

## ALLIES ALARMED BY SOVIET VICTORIES

### UAW Convention Weighs Basic Labor Problem

Local Unions Present Resolutions to Scrap No-Strike Pledge, Withdraw from War Labor Board and Help Build a Labor Party

By Art Preis

BUFFALO, Oct. 5 (By Wire).—The first two big controversial issues to come before the eighth convention of the United Auto Workers' meeting here this week, will be the questions of incentive pay and a fourth term for Roosevelt.

The majority of the resolutions committee is supporting a resolution condemning all forms of incentive pay speedup plans. The resolution states: "The UAW-CIO reiterates emphatically its traditional opposition to the introduction of incentive or piecework plans... where such plans do not now exist" in local plants. It instructs all officials of the international union "to conform strictly to this policy on piecework."

It is certain that this resolution will be opposed bitterly by the Stalinists, who are backing a minority report upholding the demands of the powerful corporations like General Motors for the re-introduction of the infamous piecework speedup system.

A three-way fight is brewing over the majority report of the resolutions committee on the 4th term question, which takes the position of "conditional" endorsement of Roosevelt for re-election in 1944.

This majority resolution complains that Roosevelt's "pre-occupation" with the military front permitted the reactionary forces in this country to "undermine the home front." The resolution attempts to exert some pressure on the administration and to win concessions from it by pointing to the impossibility of mobilizing labor support for Roosevelt "if the present Democratic Party policy of appeasement of the foes of progress and labor continues."

The resolution concludes with the proposal that the union will back Roosevelt "on the basis of an aggressive effort on the part of the President" to roll back prices, end war profiteering, revise the Little Steel formula, etc.

The significance of the "conditional" character of the majority resolution lies in the fact that it represents a concession to the growing rank and file disillusionment with the administration.

Opposed to this resolution on the one hand are the Stalinists and the Roosevelt machine men who will seek unconditional backing for the fourth term. Opposition for an entirely different reason is expected from the militant progressives who advocate the establishment of an independent labor party based on the trade unions.

Meanwhile, the second day of the convention passed with none of the basic issues coming before the delegates. The UAW top leaders are following the

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### Circuit Court Stays Mandate On Minneapolis Trial Decision

The U. S. Circuit Court of Appeals for the Eighth District this week granted the motion for a stay of mandate in the Minneapolis Smith "Gag" Act case. This stay enables the attorneys for the 18 defendants in the Minneapolis trial to file a petition with the U. S. Supreme Court asking it to review the recent Circuit Court decision upholding the Minneapolis convictions and to pass on the constitutionality of the Smith "Gag" Act under which the defendants were convicted. The petition to the Supreme Court is now being prepared.

The preliminary expenses for the appeal, amounting to approximately \$2,500, are being raised by the Civil Rights Defense Committee, which is bringing the issue of free speech involved in the persecution of the 18 Trotskyists and CIO members to the attention of the labor and liberal movements.

The CRDC announced this week that several of its 30 local branches throughout the country have already accepted their quotas to raise money for the committee's Supreme Court campaign. The branches are already beginning to raise this money and to publicize the importance of the Minneapolis case by appeals to local unions and liberal organizations, branch-sponsored open meetings and social affairs.

### Support For Postal Mounts As Hearing On Pardon Nears

With less than a week remaining before the Minnesota State Board of Pardon reviews the case of Kelly Postal on Oct. 11, the Civil Rights Defense Committee reported a pronounced increase in moral and material aid from labor and liberal circles throughout the country. The CRDC is leading the fight to win a pardon for Postal, Minneapolis Local 544-CIO official now serving up to five years in Stillwater State penitentiary because of his trade union activity.

A letter to the Governor of Minnesota from the Federal Labor Union 21760 AFL, Plentywood, Mont., declared: "We, in company with countless others, urge you to grant an immediate and unconditional pardon to Kelly Postal. We would recognize such an act as an indication that vicious reaction in this country is not to be tolerated."

Resolutions condemning Postal's conviction and urging an immediate pardon were passed this week by United Cement & Quarry Workers L.L.U. 1229, Petoskey, Mich.; ILGWU, Dressmakers

Union No. 184, Seattle, Wash. The General Defense Committee, Chicago, Ill., through its secretary, W. H. Westman, this week requested approval of the CRDC to place Kelly Postal on their honor roll as a Class War Prisoner, and to be a recipient of the Christmas fund which they annually collect for this purpose. Mr. Westman wrote: "The Committee feels that the Postal case not be closed by Christmas, and if sufficient funds are received through our Christmas appeal, that a contribution of a hundred or so dollars should be made to your Committee to help you fight the case."

Signed petitions for Postal, received this week by the CRDC, came, among others, from Local 425, UE, Long Island; ILGWU Local 184 Seattle, Wash.; and UAW-CIO Local 200, Windsor, Ontario. The latter wrote:

"We agree with you wholeheartedly that Brother Postal is the victim of a very reactionary judicial system... Many of our Canadian labor leaders have served prison terms since our country entered this war against fascism and only through the efforts of organized labor have we been able to secure their release..." This union cannot contribute to the Kelly Postal fund because of wartime restrictions.

Among this week's contributors to the Kelly Postal Pardon Fund were UAW-CIO Local 2, Detroit; UAW-CIO No. 400, Detroit; UAW-CIO No. 665, Jackson, Mich.; Brewers Union No. 2, Newark, N. J.; Federal Labor Union, AFL, Plentywood, Mont.

In a letter to the New Republic, Oct. 4, Morris Milgram, national secretary of the Workers Defense League, wrote: "It is a national shame that an honorable trade union official should serve five years in prison for his loyalty to trade union democracy..." Postal is no more guilty of "embezzlement" than other CIO officials who transferred funds from one federation to another at the direction of their mem-

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### Greeting the Advancing Red Army



The boundless joy of the populace when the Red Army entered Bryansk is shown above, as barefoot children vie with old women to greet the soldiers. Workers throughout the world are likewise elated to see Hitler's armies driven back but the Red Army victories are producing only consternation and dismay in capitalist circles on both sides of the war fronts.

(Federated Pictures radiophoto)

### U. S. - British Conclude 'Darlan Deal' In Italy

By Anthony Massini

The Italian "Darlan deal" appears to have been completed, although details remain yet to be announced. Marshal Badoglio and King Victor Emmanuel, who supported fascism for more than 20 years and whose sole support comes from the bankers, the big landowners and the industrialists, are now receiving Allied backing, aid and recognition as the government of Italy. Liberal trimmings are being considered to make the Badoglio deal a little more palatable for American-British public opinion than the deal with Darlan in North Africa. But the fact remains that the Allied leaders have again, under the pretext of "military expediency," used their armies and resources to prop up a reactionary military dictatorship.

Conferences between Badoglio and the Allied leaders have been going on ever since the surrender of Italy; in fact, recognition of Badoglio was implied though not written out in the armistice terms. Proof that the Badoglio deal had been consummated was Churchill's speech to Parliament on Sept. 21, serving warning on the anti-Badoglio forces in Italy that they had better rally to support of Badoglio and the king or prepare to face the opposition of the Allied forces.

#### MEN WHO FEEL SURE

Since then, other conferences have been reported—notably, the meeting of Badoglio and his aides with Eisenhower and State Department representatives aboard a British battleship at Malta. Badoglio and Victor Emmanuel already are afforded the facilities of the Allied radio for their propaganda.

Badoglio used these facilities for a broadcast on Sept. 22 in which he said that "the king and the royal family are the expression of the will of the Italian people." The king spoke on Oct. 2, ordering the people to obey Badoglio as "the interpreter of my will" and pointedly asserting:

"As yesterday, as always, your king is with you, indissolubly linked with the destiny of the immortal fatherland." These are the voices of men who know they are assured of powerful support to prop up their rule, even though the masses detest them.

#### "BROADER" GOVERNMENT

At the same time a new note has entered the pronouncements of the king and his premier. Victor Emmanuel talks about the future "broadening" of the Badoglio government "so all can participate in the political life of the country." Badoglio promises the exclusion of all former fascists from his government—quite a trick, if he himself is to remain in it—and the inclusion of anti-fascist leaders.

The Allied leaders know only too well that the Italian masses detest both Badoglio and the king. They may not hope that these promises of a more liberal government will increase the political stock of Badoglio and the monarchy among the Italian masses. The political situation in the U. S. and Britain, however, obliges them to pay lip-service to the principles of democracy. That is the explanation for the promises that "liberal" figures will be added to the Badoglio government. As one newspaperman put it, the Allied leaders are compelled to consider "the ticklish matter of public opinion."

Count Sforza, former liberal monarchist and emigre from fascist Italy, has held the spotlight in recent weeks as the Allies' favorite choice to give a liberal coloration to Badoglio's military dictatorship. Even this veteran capitalist politician, however, is shying away from the time being from joining the Badoglio government.

Sforza knows that the Italian masses hate the monarchy. He fears therefore that he may discredit himself as a political figure and destroy his usefulness to the Italian capitalist class at a future date if he should link his name at this time with the erstwhile supporters of Mussolini and fascism.

The reactionary character of this so-called liberal politician is indicated by his statement this week, just before his departure for Italy, that it would be "almost an act of treason" to oppose the Badoglio government or to try to overthrow the monarchy while they were fighting the Germans. Loyal support should be given Badoglio so long as he enjoys the confidence of the Anglo-American leaders, Sforza added.

#### BADOGGIO'S "JOB"

The Allied decision to maintain the Badoglio government has had the effect of limiting the activities of the Allied Military Government (AMG, formerly AMG-OT). According to newspapermen, AMG officials have even been complaining that they are not permitted to "do the job" for which they were trained. The reason for this is that the Allied leaders have learned a lesson from Hitler's experiences and prefer that "the job" be done by native Quislings rather than foreign gaudiers.

Part of "the job" assigned to Badoglio is the mobilization of military forces, equipped for the most part by the Allies, to fight Germany. But the Allied military leaders do not expect too much along this line, realizing that they must depend for the most part on their own armies.

Another and much more im-

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CP Sharpening  
Criticism of  
Allied Policy

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### Axis Satellites Voice Plea To Anglo-American War Camp

Coming Three-Power Conference in Moscow Meets in Atmosphere of Growing Discord

By Felix Morrow

The capture of Smolensk — "gateway to the West," as the Red Army organ correctly terms it — on Sept. 25, followed by still further Soviet gains, has raised as an immediate possibility the victorious advance of the Red Army in pursuit of the Nazis into territories beyond its 1940 borders.

To the Soviet masses and to the class-conscious workers of the world, who want to see the workers' state emerge victorious over the fascist foe, this prospect is a happy one.

But to the capitalist rulers the further advance of the Red Army is a frightening specter.

There is panic in the ruling classes of the countries the Red Army is nearing — and that is true

equally of the Axis satellite, Rumania, and the satellite of the "democracies," the Polish government-in-exile. For in both war camps the capitalists remember what happened when the Red Army advanced into Poland in 1939 and into Bessarabia in 1940, and in the Baltic provinces — the nationalization of private property.

They remember, too, how, as the Red Army neared workers and peasants rose against the capitalists and landlords. Soon enough, it is true, the Kremlin bureaucracy centralized all power in its own hands, and crushed the workers' and peasants' committees which had arisen. But that is no comfort to the Rumanian and Polish capitalists and landlords to whom the nationalization of their property, whether by a full-fledged revolution or by Stalin's bureaucratic methods, would be equally fatal.

It is now openly admitted in official London circles that the forces in Poland which are connected with the reactionary government-in-exile are saving their gunpowder for use against the Red Army. A London dispatch to the Oct. 1 N. Y. Times reports:

While the [pro-Soviet] Polish Partisans have apparently spent most of their resistance against the Germans in the last four years, the [pro-capitalist] military underground is known to have saved arms, and the fear here is that they plan to use them, or threaten for diplomatic reasons to use them, when and if the Russians cross the Polish boundary set at Versailles.

That would certainly provide a clear insight into the class forces at work — "democratic" Polish capitalists and landlords attacking the Red Army while it is pursuing the Nazis through Poland!

According to a Reuters dispatch of Sept. 29, "fear of Russian invasion is sweeping Rumania."

Instead of seeking to make peace with the Red Army, however, the Rumanian reactionaries are turning toward the capitalist "democracies" to save their property for them. As the dispatch states:

RUMANIA  
"Evidence that Rumanian party leaders are banking on the hope that the Western democracies will save them from invasion is revealed in a joint letter to the Rumanian dictator Marshal Ion Antonescu... 'We protest energetically against the anti-British and anti-American character you have given to the war,' the letter states."

In hardly veiled language, it says that the territory nationalized by the Red Army in 1940 is the sole war aim of Rumanian capitalism.

"Once Bessarabia and Bukovina had been reunited with the mother country, Rumania has no motive whatsoever of continuing the war." Since the letter studiously refrains from mentioning the Soviet Union, it is obvious that this is an appeal to the Anglo-U.S. bloc to help wrest Bessarabia and Bukovina from the Soviet Union, in return for Rumania entering the "democratic" orbit.

#### FEAR RED ARMY

Fears of the "democratic" capitalists that the Red Army will fight its way into capitalist territory were enhanced Sept. 29, when dispatches from neutral capitals reported that the Nazis were evacuating civilians from the Baltic provinces. Among those being evacuated are German proprietary farmers who were settled there in expectation of permanent Nazi exploitation of the region.

This development would indicate that the Nazis expect the Baltic area to become a theater of war shortly.

The Red Army successes appear to be impelling a speedy reorientation of Washington and London on the question of the second front in western Europe. As recently as Churchill's speech of Sept. 21, there was still strong resistance to such operations. Churchill sharply declared his government would not yield to "pressure" on this question, and attributed second front agitation

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### New York School of Social Science Reopens With Forum On Mpls. Case

Grace Carlson, former Minnesota organizer for the Socialist Workers Party and now New York Local organizer, will speak Sunday, October 10, at 8:00 P.M., on "The Smith 'Gag' Law Case Decision — Another Blow at Labor."

This will be the first lecture in a Sunday Open Forum series sponsored by the New York School of Social Science in its hall at 116 University Place, second floor. These forums will be held every Sunday at 8 P.M. during the fall and winter seasons. Each lecture will be followed by a question and discussion period.

Grace Carlson is one of the 18 Socialist Workers Party and CIO members convicted under the Smith "Gag" Act in the Minneapolis labor trial of 1941. Their

conviction, which was upheld by the U. S. Circuit Court of Appeals in St. Louis on Sept. 20, has been condemned by more than 125 CIO, AFL and independent central labor bodies and local unions as an extremely dangerous precedent that can be used against other minority political groups and trade unionists.

Other speakers promised for future lectures will include J. P. Cannon, Farrell Dobbs, V. R. Dunne, E. R. Frank, Albert Goldman, Felix Morrow, William F. Warde, John G. Wright, and many others.

Information concerning coming lectures will be carried in The Militant each week and will also be mailed to interested persons upon request.



# Lessons Of Labor Party Fight In New Jersey

By Philip Blake

The significance of next month's gubernatorial elections in New Jersey extends beyond the boundaries of that state. For they come at the end of an election campaign in which the capitalist politicians, aided by the labor leaders and Stalinists, have put over what might be termed their last tactical maneuver to prevent the formation of an independent labor party. Since the same tactic may be tried in other parts of the country where strong labor party sentiment arises, it is worthwhile for workers everywhere to ponder the New Jersey developments.

Sidney Hillman gleefully asserted a few weeks ago that "third party moves in Michigan and New Jersey have died out." An objective examination of the New Jersey situation shows that the labor party movement there has suffered a stiff setback, even if labor party sentiment has not died out. The labor party movement has for the time being been sidetracked into the swamp of capitalist politics, and it will be many months before it finds its way out again.

## What Union Ranks Demanded

The workers' desire for a party of their own is not a new development in this state, where both capitalist parties are scandalously corrupt, boss-ridden and anti-labor. It was evident 5 years ago when the founding convention of Labor's Non-Partisan League (now called the American Labor League) pledged itself to build such a party. It took on new life after the United States entered the war; prices began to skyrocket and wages were frozen. In the 1942 elections Irving Abramson, president of the State CIO Council, received the Democratic Party nomination for Congress and was decisively defeated by the Republican candi-

diate because large numbers of workers registered their indifference to the contest by staying away from the polls.

The overwhelming majority of the union delegates who came to the American Labor League convention in May of this year had drawn the proper conclusion from the Abramson campaign and wanted to set up a labor party at once. But they gave way to the pleas of the League's leaders, who said they too wanted a labor party but wanted to organize it properly; and the convention ended with the appointment of a committee that was supposed to do some preparatory recruiting, after which a labor party convention would be called.

## Unity Against Labor Party

But the union progressives who accepted these promises have been tricked. Instead of a labor party, they have been given a repetition on a state-wide scale of the Abramson campaign of last year. Instead of running labor's own candidate on a labor party ticket, the union leaders this fall are supporting a union man running as the Democratic Party candidate, that is, Boss Hague's candidate.

The Stalinist flunks and speedup artists are loudly claiming — and fully deserve — the "credit" for initiating this move to check the formation of an independent labor party. They really were the first group in the labor movement to denounce the fight against Hagueism as "outmoded" and to call for a whole-hog alliance with Hague in the coming elections as a step in the interests of "national unity."

But the Stalinists don't deserve all the "credit." Also to be thanked are Roosevelt, who intervened in an attempt to restore harmony in the Democratic Party; Governor Edison, who suspended his intra-party

squabble with Hague long enough for them to jointly pick a gubernatorial candidate; Boss Hague, who accepted a union leader as candidate because he knew it would strengthen his party's chances this fall and in 1944; the AFL leaders, who have always voted as Hague told them; the CIO leaders, who are as silent as a tomb about their labor party promises of only a few months ago; and the liberals who waxed so morally indignant about the unprincipled politics of the Stalinists only to find themselves in the same bed now with both the Stalinists and Hague.

The candidate selected by the Democratic Party — he was unopposed because no one ever runs against Hague's choice in the primaries — is Vincent J. Murphy, state secretary of the AFL and mayor of Newark. Murphy is a typical AFL leader of the old conservative school, an uninspiring nonentity with unbounded ambitions who publicized himself in the Newark elections as "labor man" and banker." The Stalinists indignantly denounce as "sheer falsification" the charge of Murphy's Republican opponents that he is "a candidate exclusively concerned with labor and . . . representing the slogan 'class against class.'" (The Worker, Sept. 26.) And, for a change, the Stalinists are telling the truth.

## Benefits to Hague

There is no better gauge to the treachery of the labor leaders and Stalinists than the fact that Hague is not only supporting Murphy but has also put a dozen or so AFL and CIO leaders on local tickets throughout the state in order to give the best possible labor trimming to his 1943 campaign. Hague understood as well as anyone else that the workers were turning

their backs on his party, and he is taking full advantage of the present developments to put a new and improved face on the old Democratic hog.

This does not mean, however, that the nomination of Murphy has brought the slightest change in the program or leadership of Hague's party. The Democratic state convention, held in Trenton last week, showed that Hague retains complete control. The new state committee is composed almost to a man of his creatures; the 1943 state platform of the party is the same mixture of demagoguery and conservatism as always. The only difference is that Murphy, a labor leader, was given the floor for a while to make an innocuous speech and to call for "full support of the whole Democratic ticket." This is what the Stalinists today call "united labor independent political action!" At any rate, it is the kind of political action which unwrinks the brow of many a capitalist politician hitherto kept sleepless by the growing labor party sentiment. And Hague has the added pleasure of observing the local unions digging down into their treasuries in order to finance his campaign.

It is difficult to foretell the outcome of the elections. It remains yet to be seen whether the union leaders will be able to arouse enthusiasm in labor's ranks sufficient — together with the votes in Hague's vest pocket — to elect Murphy. But whatever happens in this respect, there is no denying that the labor party movement has suffered a severe even if temporary setback, and that a favorable opportunity has been permitted to pass.

## Stage in Political Development

The chief responsibility for this political reverse to the labor movement rests upon

the top union leaders and the Stalinists, and this fact should be driven home again and again in order to prepare the union ranks for future developments. That the union leaders and Stalinists are able to get away with such a brazen betrayal of labor's interests is due in part to the lack of organization and co-ordination among the pro-labor party forces and in part to the fact that the union ranks are really just passing through the first stages of independent political thought and have not yet shaken off many of the illusions and misconceptions of the past.

It is quite evident that many workers who have lost confidence in the national Democratic Party still cling to support of Roosevelt, even though with reservations. In the same way many union members who see through the ordinary capitalist politicians, such as Hague and the Republican gubernatorial nominee Edge, are still taken in, in the absence of a labor party, by candidates of the capitalist parties who are able to boast of membership in the union movement, such as Murphy. This turn toward "labor candidates" even though on capitalist party tickets indicates an advance in the political thinking of the workers, when compared with their attitude of only a few years ago, but at the same time it signifies that many workers have not yet passed the stage of being concerned primarily with candidates rather than with parties and programs.

Of course, with an honest and class-conscious leadership the union ranks would long ago have passed beyond this stage in their political development. But such a leadership is precisely what is lacking: all sections of the New Jersey labor leadership are tied to Roosevelt's coat-tails. And since the labor party will be formed not because

the union leaders want it but because the union ranks demand it, it is necessary to be as precise as possible in evaluating the political moods of the general union ranks as well as of union progressives.

## Educating the Workers

Fortunately the education of the union ranks does not depend on their leaders. Whether Murphy is elected or not, the objective factors — the aggravation of their living standards and the deepening of political reaction as the war continues — will teach the workers that the way to defend their political interests is not by supporting union men on capitalist party tickets but by breaking definitively with the capitalist parties and programs and creating an independent party based on the unions and built around an independent labor program. This education of the workers in the period to come will be facilitated today by the pro-labor party militants in New Jersey if they stand firm in their refusal to support Murphy and continue their education and agitation for independent labor political action. Above all, it is necessary to draw the lessons of the American Labor League convention, showing that the promises of the union bureaucrats cannot be depended on and that they must be replaced by a new leadership drawn from the ranks of the progressive unionists.

In other states it is the duty of the advocates of labor party action to assimilate the lessons of the Hague-labor leader-Stalinist maneuver to prevent the launching of a labor party and to counteract such moves in their localities by placing greater emphasis in their agitation on the need for an independent party and an independent program as well as on the need for candidates coming from labor's ranks.

## TRADE UNION NOTES

By Marvel Scholl

Workers at the Wright Aeronautical Corporation plant in Paterson, N. J., went on strike last week when a rumor spread through the plant that the WLB had rejected their demand for a wage increase. Although the strike lasted only one hour, this demonstration indicated that the workers are becoming fed up with the continual runaround they are getting from Roosevelt's War Labor Board.

In a statement to the press, the president of the union, UAW Local 669, said he had confirmed the rumor in a telephone conversation with Washington and characterized the reported board action as the "crudest decision I've ever seen." Referring to the angry mood of the workers, the union president added: "I don't see how we can continue to keep the situation in hand."

Two explosions last month snuffed out the lives of 25 miners in the Sayreton No. 2 mine of the Republic Steel Corporation. As long ago as last February the corporation had been warned by the Bureau of Mines that unless the non-permissible machinery still in use was replaced and the ventilation system changed, an explosion could occur at any time.

The February report said "... this mine is considered gassy by the state of Alabama . . . gas is reported as being detected daily . . . gas may be liberated suddenly from the mine because of numerous old workings, mined out areas and caved working."

After the explosions, the Bureau sent another investigating committee into the mine. This committee found that "in the explosion area the cutting machinery, the electric drills, the loading machines and the haulage motors were of the non-permissible type; that the cables and electrical circuits to all of this machinery were in very bad condition, and it would be possible for gas to be ignited by sparks from this machinery."

The workers, backed by the UMW, have refused to return to Sayreton No. 2 mine until after the Bureau of Mines publishes a report of safe conditions in the mine. The company, however, stands firm in its contention that "it is the right of the company to determine safety conditions in the mine."

This tragedy once again points directly to the basic cause for all such disasters — the greed for profits which makes human life the cheapest single commodity on the market in the eyes of the mine owners.

It proves also the futility of the new so-called "safety" mine inspection law which provides for the Bureau of Mines to investigate conditions and to recommend changes to insure safety, but fails to provide any machinery for enforcing the corrective measures recommended by the bureau.

Joseph P. Ryan, president of the AFL International Long-

shoremen's Association announced on Oct. 1 that the union had dropped its demands for better working conditions "in the interest of the war effort," and had renewed the existing contract for a period of two years.

Ryan said: "We decided that if we kept negotiating we might impair the service . . . we decided to forget the demands so that the men might not be uneasy about the future."

Ryan didn't wait until the war was over to take care of his own demands. At the recent convention of the ILA he had himself installed as president-for-life, and at a very handsome salary, too.

An incentive pay speedup plan, providing for an increase of 5% in wages if an individual worker increases his production 10%, was approved by the WLB last week. The plan was introduced by the Gruman Aircraft Corporation.

Roosevelt's board is helping in the campaign of the National Association of Manufacturers and the Stalinists to tear down the wage structure which the trade union movement has built through many years of bitter struggle.

On Sept. 29 the shipbuilding commission of the WLB turned down the demand of the Industrial Union of Marine and Shipbuilding Workers (CIO) that the foremen at the Camden, N. J. yard of the New York Shipbuilding Corporation be included in the bargaining unit. The commission granted the union the checkoff system and increased the vacation schedules. But all wage increase demands were stalled off on a flimsy pretext.

An interesting survey conducted by the Women's Trade Union League, reveals that today there are more than six million women in the trade unions in the United States as against a bare 245,000 in 1940. The report also shows that women are taking an increasingly active part in the trade union movement, accepting union executive posts, becoming shop stewards, committee members.

New York milk drivers went on strike earlier this year against the Office of Defense Transportation skip-a-day delivery order which meant the dismissal or transfer of close to a thousand drivers. They went back to work at the urging of the AFL Teamsters officials and of the War Labor Board which assumed jurisdiction of the case. Last week the WLB ruled against the drivers and they are right back where they started from.

Disgusted with the raw deal they have received, the drivers reported they were sick this week and remained away from their jobs. Union officials disclaimed all responsibility for the walkout, describing it as "independent action." Independent action is truly the only answer the workers have to the attacks on their rights and working conditions.

## Allied Leaders Alarmed By Red Army Victories

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to "uninformed" persons. When the Stalinist M. P. Gallacher, at this point asked whether this also included Stalin, Churchill utilized the occasion for a sharp attack on the Communist Party for its second front demand.

### CHANGE OF HEART

But, four days later came the fall of Smolensk. And since then there have been numerous dispatches from London indicating a change of heart in the Churchill government. Typical was the Sept. 27 United Press dispatch which stated:

"Conservative British military analysts said today that the Red Army's summer offensive has attained such scope and tempo that the United States and Britain may have to speed arrangements for an invasion of western Europe."

"Either the Allies must open a second front as quickly as possible or face the possibility that the Soviets may defeat the Germans single-handed."

Apparently in alarm over the

widening gap between the Soviet Union and the Anglo-U.S. bloc, Sir Stafford Cripps on Sept. 26 broke a long silence on international questions by a speech in which he warned the British people that it would be "disastrous" to regard "friendship with the United States as an alternative to friendship with the Soviet Union."

Commenting on the cabinet minister's speech, the N. Y. Times correspondent said "it represented the views of a 'probably less powerful body of opinion' than that which orients toward Washington. In plain English, the Cripps tendency is losing out as against the anti-Soviet forces led by Churchill."

### MOSCOW CONFERENCE

Such is the situation on the eve of the three-power conference in Moscow. The game which Washington will play there is indicated by the decision of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee to defer consideration of any international peace plan until some time in the future. Washington will stall for time — until powerful Anglo-U.S. armies reach the European continent.

But this maneuver is well understood by the Soviet Union, and even those small capitalist countries — particularly Czechoslovakia — which have reconciled themselves to coming to terms with the Kremlin for the present period. As the Sept. 27 N. Y. Times reports from London, the Senate Committee's decision "has not produced any noticeable increase in the unity of the United Nations governments."

That is quite an understatement. For the truth is that every advance of the Red Army brings out more into the open the fundamental antagonism between the nationalized property of the Soviet Union and the private property of "democratic" capitalism.



A reader of The Militant in Detroit expresses appreciation for the resumption of this column:

"I am glad to see the 'Militant Army' back in the paper. It used to be one of my favorite columns. Like the Manager's Column in the F. L. I read it first of all. There's nothing that gives one the concrete feeling of the movement and its daily activities so much as the facts about what's happening in this town and that in selling the literature. Names of cities, agents, sub-gets become acquaintances and then old friends even though one never meets them in the flesh. In the absence of direct correspondence with these people, news in the 'Militant Army' of what they are doing becomes the best substitute."

"There's nothing more heartening than to read that San Francisco or Seattle or Brooklyn has turned in subs during the week, or that the agent in Montana has uncovered two or three more who would like to read what the Trotskyist views are on the world situation. Some friend or well-wisher from Milwaukee sends in \$5. It sounds prosaic enough but back of that is a whole tale of increasing political consciousness — of awareness of the crucial characteristics of our times and the issues that must be faced."

As though in response to the above letter, our agent in Montana writes: "Enclosed is a one-year sub to The Militant. I will get a few more this fall as there is a good crop in this part of the country."

Buffalo sent in two more subs, saying, "We are putting on quite a drive — visiting all the people we have been sending sample copies to for the past six months, and hope to have some more subs soon. . . Please increase our Militant bundle order by 10 copies every week."

Chicago's subscription campaign ended a few weeks ago, but we received the following letter enclosing nine more subs: "The comrades have been bringing them in the last few weeks and it appears that the drive we just concluded has had lasting effects. If you will notice, all these subs are new ones, which proves that just sitting around waiting for the same old renewals doesn't do anymore, and we are beginning to realize that with good results."

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## U. S. - BRITISH CONCLUDE ITALIAN 'DARLAN DEAL'

(Continued from page 1)

portant part of "the job" will be to prevent the Italian people from taking the fate of the country into their own hands, overthrowing Badoglio and the House of Savoy and setting up a Workers' and Farmers' Government. As the well-informed columnist of the N. Y. Times, Edwin L. James, put it on Oct. 3:

"... there can be no doubt that several hundred thousand Italian troops [under Badoglio] could be of use . . . in keeping the country in order there where the Germans have been forced out."

### DEMOCRATIC RIGHTS

The present procedure, after the Allies have captured a territory, is for AMG to move in, set things going and then turn over the reins of civil government to the Badoglio forces.

The "war for democracy" has brought no democratic rights to the masses even in those sections of Italy no longer held by Axis forces. They have no more to say about the conduct of the government than they had under Mussolini.

American workers who were inspired by the heroic revolutionary struggles of the anti-fascist masses of Italy are interested in seeing not only the complete destruction of fascism but the removal from power of all the elements who were responsible for it. They are also deeply concerned in seeing that the democratic

rights of the Italian workers are restored.

It is the right and the duty, therefore, of every American worker to raise the demand that the Italian territories captured by the Allied forces should be turned over not to the butcher Badoglio but to the democratically elected representatives of the masses. The right to organize politically and economically; the right of free speech, press and assembly; the right to vote — these are the elementary democratic rights which must be restored to the Italian people.

If this is not done now, if Badoglio is permitted to consolidate his regime, then any elections held in the remote future under the supervision of the military will have the same "democratic" content as a Nazi plebiscite.

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## The Negro Struggle

By Albert Parker

### The Urban League Conference

The National Urban League held its thirty-third annual conference in Chicago last week. What happened there will be paid little attention by the Negro masses and will fortunately have little effect on the Negro struggle for equality. Nevertheless, its proceedings are worth some attention.

They are worth attention, first of all, because they are so unlike the proceedings of most of the other important national Negro conventions during this war. The national gatherings of most other organizations have been marked by militant resolutions and aggressive demands, even if the leaders of these organizations had no intention of translating their words into action. But the Urban League conference ran contrary to the trend.

It is certainly no exaggeration to say that this conference was characterized by revolting servility from beginning to end. The League leaders were far more concerned about appeasing Washington and "public" opinion than they were about contributing something useful to the Negro struggle. To do this, they even went out of their way to cast reflections on the Negro masses who want a militant fight against their enemies.

"Development of a more realistic, less provocative program of wartime race relations" was how the N. Y. Times' hatchetman, Turner Catledge, approvingly describes the aims of the conference. By "provocative" both Catledge and the Urban League leaders really mean militant. One conference delegate spoke of himself and his associates as the people who are "left to pick up the pieces after the agitators have started the trouble and gone." Reactionary poll taxers like Rankin and Bilbo will surely subscribe with both hands to this Uncle Tom slander about the resolute fighters against Jim Crow "starting the trouble."

Practically a whole-day of the conference was taken up with appeals for the "Negroes to drop their prejudices against the whites." One might think from the emphasis some speakers placed on this point that the white people were victims of race prejudice, and not the Negroes! "One of the greatest jobs the Urban League and Negro leadership in general faces is the job of improving the social attitude of the Negroes themselves," said one speaker. Others felt it necessary to denounce Negroes who spread "rumors" about Army Jim Crow. Practically all the delegates advocated the initiation and extension of "Better (Negro) Behavior Programs." This approach—coupled with little denunciation of race discrimination and of the government's criminal refusal to oppose discrimination—was proudly referred to by speakers as "statesmanship."

And so the conference went throughout. The general impression created was that the Negro masses are themselves to blame in good part for their miserable conditions. "If only the Negro people would take a more reasonable, gentlemanly and Christian attitude," the conference seemed to be saying, "then things would get better." In other words, what the conference participants want is for the Negro masses to turn the other cheek, take things lying down and depend on "respectable and realistic" leaders to

plead their case with the ruling class. After four days of this, the conference finally passed a number of resolutions begging the government to do something about discrimination, segregation, lack of housing, etc. The total reactionary effect of the conference was in no way lessened by the adoption of these resolutions.

Why was the conference able to fly in the face of all the prevailing sentiments of the Negro masses? Because the Urban League does not depend, as most Negro organizations do, on support from the Negro people. The Urban League is primarily a social welfare agency and not a membership organization. It draws its strength not from the numbers and devotion of its members but rather from the results of its social work which is financed largely by the donations of well-to-do white benefactors. The Urban League is not subject to the pressure of the Negro masses; that is why it is able to say and do things which leaders of the NAACP or even humble Negro preachers would not dare under present conditions.

The key to understanding the policies and activities of most Negro leaders is to be found in the moods of the Negro masses which are different from those of the last war. The leaders of the NAACP and the March-On-Washington Movement are not as militant as they sound. But they have their ears to the ground and they know that to maintain their influence and leadership over the Negro people today, they must talk and write in the spirit of militancy which animates the masses. In a certain sense and in a distorted form they reflect the aspirations of the masses.

The important thing to be noted about the Urban League conference is that it definitely does not reflect the sentiments of the Negro masses, who are ready to struggle for their rights today and are restrained only by the lack of a revolutionary leadership. If the Urban League leaders reflect anything, it is the vacillation and subservience of the "respectable" middle class.

The most widely publicized feature of the conference was the letter of greetings received from President Roosevelt. "We cannot stand before the world as a champion of oppressed peoples unless we practice as well as preach, the principles of democracy for all men," he wrote. And further: "All true Americans must be prepared to protect with life itself the inalienable rights of all men without regard to race, creed or color."

The conference might well have answered this letter by saying: "Very pretty words indeed. But why address them to us? We believe them. Why don't you address them instead to your colleagues who lead the Democratic Party in the South? Above all, who don't YOU act on them by abolishing the disgraceful Jim Crow setup in the army and by issuing an executive order which will really do something to halt discrimination against Negroes in industry?"

But none of the conference delegates rose to challenge the insulting hypocrisy of the president. Such a procedure simply does not conform to their ideas of "realism" and "statesmanship."

### PIONEER PARAGRAPHS

## G. I. DISSOLUTION WAS A CONCESSION TO CAPITALISM

In the course of its degeneration the Kremlin bureaucracy has hardened into an ossified caste alien to the interests of the Russian and world proletariat. For it, there is no turning back to Lenin's method. The bureaucracy would be one of the first victims of a successful revolution in Europe, for then, freed from the fear of invasion and backed by new workers' states, the Soviet proletariat would no longer tolerate the totalitarian bureaucracy. The Kremlin will attempt to pursue to the end its policy of wailing and adapting itself to the imperialists.

This is the meaning of the dissolution of the Comintern. It is but the latest episode in the Kremlin's concessions to the capitalist world. The Communist parties have become the most rabid strikebreakers in England, the United States, Australia, Canada, etc. In India the Stalinists have played openly the role of tool

British imperialism in repressing the revolt of the Indian masses. Stalinist propaganda against Germany, making no distinction between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat, paves the way for a second and worse Versailles Treaty of imperialist vengeance; and the resolution dissolving the Comintern says not a word in solidarity with the German proletariat. The 20-year Anglo-Soviet pact is predicated on the reconstruction of a capitalist Europe with Stalin's cooperation. The dissolution of the Comintern is simply another sign by Stalin that he is ready to adapt himself still further to the rule of capitalism.

Like all his previous policies, Stalin's present "alliance" is a mortal danger to the Soviet Union and leaves the initiative to the irreconcilable imperialist foes of the workers' state. It enables them to seize the most favorable

# UAW Convention Considers Basic Problems Of Unions

(Continued from page 1)

deliberate policy of putting off discussion of all controversial matters for as long as possible and attempting to stifle militant sentiments by patriotic ballyhoo, speeches by government officials, the showing of war movies, etc.

The chief debate in today's sessions took place on the second front. The resolution adopted over the protests of the Stalinists approved the holding of a conference between Roosevelt, Churchill and Stalin but left out all reference to the second front. UAW President R. J. Thomas took advantage of the discussion to voice the reactionary thesis that military affairs are not the business of the workers.

The convention adopted a strong resolution condemning the War Manpower Commission which, the resolution said, has aroused "bitterness and resentment" in the key war industries because of its "bureaucratic" setup and "arbitrary directives," its efforts at "freezing workers to low wage jobs" and its practice of "ignoring labor leaders" in formulating policies.

### NO GENUINE SHORTAGE

The resolution denied that there was a genuine manpower shortage in this country. It blamed racial discrimination for barring millions of qualified Negro workers from jobs in war industry; the inefficiency of management; labor hoarding by the big corporations, who make added profits through their cost-plus contracts; the hoarding of agricultural workers used to grow cotton and tobacco in excess of present requirements; discrimination against women, etc.

But the resolution failed to offer an effective program of action for combating the job-freezing program of the government.

The convention passed a resolution on the American Legion, attacking its "viciously reactionary and employer-minded leadership" and instructing the international executive board of

the UAW to explore the possibility of launching a "progressive servicemen's organization." (A resolution embodying the same ideas was passed at the recent New York convention of the CIO Industrial Union of Marine and Shipbuilding Workers.)

Another resolution called on the British labor movement to bring pressure on the British government for the reopening of negotiations with the Indian National Congress for the purpose of granting "immediate freedom" to India.

### CLIQUE FIGHT

The clique fight for control of union posts continues as the dominant issue dividing the leadership of the Reuther-Leonard and Addes-Frankensteen caucuses, with the leaders of both groups trying hard to whip the delegates into line behind continuation of the no-strike pledge, support of the War Labor Board, endorsement of the fourth term and opposition to the creation of a labor party.

But the voice of the rank and file has not yet been heard on the main issues confronting this convention. When it is heard, this gathering will take on the life and vigor characteristic of UAW convention. When the delegates from the shops begin to take the floor, there will emerge the clearest picture obtainable of any union convention of what the American industrial workers really think. They will speak their minds about wage-freezing, the ever-rising cost of living, war profiteering, provocations by the employers taking advantage of the no-strike pledge, the War Labor Board's police measures and the anti-labor legislation enacted by the capitalist politicians.

(See article below for Militant correspondent Art Preis' report of the first day of the UAW convention. See next week's issue for a full account and analysis of the proceedings of this important labor gathering.—Ed.)

## First Day Of The Auto Workers' Convention

By Art Preis

BUFFALO, Oct. 4.—Over 2,000 delegates jammed the main floor of the huge Memorial Auditorium here today as the United Automobile, Aircraft and Agricultural Implement Workers, CIO, the largest union in the nation with more than a million members, convened its eighth annual convention.

The session today was one of the quietest opening days of any convention in UAW history. But from all signs this is merely the quiet before the storm.

Before the convention will come scores of resolutions dealing with the most controversial issues confronting the labor movement, including demands to revoke the no-strike pledge, withdraw the labor members from the War Labor Board, oppose any form of incentive pay and establish an independent labor party.

The heated debates have so far been confined to the corridors and hotel rooms, where the lieutenants of the contending Addes-Frankensteen and Reuther-Leonard power-politics cliques are working like beavers trying to line up votes.

### THOMAS' SPEECH

But the rank and file delegates, who have come to this convention determined to legislate effective solutions to the auto workers' pressing problems, have so far shown little enthusiasm for this aspect of the convention. The usual opening demonstrations for the top officials were very weak. President R. J. Thomas was greeted with smattering applause, and the followers of secretary-treasurer George Addes, who attempted to work up a demonstration for him evoked no enthusiastic response.

In his opening "key-note" address, Thomas laid major stress on supporting the war, while complaining about the many blows dealt labor by the government and employers who are utilizing

the war situation to destroy labor's rights.

Thomas' chief complaints centered around the government's wage-freezing policy in the face of rising prices, the failure to carry out the promised rollback of prices, the enforcement of the Little Steel formula, the War Manpower Commission's job freeze, the refusal of the corporations to carry out collective bargaining in good faith, and the treatment the union leaders are getting on the various government war boards and agencies.

### PLATITUDES

Thomas gave his answer, and that of all the UAW top officials, to the solution of these problems by "our commander-in-chief," continued unconditional surrender of the strike weapon, and continued demands for a greater voice for labor on the employer-dominated government war boards.

Thomas admitted that the rank and file were everywhere demanding to know why labor should give up its right to strike when the employers were cleaning up from the war and working to smash labor's rights. The low level of his platitudinous remarks was characterized by his answer to these questions: "I told them, what I told this convention last year, 'Two wrongs never made one right.'"

Getting down to business this afternoon, the delegates began to discuss and vote on scores of constitutional amendments drafted by the constitution committee. Few of these amendments are of a controversial nature, as it is clear that the leadership does not intend to antagonize the rank and file by the type of bureaucratic proposals it attempted unsuccessfully to put into the constitution at the Chicago convention last year.

### MAIN STRUGGLE

The main struggle will undoubtedly come over the key policy resolutions and the election of officers and the executive board. A

## Minnesota AFL Heads Cook Up New Scheme to Avoid Fighting Bosses

By BARBARA BRUCE

MINNEAPOLIS, Oct. 3.—Not a single forward step was taken for the Minnesota labor movement by the convention of the State Federation of Labor (AFL) which closed here last week.

The reactionary character of the convention was most apparent in the lengthy discussion on the convention decision to create a "Public Relations Bureau" of the Federation. In arguing for the new bureau, Frank Starkey, chairman of the Minnesota State Drivers Union Council told the delegates, "The day of the strike is over. We are now and will be more regulated by law. The most important weapon is going to be public opinion."

Russell McCord, head of one of the largest advertising firms in the northwest, and by his own admission never a member of organized labor, was brought into the convention to outline a program of "public relations" to be put into effect by the newly created bureau. He proposed that the unions tell the "public" over the radio and in the daily press, that labor is giving blood to the Red Cross, collecting scrap metal and buying bonds. "Labor must not attack Big Business, as this will alienate the sympathies of the farmer and small business man from labor," Mr. McCord stated.

### A BANKRUPT PROGRAM

Permanent abandonment of the vital strike weapon; capitulation to the bosses all along the line—this is the program of the bankrupt Federation leadership. The advertising campaign is a feeble attempt to find a substitute for mass action and is calculated to deceive the workers into believing that their interests are being protected. The Federation officials are helping to restore the

bosses to the dominant position they held before the power of the Citizens Alliance was broken by the great drivers' strikes of 1934.

The same old futile AFL political policy of "rewarding our friends and punishing our enemies" was endorsed in a resolution approved by Federation officers. Several attempts by Stalinist delegates to put the convention on record to support Roosevelt for a fourth term were ruled out of order on the ground that it was a violation of Federation by-laws to make political endorsements. However, a resolution was adopted commending Roosevelt and stating that since "he has not forsaken labor, labor shall not forsake him."

### LABOR PARTY RESOLUTION

Two local unions introduced resolutions calling for an independent labor party, "based on organized labor and working farmers" and stating that "Farmer-Labor politicians in Minnesota, by making deals with the parties which represent Big Business, are following a road that can lead only to the defeat of the labor movement." But these resolutions were not reported out of committee until the last few minutes of the convention when over half of the delegates had already left.

The chairman of the resolutions committee and the Federation president unsuccessfully attempted to keep delegates from the Lathers Union and the Furniture Workers Union, both of Minneapolis, who sponsored the labor party proposal, from taking the platform to speak for the resolution. Two ringing speeches were made for formation of a labor party, despite the heckling of the convention chairman and Federation officials. A third delegate who sought to support the resolution was refused the floor. Despite all this disruption and attempted bulldozing by the officials, a number of the delegates still present voted for the resolution.

An attitude of retreat marked the proceedings of the entire convention. Even a resolution calling for a 30-hour week after the war, as the means of avoiding unemployment, was voted down on the advice of Federation officers that it might be interpreted as interfering with the war effort. Another resolution, demanding the right to vote for members of the armed forces under 21, was defeated on recommendation of the resolution committee. Not a word was said about fighting the wage-freezing Little Steel formula.

### STALINISTS AND FLP

The reactionary role of the various committee chairmen was not surprising in view of the fact that although nominally still members of the labor movement, most of them are now full-time employees of various government agencies such as the War Manpower Commission and the War Production Board and are being paid large salaries out of government funds taken from the workers in taxes.

The remnants of the once-powerful Minnesota Farmer-Labor Party are in the hands of the Stalinists who seek a coalition between the Minnesota Democrats and the FLP in order to push their pro-Roosevelt line.

As the rise of frozen wages and soaring prices tightens, Minnesota workers will find their way to a real solution of their problems—through a labor party, completely independent of the capitalist parties.

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## Communist Party Sharpening Criticism Of Allied Policy

By Felix Morrow

As the hour nears for convening the three-power conference in Moscow, there are few signs in the Stalinist press here indicating that an outcome favorable to the Soviet Union is expected. On the contrary, it is obvious that the Stalinist leadership here is hastily preparing its following for new disappointments at the hands of the "democracies."

Preparation in the case of Stalinism does not mean Marxist education of its membership; essentially it constitutes simply a new form of miseducating and disorienting the workers. Thus Roosevelt remains "our commander-in-chief," the war of the "democracies" continues to be progressive, there is not a hint of the class nature of the antagonism between the workers' state and the capitalist states, etc. The fundamental reasons for the deepening of the conflict between the Soviet Union and its "allies" remains an impenetrable mystery in the columns of the Daily Worker.

Within these basic limitations of the Stalinist line, however, the tone toward the "democracies" is sharpening. The most notable instance in the last two weeks was Browder's speech in Chicago (Daily Worker, Sept. 23.)

Up to then the official leadership of the "democracies" had been absolved of responsibility for the failure to open a second front in western Europe. The typical formula was: "We have no second front because defeatism, anti-Sovietism and pro-fascism have been able to block it by blurring and diverting the correct war orientation of the commander-in-chief and many of the forces which support him." (Daily Worker, August 24.) If, as in the formulation just quoted, Churchill was not put on the same high plane as Roosevelt there was still no hint of consigning him to the category of defeatism and pro-fascism.

Precisely this has now been done by Browder's speech. It stated:

"... we are beginning to know where we stand. We know that the long refusal... of the second front is Mr. Churchill's decision... Mr. Churchill has finally emerged as that 'military expert' whose opinion prevailed over Generals Eisenhower and Marshall."

Having made Churchill the chief culprit, Browder is confronted with the difficulty of explaining why "our commander-in-chief" let Churchill have his way. The explanation is incredible, but is dictated by the present Stalinist formula of continuing the glorification of Roosevelt. Browder explains:

"The evidence inescapably indicates that Churchill made the decision not to open the second front, and that Roosevelt submitted to that decision because he was unwilling to have a public disagreement with Churchill." (Our emphasis.)

What evidence "inescapably" provides this alibi for Roosevelt? Browder does not say, and of course there is no evidence—it simply serves the Stalinist need for this threadbare formula at this stage.

Trying to make it more plausible, Browder adds that Churchill has "American supporters" who "have given him the strength to settle this question." Churchill's backers "range all the way from the State Department within the administration through the Wheeler and poll-tax sections of the Democratic Party," etc.

Far from making the Stalinist formula more plausible, this picture of a lone Roosevelt bailed even by his own appointees in the State Department is even more incredible than the Stalinist distinction between Roosevelt and Churchill.

Having gone through all these gymnastics to absolve Roosevelt, Browder ends, however, with an obvious hint that loyalty to Roosevelt may not continue indefinitely. If the situation does

not improve, he warns, "it would create bad relations" between the USSR and the U.S. In which case, needless to say, Browder will dig out again his 1933-1935 and 1939-1941 diatribes against Roosevelt as "pro-fascist," "anti-Soviet," etc., etc.

According to Browder's speeches, the second front is ostensibly the main issue. However, it is significant to note that where, six months ago, any press or politician's statement in favor of an immediate second front got big headlines in the Daily Worker, today even the most important statements of this type pass quite without comment.

[See editorial, "New Converts to the Second Front," page 4.—Ed.]

Thus even the switch of the N. Y. Times to the second front receives only perfunctory editorial comment, and even in this the Daily Worker obviously indicates that the second front is no longer enough; its editorial conclusions:

"It would also well become these belated advocates of the second front if their demand for speed was accompanied by more than empty panegyrics to the might of the Red Army. They might, for instance, expose all the maneuvers and tricks of the anti-Sovietists, whose influence was not small upon them."

Such language is a far cry from the hysterical adulations that the Daily Worker used to shower on the Squeedunk Bee for favoring a second front. Already, in this obscure form, the Stalinists must indicate to their following that the second front is not at all the basic issue.

One indication of the real issue is the growing number of attacks in the Daily Worker against the Social Democratic exiles. The Stalinists are careful not to say so, but these emigres are of course servile agents of Washington ready to do its bidding in post-war Europe. What the Social Democrats say openly is essentially the as yet unsaid position of Washington.

Thus the Daily Worker is in reality speaking of Washington's policy when it brands the German Social Democratic moves here as "an attempt to line up the United States and all of Western Europe, not for the purpose of destroying Hitler but for the purpose of unity subsequently together with Germany, against the Soviet Union." (Daily Worker, Sept. 29.)

And when the Daily Worker concludes that "Such people have no place in the future leadership of Germany," it is obliquely indicating the role of the Kremlin-sponsored "Free Germany Committee"—an attempt to prevent Germany from becoming a satellite of Washington.

These admissions and hints in the Stalinist press should be called to the attention of the workers who follow the Communist Party. They show the fundamental bankruptcy of Stalin's policy of seeking to safeguard the Soviet Union through deals and arrangements with the "democracies."

The uneasiness of the Stalinists over Anglo-U.S. plans for Europe is still cautiously worded concerning Germany, the most important country of Europe. More explicit are Stalinist statements about lesser countries.

Commenting on the arrival in Cairo of King Peter of Yugoslavia and his entourage on a British warship, the Daily Worker Foreign Department (Oct. 4) writes: "If the Allies persist in pushing this crowd, there will be hell to pay in Yugoslavia itself."

On Italy while remaining within the "United Nations" line of collaborating with Badoglio, the Stalinist press condemns the Anglo-U.S. policy of giving Badoglio five weeks to sign the armistice; this "breathing spell," it says, enabled Hitler to consolidate his hold on Northern Italy while Badoglio took no steps to encourage mass resistance to the Nazis. By this and other criticisms—such as its condemnation of AMG policy—the Daily Worker creates an impression of dissociating Stalinism from the Anglo-U.S. policy in Italy.

In all logic, if one were to add together the details of Anglo-U.S. policy aduced by the Stalinist press, the conclusion follows that the policy is reactionary to the core and flows inevitably from the nature of the imperialist powers. But Stalinism, has systematically concealed precisely this conclusion. For to say that the imperialist course was and is inevitable would also be to condemn the whole policy of Stalinism.



# THE MILITANT

Published in the interests of the  
Working People

VOL. VII—No. 41

Saturday, Oct. 9, 1943

Published Weekly by

THE MILITANT PUBLISHING ASS'N  
at 116 University Place, New York, 3, N. Y.

Telephone: ALgonquin 4-8547

FARRELL DOBBS, Editor

GEORGE BREITMAN, Managing Editor

THE MILITANT follows the policy of permitting its contributors to present their own views in signed articles. These views therefore do not necessarily represent the policies of THE MILITANT which are expressed in its editorials.

Subscriptions: \$2.00 per year; \$1.00 for 6 months. Foreign: \$3.00 per year, \$1.50 for 6 months. Bundle orders: 3 cents per copy in the United States; 4 cents per copy in all foreign countries. Single copies: 5 cents.

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— LEON TROTSKY

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7. An Independent Labor Party based on the Trade Unions.
8. A Workers' and Farmers' Government.
9. The defense of the Soviet Union against imperialist attack.

## New Converts To The Second Front

The N. Y. Times appears to have switched to a pro-second-front position. In its leading editorial on Sept. 27, dealing with the likelihood of the Red Army crossing the Dnieper and continuing its advance toward Germany, the Times concludes:

"But this merely emphasizes the need for speed in the establishment of the promised new fronts in the west, not merely to meet the Russian demands, but also for the sake of the Allies themselves. If reports from London are correct, that view is also beginning to unify military opinion among the Allies, which opens up the prospect that the timetable for the all-out assault on Hitler's fortress will be advanced beyond all previous schedules."

A similar shift has also been made by the Scripps-Howard press, which explains it quite openly:

"Before the Red Army's rapid advance, the fact that Stalin frowned on an Anglo-American Balkan campaign and demanded an immediate western front could not move Churchill and Roosevelt. But now Washington and London are faced with the abrupt political question of whether they can afford to let the Red Army penetrate Poland and Rumania, much less reach Germany, before Anglo-American forces approach the Rhine." (N. Y. World-Telegram, Sept. 30.)

These quite authoritative statements starkly illumine the political content of the second front question. The incessant cry for it by the Communist parties failed to speed it by one day, during the time when it could have saved millions of Soviet lives and tens of billions of Soviet property. And now, "victory" for this demand will have to be followed soon enough by Stalinist confessions that the second front is designed to checkmate the Soviet Union.

From the first we have pointed out that Stalin's search for a "good" second front is vain. His capitalist allies do only that which serves the preservation of world capitalism. The growing turn in imperialist circles toward a second front position simply verifies our original analysis.

Even today the Stalinists pretend that the second front is a military problem for the Soviet Union. That is absolutely false. The second front is fundamentally a political question. The Anglo-

U.S. second front would be a political move hostile to the Soviet Union.

Stalin's search for a "good" military second front was vain. But there is a second front which can guard the Soviet Union from still further imperialist assaults. That is the front we fight on—the socialist revolution, which would transform Europe from a bastion of world capitalism into the Socialist United States of Europe, the only reliable ally of the Soviet Union.

## Youth In The Post-War Period

Millions of mothers and fathers, who have seen their grown sons march off to war, are seeking comfort in the hope that their younger sons will be spared from militarism. But all basis for this hope is being shattered in the very hour when the mounting fury of battle brings an increasing flow of the dreaded War Department telegrams announcing the death of loved ones.

Big Business proposes to dragoon the youth of this country into the military machine for many years to come. That is the meaning of the recent speech in Chattanooga by A. H. Sulzberger, publisher of the N. Y. Times, a leading spokesman for Big Business. Sulzberger wants "a system of universal compulsory military service" for America "so that the boys who are winning the peace can come home and their younger brothers can go over for their tour of duty." (N. Y. Times, Sept. 24.) A similar proposal for the youth of Britain was made last week by Labor Minister Ernest Bevin.

A bumper crop of post-war plans has been produced by the capitalist politicians. Every one of these plans envisages an international police force to preserve "order" and prevent "anarchy." Sulzberger and Bevin have brought out into the open the scheme for maintaining this police force—post-war conscription of the youth into the armed forces.

What kind of "order" is this police force to preserve? What is the "anarchy" it will prevent? The conscript soldier of the post-war period, who is now playing in the schoolyard, will be commanded to defend the "order" of the rotten capitalist system against the "anarchy" of the European masses struggling for socialism. He will become as hated by these subjugated people as the German soldier is today. And Big Business expects to rule Europe with the bayonet for a long, long time after the present large-scale hostilities have ended; this is made more than clear by Sulzberger's explicit proposal that the "younger brothers go over for their tour of duty."

Such is the bitter future in store for American and British youth under capitalism. The only way to avoid the prospect of endless militarism, which is inherent in the capitalist system, is through socialism. Humanity will not live in peace until it has established socialism throughout the entire world.

## Railway Wages

The railway workers are burning with indignation. Having submitted their wage demands to interminable negotiations, they now find themselves blocked at every turn by the Roosevelt administration. First, the presidential emergency board recommended only a paltry eight cents per hour increase for more than 1,000,000 non-operating employees. Then Fred M. Vinson, director of economic stabilization, rejected the board recommendation. Now the emergency board has whittled down the wage demands of the 300,000 operating employees to four cents per hour. Roosevelt has continued to back Vinson in his refusal to permit any increase whatever to go into effect.

Growing rank and file pressure for strike action to break the present impasse is manifested by the unusual conduct of the union officials who are plainly frightened by the workers' mood. Officers of the 15 non-operating unions, in a circular to the membership explaining why they have not received wage increases, bluntly stated: "The responsibility for the present situation and delay rests with the President of the United States." The heads of the five operating unions, who ordinarily are happy to accept any offer, termed the proposed four cents per hour increase "an insult."

No less indicative of the pressure from the workers is the statement by William Green that the AFL will support the demand of the non-operating unions for government approval of the eight cents per hour increase recommended by the emergency board. The fears of the union officials were articulated in an anonymous statement to a newspaper reporter at the AFL convention: "We have about reached the end of our rope," the reporter was told. "Our members will not wait much longer for justice which is being denied them." (N. Y. Times, Oct. 3.) The mood of the workers is further reflected in press reports of sporadic strikes breaking out on the railroads.

Last spring the officials of the railway unions were among the strikebreakers who supported Roosevelt against the coal miners. Proclaiming their allegiance to "orderly procedure to adjudicate union-employer controversies through the machinery of existing governmental agencies," they helped to prevent the miners from getting a wage increase. By defending the very machinery which is now being used to block a wage increase to the railway workers, they betrayed not only the miners but also their own membership.

The cowardly policies of the union leadership in giving up the right to strike and placing their reliance on government boards are responsible for the run around the railroad workers are now getting.

# WORKERS' FORUM

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

## Soldier Favors Fighting Bosses

Editor:

In the washroom at the Harrison Crucible Steel plant, I heard an interesting discussion between a Stalinist and a worker who had been active in a recent strike.

The worker happened to mention that his son had just come back from Guadalcanal. Whereupon the Stalinist, rushing in with his line, said: "I bet that what he told you made you sorry you had anything to do with that strike."

"The hell you say," said the worker. "I told him all about it and he said we were right to strike. He said that if he was fighting for anything, he was fighting for my right to organize and lick the bosses."

The Stalinist had no answer to that one! Finally he said: "Aw,

the trouble with you is you read the Trotskyist paper."

"Well, what's wrong with The Militant, I'd like to know?" said the worker whose son just came back, and the Stalinist had no answer to that one either.

H. H.  
Jersey City, N. J.

## 'White Supremacy' Gets a Setback

Editor:

While traveling south last week to visit my husband in an army camp I had an experience which added to my indignation at the injustices of the capitalist system.

I was lucky in getting a seat next to the window and was soon joined by an attractive Southern woman.

At Newark a colored couple got on the train with four small

children. The Southerner reassured me in a whisper, "When we get to Washington this will change. We don't have this sort of thing. We have special cars for them." I bristled but remained silent.

The train was packed, of course, and while three of the children sat on suit cases in the aisle, the youngest, about two years old, had to be held in his father's arms as he swayed in the aisle.

My first impulse was to ask my seat partner if she would mind if I took the baby on my lap, but when it occurred to me she might object, I ventured forth and took the child. By the time we reached Baltimore he was sound asleep with his feet in her lap and his head in mine.

You see—a revolution can be made in one train seat.

L. C.  
New York City

# Workers' BOOKSHELF

NEW WORLD A-COMING by Roi Ottley. Houghton Mifflin Co., 1943. 364 pages, \$3.

The struggle of the Negro people for social, political and economic democracy forms the core of Mr. Ottley's book. With journalistic vigor, "New World A-Coming" presents a wealth of information on the sociological background of the struggle, the forms it has taken, and the programs and leaders which have been produced thus far. And so long as Mr. Ottley sticks to thumb-nail descriptions of Negro leaders and brief historical sketches of movements for Negro equality, his book is a mine of information. However, as soon as Mr. Ottley ventures to draw political conclusions or formulate a political program, he betrays his liberal limitations.

Mr. Ottley is at his best when writing about Negro community and social life. His descriptions of Harlem rent parties, of the "slum-shocked," of the upper crust of Negro society on Strivers' Row and Sugar Hill are witty and interesting. "New World A-Coming" also contains informative chapters on the history of the American Negroes and the relation of the Negro people to other minorities such as the Chinese, Filipinos, Mexicans and Jews.

Mr. Ottley's inability to make even the simplest political evaluations, however, is perhaps best illustrated by his chapter on Marcus Garvey. In the 1920's Harlem witnessed the meteoric career of Garvey, whose back-to-Africa movement became the largest mass movement ever to involve the Negro people. Garveyism was significant as an indication of the deep-going desire of the Negro masses for liberation from their second-class citizenship status in this country. The movement soon

collapsed, leaving behind it a strong nationalistic consciousness which still molds the thoughts of many Negroes.

Yet Mr. Ottley sees nothing but good in the Garvey movement. He fails to understand that its ultra-nationalist ideas drove a wedge between the Negro and his only ally, his white fellow worker. In advancing the idea that the Negro can solve his problems in isolation from the rest of the working class, Garvey did the greatest disservice to the political needs of the Negro people.

Mr. Ottley correctly praises the fact that the Communist Party at one time fought Jim Crow and tried to "break down the rigid color barriers." But he does not realize that the CP no longer plays the progressive role it once did. Stalinism is a unique political movement in this country; it follows, reflects and attempts to protect the interests of the Stalinist bureaucracy in the Soviet Union. With the degeneration of the Russian revolution and the Comintern, Stalin and the American CP leaders lost all concern with the interests of the Negro people. That is why the Communist Party, on this as on all other questions, has changed. The author's failure to understand this leads him to give an inadequate and therefore distorted picture of CP policy today.

Mr. Ottley's appreciation of A. Clayton Powell, Jr. (to whom he devotes a whole chapter) is on a similar level. Although he asserts that opportunism and love of power, not a political program, guide Powell, he never makes any critical comment. Like a true liberal, Mr. Ottley doesn't want to tread on anyone's toes. He sees only the good in every man since he has no principled position as a yardstick by which to judge men and movements.

"What seems to be taking place in Negro life is a transfer of power from the politicians to the leaders of the labor and militant civil rights organizations, and the emergence of new types of men who are taking positions toward the left." Thus Mr. Ottley naively sums up the fact that the Negro masses, impelled by the logic of class struggle, are coming into sharper conflict with Jim Crow practices and preparing for a determined fight to end them. They are finding that the old-line capitalist parties offer them nothing and they are turning toward greater reliance on union action and independent organization. Their present leadership is at the same time a reflection of this leftward development and of the fact that the masses have not yet arrived at a full revolutionary position.

The war has made the issues facing the Negro people particularly acute. In an excellent chapter Mr. Ottley shows how the Army both in this war and the first world war systematically followed Jim Crow policies. Yet he asks the government to "take a firm stand on racial questions" in order to abolish discrimination. His very words are ironic, as he himself has just finished pointing out the government has taken a firm stand on racial questions—but to enforce and promote Jim Crow, not the reverse.

Mr. Ottley fails to see that a capitalist government, expressing the class interests of the employers, can never act in behalf of the exploited and oppressed. A leopard cannot change its spots.

Yet for all its limitations, "New World A-Coming" is well worth reading. It contains a wealth of factual material necessary for a clear picture of what the Negro people are thinking, and what leaders and movements they are following today.

Reviewed by Helen Russell.

## International Notes

A Sept. 30 Reuter's dispatch from Montevideo reported that a strike in the big meat-freezing plants of Argentina was threatening to spread to other industries. The unions of meat-freezing workers and textile workers have issued a call for a general strike. The strike leaflets, distributed in thousands of copies, also demand the restoration of constitutional liberties and the release of arrested workers.

Fierce fighting continues between the Yugoslav Partisan army under the leadership of General "Tito" and the Nazis. The Yugoslav guerrillas are supported, according to Swiss reports, by units of Austrian, Czech and Italian soldiers. The partisan armies occupy today approximately two-thirds of Slovenia and are said to be engaging some 20 divisions of the Nazi army.

General Draja Mihailovich, Minister of War in the Yugoslav Government-in-Exile, admitted in a personal letter to the correspondent of the Swedish newspaper Dagens Nyheter that his troops were not participating in the present battles. Mihailovich explained that he was twiddling his thumbs while "waiting the promised signal from the Allies."

King Peter of Yugoslavia has apparently already received his

"promised signal." He and his cabinet arrived in Cairo from London, all set to reintroduce at the earliest opportunity his rotten, corrupt, monarchical dictatorship in Jugoslavia.

First King Victor Emmanuel, now King Peter—Roosevelt and Churchill are certainly gathering together a prize collection to "liberate" Europe.

The British workers continue to fight. Strikes are breaking out all over England, especially in the aircraft industry and the coal mines. One English broadcast tried to blame the strikes on the Trotskyists. The real causes are low wages, the high cost of living, hunger.

The British trade unions have organized 591,000 new workers in the past year. The 75th British Trade Union Congress recorded a membership of 6,240,411. The membership has increased since even this enumeration was made.

Dr. Joseph Goebbels, Nazi Propaganda Minister, warned in a speech delivered at the Berlin Sportpalast that the Nazis were prepared to behead any German "attempting to undermine the belief in victory."

Goebbels likewise warned Ger-

many's allies not to attempt to follow the example of Italy. "This war," he declared, "can be likened to an express train at top speed, and he who dares to alight on the way will break his neck."

AP reports that "discipline is very bad and the sailors seem to defy their officers completely when they are ashore" at the Trondheim U-boat base in Norway. "In the middle of the night, heavy fighting between U-boat officers and their marines can often be seen in the streets."

Mutiny of submarines crews and marines at Tromsø was reported immediately upon the resumption of aggressive U-boat warfare.

The Nazis have begun the deportation of all Danish Jews. They ignored the offer of the Swedish government to provide haven for 8,000 to 10,000 Jews. Thus Hitler wreaks his vengeance of these defenseless people for the militant revolt of the Danish masses against his criminal rule.

Anti-Nazi feeling is running so high in Sweden that the Swedish government felt compelled to advise the Nazi foreign office that "serious repercussions" would be felt in Sweden as a result of this persecution of the Danish Jews.

## Capitalist Reports His Plant Safe Under Nazis

Big Business demonstrates again that war or no war, it remains faithful and true to the almighty Dollar, or in this particular case, possibly the Pound.

In the last world war, the German and French steel trusts, despite the bitter fighting that was waged between the armies of the two countries, concluded secret agreements, which protected each other's properties and profits. This war has already uncovered similar scandals in the case of the Standard Oil-I. G. Farben cartel agreement and others.

Now along comes J. G. Hardy of Redding, Conn., president of the Falconbridge Nickel Mines, Ltd. of Toronto and reports to his company's annual stockholders meeting: "Incidentally, you will be glad to learn, as I was, that through indirect channels it is reported that your Norway refinery is safe so far and is being maintained."

"It is in operation by your Norwegian staff, under German control, on the same Norwegian nickel-copper ore production we formerly handled on a toll basis."

The Norwegian plant is producing refined nickel for Hitler's military machine, but that's O. K. with Hardy and the Falconbridge stockholders who continue to realize their profits.

Virtually all of America's major corporations, General Motors, General Electric, Ford, DuPont, etc., have important subsidiaries in Europe. What has happened to these plants? No doubt most of them are similarly "being maintained" under their original staffs and similarly producing for the Nazi murder machine.

This incident throws a revealing light on why Big Business objects to the Alien Property Custodian confiscating the properties of the German capitalists, on the grounds that it will establish a "bad precedent." Big Business remains true to itself. It says: War or no war, our profits come first.

## A Tidy Post-War Bonus For Big Businessmen

What will happen after the war to the billions of dollars worth of war plants and equipment built by the government? Does Big Business have to worry about the possibility of these plants being used to compete with their domination over the country's productive facilities?

Not at all, according to Secretary of Commerce Jesse Jones, who is in a position to know what the government's plans are. In fact, Jones indicated at a meeting of the New York Board of Trade last week, the government is going to do everything in its power—in the name of "free enterprise"—to turn these plants over to private industry.

Of course, Jones cautioned, businessmen should not expect to get these government-owned plants, properties and supplies for nothing. They should not look forward to getting "too many bargains." But the government will deal "fairly" with industry, he confided, and it was plain from everything he said that Big Business will have nothing to complain about.

Jones reported that the Defense Plant Corporation, subsidiary of the RFC, has authorized more than nine billion dollars for the construction, equipment or expansion of 1,753 plants throughout the country. Other billions have been spent in the same way by the War and Navy Departments and the Maritime Commission. The DPC properties include 534 airplane and airplane engine plants; 164 for production of iron, steel and related products; 116 for machine tools; 98 for radio and other scientific equipment; 84 for aluminum; 75 for ordnance equipment; 65 for ships and ship engines; 60 for synthetic rubber; 40 for magnesium, etc.

Thus in addition to the huge fortunes being coined out of the war, Big Business can look ahead to a tidy post-war bonus in the form of cheaply-purchased buildings, tools, machinery and other equipment which can be used to tighten their grip on production.

The Militant opposes the transfer of these plants as a virtual gift to Big Business. Paid for by the taxes taken from the masses, we insist that they should be used in the interests of the masses and not in the interests of private profit. Let the government keep these plants and let them be operated under workers' control.

## Almost Filibuster Time Again in Washington

It's almost filibuster time again down in Washington. The House of Representatives' bill to abolish payment of the poll tax as a voting requirement for ten million Southern white and Negro citizens has finally been approved by a subcommittee of the Senate Judiciary Committee and is slowly moving toward a vote in the Judiciary Committee itself. The committee will hold a hearing on Oct. 25 to consider whether or not it is constitutional for Congress to outlaw the unconstitutional poll tax. The committee's chairman, Senator Van Nuys, predicts that the committee will eventually vote favorably on the anti-poll tax bill but that the measure is certain to face a filibuster when it reaches the Senate floor.

An editorial in the CIO News of Oct. 4 warns that the three chief dangers facing the bill are that it may be bottled up in the Judiciary Committee, filibustered on the floor or dropped through some "gentlemen's agreement." But the editors of the CIO News, who spend a good deal of time whitewashing the administration, neglect to add that a "gentlemen's agreement" involving Roosevelt and his poll tax comrades is already in effect; and that it was this agreement which helped to scuttle the anti-poll tax bill last year.

The fight to win the vote for the South is a fight not only against the poll tax Democrats but also against the "humanitarian" in the White House who hopes that his silence on this issue will grease the way to a fourth term and against the Republicans who vote against the bill on "constitutional" grounds so that they can get the support of the poll taxers for some of their own dirty work. Abolition of the poll tax will benefit the labor movement above all, and it is the duty of the labor movement to combat the efforts of all enemies of the bill.