

MINERS BREAK LITTLE STEEL FORMULA

Red Army Smashes Nazi Resistance In Ukraine

Kiev Falls; German Retreat On Southern Front Verges On Rout; Soviet Columns Plunge Toward Rumanian and Polish Frontiers

By John C. Wright

The victorious columns of the Red Army keep surging onward. Kiev is again in Soviet hands. The victory at Kiev has sealed the outcome of the battle for the Dnieper line, a line which the German General Staff had so confidently expected to hold only a brief few weeks ago and which has been so decisively and swiftly shattered. In the battle of the Dnieper the Red Army has emerged victorious from the greatest battle of the war.

The speed at which the Red armored columns are driving ahead in the Kiev area, where advances of 30 to 40 miles and more have been achieved in several places after the breakthrough, can readily turn the German retreat into a rout.

At the southern tip of the German lines, the Red Army has succeeded in completely sealing off Crimea, and is now preparing to mop up the trapped enemy regiments there. The borders of Rumania are now within striking distance, less than 150 miles away.

To drive the Germans out of the remaining territories of the Ukraine the Red Army needs to capture Krivoy Rog, where the Germans face entrapment by Soviet columns moving south from re-conquered Kiev.

On the central front the Red troops are also forging ahead. In the Nevel sector they have smashed through to within 35 miles of the old Polish border. The German occupation of Byelorussian can hardly survive the coming winter.

While the northern battlefield, especially around Leningrad, has remained relatively quiescent in the recent period, the crumbling of the German lines elsewhere along the front makes their positions in the north less and less tenable. Sweeping as the victories of the Red Army have been, the promise of even greater victories lies ahead.

SOVIET JUBILATION

The Soviet workers have good reason for jubilation as they celebrate the 26th anniversary of the Russian October whose remaining conquests they have so gloriously defended against the Nazi onslaught. Neither in this war nor any previous war since the Napoleonic era has the German military machine suffered blows of such a magnitude as those already inflicted upon it by the Red Army. The oppressed masses of Europe rejoice over those victories which spur them to mobilize their ranks and imbue them with renewed confidence for the impending struggle for the workers' power. In the ranks of the celebrants we Trotskyists take our rightful place as the most consistent defenders of the Soviet Union and fighters for socialism.

Viewed solely on the military plane the position of the Soviet Union is indeed a favorable one. But it is favorable only with respect to imperialist Germany. Do the Soviet victories in and of themselves render the USSR permanently secure? The Kremlin

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Labor-Endorsed Candidate Runs Reactionary Campaign

DETROIT, Mich.—Mayor Jeffries was reelected by a vote of 207,799 to 175,817 in the most bitterly contested election campaign since 1937, when the CIO ran its own labor slate. Jeffries conducted an aggressive and scurrilous campaign and rallied to his banner all the anti-labor and anti-Negro forces.

Big Business and its kept press plunged full steam into the mayoralty campaign to beat the man who had the support of the labor and Negro organizations. Fitzgerald, the "liberal friend of labor" wilted in the course of the campaign and began to vie with his rival in dealing blows against labor and the Negro people. Fitzgerald actually condemned Jeffries for his failure to economize at the expense of the city employees and complained that if Jeffries had been more tactful in his approach he could have prevented the workers of the Detroit Street Railway from obtaining the meager wage increases which Jeffries had been forced to concede.

FLEETWOOD ABSTAINS

Jeffries, of course, had a field day with this kind of "labor statesmanship." "My opponent claims that he is the champion of labor," gleefully commented Jeffries. "Then he complains about DSR employees getting too much pay under my administration. It is the first time I ever heard of a reputed pro-labor candidate

complaining about giving employees too much."

Thus the Detroit Municipal Employees were provided with justification for openly supporting Jeffries. There was likewise no outcry against O. E. Wendel, Jr., business representative of the AFL Retail Clerks Local 876, for his endorsement of Jeffries. "All of organized labor is not behind Frank Fitzgerald for mayor," announced Wendel. The Teamsters Joint Council No. 43 likewise endorsed Jeffries.

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UAW Executive Board Supports Fight To Free Kelly Postal

Nov. 4, 1943

George Novack, Secretary
Civil Rights Defense Committee
160 Fifth Avenue
New York, N. Y.

Dear Sir and Brother:

On behalf of our International Executive Board I wish to convey to you the action taken on the Kelly Postal case.

In the light of obtaining national publicity our Board deemed it advisable to refer the resolution to the National CIO Convention convening November 1, 1943, in Philadelphia, Pa. Our delegates to this convention are supporting the resolution.

Fraternally,

GEORGE F. ADDES,
International Secretary Treasurer
UAW-CIO

An Anti-Fascist Fighter



INS Photo

One reason why the Black Shirts are getting more and more scarce in Italy. The above photograph shows an Italian worker typical of the thousands who proceeded to destroy fascism root and branch after the downfall of Mussolini.

Mine Victory Leads To CIO Demand For Wage Increases

The sixth constitutional convention of the CIO, meeting Nov. 1-5 in Philadelphia, voted to demand wage increases over and above the limitations of the Little Steel formula, at a moment when 530,000 coal miners were out of the pits on their fourth general strike against Roosevelt's wage-freezing policy and a million and one-half railroad workers were taking a general strike vote.

Although the demand for the scrapping of the Little Steel formula should have been the keynote of the convention, Philip Murray and Co. began the sessions by pushing through a reaffirmation of the no-strike pledge.

"Without qualifications or conditions." But the petty schemes of Murray to bureaucratically control the course of the CIO wage fight will unquestionably be shattered by the rank and file workers who are now more than ever convinced that they must follow the trail blazed by the heroic coal miners.

MINERS PAVED WAY

Murray and his fellow bureaucrats at the head of the CIO, hating and fearing the idea of a miners' victory against Roosevelt, have treacherously sabotaged the miners' struggle from the very

outset. Murray took the occasion of the CIO convention to again slander the miners and their fight.

Now he has the impudence to call on the coal miners and railroad workers to join him in a fight against the Little Steel formula. The "great fighter" Murray, is so chicken-hearted that he waited until he was absolutely certain the miners would win before he announced the opening of the CIO drive for higher wages.

The passage of a CIO resolution against the Little Steel

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Flint UAW Defies No-Strike Pledge In NLRB Balloting

Buick Workers Strike Against the Speedup

By JEFF THORNE

FLINT, Mich., November 8 — Smouldering discontent of Flint's 50,000 war workers exploded last week into a three-day strike and two overwhelming pro-strike votes.

Terrific speedup and general breakdown of bargaining were the immediate causes of these spreading repudiations of the no-strike policy. Strike talk spreads daily. At every opportunity workers cheer the United Mine Workers and want to follow their example.

On Monday, Chevrolet workers voted 4 to 1 (8099 to 2070) for strike action, in an NLRB-conducted referendum under the Smith-Connally "slave labor" Act. On Thursday, 144 Buick Aluminum Foundry metal pourers struck against the speedup and the suspension of two workers. On Friday, Fisher Body local 581 voted unanimously to demand an NLRB strike referendum.

PIECE WORK

The Buick foundry metal pourers' job is the most miserable and strenuous in that plant. Work has been boosted 100% in a year and now the company is ready for another 33% hike, without more men or higher pay—unless the union accepts the vicious incentive pay system that pits one worker against the next in a killing contest that only the corporation wins. Piece work, by whatever fancy name, means at best a tiny bit more pay for a helluva lot more work.

The metal pourers admit that less than half of them are in the union, but they stuck together and from all indications had the support of the other 3100 foundry workers. The management sent the 3100 home rather than continue the plant operating under the previous top production schedule.

WORKERS LEARNING

The union leaders, unfortunately, took no action to organize the men properly, it called no mass meetings and in general exercised no leadership of any kind in the situation. They offered the men only the time-worn formula: "We can't do a thing until you go back to work" etc. etc. So the metal pourers went back to work. But more explosions are bound to follow.

For lack of an effective union program of action, some individual workers are driven to actions of a personal nature, knocking down a foreman, quitting or trying to get fired in order to get a better job under the war manpower rules. Little wildcat strikes are becoming increasingly frequent.

But the workers are learning. As the wartime privations increase, they will be driven to force their leaders forward or find new ones.

Win Union Agreement After Staging Fourth Coal Strike

Roosevelt Decides to Throw Sop to Unions In Attempt to Allay Growing Labor Crisis

By John Adamson

The miners have won!

The miners have breached the Little Steel formula. They have repulsed the autocratic and arbitrary pretensions of the War Labor Board that no settlement would be approved while a strike is in progress.

The miners have proven again that a determined militant fight is worth more than all the resolutions, all the cringing and whining of the Murphys and Greens.

The agreement that the United Mine Workers signed with Ickes is virtually the same as the last Illinois contract, previously rejected by the WLB, except that the lunch period is reduced from one-half hour to 15 minutes. The present agreement provides that the miners shall receive an \$8.50 base rate per day and allows for virtual-

ly the same portal to portal pay as the last Illinois mine agreement.

It is difficult to estimate the exact money increase per hour that the miners

will receive, as it depends in part on the number of hours they will work and how much overtime they will earn. The actual money increase per day may vary from less than \$1 per day to as high as \$1.25 per day. The additional increases will all accrue as a result of increased hours of work.

Of course, this is a far cry from the original demand of \$2 a day increase. But in view of the present war situation and the tremendous forces lined up against the miners and their demands, the present agreement can only be interpreted as a signal victory.

COURAGE AND SOLIDARITY

What an unexampled demonstration the miners have given the labor movement of heroism, of unbreakable courage, of sacrifice and faith, of solidarity. Early in the struggle, Roosevelt personally assumed the generalship in the fight to housebreak the miners' union and to beat out of the miners' hearts the spirit of independence and daring. He threw at them everything he had.

Only The Italian Trotskyists Fight For Socialism

"... According to Pietro Treves, right wing Socialist leader, writing in 'Labour Discussion Notes' for August, of the six democratic and workers' parties which made their appearance on the fall of Mussolini, the only party which stood for the Socialist Republic was the Italian Trotskyist Party..." (Socialist Appeal [British] October, 1943.)

He used against them the vast resources of the capitalist state, and of his own virtually unlimited war-time powers. He threatened the miners with troops, with the draft, with jail. But the miners remained undismayed and they continued to hold their ground.

They first struck to a man on May 1. They ignored Roosevelt's order to call off the strike and demonstratively went back to work only under the instructions of their own union's policy committee. One month later, the miners began their second general strike. Again they respected the instructions of their leaders and after a few days returned to work.

The War Labor Board, flushed with victory, increasingly arrogant in its consciousness of power, then proceeded to turn down every single agreement that the miners succeeded in winning from the operators. They rejected out of hand the agreement with the Central Pennsylvania operators. They then turned thumbs down on the Illinois mine agreement. On June 18, the WLB crowned its work of infamy by flatly rejecting the demand of portal-to-portal pay and dictated a "yellow dog" contract, which it declared the miners' union must sign. Three days later, the miners walked out again. The third general coal strike was on.

STALINIST FINKS

The next day Lewis again instructed the miners to return to work, empty-handed, under a "truce" until Oct. 31, provided the mines remained under government control.

Thus the great struggle, which the United Mine Workers began on March 10 seemed fated to end in defeat. The three months of effort, sacrifice, and fighting seemed in vain. The forces arrayed against the miners appeared too strong to repulse.

Roosevelt, whose imposing labor edifice was repeatedly in danger of toppling under the furious thrusts of the miners,

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Election Trends Of 1943 Demonstrate Need Of Labor Party

The results of this year's elections showed a development and deepening of the main trends observable in the November 1942 elections. Roosevelt and his Democratic Party sustained new defeats. Such White House favorites as ex-Ambassador Bullitt who ran for Mayor in Philadelphia and Lieutenant-General Haskell who ran for Lieutenant-Governor in New York, lost to the Republicans.

Another big blow to Roosevelt was the election of a Republican Governor in Kentucky, a state that had given the Democrats a majority of 106,000 four years ago. The Republicans also scored significant victories over the Democrats in New Jersey and in many local elections.

The Republican gains can be accounted for in large measure by the growing discontent of the middle classes with the Roosevelt administration which they hold responsible for their sufferings.

Many white-collar workers, civil service employees, small business men and farmers expressed their resentment against the consequences of the war by voting for Republican or anti-Roosevelt candidates. This swing back to the Republican party is especially marked in the rural regions. American Institute of Public Opinion figures show that in 1,058 counties in the Midwest farm-belt the Republicans have increased their control from 121 in 1932 to 925 in 1943. Here and there these ex-

asperated middle-class elements have been joined by Negroes, disillusioned by Roosevelt's failure to fight discrimination and by his patronage of the Southern poll-taxers.

The working class in the main continued to back Roosevelt's Democratic Party and the Roosevelt-backed candidates. Roosevelt's name, however, has lost its old magic. The workers were apathetic and saw no real stake in the elections. Large numbers of them stayed away from polls. Voting everywhere was unusually light. This year like the last, hundreds of thousands of workers could see no appreciable difference between the candidates and programs of the two capitalist parties. Not enough in any case to evoke enthusiasm or to send

them to the polls. They showed little enthusiasm and gave scanty support to the so-called "labor" candidates placed on the Democratic tickets. They permitted Murphy, the Democratic candidate backed by the AFL and CIO in New Jersey, to go down to defeat. They did not turn out in sufficient numbers to elect Frank Fitzgerald, endorsed by the labor movement of Detroit. Nor did they go for Haskell the ALP-endorsed Democratic candidate for Lieutenant-Governor in New York.

The election results were a kick in the face for Hillman's National Political Action Committee set up by the CIO bureaucrats to head off the labor party movement. All the money, meetings and ballyhoo of Hillman's Committee couldn't rally the mass of

workers to Roosevelt's Democratic Party, which has struck them such terrible blows, especially in the period since Pearl Harbor.

When afforded an opportunity, the workers indicate that they want to make a decisive break with the discredited capitalist machines. They showed this in New Jersey and Michigan before the elections by their indifference toward labor candidates running on capitalist party tickets.

The New York City workers revealed these sentiments by their continued loyalty to the American Labor Party. Even

though the ALP has been for the past year a factional football between two contending cliques of unscrupulous, reactionary politicians and offered no real labor program, it nevertheless polled its highest relative vote since 1937. 288,508 voted ALP in New York City, amounting to 19.4 per cent of the total ballots. The ALP also succeeded in electing several candidates to the City Council.

The election results will unquestionably further strengthen the reactionary forces now dominant in Washington. It will further embolden the Dies, the Smiths, the Connallys. It is vain to imagine that the ignominious collapse of the much heralded Murray-Hillman CIO Political Action Committee and its policy of supporting "pro-labor" Roose-

velt-backed Democratic candidates will swerve the CIO bureaucrats from their fatal course.

These cynical bureaucrats are more afraid of an independent labor party than they are of a Republican victory. They have already announced that come what may they will not support a labor party movement.

The labor militants who fought so hard and so courageously for the creation of an independent labor party in Michigan, in New Jersey and elsewhere must now draw the lessons from the labor debacle in the 1943 elections. The need of the hour is to spread the word throughout the labor ranks that a continuation of the present "company unionism" on the political field will end only in still greater defeats in 1944 and will

pave the way for the growth and strengthening of reaction.

An independent labor party, that fights for a realistic and militant program of action which will answer the pressing problems of the poor people everywhere—of the industrial workers, the white collar workers, the small farmers as well as the lower middle class of the cities—will be able to weld the working class behind its fighting banner and the workers will in turn be able to give leadership to ever wider sections of the middle class. The sweeping electoral victories of the Canadian Labor Party, the CCF, demonstrate that this is a thoroughly realistic program. This constitutes the next great task of American labor.

Wartime Strike Struggles In Great Britain

By William F. Warde

In Britain the workers are beginning to move forward. Widespread discontent has led to the outbreak of strikes among dockers, miners, engineers, electricians, shipyard workers, transport workers and others. The number of strikes in September set a new high for the period of this war. There were 200 strikes in September compared to 10 in August.

As in the U. S., the British coal miners have been in the forefront, waging a determined and prolonged battle against the employers. For the first nine months of 1943 there were 577 mine strikes involving 200,200 miners. After a lull in October, the strike wave has again started to mount. New walkouts of miners, engineers and stevedores marked the first days of November.

Barrows Strike

The victory gained after an 18-day strike by 9,500 engineering, electrical and allied trades workers of the Vickers-Armstrong plant at Barrows-in-Furness has been the most significant of these recent strike struggles. Wage rates in the Barrows plant of Vickers-Armstrong are among the lowest in the country. The basic rate for engineers has remained the same for 29 years!

After lengthy negotiations between the national executives of the unions, the em-

ployers federations and the government, the National Arbitration Tribunal made a general wage award known as "326" which is the British rough equivalent of the War Labor Board's Little Steel formula. Then followed six months of fruitless negotiations between the Barrows workers and the employers.

"While they continued to pursue their demands through the legal channels," reports the Socialist Appeal, a British Trotskyist paper, "the workers claim that the bosses laughed at them and blocked every move; the Government grunted and fobbed them off, and the leaders of the respective trade unions made the usual excuses."

Having exhausted all channels of negotiation, disgusted with the dilatory tactics of the top leaders, the Barrows engineers at a mass meeting on Sept. 16 unanimously voted to go out on strike. Their action was fully supported by the women engineers in the plant and by eight other local unions that decided to come out with them.

Strike Bulletin

Almost every section of the community — white-collar workers, shop assistants, shopkeepers, soldiers and sailors — was in sympathy with the strikers. Collections were taken in restaurants and other public gathering places for the strike fund. Even the local police were reported friendly to the pickets.

The Strike Committee issued regular bulletins effectively replying to all attacks against the strike and reporting support received from other parts of the country. These bulletins were pasted up in prominent places and also circulated from hand to hand. They featured a "Roll of Greatest Dishonor" which named the 7 or 8 who scabbed in the strike.

One scab was picketed by 2,000 workers who lined the streets from the shipyard to his home. He went home "ill" that afternoon.

Bitterest against the scabs and Stalinist strike-breakers were the women who played a part equal to the men in the struggle and repelled all attempts of the top union officials and bosses to split the men and women workers. According to the Socialist Appeal, the women strikers "revealed a solidarity and determination that would not have seemed possible two years ago."

The Barrows workers were fighting against tremendous odds. A national issue was involved upon which the bosses would not easily retreat since a victory would disrupt the attempt to put a low ceiling on workers wages. The whole machinery of the government, with the aid of the capitalist press, the top union officials and the Stalinist strike-breakers, was brought into play against the Barrows workers in an effort to isolate them and break up their strike.

Stalinist Strike-breakers

After waiting four days to see if the strike would fizzle out, the top union officials first tried to split the electricians from the engineers. When this maneuver failed, the National Executive Committee of the Amalgamated Engineers Union suspended the District Committee which was leading the "illegal" strike and had the full confidence of the local union members. The workers unanimously voted a strong protest against this union-busting action as did AEU members in other sections. Meanwhile letters of support from other local unions containing donations for the strike fund poured unceasingly into the Strike Committee's headquarters.

The Stalinists mobilized a herd of scabs to try and break the solidarity of the workers. Among them were P. Devine, Lancashire Communist Party organizer; S. Abbott, member of the CP central committee; J. Owen, member of the British Daily Worker editorial board; and several Stalinist AEU officials.

The CP sent Abbott to instruct Tom Rawlinson, secretary of the Strike Committee, who was formally a CP member, to resign from the Strike Committee and get the men back to work. Rawlinson, an honest working class militant, told the Stalinist strike-breaker that he already considered himself outside the CP and forthwith re-

ported the conversation to the Strike Committee.

Attack on Trotskyists

The Trotskyist Socialist Appeal distributed a special supplement calling upon all workers to give support to the Barrows strikers and pointing out that "a victory for the Barrows workers is a victory for the workers everywhere."

The most venomous attacks of the bosses, their government and press, the top union officials and the Stalinists were concentrated upon the Trotskyists.

Churchill's chief labor lieutenant, Ernest Bevin, breathed fire and thunder against the workers and against the Trotskyists. The London Daily Express of Oct. 1 reported in scare headlines that: "Ministry of Labor experts are devising legislation to punish Trotskyites and other anti-war agitators who have set up an organization to seek out grievances, and then send special emissaries to factories and mines for the purpose of urging strike action."

But the combined efforts of the bosses, the government, their labor stooges and the Stalinist scabs to smash the strike and raise a hue and cry against the Trotskyists were shattered by the unbreakable unity and solidarity of the workers. At a mass meeting of 8,000 workers held two weeks after the strike started, only about 20 voted for the Stalinist policy of going back to work

without a settlement. At this same meeting the strikers passed a resolution warning the boss class and top trade union leaders that any attempt to victimize the strike leaders would be met with renewed strike action.

Lessons of Struggle

Four days later the strikers returned victoriously to work, having won definite wage increases. Above all, they had gained confidence in their own independent power and fighting capacities. The unity in action exhibited by the Barrows workers has taught the armament kings a lesson they will not soon forget.

The successful struggle of the Barrows workers will also teach their fellow workers a number of important lessons. It has served to expose the cowardice and impotence of the top union leaders and the thoroughly reactionary scab policies of the Stalinists. It demonstrated that 18 days of strike action got results, while more than six and a half months of arbitration brought nothing. It disclosed the existence of a new militant leadership in the lower ranks of the unions.

Of the utmost significance is the fact that this victory was achieved by workers inspired by the program of the Trotskyists. As the strike wave spreads, more and more militants will follow the trail blazed by the Barrows vanguard.

TRADE UNION NOTES

By Marvel Scholl

The railroad wage dispute has entered another stage. On Monday, Nov. 8, the Shaw panel, appointed by Roosevelt in his latest maneuver to stall the settlement of the railway workers demands for increased wages, made its report. Appointed last month to reconsider the wage demands of the 1,100,000 non-operating railroad employees, the board has recommended a wage increase of four cents an hour. Provision is also made for a sliding increase up to ten cents per hour for some of the lowest paid categories.

The 15 railway unions representing the non-operating railway workers have previously rejected an almost similar proposal. The unions hold that the agreement they negotiated with the carriers on Aug. 7, which provides for an 8 cents an hour increase, has settled the dispute under the provisions of the Railway Labor Act.

The appointment of the Shaw board was illegal under the provisions of the Railway Labor Act. Roosevelt, in his mad stampede to ditch the railway workers out of their wage increase, has had to violate the provisions of the capitalists' own laws.

Meanwhile a million and one-half railway workers are marking their strike ballots. On Dec. 1 the ballots will have been tallied and a strike date is supposed to be set.

The action of the Toledo railway unions gives an indication of the general mood prevailing among the railroad workers. They held the largest meeting of the railroad workers since the 1920 days, just prior to the Chicago Oct. 26 meeting of the railroad union heads. Toledo is the third largest railroad center in the country.

The meeting was called by a delegated body, representing 34 locals and lodges and 21 crafts. It unanimously passed three resolutions: (1) empowering the general chairmen and other union officials at the Chicago meeting to press for full wage demands—20 cents per hour for the non-operating workers and 30 cents per hour for the operating workers—and promised that "if a strike becomes necessary we will walk off the jobs to a man"; (2) calling on the union officials to take a general strike vote; (3) setting up the delegated body which had called the meeting as a permanent council to "co-operate with other labor groups in the municipal elections and in future elections."

While the wage demands are being stalled and Roosevelt's hatchet-men are issuing dire warnings about "inflation," the railroads are scooping up super-profits in buckets-full.

Figures just released by Labor Research Association show that for the first eight months of 1943, railroad profits have risen 23% over the profits for the same period in 1942—and 1942 was the "high peak in profits in railroad history."

Moreover, "costs per manhour have dropped 21% since 1933 while manpower productivity measured in terms of revenue

traffic carried per manhour has increased 47%."

The United Automobile Worker of Nov. 1 carried the following dispatch on the Congressional hearings of the UAW Brewster local:

"From every quarter and without let-up the members of Brewster Aeronautical, Local 365, UAW-CIO, have been at the receiving end of a barrage of insult, provocation and general abuse during the past two months."

"The attacks are so thorough and complete as to lead to the immediate suspicion that they are organized and purposeful."

"High Navy officials, members of both Houses of Congress have joined with company big-wigs in an effort to constitute themselves a new Relief Commission to feed the hungry mouths of a rapacious reactionary press."

"Led by the Washington Post, all the newspapers in the area affected by the tri-state Brewster Corporation, with plants in New York, New Jersey and Pennsylvania, have assigned their top flight newsmen to cover the affairs of Brewster. What is the condition that calls forth this accumulation of power against the members of this aggressive and effective local of the UAW-CIO? What are the facts behind it all?"

"What they object to is the fact that Brewster local has one of the few union shop contracts in the aircraft industry."

"Despite months of investigation by the FBI and committees of both houses, the union at Brewster's stands with its head high and free of any charges that will hold water."

The strike of 3,000 workers who walked out of the National Supply Company's Span-Chalfant plant in Pittsburgh last week has ended. The agreement reached has been ratified by the workers. The dispute arose over the firing of a United Steel Workers Union grievance committeeman who had been accused of "fomenting" a strike in the hot mill on Saturday.

The case will be referred to an arbitrator under the contract provisions.

This strike was marked by the use of the new strikebreaking weapon: the threat to immediately draft all strikers. 700 of the draft-age strikers were warned that unless they returned to work immediately they would be reclassified to 1A and held for immediate induction. Draft Board No. 3 had already reclassified eight of the strikers and ordered early physical examinations for them, when the strike ended.

Mine explosions, snuffing out the lives of miners, have become an almost weekly occurrence. One more such disaster took place when an explosion shook the underground workings of the American Rolling Mills Company's No. 3 mine at Nellis, W. Va. on Friday evening, Nov. 6. Rescue workers began immediately to search and dig for the bodies of 35 to 40 miners believed to have been in the workings. By Nov. 7 the mine explosion had already claimed its tenth victim.

Coal Miners Break Little Steel Formula

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succeeded in rallying his forces. The miners had to return to the pits without winning any of their major demands. The WLB, which many times in the heat of the struggle was about to succumb under the miners' assault, was enabled to reassert its authority and impose an even more autocratic control over the trade unions.

The Murrys, Greens, Thomases and the Stalinist finks had done their work of treachery and betrayal. They had stabbed the miners in the back. They had provided Roosevelt with the necessary backing to weather the crisis and to stabilize his regime. They had enabled Roosevelt to make his April 8 "hold-the-line" order stick. They had given him the indispensable assistance which he so sorely needed to force through the wage and labor freeze.

UNION-BUSTING DRIVE

The bitter struggle in coal revealed before the eyes of the whole labor movement that the union bureaucrats feared a miners' victory just as did Roosevelt and his henchmen.

The labor movement suffered a serious defeat when the miners went back to work empty-handed, at the conclusion of the third coal strike. Again Roosevelt was firmly in the saddle. His labor policy, apparently, was more secure than ever before. His WLB stooges began lording it over the labor movement with increasing presumption and high-handedness.

Roosevelt and Congress, feeling that the time was propitious, began raining new blows on the labor movement. The union-busting drive assumed truly gigantic proportions. In rapid-

fire order, Congress with Roosevelt's complicity, passed the Smith-Connally "slave-labor" Act. Roosevelt then proceeded to smash the resistance of defiant sections of the miners' union by starting criminal proceedings under this same anti-strike law against miners in western Pennsylvania. Roosevelt climaxed the anti-labor drive by his "sanctions" decree of Aug. 16 which went far beyond the provisions of the Smith-Connally Act in its anti-labor ferocity. All the while, the administration kept dangling before the eyes of the unions the threat of a compulsory labor draft.

SEA OF SOLIDARITY

There is no question but that the labor movement suffered a depression, as the unionists watched the campaign of labor-baiting rise to a furious pitch while their own leaders continued to make one retreat after another before the anti-labor onslaught. The workers reasoned that if the miners with their leadership could not win, what chance did they have under the leadership of the Murrys and Greens. A growing listlessness and bewilderment was discernible in labor ranks and was especially clearly disclosed by the conduct of the union delegates at the recent conventions of some of the leading international unions: the rubber, electrical, shipbuilding and auto workers. The workers did not see a way out.

But the miners, as we see, remained largely impervious to this pessimistic mood. The miners, living in their small miners' towns, dwelled in a world apart from the venal columnists and the time-servers who manufacture public opinion for the big capitalists. The miners knew only the

justice of their case and the immediacy of their needs. On the whole they remained oblivious to the high pressure attempts to demoralize and to divide them. They swam in a sea of solidarity and remained insulated from outside "public opinion" by the sheer mass of their ranks.

No sooner did Ickes turn back the last of the mines to the private owners on Oct. 13, than the miners began to walk out of the pits. They ignored the orders of Lewis, of the union policy committee, the WLB and Roosevelt. By the time of the "truce" deadline, on Oct. 31, the coal strike was complete. The fourth general strike of 530,000 coal miners had begun.

WHY MINERS SUCCEEDED

Where can anyone find in the annals of labor, another such example of discipline, of steadfastness, of solidarity? The miners work with the danger of injury or death as their constant companion. What a school that is! The miners are truly men with "hearts of oak." They are indifferent to danger and they are contemptuous of death. Three times they plunged into the battle and three times they were hurled back. But undaunted they tried again, and the fourth time they broke through. And in breaking through, they won not for themselves alone, but for the labor movement as a whole. The miners' strikes of 1943, taking place in the midst of the Second World War, will forever remain a landmark in the history of the American class struggle.

Why did the miners finally succeed this time? The fourth coal strike took place at the very moment when a new labor crisis was ripening. The railroad unions, whose leaders did not lift their little fingers to help the miners when Roosevelt was attempting to plunge a knife into the heart of their union, are themselves today right up against the wage-freeze. The railway workers are seething with dissatisfaction. The union officials feel their prestige is in the balance. This reputedly most conservative section of the trade union movement has already declared the no-strike pledge outlawed and the railway unions representing one and half million workers are today taking a strike vote.

GROUNDSWELL

Roosevelt has read the handwriting on the wall. He has seen this giant of a labor movement which has been betrayed by its own top leadership, absorb all the repressive anti-labor legislation, shake off the labor-baiting campaign, and still retain its strength and its fighting capacities. Roosevelt understands that in the last six months the reputation of his labor lieutenants has reached an all-time low, and the danger exists that they may become completely discredited with their own rank and file. He knows that when the chicken-hearted and eminently respectable "labor executives" of the railway unions begin to talk—even though on their part it may be only talk—about strike votes, that the groundswell of dissatisfaction and opposition must have assumed truly gigantic proportions.

Roosevelt has also learned that despite his repressions and despite his successful resistance to the miners' demands, he cannot house-break their union, he cannot cow their fighting spirit, and he cannot get the maximum coal production in the absence of a contract.

Should he try again to force the miners back empty-handed, should he continue to give the run-around to the long-patient and long-suffering railway workers, at a time when his own labor popularity is scraping bottom? Should he again show himself in his true colors as the chief representative of rapacious American capitalism, moving with giant strides in the direction of reaction? Roosevelt came to the conclusion that it would be sheer foolhardiness on his part to attempt to meet the new labor crisis head on. He decided that it was necessary to throw a sop to the working class in order to bolster the shaken authority of his labor lieutenants and to strengthen his own administration.

LEARNING FAST

Roosevelt permitted Ickes to sign the contract with the UMW and the holier-than-thou WLB

had to swallow its inflated pride and promptly approve the contract. Then Roosevelt announced the creation of a five-man committee to "study" the Bureau of Labor Statistics cost-of-living figures, long under fire from the labor movement. WLB Chairman Davis showed in which direction the wind was blowing by his letter to Wallace on Nov. 6: "As the months roll by and the board continues to hold wages to the general level of Sept. 15, 1942, we become increasingly conscious of the fact that we are asking one segment of society to do its part to protect all Americans from the ravages of inflation, while at the same time, a similar obligation has not been placed as heavily upon the shoulders of some of the other segments of this society."

This is the same glib, arrogant Park Avenue lawyer who but three months ago ruled that labor had no right "to demand wage increases beyond the wage stabilization policies of the WLB on the ground that other sectors of our battleline against inflation are not being held."

The Murrys and Greens, who stalked and attacked the miners for six months, who denounced their struggle and exoriated their strike, are now rushing headlong to take advantage of the miners' victory. Labor's new drive for

own top leadership, absorb all the repressive anti-labor legislation, shake off the labor-baiting campaign, and still retain its strength and its fighting capacities. Roosevelt understands that in the last six months the reputation of his labor lieutenants has reached an all-time low, and the danger exists that they may become completely discredited with their own rank and file. He knows that when the chicken-hearted and eminently respectable "labor executives" of the railway unions begin to talk—even though on their part it may be only talk—about strike votes, that the groundswell of dissatisfaction and opposition must have assumed truly gigantic proportions.

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The Negro Struggle

By David Ransom

The FEPC—Is It Worth Saving?

Last week a hue and cry went up from the liberal circles and some Negro leaders against Comptroller General Lindsay C. Warren's ruling that government contracts need not contain a non-discrimination clause. The ruling was made after the Southwestern Bell Telephone Company had refused to sign a government contract forbidding discrimination against Negroes.

On Nov. 6 Roosevelt reversed Warren's order, stating that the provisions in his Executive order 9346 could only be interpreted as "mandatory."

The people who try to dress up Roosevelt as a fighter for Negro rights and who appealed to the White House to reverse Warren's decision, are now jubilant. Warren's ruling, they said, had deprived the FEPC of power to punish the companies that Jim Crow the Negroes. Roosevelt's reversal of Warren's ruling presumably restores this power to the FEPC and makes it an effective weapon against Jim Crow in industry. This is what the liberals claim. Let us see just what the status of the FEPC really is.

The Fair Employment Practices Committee, it will be remembered, was set up in June 1941 to carry out the original executive order 8802 forbidding discrimination in government agencies and war industries. The executive order by calling for non-discrimination clauses in all government contracts was supposed to give the FEPC power to fight against discrimination in industry. The FEPC could, in theory, request the government to revoke contracts of companies violating the President's executive order.

But the truth of the matter is that in the two and a half years of its existence, the FEPC never took steps to punish government contractors who violated the President's executive order. It is a matter of public record that the FEPC chairman who just resigned, Father Haas, declared that companies violating the non-discrimination clause in their government contracts have not been and would not be deprived of their government contracts because this would interfere with war production.

In Roosevelt's war program, the capitalists' profits and production come first, and democracy and equality for Negroes last. Naturally, the defenders of Roosevelt have omitted this fact in the hullabaloo they have raised about the Warren ruling.

Is it any wonder then that the FEPC never even began the job of wiping out discrimination in war industry and never even tried to use the small police powers it commanded in theory? The reason the FEPC has failed is this, that Roosevelt never intended the FEPC to be a weapon in the struggle against discrimination. In other words, the FEPC was created to fool the Negro people into thinking the government would act against Jim Crow in industry, and in this way prevent the Negroes from taking the road of independent mass action. For, when the FEPC was set up by Roosevelt in June, 1941, the militancy of the Negro people was at a height and Randolph and other Negro leaders were organizing a march on Washington to protest discrimination against Negroes.

Not only has the FEPC been a failure so far as stamping out discrimination goes, but of late it has taken a reactionary anti-Negro, anti-labor turn. In June,

the FEPC claimed that the segregation of Negroes in separate parts of the yards of a shipyard and drydock company in Mobile, Alabama was not a form of discrimination. This has set a pattern for segregation, particularly in the South, which has been followed in other instances.

Lately, the FEPC has concentrated on cases involving unions that bar or Jim Crow Negroes. The FEPC publicity has tended to create the impression that unions are mainly responsible for discrimination against Negroes.

That the FEPC is worthless to Negroes has been recognized by a militant Negro labor leader, Willard Townsend, president of the Redcap union, and member of the national executive board of the CIO. At the national convention of the CIO last week, Townsend proposed that the convention go on record as opposing

A Tribute To Albert Parker

Editor:

I am indeed sorry that Mr. Albert Parker, columnist, who writes "The Negro Struggle" weekly, is being inducted into the Army.

He will be missed by everyone who has ever read that column. It was the most informative column that had been written by anyone in a long time. He is a great loss to the paper and a greater loss to the Negro clientele.

L. F. COLES
New York City

a permanent FEPC. Instead he called for a federal law making discrimination a crime.

Not only are the supporters of Roosevelt forced to falsify the record of the FEPC but they must also hide how far the Roosevelt administration is willing to go in satisfying the reactionary demands of the poll-tax congressional politicians. Roosevelt's task is to mollify them without completely losing his liberal reputation among Negroes and workers.

To keep control of the Democratic party in 1944, the year of the presidential election, Roosevelt needs the votes of the Southern Bourbon bloc. One of the ways the grumbling poll-tax congressmen are kept in line by Roosevelt is by making sure that the FEPC has no real power.

Roosevelt may disclaim and reverse Warren's ruling, but he is responsible for the fact a poll-tax politician was put in a position to make such a ruling. Warren was appointed to the post of Comptroller General for fifteen years over the protests of Negro and liberal organizations. Militant negroes can no more forget this fact than they can ignore the actions of another Roosevelt supporter, Lindsay, who during his term as representative from the poll-tax state of North Carolina demonstratively barred Negroes from eating in the restaurant of the House of Representatives.

The entire history and record of the FEPC are all part of the deception practiced by Roosevelt in order to make the Negro masses believe that the government represents and defends their interests. Just the contrary is true. The liberals and Negro leaders betray the Negro people when they advise them to rely on capitalist politicians to win equality for them.

The Imperishable Lessons Of October And Europe's Impending Socialist Revolution

By Albert Goldman

[Extracts from speech on the twenty-sixth anniversary of the Russian Revolution delivered in New York City on Nov. 7, 1943.]

For the first time in many years we celebrate the anniversary of the October Revolution with the joyous feeling in our hearts that we now have certain evidence that another October is coming. For more than ten years our confidence in the coming of another October was based on our theory. But now we can point to concrete evidence. The Italian workers have struck out their first and threatened to take their fate into their own hands. And this is the essence of October—the masses coming out as an independent force and taking their fate into their own hands.

The Apparent Power of Fascism

Where are the theoreticians who spoke of fascism as a new social order? Where are they who, echoing the boasts of Mussolini and Hitler, conceived of the fascist regime as one that will last for centuries?

There is no doubt that at times the power of the ruling class appears too stupendous to be overthrown. How indestructible appeared the power of the Czarist monarchy just prior to the February Revolution! It had an army, police, and a church. The Russian workers were backward and the rural population composed of ignorant peasants. The February Revolution came as a surprise to all except those who, accepting the method of Karl Marx, were able to penetrate beneath the surface of things and could therefore see the development of forces undermining the power of the autocracy.

And after a lapse of only eight months the masses who had placed the Menshevik and S. R. compromisers in power threw them out and, under the leadership of the Bolshevik Party, took power, and struck the most powerful blow ever struck on behalf of freedom and equality.

The first lesson of the October Revolution is: Do not consider the apparent power of the ruling class to the exclusion of other factors; look deeper and see the might of the masses who, under the stress and pressure of circumstances, begin to see things in their true relationships; and who — once they unite and begin to act independently — reveal a power that is irresistible.

As we meet tonight, that lesson is driven home to us. The power of fascism is crumbling and when the masses of Europe will unite and act independently the capitalist masters will be helpless. If the backward Russian workers could achieve their October the workers of Italy, Germany, France and England are surely capable of doing the very same thing.

The October Revolution has stood the test of events under the most adverse conditions. Its enormous vitality has been proved by the terrible test to which it has been subjected in the present war. Where could the Soviet Union have found the power to defend itself against the greatest military machine in history if not for the October Revolution?

It is the Revolution with its nationalization of industry and the introduction of a planned economy that enabled the Soviet Union to build a productive machine capable of equipping the Red Army with all the necessary weapons of offense and defense. No matter how great the willingness of an army to fight and die, it is helpless

CIO To Demand Wage Increases

(Continued from page 1)

formula a few hours before Ickes signed a contract with Lewis does not put Murray in the vanguard of the fight against Roosevelt's wage-freeze. Many CIO resolutions against the Little Steel formula have previously been passed. The recent UAW convention passed such a resolution. But all of these resolutions remained purely academic declarations until the miners by a strike action smashed the Little Steel formula.

STEEL DEMANDS

Now Murray, who before the miners' victory had confined himself to a demand for a price rollback, is cautiously creeping onto ground already conquered by the miners. It has been officially announced that the United Steel-

workers of America, of which Murray is the president, will open the CIO campaign for wage increases. A conference of the USA executive board with the presidents of the local unions is to be held in Pittsburgh about Dec. 1 to decide on the wage demands. Other CIO unions are to follow the lead of the USA.

While warning that local strikes and stoppages would result from the continuation of the Little Steel formula, Murray hastened to reassure Roosevelt that he was not making a threat but rather expressing a fear that he would be unable to prevent such acts. It is clear that the CIO officials are under heavy pressure from the membership. The workers want and expect action.

Despite all the careful plans of the cowardly CIO officials to fish for handouts from the bosses and Roosevelt without becoming involved in a fight, they have been compelled by the miners' victory to set in motion forces which they will be unable to control according to plan.

EVENTFUL DAYS AHEAD

The rubber workers are burning with indignation over the outrageous wage decision handed to them by the WLB. They want and intend to get justice. The auto workers will take the CIO convention decision as a signal to launch a fight for wage increases. And once the auto workers are in motion, no bureaucrat is going to lead them around by the nose. They know how to fight.

Murray told the convention that the CIO will not use the strike weapon, but will resort instead to political action. Like the roll-back dodge, this formula, too, is a piece of connivance devised as an alibi against really fighting for the workers. The CIO officials intend to continue clinging to Roosevelt's coat-tails. It definitely is not the policy of the CIO to organize a third party, Murray informed the delegates, but rather to abstain from and discourage any move in that direction.



ALBERT GOLDMAN

if it does not possess the proper weapons. A great part of the morale of an army depends upon the sufficiency of its equipment. The October Revolution gave the Red Army its equipment.

Soviet Morale Has Its Roots in October

Where would the Russian masses have found the necessary spirit and stamina to go on fighting desperately after the terrible defeats of the first year if not for the October Revolution? By October 1942 the enemy had seized some of the richest sections of the country, had deprived the masses of huge quantities of food, had destroyed many of the finest industrial centers, had taken millions as prisoners and had killed about twelve million soldiers and civilians. But the army supported by the masses kept on fighting and has achieved victories beyond our fondest hopes. Never in history has such morale existed in a nation.

What Stalinism Has Cost the USSR

And one must never forget that the state representing the Revolution is under the control of a bureaucracy to whom the spirit of October is completely alien. The Stalinist bureaucracy constitutes an enormously difficult obstacle in the path of the Soviet masses.

Some people see the victories of the Red Army but they do not see the terrific cost of these victories, a cost which is due solely to the policies of the Kremlin bureaucracy. What terrible damage resulted to the Soviet industries from the purge of the most capable executives! What resentment was aroused in the masses by the failure of the bureaucracy to consider the needs of the consumers! How much damage was actually done to industry is shown by the false charges of sabotage against those who were unflinchingly loyal to the Revolution. Great damage was done to the industrial machine not by sabotage on the part of those who devoted their lives to the Revolution, but by sheer incompetence on the part of the loyal members of the Stalinist bureaucracy.

The elimination of workers' democracy in the Soviet Union was the greatest single blow to Soviet industry. The serious problems confronting the workers' state after the revolution can be solved only by the active participation of the masses in their solution. There are enormous resources of initiative and skill in the masses and these can be utilized only if the workers feel free to criticize and to participate freely. The building of socialism without democracy is impossible.

If the Red Army achieved victories subsequent to the murder of Tukhachevsky and other great military leaders, the Stalinists and their fellow-travelers attribute the victories to the executions. But how about the terrible defeats of the first year of the war before a new leadership was developed in the midst of the conflict? The cost of the victories has been terribly high because of the policies of Stalinism.

What a handicap Stalin has placed on the defense of the Soviet Union by substituting the reactionary ideology of Russian nationalism and slavish racialism for the ideas of October! The men who achieved the October Revolution and fought in the Civil War were animated by the ideas of socialist internationalism. They did not think of themselves as Russians fighting for Russia but as workers fighting for the world socialist revolution, for the ideas of Marx and Engels. Stalin has proclaimed the Soviet Union as a champion not of the working masses but of the Slavs.

If the Soviet masses have shown wonderful morale it is only because they have accepted the position of Trotsky on the Soviet Union and the Stalinist bureaucracy. I do not mean to imply that the Soviet masses have read Trotsky's explanation of the nature of the Soviet Union. Many of the more politically advanced elements have perhaps reached the same theoretical conclusions. But the masses as a whole have been influenced by a very simple and obvious fact. The October Revolution eliminated the capitalist class. The state emanating from the Revolution nationalized the property of the capitalists. Although Stalin has destroyed the freedom and

democracy introduced by the Revolution, capitalism has not yet been restored. It is therefore necessary to defend the Soviet Union against all capitalist powers.

The Soviet masses are fighting to the death because they want to prevent the factories from becoming the property of capitalists and the land from returning to the ownership of landlords.

The Danger to the USSR Still Remains

The danger to the Soviet Union is far from over even if we assume, as it is safe to assume, that Hitler's defeat is not far off. Everyone saw how tense the relationship between the Allies and the Soviet Union became when the Red Army began to push the German forces out of the Soviet Union. To the capitalists of the world the Red Army represents a force that guards a state from which capitalism has been eliminated. We have never tired of saying that the fundamental antagonism between the capitalist world and the Soviet Union continues to exist even under the Stalinist regime. The fundamental proposition of Trotsky that so long as the capitalist world continues to exist, the Soviet Union is in danger, remains as true now as it has ever been.

No agreement can eliminate that danger because it is rooted in the fact that capitalism cannot tolerate the danger to it that is implicit in the very existence of a country where capitalism has been destroyed.

According to those who merely look on the surface of things, the Moscow agreement recently signed by Hull, Molotov and Eden assures peace and tranquility both to the Soviet Union and to the capitalist world.

But every school boy knows by this time that agreements between states are kept only so long as they coincide with the interests of the respective states. As Marxists we understand that agreements do not determine the relationship between states. Even an agreement between two capitalist states is not to be considered inviolate. How much more so an agreement between a capitalist state and the Soviet Union!

This is not to say that the Moscow agreement has no significance. Its significance lies not in the possibility that it will assure peace between the capitalist states and the Soviet Union but that it presents a serious danger to the Soviet Union. That may sound paradoxical but if one realizes that the agreement necessarily implies concerted action by Stalin, Roosevelt and Churchill against the coming European Revolution then it becomes clear that it is dangerous to the Soviet Union. For it is only the European Revolution that can save the Soviet Union and any threat to suppress that revolution is a danger to the Soviet Union.

In an article in the magazine section of the New York Times of Oct. 31, C. L. Sulzberger writes:

"Many Russians with whom the writer has talked frankly discussed the dangers of a communized Germany. They take the view that this would eventually turn in the direction of Trotskyism and might conceivably begin once again, therefore, to foment dangers for the Soviet Union — a possibility which will at all costs have to be avoided."

Who are the Russians with whom Sulzberger has discussed the matter? Not with revolutionary workers but with bureaucrats. And when a bureaucrat speaks of "danger" to the Soviet Union from a Trotskyist Germany, he means danger to the Stalinist bureaucracy.

The European October and Its Enemies

The danger which Stalin, Churchill and Roosevelt behold is not illusory. On the contrary it is very, very real. It strikes terror into their hearts. It is the October Revolution lifting up its head and shaking its fist.

What is the deepest significance of the awakening of the Italian masses? After twenty years of terrible oppression, after the murder of the best militants, the Italian masses begin to stir and the rulers are terrified. In the leadership stands American imperialism planning to control the destinies of the European continent. It depends primarily on military force but it will utilize reactionaries, liberal democrats, social democrats and Stalinists.

Especially the latter. For who is there more able to mislead the masses than the Stalinists? Roosevelt and Churchill, representatives of capitalism, cannot fool the European masses.

A very symbolic and revealing incident occurred only a short while ago. Badoglio had asked the Allies to help save Italy from the clutches of communism after the war is over. A few days later he announced that he was perfectly willing to permit a representative of the Communist Party of Italy in the government. I do not know whether Badoglio had figured out for himself that communism has nothing to do with the Communist Party and that to prevent communism he must take representatives of the Communist Party into the government. Whether Badoglio figured it out for himself or whether someone smarter than he is, explained it to him does not matter. The correctness of his position is not to be doubted.

The Revolution Is Inevitable

Only they who look upon the surface of things will despair about the success of the European Revolution. The masses of Europe have power in numbers and they have powerful friends in the camp of their enemies.

They have a mighty friend in the British working class, the class that once stayed the hand of Churchill when he wanted to crush the Russian October. The British workers will once more stay Churchill's hand when he will attempt to crush the European October. The European masses have friends in the Soviet Union, the millions of workers who remember the traditions of October. The European masses have friends in this country.

For ourselves, on this day of celebration of the Russian October, we pledge to exert every effort in defense of the coming European October. We shall not be idle while the European masses are struggling. Ours is the task of awakening the American workers to the necessity of preventing American imperialism from destroying the workers' revolution in Europe.

We look forward eagerly and confidently for the moment when the European working class will step forward and proclaim its determination to drive out all exploiters and oppressors. We look forward eagerly and confidently to the moment when the masses following the banner of the Fourth International will proclaim their determination to destroy capitalism with its hates and prejudices, with its hunger and its wars, and build socialism with equality and freedom.

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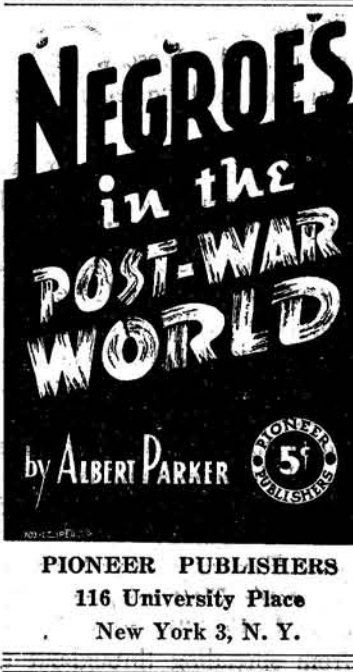
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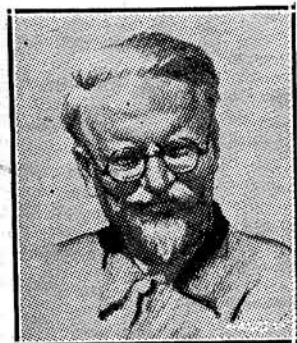
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— LEON TROTSKY

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2. Trade union wages for all workers drafted into the army.
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4. Confiscation of all war profits. Expropriation of all war industries and their operation under workers' control.
5. A rising scale of wages to meet the rising cost of living.
6. Workers Defense Guards against vigilante and fascist attacks.
7. An Independent Labor Party based on the Trade Unions.
8. A Workers' and Farmers' Government.
9. The defense of the Soviet Union against imperialist attack.

Subsidies And Profits

In his message to Congress on Nov. 1, Roosevelt once again announced that he intends to roll back food prices by means of a subsidy program. Subsidies have been in effect since last June on meats, coffee and butter and as everybody knows they have not appreciably cut down prices on these commodities.

But even these pitifully inadequate efforts of the administration to keep prices from rising too fast have encountered fierce resistance from the food profiteers and their Congressional servants. Why are the food monopolists so opposed to subsidies? Big Business as a general rule is not at all averse to demanding and accepting subsidies from the government. The mining corporations today get subsidies for copper production. The oil monopolists get theirs.

Indeed, the millionaire food interests based their alliance with Roosevelt's administration in the 1930's upon a program of federal subsidies. The big corn, cotton, tobacco, hog and wheat growers all put their snouts in the Treasury trough. But at that time the market for their crops and products was restricted and only through government aid could they maintain their profits.

Today however the situation is reversed. The demand for food products is unlimited. The food corporations are already raking in tremendous superprofits. But they remain unsatiable. They will tolerate no government regulations or subsidies which attempt to prevent them from squeezing still greater profits.

The National City Bank *Bulletin*, organ of, by and for the big money bags, explains in its June 1943 number why "businessmen do not like subsidies. . . . They do not want the question of profit . . . to be determined by the decision of a government official."

Roosevelt's war policies guarantee the monopolists huge super-profits. Since the Federal government however is the biggest buyer of foodstuffs, the administration must attempt to some degree to keep down the war costs of its food budget. More important, Roosevelt feels the growing pressure of the workers and middle classes in the cities for lower food prices. He knows that unless he can keep,

or appear to be keeping, food prices from soaring, the organized workers will get out of hand and begin striking for higher wages.

That is why Roosevelt continues to insist upon the subsidy program. While its economic value is doubtful, Roosevelt feels he must have it as an indispensable political weapon to keep organized labor in line.

The same National City Bank *Bulletin* points out the workers will finally foot the bill in any case: "If the costs . . . are not borne by consumers through higher prices, they must be borne by them either through taxes or through further inflation . . . Thus subsidies conceal a real price."

The food profiteers however now see the chance to make a killing. They intend to brook no interference, feeble though it be. That is why Roosevelt's half-hearted attempts at governmental regulation of food prices through subsidies have run head on into the invincible sabotage of big capital.

Roosevelt will not and cannot succeed in halting the rise in prices. The past two years have proved that his policies are only a deception of the people and a cover for the profiteers.

Prices cannot be fixed except through democratic consumers' committees on prices, composed of representatives of the unions, cooperatives, farm organizations, housewives, small merchants, etc. Such committees could examine the books of the great food and processing corporations; expose their rapacious profiteering and black market operations; and demonstrate that the real cause of high prices is not high wages, as the capitalists hypocritically shout, but the superprofits of the capitalists.

The Italian liberals are complaining, cables Herbert Matthews from Naples (N. Y. Times, Nov. 7) that the King insists "nothing must or can be done" until some date in the unspecified future when the Senate and Chamber of Deputies convene. These two bodies were long ago transformed by Mussolini into the Chamber of Fasci and Corporations. New Senators and Deputies will have to be elected, unless of course a democratic label is simply pasted on the old fascist "electees."

"Too many links with fascism remained. Liberals found themselves arrested for exercising what they thought was their right to freedom of the press. The King has in his entourage such notorious former fascists as the Duke of Aquarone while Marshal Badoglio had generals like Mario Roatta and Vittorio Ambrosio. . . ."

Of course, everybody knows that the real power in southern Italy is the Allied military mission and that the King does not dare take a step without first receiving permission from the Anglo-American overlords.

Meanwhile reports come in from northern Italy that assassinations of Italian fascists and sabotage against German forces have increased to such an extent that the Fascist party secretary, Alessandro Pavolini, has ordered summary trials and executions of the "moral instigators" as well as those directly responsible. Italian guerrilla warfare is so widespread as to indicate "a well organized plan of civil war." There has been street fighting between civilians and fascists in Turin.

Moscow Pact

Stalin's pact with Hitler in 1939 gave the Nazis the green light to go ahead with their invasion of Poland and unleashed the series of events that launched the present world conflagration. Stalin's pact today with Roosevelt and Churchill seals his partnership with the bandits of Anglo-American capitalism in their ultra-reactionary scheme to crush the European revolution and impose on its peoples, clerical and monarchical military dictatorships. This is the inescapable meaning of the published sections of the Moscow Pact, even if we completely disregard the secret clauses which unquestionably have been agreed to and incorporated as part of the agreement.

As Europe trembles on the verge of great events, Stalin openly proclaims that he is going to try to repeat his counter-revolutionary crimes against the European proletariat that he perpetrated against the Spanish revolution. But there exists a yawning gap between Stalin's dark designs and his ability to perform. The European revolution, when it flares up in all of its majesty and might will not be harnessed or strangled either by the Stalinist bureaucracy or by imperialist intervention.

The Moscow Pact is acclaimed by the reptile press of the big capitalists as "realistic" and "durable." That is exactly the way Hitler described the Stalin-Hitler Pact. The Moscow Pact will prove no more "realistic" and "durable" than did its predecessor.

The European revolution, once it erupts, will sweep across the borders and artificial boundary lines like a prairie fire. It will confound all the schemes and plans of the Anglo-American diplomats who intend to take over Hitler's hangman's work in Europe, and will reawaken the spirit of proletarian internationalism amongst the embattled Soviet masses. The European revolution will confound all the superwise schemers and planners, all the statesmen and bureaucrats, all the generals and admirals, all the priests and tyrants.

The three "wise men" who foregathered in Moscow in 1943 will no more succeed in halting the onward surge of humanity toward the new socialist society than could Metetrnich and the reactionary crew of the Holy Alliance prevent ascending capitalism from spreading throughout the European continent a century and a quarter ago.

Red Army Smashes Nazi Resistance In Ukraine

(Continued from page 1)

and its henchmen now claim this. But Lenin and Trotsky taught the workers differently. They taught that the fate of the Soviet Union will be finally decided not on any military maps but on the map of the class struggle.

Lenin explained over and over again to the workers of Russia and the whole world that the proletarian victory in the former Czarist empire only broadened but did not definitively settle the central question of our epoch: "Who will vanquish whom?" Lenin correctly appraised the young Soviet Republic as a beleaguered and isolated fortress. By this he meant to convey pictorially the idea that the October revolution could be safeguarded only by spreading it beyond the boundaries of Russia. An isolated fortress cannot withstand indefinitely the blows that its besieging enemies must inevitably rain upon it.

Stalin, who long ago betrayed Bolshevism, has revised the Leninist formula with relation to the Soviet Union, and now lies to the workers that it is an "un-crushable fortress." This is the keynote of Stalin's Nov. 6 speech. It is not the first time that the boastful and treacherous Stalinist bureaucracy has proclaimed as solved historical tasks which in all their essentials still remain to be solved. In this way Stalinism has from the beginning prepared the greatest dangers for the embattled workers' state.

German imperialism represents only one sector of the hostile capitalist world that still en-

circles the surviving conquests of October. The elimination of capitalist Germany as an immediate and direct threat to the Soviet Union would not constitute even a definitive breach in the hostile encirclement so long as the USSR has to continue facing — in isolation — other class enemies represented by Stalin's present allies, the U. S. and British capitalists, who are much more powerful than Germany.

USSR STILL ISOLATED

On the other hand, the establishment of a Soviet Germany — which must inevitably lead to the spread of workers' power over the whole of Europe — would immediately and drastically alter the relationship of forces on the world arena. This and this alone could make an irreparable breach in the hostile and irreconcilable world capitalist environment and really safeguard the USSR. Only as an integral part of the European Socialist Federation would the Soviet Union become the "un-crushable fortress" that Stalin pretends it already is.

But Stalin has tried to do everything in his power to prevent the extension of October to the rest of Europe, above all Germany. He has promised to Churchill and Roosevelt to try to seal the Moscow agreement with the blood of the workers' revolution in Germany.

STALIN'S TREACHERY

This is implicit in the Moscow agreement which is a continuation of Stalin's previous policies. Had the program of Lenin and Trotsky been coupled at the out-

set with the military might of the Soviet defenders, Hitlerism would have toppled long ago. Today Hitler's regime totters under far greater military reverses than those which brought down Mussolini and fascism in Italy. Stalin's policy of underwriting Churchill's and Roosevelt's war program of dismembering Germany still sustains the Nazi internally. In return for a temporary and unstable agreement Stalin has pushed to the background even his own "Free Germany" still sustains the Nazis in proposals of another Weimar republic for Germany.

By the infamous Moscow agreement the Kremlin is in effect trying to perpetuate the isolation of the USSR in order thereby to perpetuate the rule of the Stalinist bureaucracy which itself derives its power and privileges from the years of previous isolation.

Stalin's policy in the last analysis acts not in the direction of strengthening the USSR but on the contrary to weaken it still further. The logical conclusion of the Stalinist course would be in effect to nullify the great victories of the Red Army — and, at the next stage, to expose the Soviet Union to attack by Anglo-American capitalists, just as the country was exposed by Stalin to the attack of the German imperialists in the period of the Stalin-Hitler pact. That is why the maintenance of Stalin's regime is incompatible with the preservation of the Soviet Union and the victory of the socialist revolution to which the Second World War is about to give birth.

Labor-Endorsed Candidate Runs Reactionary Campaign

(Continued from page 1)

The primary elections made it clear that the Negro masses were backing Fitzgerald. Jeffries had pretty definitely exposed his anti-Negro bias in his handling of the Sojourner Truth project and the anti-Negro riots of June 21, Fitzgerald, however, tried to outdo his rival in heaping insults upon the Negro people. Far from solidifying himself with the Negro struggle for equality, Fitzgerald came out for segregation.

"Jeffries pushed a Negro housing project into a white neighborhood," Fitzgerald charged, "as is proven in the Sojourner Truth case. In the primaries he felt the sting of public resentment over this blunder. So he hops over to the other side of the fence and says he is trying to protect white neighborhoods. While doing this, he knows in his mind and heart that it was on his pleading, over his official signature, that the Sojourner Truth project was designed for Negro housing."

The class lines were drawn in this campaign despite Fitzgerald's cowardly pussyfooting and reactionary campaign. The CIO, AFL and Negro organizations backed Fitzgerald. The capitalists, their newspapers, the Ku Klux Klan all backed Jeffries. They carried on a campaign of unheard of vilification against both labor and the Negro people.

Like the labor bureaucrats, Fitzgerald thought that he had the votes of labor and the Negro people in his vest pocket. His whole campaign was thus designed to prove to Big Business and to the Jim Crow elements that he was safe and respectable. Fitzgerald's tactics, instead, alienated the sympathies of many white and colored workers. They became more and more apathetic as the campaign progressed. This accounts in part for the fact that 32,000 fewer people voted than in 1937 although the city's population has increased since that time by a quarter of a million.

Large numbers of workers stayed away from the polls despite the CIO drive to have them register and vote. The reactionaries however, succeeded in frightening the middle class elements and backward workers to come out in a body for Jeffries. It is interesting to note that 52,000 fewer voters registered in this election than in the relatively placid campaign of 1941 and we can be sure that few reactionaries were to be found among the absentees.

GREAT POSSIBILITIES

The reactionary elements were especially aroused by the scurrilous leaflets attacking the Negro people which were circulated by the Klan and other fascist organizations. The more backward workers were deeply affected by this campaign, causing a noticeable rift in the unity of the working class.

This election revealed that class lines cannot be obliterated in the realm of politics any more than on the economic field. Just as the renunciation on the part of labor of the strike weapon does not diminish the class struggle but merely emboldens Big Business to chisel away at labor's hard-won gains, so labor's failure to organize its own political party and run its own ticket did

not prevent the big capitalists from arousing and organizing the forces of hate and bigotry against the working class and the Negro people.

UNTAPPED LABOR VOTES

The big reservoir of untapped labor votes is proved by an examination of the registration and election figures with those of the city's population. In the 1937 election 39.2% of the population registered and 66.9% of those registered voted. In other words, roughly one out of every four voted in 1937. This year only 33.4% of the population registered despite the CIO drive and only 60.4% of those registered voted; that is, roughly one out of five voted.

The apathy of the workers in this election was apparent even among the shop stewards who out of duty were actively campaigning for Fitzgerald. As a UAW shop steward was overheard remarking at a Fitzgerald rally: "I would like to go to the polls just once without having to hold my nose."

This particular worker was obediently following the advice of the trade union leaders. There were thousands of others, however, who stayed away from the polls rather than vote for a man who in the very course of the campaign showed that he was not a real labor man. This election should convince even the most timid that labor must build its own political party in order to give battle to the forces of reaction.

International Notes

A few fragments of information about strikes and protest demonstrations in Greek cities have recently become available. These mass actions were organized and led by the Greek National Liberation Front (EAM), which was established about a month after the German invasion in 1941.

The resistance movement in the cities, which began in the first year of the Axis occupation of Greece (1941-42), started as a desperate struggle against extermination by famine. The population was lacking even a subsistence ration of bread; wages had in the grimmest sense of the word become starvation wages.

Beginning with small district gatherings and sectional strikes, the mass movement swelled into a general strike and a great protest demonstration of at least 300,000 persons in the Greek capital. Factory workers, office workers, civil employees — all joined forces in mass demonstrations and strikes in the struggle for survival.

On March 5, 1943 the masses won a fight against a decree granting the occupation authorities the power of conscripting civilians for the construction of public works.

Knowledge of the decree was obtained at such a late hour that only 24 hours could be taken to organize a protest demonstration. Despite the limited time for notification, 250,000 persons were gathered at the appointed places in Athens and Piraeus. The assembled masses remained in the street for many hours denouncing the conscription decree. They courageously stood their ground in the face of violent attacks by the Italian police which resulted in the killing and wounding of several persons.

The demonstration of March 5 frustrated the plan to draft civilians. Prime Minister Logothetopoulos, the Greek Quisling, declared publicly that the government was falsely accused of its alleged intentions to conscript civilians, and the entire matter ended at that.

Another mass protest took

place on June 22, 1943 over the decision to extend the Bulgarian occupation over Macedonia, which at that time had not yet been occupied by the Bulgarians.

It was known beforehand that the German authorities would take extreme measures in case of demonstrations. The Germans had explicitly declared their intention to use violence against the masses. Moreover, they had a short time before employed brutal repressive measures against a demonstration organized to protest the execution of 106 hostages who were brought before the firing squad without even so much as the formality of a trial.

Nevertheless, 300,000 Athenians mobilized and marched in popular demonstration, defying the machine guns, hand grenades and tanks used by the Germans to disperse the unarmed marchers. This heroic procession in the streets of Athens lasted for hours and was carried on with grim determination and self-sacrifice. When it was finally over, 300 demonstrators lay dead before the German guns and more than 100 were wounded.

Why the Stock Market Is So Jittery These Days

"Stock Market Plunges to 7 Month Low." "Armament Shares Lose 1 to 10 Points" "Early Peace Talk Is Blamed for Selling Pressure."

These headlines on the financial pages this week tell more about the realities of this war than all the speeches gushing forth from Washington about "taking the profits out of war" and "equality of sacrifice." Big Business is piling up such enormous war profits that it fears the slightest slackening in the production of the instruments of death. The faintest rumor of peace sends shivers through the pocketbooks of the finance capitalists and starts the stock-market speculators unloading their shares.

Whenever something happens that threatens to bring closer the end of the imperialist conflict or to imperil the imperialist system itself, the stock-exchange, that most sensitive barometer of capitalist interests, gets depressed. When the Italian masses rose up last July and launched their revolutionary struggle for power and peace, the stock market went into a nose-dive. No sooner was the Italian revolution temporarily checked than stocks began to rise again.

Despite the Moscow pact, the capitalists fear also the consequences of the Red Army victories.

Each time the Red Army beats back the Nazis, the stock market falls — and the faster and farther the Red Army travels toward the frontiers of capitalist Europe, the more tremors Wall Street feels.

Big Business evidently hasn't as much confidence in its future as it pretended in the advertisements of the big corporations about the "brave new world" ahead. The nervous behaviour of the stock market reflects its dread of all sharp changes in world conditions.

Above all, American Big Business fears every independent and revolutionary action of the working masses and every great victory of the workers. The capitalist masters know that the growing power of the working class means not only less profits to them but the prospective end of the entire profit system, its exploitation, its crises and its wars.

U. S. Treasury Latest Figures On War Profits

The war which has brought so much misery and death to the American people has given the greatest profits in history to American corporations. The National City Bank *Bulletin* for November contains the following table compiled from the latest Treasury Department figures showing what unprecedented profits Big Business has harvested.

Year	Net Income Before Taxes	Net Income After Taxes
1929	9,277	8,084
1941	14,107	6,941
1942e	19,850	8,100
1943e	22,000	8,550

All figures are in millions of dollars.
(e) Estimated.

Thus this year Big Business will make almost two and a half times as much profits as in the boom peace year of 1929 (22 billion dollars in 1943, as against 9.2 billion dollars in 1929). Moreover, a sizable portion of the taxes will be refunded to the corporations after the war, in accordance with the present tax arrangements.

Balfour, Churchill and "The Jewish Homeland"

By Dan Shelton

More than 10,000 Jews jammed Carnegie Hall in New York City on Nov. 1 to celebrate the 26th anniversary of the Balfour declaration promising the Jewry a homeland in Palestine. They "celebrated" by bitterly denouncing the 1939 British White Paper forbidding Jews to enter "their own" country.

This "celebration" glaringly reveals the bankruptcy of the Jewish leadership. The European Jews, victims of the fascist bestiality and capitalist decay, are faced with systematic extermination. But the sign "Jews forbidden" now adorns not only Hitler's Germany and most of the civilized countries on this globe, but the "Jewish homeland" itself.

The 1917 Balfour declaration was no humanitarian document, but British imperialism's deliberate bid during the last war for world Jewry's support. At the same time, Palestine was secretly promised to the Arabs. Since today the Jews are a minor factor in power politics, Britain sides with the Arabs.

The White Paper ordering the stoppage of Jewish immigration into Palestine and the cessation of all land purchases by 1944 was issued by Chamberlain in an attempt to appease the pro-fascist Arab leaders. Both the Labor Party and the Liberals in Britain repudiated it. Churchill labelled it "another Munich." But in 1913 the same Churchill, guiding the destinies of the British Empire, insists that this White Paper "will stand." The Roosevelt Administration gives tacit approval. The Jewish leaders call futile protest meetings, and all the while remain abjectly subservient to the Allies.

Dr. Nahum Goldmann, one of the leaders of world Jewry, expresses the "general line" when he states: "regardless of the attitude of democracies toward the Jewish and Zionist problem, we are bound to support the war. . . ." (N. Y. Times, Oct. 28.) The Jewry is thus made to resemble a victim who passionately assures the executioner of his support while the axe is about to fall.

The only allies of the Jews in their struggle for national and even physical survival are the workers. The only struggle that will benefit the Jews is the struggle of the proletariat for the establishment of socialism.

It Is Time to Build An Independent Labor Party