only a capitalist rival of those democracies and did not at all destroy fascism.

As SWP candidate for the New Jersey legislative from Essex County, he received 3,333 votes in the election held a month before Pearl Harbor.

Plans for Breitman's campaign include two radio addresses, mass distribution of special editions of THE MILITANT and of leaflets on various issues of the campaign. Headquarters for the Breitman campaign have been rented at 423 Springfield Ave., Newark, and workers are invited to call or write there for further information.

Now editor of THE MILITANT, he was formerly the editor of New Jersey Workers' Voice and The Hunger Fighter.

Indian Factory Workers Go Out On Political Strikes

(Continued from page 1) about support from the American bourgeoisie and the Kremlin are dying away. As Steele reports:

"The cooling nationalist feeling toward the United States has been brought on by such things as unfavorable American press comments on Gandhi's movement, the presence of the American Air Force in India and the failure of the United States to respond so far to the demands of the Congress for United Nations intervention in India. This Indian element believes that it has been let down not only by Britain, but by the United States and Russia. It interprets the Atlantic Charter as excluding India. It is resentful over the Anglo-Soviet pact, which it interprets as a virtual Soviet pledge not to interfere in the affairs of the British dominions.

"Nor have high-flown resolutions on the Indian question by

groups of American liberals and other well-meaning American organizations so far contributed anything toward a solution. In some cases they have missed the point entirely and only aggravated Indian annoyance."

The British censorship is operating not only in India but also in England, and almost no news has seeped out concerning the attitudes of the ranks of the workers toward British repressions in India.

The censorship operates not only to stop messages to America from India and Britain, but also messages from London to India! This is reported by Frederick Kuh in a dispatch sent by telephone (probably the reason why it got through) to the Chicago Sun of August 17. "The British censorship," he says, "has been clamping down lately on messages to Indian newspapers regarded as undesirable for publication in India. In at least one

instance, an Indian correspondent in London for a press association was forbidden to send home a report of American newspaper comment on India."

One significant British reaction reported by Kuh is an attack on British policy in India by the Liberal weekly, the New Statesman and Nation. This is noteworthy because on the eve of the struggle, this organ was defending the government policy.

This attack centered on the Secretary of State for India, Churchill's close collaborator, Leopold S. Amery. The weekly recalled that when Japan first attacked China, Amery said: "Japan did right to defend herself against the continual aggressions of Chinese nationalism."

To prevent the news from reaching the outside world no one was allowed to enter or leave the Province, while the massacre was followed up by airplane bombing and armored-train machine-gunning of villages. For nearly eight months all news of this was officially suppressed, during which period neither Parliament nor the British press discussed the matter. A whitewashing Commission of Enquiry finally admitted that 379 persons were killed and 1200 wounded in the Amritsar incident alone. The Indians said the casualties were three times that.

The extent of the British censorship was once indicated by R. P. Scripps, president of the Scripps-Howard Newspapers. Of 16 dispatches filed by the U.P. in one period in 1930, only five were received. To try to remedy this situation, the Director of the U. P. had himself gone to India, and sent back a 400-word cable; only 132 words of it ar-



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## JOIN US IN FIGHTING FOR:

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

## The Duty Of the Folks Back Home

Referring to the men in the armed forces, Roosevelt in his Labor Day radio address asked if those men did not have the right to be counting on "the folks back home."

Roosevelt, of course, raised this question for two reasons: To make it appear that he was assuming dictatorial powers in the interests of the men in the armed forces, and to convince the masses that it was necessary for them to make sacrifices on behalf of their relatives and friends engaged in active combat in the war.

But despite Roosevelt's reasons, it was a legitimate question, and the only answer we can give to it is Yes. But this raises another question: Exactly what is it that the men in the armed forces are depending on the folks back home to do? Or, more precisely, what should the folks back home do to protect the interests of the men in the armed forces?

Among the most disheartening news to the men in the front lines are reports of declining living standards in the rear. Such items are always carefully deleted by the censors on both sides. In our opinion it would indeed be welcome news to the men in the armed forces that their friends and relatives are resolutely protecting their living standards, and are indomitable in their struggle against any and all moves, such as wage freezing for example, which strikes directly at workers' living conditions. They have the right to be counting on the folks back home for this. It is the duty of the latter to live up to these just expectations.

It does not require a prophet to forecast what the reaction of the soldiers would be if upon their return they found all their hard-won union gains lost in their absence. They certainly expect to return to at least the conditions they left. That is why it is the duty of their relatives and friends to defend the unions and their gains.

Nor can the elementary democratic rights be surrendered in the rear. What sort of protection of the soldier's interests would it be if dictatorial moves are accepted at home — moves which lead directly toward the same kind of regime that the men in the armed forces were sent to foreign battlefields presumably to destroy? The surrender of civil liberties, the right of free speech, freedom of the press, etc., constitutes acts of treachery to the men at the front.

Again, among the things these men have certainly a right to expect is an end for all time to wars that send millions of workers and farmers to slaughter and which destroy the accumulated wealth of centuries of labor — imperialism wars that threaten the very existence of civilization. If nothing is done by those in the rear, then the only prospect arising out of World War II would be World War III in which after another twenty years they and their families would again be fighting. In our opinion it is the duty of the neighbors, friends and relatives of the men at the front to fight for the elimination of the root causes of imperialist wars and of political reac-

tion, namely, the system of private property that breeds reactionary wars and fascism.

Above all, the men in the armed forces have the right to expect the promulgation and adoption of a real program that can put an end to this war and guarantee prosperity and peace. Such a program is the one that calls for the establishment of a Workers' and Farmers' Government in the United States. Such a government alone will be able to issue a revolutionary appeal to the masses in the Axis countries, summoning them to overthrow their fascist rulers and to join in a common struggle for the construction of a new and better society — socialism. Such a government alone can really put an end to war. Such a government alone can guarantee a peace in which the suffering and sacrifices of the masses will not have been in vain.

Any one who tells the workers and farmers at home or at the front anything else is simply seeking to deceive and betray them.

## Beginning Of Labor Freezing

Another step in the regimentation of the American working class has been taken. On September 7, Paul V. McNutt, Roosevelt-appointed chairman of the War Manpower Commission, invoked war time powers of the administration to announce a so-called "employe stabilization plan." The plan covers all workers in the lumber and non-ferrous metals industries in Arizona, Colorado, Idaho, Montana, Utah, Wyoming, California, Nevada, Oregon, Washington, New Mexico and Texas.

Under the plan, workers who want to leave their jobs in these industries for other jobs in different industries or in other parts of the country will have to get permission from McNutt's Commission in the form of a certificate. The admitted purpose of the plan is to prevent the workers from leaving their present jobs for those with better conditions.

That this move is a vital blow to the elementary democratic rights of all workers, and to their living standards can be readily understood if we consider what is involved.

In the first place, through pressure by the administration, the employers and the bureaucracy of the labor movement, the workers have virtually been deprived of their right to strike. In the past when workers asked for more wages, anti-union employers would offer the proverbial, "If you don't like it here, why don't you get another job?" This, however, was said when jobs were almost impossible to get. Many workers who didn't want to "get another job" decided to strike for the better conditions they wanted and through militant struggle built their great unions.

Now workers in two industries in one-fourth of the United States are virtually prohibited either from striking or "getting another job."

What does this mean to the workers involved? It means that while the price of food, clothing and shelter mounts to prohibitive levels, they cannot protect themselves.

More than lumber and metal workers of 12 states are involved, however. It should be clear to all workers that a test is being made. The administration has taken two minor industries which employ only a small proportion of the total working class as his starting point. McNutt feels that the workers involved are a sufficiently small group so that he may be able to get by with his program without too much heat from the main section of organized labor. If McNutt is successful in carrying through his plan, then in the near future all workers will be compelled to obtain certificates if they want to change their jobs.

The Trade Union movement must speak out vigorously at once against this dangerous move by McNutt. If he is not stopped immediately, a precedent will be established against which it will be far more difficult to struggle later. No compromise can be made. If the affected industries don't want their workers to quit them for other jobs, let them improve wage and working conditions.

## DEPT. OF LABOR HEAD REVEALS LOW WAGES

Despite the talk about high wages, 7,500,000 workers—or 19% of the American working class—are still getting 40 cents an hour or less, according to a statement made this week by L. Metcalfe Walling, administrator of the Department of Labor's wage and hour division.

The statement revealed that of these 7,500,000 wage-earners, 1,500,000 who are covered by the Wage and Hour Law receive between 30 and 40 cents an hour, and that some of the others—in agriculture, retail trade, domestic service, fisheries and other types of work not covered by the law—were getting 15 cents an hour or less.

Revealing the effect of rising living costs on these low-paid workers, the statement added: "Even for those of the 7,500,000 who are getting up to 40 cents an hour, or \$16 at the most for a 40-hour week, it must be remembered that the rise in prices has leveled the purchasing power of their 40 cents down toward that of the 30 cents set as a minimum standard of decency when the act was passed in 1938."

# Ed Parker, 1917-1942

## An Active Revolutionist

On the bosses' files—Edward Parker, 25 years old, lost at sea on a merchant freighter, victim of a U-boat attack—is just another name added to the long list of casualties of merchant seamen.

Those of us who knew Ed, however, realize just how big was the favor that Hitler did for the American capitalist class when he sent out the submarine that finally got Ed's ship.

Ed Parker came from a well-to-do family. His life story would have read differently if he could have looked at misery and starvation out of the corner of his eye; but he couldn't ignore the fact that while millions suffer the FEW live off the fat of the land.

He attended the University of Illinois during the depression of the '30s and there he came in contact with the Spartacus Youth League, the Trotskyist youth organization of that time. Ed joined when he realized that only through organized independent action can the working class ever expect to reach its goal of freedom from want and suffering. From that time on he was to devote his life to the working class movement.

### AN ACTIVE MILITANT

At the age of 19, he became full-time organizer (on starvation wages) for the Illinois Workers Alliance, an organization of unemployed workers, and distinguished himself through-out southern Illinois for his organizing abilities and great audacity in mass action. Ed was in the midst of widespread and

militant actions that were recurring throughout southern Illinois at the time.

On April 18, 1937, he spoke before a mass meeting of Negro and white workers in Cairo, Illinois, to demand pay for work done in January and February during the Mississippi River flood season. Through the heroic efforts of these WPA and other unemployed workers, the levees along the river were strengthened and thousands of homes were saved from the flood. The 50 cents an hour that these men were to get for this back-breaking labor had not been paid and now the workers were on the move—a development the administration could not condone.

So the militia broke up the meeting and arrested Ed Parker. At the same time the militia shot five other participants in the meeting, the local officials howling that "they would take care of their own niggers, without Parker butting in."

Ed was shifted from jail to jail and only after two weeks of hectic searching did his lawyer locate him. He was bailed out on \$9,000 cash bond, charged with assault, riot, with intent to murder, unlawful assembly, malicious mischief and arson. The whole case was plainly a frame-up—witness after witness testified that all the actual "rioting" was caused by the militia in its attack on the unemployed of Cairo.

The case was finally dropped after a year and a half of legal wrangling. But Eddie Parker is still an heroic figure in the eyes of Negro and white workers in

the part of Illinois known as "Little Egypt."

SEAFARING UNIONIST  
From Illinois, Ed went to San Francisco and became a sailor. He took to the sea as though he had been born on a ship and shipped steadily from the first day. A member of the Sailors Union of the Pacific, he was always in the forefront of any fight to preserve the union against attack: he did picket duty in the "Frisco Shepard Line" "beer" against Stalinist-NMU chiseling and picket duty in New York against the Maritime Commission's "Fink Hiring Halls." Scores of sailors know him as a leader in the fight to preserve and improve working and living conditions on board ship. Eddie did more to build the Socialist Workers' Party than any person I know.

When he went to register for the draft he wrote me that finally with the militarization of the masses and the certainty of United States' participation in the second world slaughter, the capitalists of this country had signed their own death warrant.

In Ed Parker the working class has lost a tireless fighter. But the people for whom he so courageously fought will not forget this peerless working class revolutionist.

While we grieve for Ed, we will fight harder than ever to make the things he believed in come true: the abolition of the system of capitalist profits and wage slavery; the socialization of industry so that the toilers of the world can forget that such a thing as misery and privation ever existed.

# A Wealth Of Material Is In Bound Volume Of 'F.I.'

VOLUMES I AND II OF "FOURTH INTERNATIONAL" (May 1940 through December, 1941), INCLUDING 1940 NUMBERS OF THE MARXIST MONTHLY MAGAZINE UNDER ITS PREVIOUS NAME, "NEW INTERNATIONAL." Fourth International Publishing Association, 116 University Pl., New York. 592 pages. \$3.00.

It is practically impossible to give a fair review of this volume in the limited space at our disposal, not only because it contains so much material, but also because it contains so much important material. Here we can only indicate some of the contents of this rich volume in an effort to show why it should be in the hands of every student of Marxism, militant trade unionist and reader of this paper.

The outstanding feature of the volume, of course, is the material written by Leon Trotsky, containing, all told, more than 30 articles plus extracts by the great Marxist fighter and including all the important writings of the last year of his life except his Manifesto on the Imperialist War and the Proletarian Revolution. Among these are his last articles on the Soviet Union in the war, his crushing analysis of the stand taken by the petty-bourgeois opposition which later split away from the Trotskyist party, his masterful defense of dialectical materialism and his indictment of those who sought to revise Marxism.

There are also numerous articles and letters of Trotsky on American problems in wartime. The need for a proletarian military policy, the tasks of revolutionists in the unions in war, the struggle against fascism at home—his views on these questions are as timely and valid as when he wrote them.

Analyses of the efforts of the GPU murder machine to destroy the man whom Stalin feared above all others, of the forces which will upset the plans for Hitler's "new order," of the tactics of the united front; transcripts of some of his speeches and discussions; the history of the Tanaka Memorial; material on the history of the Left Opposition; letters and extracts from his journal; book reviews—gathered together, the material in this volume by the founder of the

Fourth International alone would make a book of between 450 and 500 pages.

### Other Memorable Articles

But even so, Trotsky's articles make up only one-fourth of this volume. In addition, there are more than a hundred other articles, many of which have such lasting value that students of Marxism will want to preserve them in permanent form. To list but a few that will be recalled by most regular readers of the magazine:

Documents of the Executive Committee of the Fourth International on defense of the Soviet Union, American intervention in China, and France under Hitler and Petain.

The story of the government's prosecution of 28 members of the Socialist Workers Party and of Local 544-CIO from the time of the indictment up through the conclusion of the government's case in the trial.

Discussions of trade union problems and labor politics by Farrell Dobbs, James P. Cannon and others.

Joseph Hansen's memorable article on the assassination of Leon Trotsky, With Trotsky To The End.

Developments in the Far East by Li Fu-jen, Jack Weber, George Stern.

Military problems and developments in World War II by Hansen and James Cadman.

Military Methods in the Colonies by Eugene Varlin.

Michael Cort's excellent account of discipline in the United States Army.

John G. Wright's articles showing how Stalinism prepared the way for Hitler's attack by undermining the Soviet Union.

Aspects of Marxist philosophy by William F. Warde and J. Gerland.

Warde's articles on the role of U. S. imperialism today.

The Pathology of Renegacy by James P. Cannon.

Articles on Europe under Hitler by Marc Loris; Terence Phelan's account of the fall of France. Many excellent editorials by the magazine's editor, Felix Morrow.

It is no exaggeration, but a cold statement of fact, to say that you can't find a better buy of anything at three dollars.

—Reviewed by Philip Blake

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## Who Benefits From Price Rises?

(Continued from page 1)

machinery companies. Thus the 40 cents received by the dirt farmer is much smaller after these blood-suckers get through with him.

But who gets the other 60 cents of every dollar spent by the consumer?

The farm organizations such as the Farm Bureau, which are controlled by the large farmers and the banks, and the capitalist class as a whole, which is always on the lookout for a chance to spread anti-labor propaganda, are quick to answer: Labor gets it.

This is a lie! The 60 cents is divided among the food processing companies (such as meat packers, canners, millers, bottlers and bakers) which get about 21.1 cents of every dollar spent on food; transportation which costs 5.3 cents; wholesalers who get about 9 cents; and the retailers who receive about 24.5 cents.

### Bosses Get Lion's Share

Processing, transporting, wholesaling, and retailing are of course necessary to prepare the food and bring it from the farm to the places of consumption. Our modern economic life cannot exist without all these steps. But under capitalism all the means of production and distribution are owned by the capitalist class whose exclusive concern is profit. In the operation of the plants, railroads and wholesale and retail establishments, labor is exploited. Labor only gets a small share of what it produces. The lion's share is taken by the capitalist class.

This is clearly illustrated by the food processing industry. This industry is dominated by the Big Four meat packers, the General Foods Corporation, the National Dairy Products, Borden, California Packing Company, Libby, McNeill and Libby and other large corporations.

In 1939, the last year for which figures are available, the value of the products handled by the food processing industry was \$10,603,000,000. Raw materials such as the products bought from the farmers, fuel, electric power, containers, mill and shop supplies totalled \$7,021,000,000. Thus "value added by manufacture" equalled \$3,582,000,000. This was produced by labor.

Of this "value added by manufacture" labor received only about 25%. Their wages averaged \$1,175 a year or a little more than \$22 a week. The greater part of the "value added by manufacture" (i.e., by labor) went to the capitalist class for profits and interest and to pay for wasteful advertising and selling campaigns.

### Wastefulness of Capitalism

Waste is part and parcel of the capitalist system. Above all the wastefulness of capitalism is apparent in the sphere of distribution. An example often used to illustrate the point is the methods of distribution of milk.

Often three, four or more milk concerns will cover the same block with their deliveries. One delivery man would be enough. From the point of view of society the additional deliveries represent waste of labor, fuel, and equipment.

All the fireside chats in the world will not hide the facts: It is the capitalist class and the capitalist system which is responsible for the rising cost of living. Roosevelt is trying to protect and defend that system. He is trying to keep the system in operation at the expense of the two productive classes in society: the wage workers and the dirt farmers. This is the meaning of his program of wage and price "stabilization."

Roosevelt's campaign against high prices is a swindle to hide an attack on the living standard of the workers and dirt farmers.

### Our Program

Prices, however, can be controlled to benefit the dirt farmers and the workers. This can be accomplished only by a program directed against America's 60 Families who exploit the workers and victimize the dirt farmers. This program begins with three points:

1. The rising scale of wages. Every increase in the cost of living must be met by an increase in the wages of the workers.
2. Democratic regulation and control of prices by committees composed of unions, dirt farmer organizations, housewives and small storekeepers who do not employ labor. These committees would set prices with the aim of improving the living standards of the masses and with absolutely no concern in the profits of the capitalist class, the banks, the landlords, the railroads.
3. Workers' control of production and expropriation of the war industries (which now include all large scale industry, including food). Capitalist management and ownership of industry result in placing profits first, in cutting wages wherever possible, in boosting prices, in hidden profits and other legal and illegal robberies, in waste and graft. These are all at the expense of the masses. Workers' control of production and expropriation of war industries constitute a real step toward planned production and distribution that will lower the costs of production and distribution to improve the living standards of the masses.

To Roosevelt's program and to that of the farm bloc which represents the capitalist farmers, we oppose our own program. Ours is the only real democratic program. Through it the laboring masses will be able to take steps in defense of their standards of living. It is in the interest of the great masses of the people, it is exercised through the people and against the handful of capitalists who own and control this country.

### WANTED

All extra copies of December, 1940 issue of the magazine, FOURTH INTERNATIONAL, urgently needed for binding. Please send to  
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