

"OUR SHIP WAS BOMBED IN SUEZ"

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U.S. AIMS AT WORLD RULE, SAYS KNOX

Kremlin Conceals Real Reasons For Defeats

Exaggerates Moscow Conference Results To Hide Lack Of Competent Army Leaders, Failure To Inspire Revolutionary Struggle

By ART PREIS

The Kremlin is making fantastic claims for the results of the Moscow three-power conference on aid to the Soviet Union.

Thanking the representatives of the imperialist democracies for the "bountiful supplies" already sent to the USSR, Stalin on October 1 put forth the claim that the promised aid will enable the Soviet forces "forthwith to strengthen their relentless defense and develop vigorous attacks against the invading army."

Lozovsky, chief of the Soviet Information Bureau, stated that the Moscow agreement has "cosmic explosive powers" and "will have a deadly practical nature for the Germans."

A Moscow dispatch in the *Daily Worker*, October 4, declares: "The pooling of the vast resources of the U.S.A., Great Britain and the USSR are guarantees that Hitler will meet his doom, the *Izvestia* stated."

The *Daily Worker*, October 6, calls the conference results a "deadly blow to Hitler."

These claims about the extent and importance of the forthcoming material aid from the Allies are in sharp contrast to the attitude of the Stalinists and their press in the days immediately preceding the conference.

Harry Pollitt, leading British Stalinist, publicly declared on September 21:

"Churchill's policy announced on September 9, completely failed to satisfy public disquiet. . . Taken

in conjunction with statements by Lords Moynie and Clement Attlee in behalf of the government, we have a declaration of definite policy which can be summed up as limited assistance to Russia, rejection of military action and 'ceaseless study of the problem.'" (*Daily Worker*, Sept. 22).

On the very day of the conclusion of the conference, the *Daily Worker*, October 2, still said editorially:

"Some materials have reached the Soviet Union from America, but thus far it has been only a token. Neither the vast quantity nor the full range of materials necessary for effective aid to the Soviet Union has been sent."

But even material aid is not sufficient in itself to save the situation, added the *Daily Worker*, stating:

"Not only is much larger and speedier aid necessary for the Soviet Union, but our country . . . must undertake equal responsibility for the military destruction of

Hitler." That is, open up a western front.

SITUATION NOT CHANGED

Has the attitude of the Churchill government, as described by Pollitt, now changed overnight? Has the Soviet Union's military situation, for which the *Daily Worker* says more help is needed than mere material aid, now taken a magical turn for the better?

Not at all. These fulsome claims for the results of the Moscow conference are made in order to stifle the doubts and serious concern of the Stalinist ranks everywhere, about the causes for the disastrous defeats continuously suffered by the Red Army since the inception of the war.

This agitation about the significance of the "aid" promised by Churchill and Roosevelt is only a Stalinist smoke-screen to hide

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Can't Discuss Soviet War



Soviet factory workers at a Dimitrov plant being taught the mechanism of rifles and other arms in preparation for service with the armed forces against the Nazis.

Stalin Forbids Soviet Masses To Discuss War Developments

Measure Is Intended To Silence Those Who Are Critical Of Kremlin's Ruinous Policies

By JOHN G. WRIGHT

(This is the second of a series of articles on conditions in the Soviet Union today, based on the first number of consecutive issues of *Moscow newspapers* available in this country in almost a year.)

The Soviet Union was placed under martial law on June 22, the day Hitler started his invasion. Military authorities now rule supreme. No one is permitted to enter or leave Moscow. Workers who live in the suburbs of Moscow must obtain special permits to go to their jobs in the city. (*Pravda*, June 26).

But even martial law is not rigorous enough for Stalin's requirements. After two weeks of war, on July 5, he issued a special ukase virtually forbidding people to talk! The text of this ukase, issued in the name of the Presidium of the Supreme Council of the USSR, follows:

"It is hereby decreed that whoever is guilty of spreading in wartime false rumors arousing alarm among the populace shall be sentenced by verdict of the courts martial to a term of 2 to 5 years in prison, unless the nature of the crime is such as carries with it a severer penalty by law" (*Pravda*, July 6).

With this ukase Stalin has, in effect, scrapped the Stalinist "Constitution" with all its "guarantees". The military tribunals—the courts martial—are the sole judges of the distinction, if any, between "free speech" and "false rumor."

Even the judges are instructed in advance. The Secretary of Propaganda of the Moscow District Committee of the Communist Party elucidated the ukase as follows:

"Especially intolerable today. . . are general discussions, empty and abstract babble. . . In accordance with the new ukase of the Presidium of the Supreme Council of the USSR it is necessary to conduct the most ruthless struggle against the disseminators of false rumors arousing alarm among the populace. Our work must be directed toward the extirpation of spies and diversionists, the exposure of panicky people, provocateurs, etc."

It will be observed that the Secretary of Propaganda makes no distinction whatever between a "babbling" and a "spy"; between "panicky people" and "diversionists." They are lumped together along with "disseminators of false rumors," "provocateurs," etc. Perhaps this is merely an excess of zeal? PRAVDA itself hastens to dispel any illusions on this score in a leading editorial.

"Fascist plunderers," thunders *Pravda*, "are trying to employ the methods of diversionism and

fascist barbarians are trying to penetrate deep into the interior in order to perpetrate their black deeds here."

Obviously, the Kremlin wants to erect an impenetrable barrier of suspicion between soldiers and civilians. To engage a soldier in conversation is to run the risk of being charged with contacting an agent of the enemy. But that is not all. The Kremlin wants no discussions of any kind, neither among soldiers nor among civilians. *Pravda* makes no bones about it:

"NO UNNECESSARY CONVERSATIONS, NO SUPERFLUOUS WORDS! THE BABBLER IS THE FIRST ASSISTANT OF THE SPY AND DIVERSIONIST!" (*Pravda*, July 13).

In order to illustrate that the GPU alone is equipped to pass judgment on the character of conversations, *Pravda* featured the case of a Soviet worker. "On June 25," says *Pravda*, "one Ts. was doing some repair work in a house on one of the central streets of Moscow. . . Ts. deported himself very freely, and wishing to

show off that he was a 'well-informed person,' told the housewife all sorts of fantastic nonsense." We interrupt at this point to explain that *Pravda* is not at all enraged by the fact a Soviet worker was kept busy repairing an apartment instead of being engaged in defense work. Workers do not live in houses in the center of Moscow. The house in question was not at all an ordinary house, but that of a bureaucrat. And the "housewife" obviously was the wife of an important person. Could anything be more suspicious than a worker feeling at ease in such circumstances? The "housewife" immediately reported this most suspicious behavior to the police.

"The investigation proved," emphasizes *Pravda*, "that Ts. was systematically engaged in counter-revolutionary agitation among the workers in the building trades, and was trying to sow panic."

What greater criminal could there be than a worker who thinks he can deport himself "freely" or "show off" how much he knows in public? To jail with

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Will "Police Seven Seas" For Next 100 Years

Admits This War Will be Followed By Other Imperialist Struggles For World Domination

By GEORGE BREITMAN

American imperialism does not have and cannot afford to have a perspective of peace after the defeat of Hitler in this war, for it must work for world domination and the assurance that this domination will be maintained for "a hundred years, at least," Secretary of the Navy Knox told the American Bar Association in Indianapolis on October 1.

Knox's warning that an American-British victory in World War II would not usher in a period of lasting peace but would be only the first step in the direction of world domination by the victorious powers, came in the course of a speech pleading for support of a naval expansion policy that would permit the United States, together with Great Britain, to "police the seven seas" after the war.

Knox, authoritative spokesman for the Administration, in this intimation of the imperialist war aims and problems of the American bosses, avoided much of the high sounding camouflage and talk about "four freedoms" employed by Roosevelt and Churchill to decorate their Eight Points.

America is already in the war, he said, and "the world has now grown so small, so interrelated, so interdependent that, try as we will, we cannot escape from this task" (of insuring American domination of the world).

"It is by no means sufficient that we take those steps necessary to clear the sea lanes of the bandits which now infest them. We must do more than that. We must do our full share and more, to guarantee that they shall be kept clear of pirates in the future. . . (It means) that the great law-abiding, peace-loving nations (United States and Great Britain) must take the power into their hands and keep it there for a long time to come to prevent the inauguration of another world war. . ."

WHAT "FREEDOM OF THE SEAS" MEANS

In this speech Knox dwelt at great length on the imperialist concept of "freedom of the seas," and stressed its use not only as a slogan for complete entry into the war, but for world domination after the war.

"The objective of all naval operations is control of maritime communications and the ability to preserve such communications for one's own use, whether military or commercial, and to deny them to the enemy. . ."

"I hope that what I have said does make for a better understanding of how vital to us is the principle of the freedom of the seas. This freedom means that the great historic highways of the nations are free for the use of all alike, on even terms, save only those activities which are designed to be hostile and aggressive. . ."

"Freedom of the seas" is not an abstract principle for Knox and the capitalist class he represents. In their double talk it becomes monopoly of the seas by the United States and its satellites. The seas will be "free" to them, but they will be "controlled" for other nations whose activities "whether military or commercial" may be regarded as hostile or aggressive to the dominant powers. Thus, for example, the United States and Great Britain will be able to shut off the use of the seas to any nation that tries to compete with them commercially in any foreign market, for that would be regarded as hostile or aggressive.

"Aggressor nations must not be allowed to deprive other powers of the free use of the seas upon which their lives and futures depend. This is the essence of the meaning of the principle of the freedom of the seas. . ."

Nations which the American-Anglo controllers of the seas consider "aggressive" will not be permitted to deprive other nations of the use of seas — only the United States and Great Britain will be able to do that, says Knox.

WHO WILL RUN THE WORLD AFTER THE WAR

And who else besides the United States and the British Empire will decide these questions when the second "war for democracy," is over? Knox makes clear that no other nation will have any say in this matter unless it is self-destruction. The foundation

"Sometime, somewhere, an international order may emerge which need not rely on force, but that time, unhappily, is a long way off."

"In the interim, a justly conducted, peace-loving force must intervene to save the world from self-destruction. The foundation

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New Pamphlet On SWP Prosecution Now On Sale

NEW YORK, Oct. 7.—The Civil Rights Defense Committee has just published a pamphlet setting forth the main facts and important issues involved in the Federal Prosecution of the Socialist Workers Party and Local 544-CIO. The pamphlet has been written by George E. Novack, Secretary of the Committee, and contains a foreword by James T. Farrell, noted novelist, author of "Studs Lonigan," and Chairman of the Civil Rights Defense Committee.

In his foreword James Farrell makes the following significant comments on the case: "I once heard free speech cynically described as a right which the citizen possesses as long as he doesn't exercise it. Do we want this statement to be more than mere cynicism? Do we want it to be a description of the status of free speech, of civil liberties, in the United States — in the year 1941? These questions, in essence point to the vital issue involved in the Minnesota 'Seditious Conspiracy' case."

"This case is the most important involving civil liberties since the trials of the I.W.W. members during the First World War. And it is similar to the I.W.W. cases in its fundamental point. Both constituted attacks on the labor movement. It is axiomatic that there can be no freedom in a society if labor is not free. The basis of our liberties rests, formally, on the unconditional guarantees given us in the Bill of Rights. It rests actually on the freedom of labor. In Italy, when Benito Mussolini rose to power, he undertook an immediate attack on all working-class organizations and he crushed them; in Germany, this was also the first step of Adolph Hitler after he became Chancellor. The major step in the restriction, the abridgement and the abolition of civil liberties is always the same

The pamphlet sells for five cents and copies can be obtained from the office of the Civil Rights Defense Committee at 160 Fifth Avenue, New York City.

The first meeting of the National Committee of the Civil Rights Defense Committee was held on Monday, October 6th, at which a statement on policy was ratified and plans made for the extension of the Committee's work in the next few months. New members of the National Committee include Alice Stone Blackwell, prominent fighter for women's rights, Alfred Baker Lewis, well-known Socialist, Dr. Benjamin Lippincott of the University of Minnesota, Joseph Gilbert of the Minnesota Midland Cooperative Wholesale, Charles D. Egle, Manager, Farmers Union Livestock Commission Co., St. Paul, Minnesota.

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Grant Dunne, 1894-1941



GRANT DUNNE

MINNEAPOLIS, Minnesota, Oct. 5. — In ill health for a long time as a result of shell-shock suffered during the first World War, Grant Dunne, Organizer for Motor Transport and Allied Workers Industrial Union Local 544-CIO, committed suicide yesterday. Shortly after 6 P. M. he was found fatally wounded on the floor of a bedroom in the apartment in which he lived with his wife and two of their four sons. A 22-target pistol lay at his side. He had been shot through the right temple.

His wife, Clara and their ten-year old son Russell, were in the apartment at the time of the shooting. Deputy Coroner Dr. Emil Johnson officially pronounced the death a suicide by shooting and said that no inquest would be held.

Workers Mourn His Loss

Thousands of Minneapolis truck drivers are grief-stricken over this tragedy which has ended the life of a devoted and courageous trade union leader, who, together with his brothers Miles and Vincent and other Minneapolis militants, built the Drivers Union 544 into one of the most powerful labor organizations in the country. These workers who have gained so much through their union, understand that the blows which had been struck at 544-CIO in recent months by Stassen, Blair and the state apparatus as well as by Tobin, Roosevelt and the FBI, pressed heavily upon

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Labor Groups Denounce Union-Buster LaGuardia

Anti-Labor Policies Hit By TWU, Teachers, Municipal Workers and Negro Groups

Without consulting the wishes of the rank-and-file of their member organizations, the bureaucratic tops of the New York Central Labor Union (AFL) and of the New York Industrial Union Council (CIO) have announced their support of union-buster Fiorello H. LaGuardia in the coming elections. At the same time, unions affiliated to these same groups have in the past two weeks come out with strong condemnations of La Guardia's anti-labor policies, indicating that the union leaders speak only for themselves and against the interests of the rank and file.

Last week, two hundred and fifty delegates assembled at the third biennial convention of the Transport Workers Union in New York City heard Allan S. Haywood, national director of the C. I. O., Michael J. Quill, international president of the Transport Workers Union, and Joseph Curran, president of the Greater New York Industrial Council, denounce the failure of Mayor La Guardia to recognize the Transport Workers Union as the bargaining agency of the city's 32,000 transport workers.

La Guardia's administration was attacked by Haywood as having made "the most brazen and outrageous attempt to break a labor union that I have ever witnessed in my long career as a labor leader."

On September 20, in Lansing, Michigan, the national convention of the State, County, and Municipal Workers of America, CIO, declared its opposition to the suspension from employment of Ewart Guinier, New York district SCWMA president.

The charges brought against Guinier by LaGuardia's Commissioner of Investigation, William B. Herlands, were denounced as "trumped-up"; and his suspension was termed another "union-busting attack on the SCWMA." The State, County, and Municipal Workers convention voted to demand the reinstatement of Guinier, who is a popular Negro militant and not the first of his race to suffer from LaGuardia's anti-

labor, anti-Negro policies.

On July 19, Herbert Newton, Negro vice-president of the WPA Teachers' Union was arrested while leading a picket line protesting the dismissal of 20,000 WPA workers. He was taken to the 23rd Precinct Police Station by LaGuardia's cops and there badly beaten. The job was done so thoroughly that his attorney was not permitted to see him for twenty-four hours. He finally found Newton in the prison ward of Bellevue Hospital, unable to speak, suffering from crushed ribs, concussion of the brain and other serious injuries.

The president of the WPA Teachers Union, William Levey, described the beating as "the last straw in a whole series of incidents of police brutality against Negroes."

After a prolonged pressure campaign conducted by the union committee for the defense of Herbert Newton, LaGuardia's appointee, Police Commissioner Valentine, granted an open hearing on the charges of brutality against Negroes on October 2nd. On the day of the hearing, however, Deputy Inspector Mulholland refused admittance to representatives of the press and interested organizations. Their presence was not "in the public interest," he said. At the "hearing" itself, police officials charged with brutality were not permitted to testify or be questioned. The main actors in this farce never got on the stage.

Every one knows that Mayor LaGuardia has failed to provide

necessary funds requested by the Board of Education on the grounds that "national defense" comes first. Meek though it usually is, the New York Teachers Guild, Local 2 of the American Federation of Teachers, attacked LaGuardia's "outrageous and unprecedented" procedure, when on his authority, the City Treasury stopped payment on checks of thirty-five members of the Board of Education's clerical staff who had been granted sabbatical leaves.

A statement declaring the Mayor's action a "flagrant attempt to use the budget as a pretext for curtailing the powers of the Board of Superintendents and the Board of Education" was sent to James Marshall, president of the latter Board.

These four cases which we have cited all received publicity within a few weeks. Far from being "exceptions", they are characteristic of LaGuardia's regime. They show that instead of being a "friend" of labor, the Little Flower is just another political agent of the bosses fooling the workers.

The AFL and CIO leaderships' attempts to force their rank-and-file to support LaGuardia, prove that these leaders are closer to LaGuardia and his war program than they are to the workers who are the victims of LaGuardia's regime.

VOTE FOR THE CANDIDATE WHO FIGHTS AGAINST WAR

The workers and local unions who have protested against La Guardia's misdeeds need only carry their position to its logical conclusion to see that the only mayoral candidate worthy of their support is James P. Cannon, the Trotskyist Anti-War candidate of our Party.

Cannon and the other militants in the federal prosecution of the Socialist Workers Party and Local 544-CIO have been indicted by Roosevelt for their anti-war

Reason For Union Guards



What a union defense guard might have prevented is shown in this picture of Homer Wilson of the Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers Union, one of two CIO organizers waylaid September 25 by masked vigilantes in Roane county, Tennessee. Both were flogged and drenched in hot tar after being warned that: "We're not going to pay northern wages in Tennessee."

stand and for their militant union work. LaGuardia, working hand in glove with Roosevelt, seeks to smash the militant unions, and remove the opposition to the imperialist war.

LaGuardia is a clever agent of the bosses whose words and gestures as a "friend" of labor are in direct contradiction to his deeds and actions. Cannon is a working class militant and revolutionist with a record of 30 years service to the American labor movement. The bosses want to continue LaGuardia as their mayor and send Cannon to jail. The workers of New York must give real expression to their own interests by supporting Cannon and the program of the Trotskyist Anti-War Party.

Seamen Win War Bonus Gains As Result Of Strike Action

But NDMB Uses Threats To Coerce Union Heads To Accept Limited Concessions

The leaders of the Seafarers International Union and the Sailors Union of the Pacific have bowed to a virtual government ultimatum and accepted a "compromise" agreement on their demand for war bonuses and increased insurance payments for seamen sailing merchant ships into belligerent waters. The National Defense Mediation Board, which heard the case, threatened the unions with what amounted to the establishment of a maritime "Czar" if they failed to accept the "recommendations."

Harry Lundberg, heading the SIU delegation, agreed in Washington to recommend to the membership of their respective unions that the NDMB findings be accepted. It was revealed by the negotiating committees that the government had declared its readiness to clamp upon the seamen, arbitration machinery similar to the Railway Labor Act, which would make future strike action all but impossible, if the committees had rejected the NDMB "recommendations."

The unions, however, were not defeated on all the points involved in the dispute. They won several concessions, including a 33-1-3% bonus increase. But the attitude of the NDMB proved to the seamen, that the Mediation Board was just as much on the side of the shipowners as was the Maritime Commission which ran scabs on three ships during the 10 day strike in September. Today the seamen are no longer deceived by the fiction of governmental impartiality between worker and boss. They know that all governmental agencies are stooges for the bosses. They know that the concessions they did win, were due to their own militancy and not to the fairness of the Mediation Board.

Aside from the bonus boosts, the unions smashed several reactionary precedents that the shipowners were trying to establish. Killed was the move to tie seamen's bonus rates to the ships' hull insurance which seldom varies much. Moreover, the Maritime Commission was completely eliminated from the field of labor relations. This was no small vic-

ceive, under the new agreement, \$80 a month bonus in the first four areas, and \$33 a month in Canadian waters.

The following port bonuses will also be put into effect: \$100 for Suez, plus \$5 per day for each day beyond five days in port; \$45 for Red Sea and Persian Gulf ports. The Board made no recommendations as to port bonuses for Vladivostok or ports in Iceland. These rates amount to a 33-1-3% boost over the rates now in effect.

The three man mediation panel which heard the case was composed of Charles Wyzanski, Jr., George H. Mead, and Robert J. Watt. Watt was the official representative of the AFL, parent body of the unions involved. He had the dual role of "representing" labor during the hearings, and also representing the government when it came time to

NY WORKERS HONOR 29 DEFENDANTS AT INSPIRING SOLIDARITY BANQUET

NEW YORK, Oct. 3.—About 200 members and friends of the Socialist Workers Party, at a Solidarity Banquet held here tonight, gave an inspiring demonstration of solidarity with the defendants in the government's "seditious conspiracy" case against the SWP and Local 544-CIO.

Prolonged and tremendous applause greeted James P. Cannon, National Secretary of the SWP, and Felix Morrow, editor of the MILITANT, two of the defendants, who were the leading speakers at the affair.

Comrade Cannon, in his speech, assured the gathering that the defendants would conduct themselves in court in a manner which would advance the revolutionary movement.

He described the government's actions as a sign of fundamental weakness, and expressed his confidence that if the defendants are finally sent to prison the growing power of the working class movement, in this period of capitalist decay and crisis, would effect their release. He urged the party to double and re-double its activities in answer to the govern-

REVOLUTION!

How much "democracy" is a democratic army supposed to have? Hanson W. Baldwin, New York Times military commentator, tells us in the September 28 issue:

"There must be, of course, democratic discipline for a democratic army. But some of the manifestations of the 'new discipline' transcend such concepts. . . . Too often National Guard officers and enlisted men can be seen drinking together; all too often the officer forgets the inherent dignity of his rank; sometimes orders have been ignored." Horrors!

reach a decision in the case. Watt voted with the other two members of the panel. The findings of the NDMB panel were unanimous.

U.S. AIMS AT WORLD RULE SAYS SECRETARY KNOX

(Continued from page 1) pletely subservient to the interests of American-Anglo imperialism. "Other nations of similar peaceful inclinations, and lacking in aggressive designs, could be joined to them, and thus the beginning would be made leading toward the restoration of international law. . . ."

Here then is the American version of the "Versailles Treaty" for World War II. Here is the program for which American imperialism is spending billions and preparing to enter the armed conflict. These are the conditions Knox referred to in his speech when he said, "When we have defeated Hitler, and destroyed this Nazi bid for world dominion, we must set up conditions which will prevent the rise of new Hitlers. . . ."

But Hitler was able to rise in post-war Germany precisely because of the efforts of the Allies to crush and dismember Germany. The economic destruction which Knox proposes for the rivals of American capitalism by its domination of the seas will in turn inevitably bring forth a new era of reaction and imperialist war. It is no wonder that Knox warns that American imperialism must be prepared to back up its war aims with "the essential might to enforce such a peace":

Wars for boss profit followed by imperialist "peace" which will give way again to new wars — this is the perspective of American capitalism for the next hundred years. A true and lasting peace is indeed "a long way off" in the calculations of the warmongers in Washington.

Those who want to fight against the war must understand that Knox's words describe the

Kremlin Conceals Real Reasons For Defeats

(Continued from page 1) the real question: Why has the Red Army suffered only defeats since the first days of the war?

The Red Army, at the outset of the war, was numerically superior to the Nazi army. It possessed arms and material equal in quantity and quality to what the Nazis could immediately utilize against it. The morale of the Soviet soldiers was superior to that of Hitler's soldiers. The Red Army had the advantage of a defensive position, behind prepared and natural defenses, and could maneuver on familiar terrain. Why, then, the defeats?

STALINIST RANKS ASKING QUESTIONS

The Stalinist leaders are being compelled to explain away questions along this line which events have aroused in the minds of the Stalinist ranks.

Such are the questions which "A Veteran Commander", Stalinist military commentator, vainly tries to answer in the *Sunday Worker*, October 5:

"Question 1: How were the Nazis able to cross the Dnieper in view of the following: (a) The Soviets had the advantage of the Dnieper; (b) About equal forces

numerically; (c) Sufficient military equipment?"

"Question 2: In quite a number of Soviet military reports I have read that Soviet troops have met with numerically superior forces. . . . In view of the assertion that the Soviets have a larger military manpower than the Nazis, how can we account for the Nazi superiority admitted in so many reports?"

"A Veteran Commander" reply to the question on the Dnieper defeat simply evades the issue by raising all sorts of new speculations. The level of his answer is indicated by this: "Militarily speaking, no equipment is ever 'sufficient.' But this is a fine point, and we better drop it for a moment."

These Stalinist evasions cannot, however, silence the insistent questions. Why the defeats of the Red Army despite its superiority in manpower, equality in material, etc.?

THE LACK OF LEADERSHIP

No amount of Stalinist smoke screens can hide the fact that the Red Army command is hopelessly inferior in leadership and staff work to the Nazi officers' staff.

In these defeats are revealed the consequences of Stalin's beheading of the armed forces of the USSR in 1937 and 1938.

During the frameup purges of those years, no less than 40,000 Red Army officers, including almost the entire general staff of experienced and trained generals, were executed or imprisoned by Stalin.

The Red Army, with its officers corps depleted by Stalin's purges, lacks qualified leadership. This accounts in great part for the unending defeats.

While the Red Army goes on from one debacle to another, Stalin continues to hold in his prisons and concentration camps thousands of trained officers and industrial experts, loyal elements who can provide the type of leadership so sadly lacking.

That is why all those who have at heart the true interests of the Soviet Union must raise the insistent demand that the Soviet Government immediately release all pro-Soviet political prisoners and restore them to their rightful place in industry and the Red Army. At the same time, the government must revive the democratically-elected Soviets and legalize all pro-Soviet political parties.

The release of the tens of thousands of loyal revolutionists and experienced officers—men who proved their worth in the Civil War of 1918-20 and in the building of Soviet industry and the army—will provide much of the needed leadership for the military and industrial machine of the Soviet Union. The mobilization of the masses, through the democratically-elected Soviets, will reinvigorate the morale of the Soviet masses, organize them for a total defense, and strengthen their resolve to fight on to victory.

These measures will enable the Soviet forces to hold their ground and beat back the Nazi army. But that alone, however, will not assure ultimate victory.

THE ECONOMIC FACTOR

For victory cannot be assured on the basis of military factors alone. In the last analysis, the military superiority of the Nazis is a measure of the superior economic resources which Hitler commands.

The industrial productivity of Germany alone is greater than that of the Soviet Union. Added to this initial Nazi economic advantage, is the productivity and resources of all the occupied countries.

This is a factor which even the Stalinists are forced to recognize. In answering the question why the Red Army with an initial superiority of manpower is reported to be meeting numerically superior forces, "A Veteran Commander" states:

"In evaluating the strength of both sides on the Eastern Front one should not think in terms of pre-war populations, but definitely the sympathy of not only the local workers, but also of the other scores of thousands of out-of-town garment workers, who also have felt the dictatorial yoke of the New York City bureaucracy of the union, and who also have had unhappy experiences with contracts that they are not even shown until they have been signed by representatives of David Dubinsky's office.

admit that the 170,000,000 (it is not more than that now) of the Soviet Union are now facing a combination of 400,000,000 people, either fighting, producing for war or threatening war. Now all the answers become clear."

In a word, Hitler's admitted superiority now flows, according to this Stalinist, from the peoples of the occupied territories—those people who, under a revolutionary leadership, might be a dagger in Hitler's back.

This Stalinist "expert", of course, fails to mention the decisive source of Hitler's strength, the German people.

THE GERMAN WORKERS

Hitler's strength lies, above all, in the fear of the German workers of another Versailles "peace", the yoke of a foreign conqueror.

By his complete political identification with the "democratic" imperialists, Stalin alienates the German workers from the Soviet Union. The German people are led by Stalin's policies to associate the Soviet Union with his imperialist "allies", who, if victorious, would impose a new oppressive Versailles "peace".

A pledge from the Soviet Union that it is fighting to defeat Hitler in order to aid in the establishment of a Socialist United States of Europe, and that the Soviet Union will fight against a Versailles "peace", will do more than any other thing to undermine Hitler's influence in Germany.

The masses of the occupied countries are already seething with revolt. Far from desiring to aid Hitler, they are seeking that program and leadership which will organize and lead them in the revolutionary overthrow of Hitlerism. If Hitler still can utilize the resources of the conquered countries against the Soviet Union, it is only because the peoples of the occupied territories as yet lack the program, organization and leadership to destroy the invader.

STALIN'S "APPEAL"

How does Stalin appeal to these subjugated peoples? He asks them, in effect, to fight for a restoration of the old traitorous capitalist regimes and to return to them in terms of the reactionary ideas fostered by the capitalist classes.

Daniel T. Brigham, in a dispatch from Berne, Switzerland to the *New York Times*, October 5, describes how the Moscow radio addresses the populations of the Axis and occupied countries.

"To stress the righteousness of the Soviet cause against fascism today," reports Brigham, "the Moscow radio propaganda cites for its hearers' benefit, with regional incidents, how, although the Communist regime has changed and no longer 'resists God', the Fascist and National Socialist regimes continue those reprehensible persecutions that they originated in the early Nineteen Thirties."

The masses are not primarily concerned with the fate of religion and the churches. The churches have not been able to save the masses from fascist oppression. They have not shown any ability or willingness to fight for a new social order without classes and exploitation.

ROAD TO VICTORY

The masses want socialism, peace, bread, freedom from exploitation. But Stalin appeals to them only in the language of a church father, without reference to their material needs and aspirations. Such an appeal can only repel the masses.

Instead of this reactionary claptrap, it is necessary for the Soviet government to issue a direct revolutionary appeal to the masses of occupied Europe, and to the workers of Germany, calling on them to join hands with the Soviet Union for the creation of the Socialist United States of Europe.

This is the only road to final victory for the Soviet Union. This is the only hope for the free future of the oppressed peoples of Europe.

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The Negro Struggle
By ALBERT PARKER

A Little History
Last week John McCormack of Newark, N. J., concluded a letter to the editor of THE MILITANT with the question: "What good is the executive order that Roosevelt issued if it hasn't got teeth to enforce it?"

We suspect that McCormack knew very well the answer to his own question. But if there is any one else who isn't aware of the fraud and hypocrisy being practiced by the Roosevelt administration toward the "problem of jobs without discrimination for Negroes, we reprint the following parts of an article by George McCray, Negro labor commentator, from the Chicago Bee, Sept. 21, 1941:

"Many people have an almost childlike faith in the power of powerless government committees and commissions. During N.R.A., when we not only had a National Labor Board, but labor adjustment boards for various industries, organized labor learned that these boards of Mr. Roosevelt often wasted a lot of precious time but never got much accomplished. It seems as though Negroes are going to make a similar discovery.

NO RESULTS
Here is an enlightening series of events: July, 1940; the National Defense Advisory Commission stipulated that workers should not be discriminated against because of age, race, or color. No discernible change.

April 12, 1941; Negro employment and training branch was established in the Office of Production Management to make pleas for the removal of "employment barriers erected against competent and available colored workers either by employers or labor organizations." Some results achieved, but frankly hardly worth mentioning. The most strenuous efforts of such field workers for OPM as Poston and Weaver succeeded in placing a half dozen Negroes here and there.

Most of the gains made in the building industry were due to a shortage of labor in many areas and to the bitter battles being fought between the AFL and the CIO to dominate the building industry. When the CIO went after Negro construction workers the AFL decided the time was ripe to change its policies and grant Negroes work permits, rarely union membership.

NO CHANGE
April 11, 1941; both Hillman and Knudsen sent letters to defense contractors urging them to drop discrimination. No change.

NO CHANGE
June 25, 1941; President Roosevelt, very much irritated by A. P. Randolph's threatened march to Washington, took "strong" measures to prevent discrimination against Negroes. Government agencies were cautioned, a non-discrimination clause was to be placed in defense contracts; and another committee, this time one on Fair Employment Practices was to be created, to make investigations and to redress grievances. So far no change, but it should be remembered that the well-meaning, hard-working men on the committee really haven't had time to tackle the problem.

NO CHANGE
August, 1941; Fair Employment Practices committee called on President, had their pictures taken, and recommended that he call on all government agencies, to drop segregation and discrimination against Negroes. Seems like this was done once before.

ANOTHER LETTER
August or September, 1941; President issues letter asking various department heads to review employment policies.

SOME RESULTS
September, 1941; Associated Negro Press carried story of five Negro stenographers who had been hired, in the United States war department over which Mr. Roosevelt himself is boss. The girls were "hidden away on the second floor in the sixth wing of the huge munitions building of the war department" with practically nothing to do."

In short, to sum up the whole experience in October, 1941, all the letters, statements, orders, and "well-meaning" committees in the world are not going to be able to do anything basic about job Jim Crow. The Negro masses can depend only on their own organized strength to win concessions and to win full equality.

Hastie Can't Answer Baldwin
In a letter to the New York Times, Oct. 4, William H. Hastie, Negro Civilian Aide to the Secretary of War, attempted to answer some remarks in an article in the Sept. 30 Times written by that paper's military commentator, Hanson W. Baldwin.

In this article, devoted to a discussion of conclusions that could be drawn from the recently completed Army maneuvers, Baldwin stated that it was the "virtually unanimous belief of many officers that they (Negro soldiers) do not make good combat soldiers" and that "many officers say that the present tendency to increase the proportion of Negroes in the combat arms of the Army is dictated by political pressure and is dangerous to the efficiency of the Army."

Hastie undertook to argue the question. But he was unable — and afraid — to deal with the point in Baldwin's article that is visible to everyone that wants to see it: namely, that although Negro soldiers by and large are functioning as well as any others in the Army, their officers, in the face of all the favorable evidence given by Baldwin, still belittle and underrate them.

Hastie doesn't mind showing Baldwin's mistakes — but he has nothing to say about this attitude, fostered and tolerated by Hastie's own superiors and covered up by him, that is the source of all the discrimination shown the Negro.

The Trends Of "Isolationism"

Movement Splits, Part Goes To War Camp, Part Turns Fascist

By DON DORE

Since the end of World War I, most Americans have banked on the policy of "isolationism" to keep this country out of war. That policy has proved to be very insubstantial. The "isolationist" movement has cracked wide open under the impact of war.

To comprehend the full extent of the debacle of "isolationism" as an anti-war instrument, it is sufficient to recall that until the outbreak of this war, in September, 1939, "isolationism" was the keynote of official foreign policy.

The disillusionment of the American masses with the outcome of the first World War compelled each succeeding national administration to adopt "isolationism" as its formal foreign policy. Not even Roosevelt, during his first years of office, dared openly oppose this policy.

In September, 1939, addressing Congress in support of the repeal of the arms embargo, Roosevelt expressed himself exclusively in terms of isolationism, when he said:

"To those who say this program (arms embargo repeal) would involve a step toward war on our part, I reply that it offers far greater safeguards than we now possess or ever have possessed to protect American lives and property from danger. It is a positive program for giving safety. This means less likelihood of incidents and controversies which tend to draw us into conflict, as they did in the World War. There lies the road to peace."

That is a stock pattern of "isolationist" argument: The United States would hermetically seal itself from the possibility of "incidents" and thereby avoid the risk of "foreign entanglements."

This was the outward sentiment of the overwhelming bulk of Congressmen and Senators, Democrats and Republicans alike, in the months immediately preceding the outbreak of World War II. As late as July 1939, the Congressional leaders of both parties in conference with Roosevelt, had rejected out-of-hand his proposal to repeal the arms embargo.

ISOLATIONIST EBB-TIDE
From the moment of the repeal of the arms embargo in November 1939, it was apparent that the "isolationist" movement was in ebb-tide. On no single issue of foreign policy has the pro-war Administration failed to command a solid and overwhelming majority for its measures.

Not only has the "isolationist" movement failed to stem the onrushing forces of interventionism, it has continuously added to those forces from its own official ranks.

One by one, during the course of the past two years, formerly prominent "isolationist" Congressmen have sidled or leaped over into the interventionist camp. Most recently, following Roosevelt's "shoot-on sight" edict, there was a major exodus of isolationist Representatives, led by Dirksen of Illinois, from the isolationist bloc. All that remains of the forces which once dominated the direction of foreign policy in Congress, is a tiny and dwindling group of "intransigents," whose chief differences with the Administration lie not in fundamental objections to war as an instrument of imperialist policy but only on questions of how, when and on what issues that war is to be conducted.

REPUBLICAN BACK-SLIDE
Riding the crest of "isolationist" sentiment that followed the first World War, the Republicans succeeded in holding the reins of government for 12 years. The Republican Party has posed as the traditional champion of "isolationism."

Today, the Republican Party scarcely reflect even the shadow of such a pose. Leading Republican big-wigs, such as Knox and Stimson, have been for the past year outstanding spokesmen and representatives of the Roosevelt administration.

Even the old-guard of Republicanism, Hoover, Landon, et al, and their Congressional followers, no longer defend the tenets of traditional "isolationism". On virtually every practical measure which leads to war, they support the Administration. No fear of "foreign entanglements" has prevented them from supporting "aid to Britain" and all the other measures "short of war" which are leading directly to war. For, in essence, both political wings of American capitalism have an identical objective: the preservation of the American capitalist system

and its defense and extension against all rivals.

Thus, even such an "isolationist" "intransigent" as Senator Wheeler is constrained to declare: "As Americans, interested first in America, what is our present stake? Our stakes are our independence, our democracy and our trade and commerce. Every red-blooded American would fight to preserve them."

In keeping with this basic objective, no different than Roosevelt's, the "isolationists" in Congress have voted for every military appropriation.

The actions of the recent convention of the American Legion in Milwaukee marked a still further retreat of "isolationism." Turning its back on its entire past policy, the Legion endorsed a completely interventionist position, including a call for the immediate repeal of the Neutrality Act.

All along the line the "isolationist" movement has met with defeat and rout. The forces of "isolationism" are crumbling under the pro-war pressure, and many of its leaders have turned coated on their bewildered followers and ended up as shouters for war.

But the "isolationist" movement is not dead. If its efforts to intervene against the war have ended in fiasco what remains of the movement retains a life and virulence which has vast implications for the future.

Those implications have nothing to do with the prevention of war. They have to do primarily with the war's aftermath.

Senator "Champ" Clark, one of the few remaining "isolationists", expressed the fundamental character of the present movement in an address to a mass meeting in Milwaukee, the day preceding the opening of the American Legion convention. Clark declared:

"I do not wish to see our boys come back home not only racked by wounds but shocked and poisoned by the revolutionary excesses which every expert and

attitude of contempt for the worker? One can hear from many mouths in Mexico the story that although he was not present in person at the massacre, Maximino is responsible. The army officer tradition plus Maximino Camacho seems to be the most probable explanation to the shameful event.

Most shameful of all, however, is the trade union leadership that does not explain to the Mexican worker just how much latent danger this killing exposes. The mere existence of a fascist group is bad enough, but allowing them to remain in positions of power where they are ever poised to leap at the throat of the organized labor movement bodes a fierce struggle in the future. It is criminal for the leaders of the labor movement to ignore this threat; but they do ignore it. "These events do not mean antagonisms between the army and the worker" they echo after President Camacho. And the officer caste? Not a word — only "complete confidence" that the President will see justice done. The police forbade the union leaders to make speeches at the mass funeral attended by nearly 200,000 workers; and the union leaders submitted. The police hide the real number of killed, the top union leaders do not denounce this.

The policy of Lombardo Toledano and the CTM leaders has been one of cowardly cover-up of the man they put into office as President and of the officer caste he is planning to restore to a dominant role in Mexico. Toledano issued a statement immediately following the massacre in which he termed it a "regrettable incident," and absolved President Camacho of all responsibility for this murderous act of his military officers.

WHY we Defend The Soviet Union
By ALBERT GOLDMAN

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Monopolies Nibble At Consumers' Pockets

The Kraft Cheese Company, the Great Atlantic and Pacific Tea Company and ninety other defendants were named in recent indictments by the anti-trust division of the Department of Justice on charges of price fixing in the cheese industry in the State of New York.

According to the charges, prices were fixed by the combine for the milk paid the dirt farmers. After being processed by low paid workers, the consuming public was charged prices set by the trust. In effect ceiling prices were set for the farmer, while floors were set on prices for the consumer.

Since January, 1941, prices of cheese have risen from 15½ cents a pound to approximately 23 cents a pound, or more than 58%.

Here is a clear illustration of how monopolies cheat the farmer, exploit the worker and overcharge the consumer, reaping monopoly profits in the process.

objective for the employing class is the complete destruction of the labor movement and the prevention, its advances of war, of post-war working-class upsurge.

This section of the American bourgeoisie—in a minority today—feels that it is essential to make some compromise with fascism, even to introduce fascism into America, to avoid what it considers to be the greater evil, the complete loss of their wealth, power and class privileges, which they visualize as the inevitable outcome of the war whether the United States "wins" or "loses."

THE FASCIST TREND
More and more, the present "isolationist" movement is adapting itself to fascist ideology and demagoguery. It is no accident that Lindbergh, chief front for the "isolationists," introduced Jew baiting in his recent speech in Iowa, and that his Senatorial colleagues leaped to the defense of his utterances.

In no sense, however, does this present trend of "isolationism" reflect a movement which attempts to fight war by exposing the roots of the capitalist war system. Its differences with the pro-war bourgeoisie are tactical. Lindbergh has repeatedly stressed the point that he is for "defense" of the "Western Hemisphere," proposing not that America cease to be imperialistic, but that it confine its imperialism within geographic limits which will avoid war until the nation is better prepared in a military sense. He argues against going to war now by attempting to prove that American imperialism is "unprepared."

The logical conclusion to this argument is that Lindbergh will support war when the nation is "prepared."

And that is precisely what we may expect from the remnants of the "isolationist" movement when the country is plunged into war as an actual military participant. All the more eager will the "isolationists" be to display their "loyalty" and "genuine Americanism," once war is declared. They will proclaim that "Now that we are in, we have no choice but to stand with our country against the enemy."

WHY "ISOLATIONISM" CANNOT STOP WAR
"Isolationism" cannot stand up as an anti-war movement because it holds major objectives identical with those of the interventionists. It breaks down into a maze of contradictions when it seeks to differentiate itself in any basic sense from the interventionists. It is imperialist; it is for "national defense"; it is for capitalism. And, confronted with the final choice of carrying through a ruthless fight against the war or lining up with the capitalist class as a whole once the die is cast, it takes the latter course.

Japan's Moves In China Are Prelude To New Adventures

By JACK WEBER

China and the War

It took four years of warfare in China to persuade the United States imperialists that China could resist the Japanese invasion. In that four years Japan was forced to strain her economy to the utmost to keep her armies in the field and to continue policing the vast stretches of territory that the Mikado hoped to swallow. Japan spent ten times as much on this war as on the Russo-Jap War. Her casualties in killed, wounded, and diseased were also far greater, having reached over a million by March 1940 alone. With all her tremendous sacrifices of "blood and treasure" as the lingo of diplomacy likes to put it, Japan has proved unable to accomplish the subjugation of China.

United States aid to China obviously is for the purpose of keeping Japan occupied with the war on the continent of Asia so that the Japanese militarists will not be able to turn their full attention to other spheres, such as the Dutch East Indies and Singapore. The moment the Japanese began to withdraw troops from the Chinese interior for the movement southwards to Indo-China, Chiang Kai-shek opened the biggest military operations he had thus far attempted. Chinese troops took the offensive in five of the overrun provinces. This campaign was not merely for the recovery of territory and for the defeat of the weakened Japanese garrisons, but its purpose was as much political as military. It was an attempt to demonstrate to the United States and England that China could keep the Japanese occupied and prevent their withdrawal of really great forces from the Chinese mainland. Such a demonstration would enlist further aid from the "democracies."

The new campaign was also China's answer to the letter sent to President Roosevelt directly by the Japanese Premier Konoye on August 28th of this year. The Chinese had every reason to feel alarmed concerning the outcome of that letter which started negotiations between the two imperialist powers to seek a temporary solution of the Pacific problem. For after all, the United States had never ceased, in the entire four years of war in the Far East, to continue selling the raw materials to Japan that were absolutely necessary to her for continuation of the attack on China. With Russia now completely absorbed in the war with Germany, China has no place to turn for aid except to the United States.

Roosevelt Cannot Withdraw Forces
Roosevelt had to weigh two factors in the discussions looking to an alleviation of the tense relations with Japan. Without actually being at war, Japan has nevertheless continued all this time to hold half the American navy in Pacific waters. Not only that, but planes and munitions that might have been useful to England, and now to Russia, against Hitler, are also tied up, immobilized, in all the ports of the Far East.

Evidently the war in the East has coalesced too closely with that in the West to permit any kind of compromise. Each of the powers is too deeply involved to permit even a temporary solution. The Japanese are face to face with a desperate situation and would like to find a way out without facing all the enemies in the East. But at the same time they must think of the future. If Hitler should win the war, then a Japan which now deserted the Axis would face a far more formidable enemy on the mainland of Asia than either China or Russia.

The Japanese cannot merely afford to mark time while waiting for events in Europe to help resolve their problem. Waiting now means weakening of her position both economically and militarily. The Chinese will continue receiving help along the Burma road from the United States and this help will enable them to put up a far more formidable fight than has been the case up to now. Help will also go to the Siberian forces of the Soviet Union and this will mean a more difficult task for the Japanese Army there also. Meanwhile China does not permit any really great withdrawal of the Nipponese troops. Japan simply cannot afford to abandon China for that country would then become united as never before to keep the Japanese out in any new attempt at invasion later. China has thus become the key to the entire situation in the Far East.

Meaning of Japan's New Campaign
There are those who see in the desperate situation of Japan the means of tying the hands of the militarists and imperialists. They reason that it would be national suicide for the generals to start a new war, say in Siberia. But history has shown all too clearly, again and again, that the reactionary ruling clique never gives up its power voluntarily. The policy of looting of the Pacific region has brought the nation to a tremendous crisis, but it has at the same time enhanced greatly the privileged position of the semi-feudal army caste. To them, just as to Hitler, the solution to their problems lies not in peace but in further looting.

The new campaign of the Japanese army in the interior of China is to be viewed with this in mind. It is not the symptom that the Japanese are now determined to concentrate on the final wiping out of Chiang Kai-shek. Rather it is an attempt to destroy as much of the Chinese forces as possible as well as to drive these forces back disorganized once more into the remotest sections of China, before the Japanese start on a new adventure. The taking and then abandoning of Changsha indicates this to be the case. The march towards Chengchow is a similar indication, for the object is to destroy as much as possible so that it will take a long time to rebuild what the Chinese had accomplished, — to permit the Japanese to start on a new expedition of looting. The breakdown of the negotiations between Japan and the United States (these negotiations continue only by inertia) may well mark the beginning of the long-awaited attack on the USSR.

