

## Tasks Of The Coming UAW Convention

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## Mass Resistance Rises Against Hitler's Rule

General Strikes Sweep Denmark As Nazis Proclaim Martial Law;  
Anti-War Demonstrations in Bulgaria; Ferment Grows in Germany

By Miriam Carter

Heartened by the Soviet victories and the militancy of the Italian people, the European masses have resumed the struggle against their fascist oppressors with renewed intensity. The most important recent developments are the general strikes and demonstrations in Denmark, anti-war and anti-Nazi demonstrations in Bulgaria, and a growing tension within Germany which is reflected in the appointment of Heinrich Himmler, head of the Gestapo, as Reich Minister of Interior.

In Denmark the actions of the masses have shattered the Nazi-propagated myth of Denmark as the "model protectorate."

The Nazi government ruled Denmark through its King, Christian X, and cabinet, headed by Erik Scavenius, a Social Democrat. This government cooperated with the Nazis in stripping the country of its cattle, pigs, butter and other farm products, doing its best to aid the Nazi war machine.

This lowering of the standard of living of the masses led to unrest which culminated in anti-Nazi riots in Copenhagen last July.

### MASSES IN ACTION

The German government sought to deal with the disorders by demanding that all "saboteurs" be tried under German law. The government began debating the issue, but the masses were already in motion. Strikes spread throughout the country. By August 22 the transport workers of Copenhagen were out on strike. The city of Odense was tied up by a general strike on August 25 with 5,000 workers parading through the streets. The harbor cities of Helsingor and Vyle were struck, tying up shipping and shipbuilding.

Appeals by the King to maintain order were of no avail. The Danish people no longer heeded this puppet regime. Thereupon, the Germans discarded it. The cabinet and King have been arrested. Forty to fifty thousand German troops were sent into the major cities. A state of emergency has been decreed, courts-martial set up, public gatherings of more than five persons forbidden, curfew instituted, and strikers threatened with the death penalty.

The Danish workers, however, remain defiant. The tiny Danish navy was scuttled by Danish sailors, protected by Danish soldiers. General strikes have been called in Skagen, Hjoerning, Soeb, Aalborg, Viborg, Aarhus, Grenaa, Fredericia, and Svendborg.

### BULGARIA UNREST

The death of King Boris, reported to have been assassinated,

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## Postal Will Apply For Pardon On Sept. 11

Legal application for the pardon of Kelly Postal will be filed by Minnesota attorneys on September 11, to be heard before the Minnesota State Board of Pardons on October 11. At that time the Board will be presented with petitions and letters to the Governor from all parts of the country, urging a pardon for Kelly Postal, who is now serving a five-year sentence in Stillwater State Penitentiary on trumped-up charges of "embezzlement."

The CRDC also announced this week that A. J. Muste, Secretary of the Fellowship of Reconciliation, had added his request on behalf of Postal to the many already sent to Governor Edward Thye, St. Paul, Minn. Part of Rev. Muste's letter follows:

"I am reliably informed that Postal was found 'guilty' of 'embezzlement,' though he was never at any time accused of misusing funds personally and although his action in transferring the funds of Minneapolis Teamsters Local 544 to the CIO was taken at a regular meeting of the union by a majority of the members."

"There was such serious doubt of the validity of the charges against Postal that at his first trial in February 1942, Judge Hall directed the jury to discharge him, pointing out that the resolution by which he was directed to turn over the moneys of the union to the so-called Union Defense Committee was passed by the majority of the local membership and was even heard, according to state witnesses, through the loud speaker system by persons assembled outside the building."

## Workers In Italy Remain Opposed To Badoglio Regime

By Anthony Massini

The Badoglio government was not able, by its August 7 decree extending rigorous martial law provisions to all parts of Italy, to stabilize its position or put an end to the anti-war, anti-government demonstrations and strikes by the workers. If, since that date, the militant workers have not gone further in opposing the government, it is because on the one hand the government has combined with its repressive measures a policy of "appeasing" the workers and because on the other hand the leadership of the workers has been holding them in check and urging them to put pressure on the government rather than to overthrow it.

As The Militant has previously reported, Badoglio has attempted to build a base among the masses or at any rate to divide and confuse them by appointing to government posts men who were well known as opponents of Mussolini. For example: Bruno Buozzi, a former syndicalist, was released from jail and given the post of Commissioner of Industrial Workers; Gasparetto, also known as an anti-fascist, has been appointed to the leadership of the Italian War Veterans Association; Severini has been made Minister of Education, etc.

### "APPEASEMENT" AND REPRESSION

A dispatch from Berne on August 11 told of another attempt, through a War Production Ministry order, to quiet the workers by conceding to them a measure which they had been demanding: a reduction in work from the seven-day week and the twelve-hour day to a six-day week and an eight-hour day, with wages remaining the same.

The workers have their own unions again—either through the transformation of the "fascist unions" or the establishment of new ones. And their unions have become so strong that Badoglio has been compelled to permit the free election of factory committees and to send his labor minister to confer with the union

leaders in the industrial cities of the north.

Side by side with these steps the dictatorial Badoglio regime has attempted to maintain rule with the iron fist. On August 12 the Minister of the Interior instructed the prefects of Italy to "resist the forces of anti-nationalism, which are spreading, and repress with all necessary firmness all attempts at public manifestations."

An August 19 dispatch from Berne reported: "Two Tribunals of Exception—drumhead courts-martial—were set up today in Milan to begin trying about 1,500 cases of persons charged with 'conspiring to overthrow the established government through riots and manifestations in defiance of martial law.' The penalty can be death." (N. Y. Times, August 20.)

An August 27 dispatch from Madrid repeated the report that "when demonstrations for peace and anti-German riots got under way in Northern Italian cities, the police and military authorities at Marshal Badoglio's orders, cracked down and tossed into jail a number of anti-fascist political prisoners who had been released after Benito Mussolini's downfall." (N. Y. Times, August 28.)

But Badoglio has been unable, no matter which side of his policy he emphasizes, to satisfy the workers or curb their demonstrations.

### DEMONSTRATIONS GO ON

His proclamation on August 14 that Rome was an open city was greeted by the workers, especially in the heavily bombed cities of the north, with "violent, disappointed and anti-government" reactions.

In Milan the workers defied the martial law prohibiting assemblies of more than three persons, leaving their jobs to join the demonstrations and to shout: "If Rome can't take it, why do we have to?" The August 15 N. Y. Times told of them carrying a huge banner which said: "Milan has had ten raids, Turin has had twenty-two raids, Genoa has had thirteen raids, Rome has had two and does not want any more! Neither do we! Down with the war!"

On August 18 Badoglio made his first radio address as premier, but he did not deal at all with the question of peace. A UP dispatch from Berne said that the people "had been deeply if not dangerously disappointed" by the speech.

The mere announcement of the speech "had served to quiet demonstrations of revolutionary proportions in Genoa and Turin," reported the N. Y. Times correspondent in Berne. "Dockers in the former city and workers in the latter, in answer to an appeal from the Communists, demonstrated today on the occasion of the nineteenth anniversary of the discovery of Giacomo Matteotti's body."

### DEFY MARTIAL LAW

"Refusing to obey the summons of Italian military patrols to disband, the Genoa dockers formed a giant procession that proceeded to the Piazza de Ferrari, in the center of the town. The Italian soldiery attempted at three sep-

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# WLB GOES ALL-OUT IN DRIVE AGAINST LABOR

## Anti-Nazi Strikes in Denmark



The above radiophoto from Stockholm shows Nazi soldiers and Danish Free Corps members as they charged a group of Danes holding an anti-Nazi demonstration in Copenhagen. Strikes, sabotage and demonstrations marked resentment of the Danish masses against Hitlerism.

(Federated Pictures)

## Big Business Magazines Boost 'Incentive' Plans

By William F. Warde

The employers want more profits. The government wants more production. But neither wants to give the workers more wages. So the bosses and their government agents have cooked up "the wage incentive plan," a new version of the old speedup swindle.

The National Association of Manufacturers and the U. S. Chamber of Commerce have approved this plan. Business Week, Fortune Magazine and Readers Digest have recently published feature articles explaining the benefits of this scheme to the bosses. Charles E. Wilson, president-on-leave of the General Electric Company and vice-chairman of the War Production Board, is going to try to install this system in the West Coast aircraft plants. Business Week estimates that employers have already sent the national and regional War Labor Boards over 2,000 requests to install incentive wage systems.

The Stalinists have added their

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## "Square Shooting" and the Speedup

The current issue of Fortune Magazine has a long article praising the Detroit Murray Corporation of America for its incentive wage plan and the "square shooting that helps to account for labor satisfaction with incentives."

The ink was hardly dry on this article when 9,000 UAW members employed by the Murray Corporation walked out on August 28 in protest against a provocative company order docking a half-hour's pay from the wages of workers who were a minute or more late from their fifteen-minute lunch period.

The auto barons have not changed their spots. They are still the same gang of greedy, chiselling anti-labor profiteers. The incentive plan is being pushed today with the argument that the bosses, concerned with increasing production alone, will not chisel on the workers, as they did under previous versions of the speedup plan. The Murray experience shows how false this argument is and how little the bosses are to be trusted in anything.

## KELLAND DRAFTS PLAN FOR THIRD WORLD WAR

By EDITH KANE

With World War II still going full blast, authoritative spokesmen of American Big Business are busy outlining the program and planting the seeds for World War III. A blunt, unembellished program of U. S. imperialism was drafted last week by Clarence Budington Kelland for presentation to the Republican Post-War Policy Committee which will meet early this month.

In Kelland's plan there is no mention of the "four freedoms," no hypocritical palaver about the rights of small nations, or the education of conquered peoples to a "democratic way of life," etc.

Instead, the real program of Big Business is presented without the usual verbal trappings. The post-war world as envisaged by the Kelland plan is one in which the United States will police the world by means of the most powerful military machine ever contemplated: There will be a five ocean navy, a huge air force, and a standing army to seize and hold whatever territories on this globe are deemed essential for the purpose.

### "READY FOR WAR"

"From this day forth," announces Mr. Kelland, "our country must not merely be able to prepare for war, it must stand prepared, equipped to the last button, and ready for war." All this is blandly offered as "America's contribution to world peace."

Mussolini's dream of an Italian empire with the Mediterranean as an "Italian lake"; Hitler's project of organizing a "new order in Europe"; the "co-prosperity sphere in Asia" envisaged by the Japanese imperialists—all these are pikers' dreams compared with the aggressive plans of Wall St. Kelland is quite forthright in the main outlines:

"The islands of the Pacific, in what number and in what location are essential to us, must become ours to have and to hold. The Pacific Ocean must become an American lake..." And, he adds immediately:

"We must not content ourselves with fortifying the Pacific. We must turn to the Atlantic." (N. Y. Times, August 26.)

### TERRITORIES EYED

Dakar and Casablanca must be held by U. S. forces, he continues. Permanent naval and air bases are to be established in Iceland and on the mainland of Greenland. The base in Bermuda must be perfected and enlarged; and other bases acquired. "If we can,"

says the plan, "equitable arrangements" for all these strategic places and for possessions in the Caribbean and South America should be made. What can't be obtained by negotiation, announce the Big Business organizers of world peace for whom Kelland speaks, must be gotten by more forceful arguments in the shape of the army, navy, air force.

The plan is of course still in the process of formulation. Upon further consideration, it is quite likely that further territories may be found essential to the "safety of the United States."

With regard to the conquered peoples, it is proposed to establish a "trusteeship" of the victor countries: U. S., Britain, Russia and China. All of Europe is to be turned into a vast military camp, with the withdrawal of the "trust-

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## BREWSTER WORKERS PETITION NLRB TO TAKE STRIKE VOTE

NEW YORK—18,000 Brewster workers, members of United Auto Workers Local 365 in New York, Pennsylvania and New Jersey, voted last week to invoke the provisions of the Smith-Connally Act and ask for a strike vote. The strike notice was given in support of the plant guards and the other workers of the Johnsonville, Pa., plant of the company, who had walked out in protest against a violation of the seniority provisions in the contract. The Brewster workers were also aroused by the high-handed action of the Navy Department which, in support of the company, arrested all the plant guards and sent 200 Coast Guardsmen fully armed for battle into the plant.

The Johnsonville workers went back to work after three days under pressure from the War Labor Board, including its labor members, and the top officialdom of the UAW.

On Tuesday, August 31, general court martials were begun against the four guards who originally protested the violation of their seniority in Coast Guard post-duty orders. The trials are being held at the Philadelphia Navy Yard, where the men have been held, deprived of all civil rights, since they were arrested last week. The plant guards, although employed and paid by Brewster,

## Rejects Illinois Mine Pact; Attacks Brewster Strikers

Workers Vote to Strike in Every One of  
13 NLRB Polls Under Smith-Connally Act

By Farrell Dobbs

Armed with new police powers against the unions by President Roosevelt's sanctions order of August 16, the War Labor Board is now more arrogant than ever in applying the administration's policy of keeping wages frozen despite runaway prices. Among the workers, on the other hand, widespread dissatisfaction with WLB policies and the no-strike pledge is reflected in recent strike votes. The National Labor Relations Board reported

on August 28 that in every one of 13 strike ballots taken under the Smith-Connally Act from 60 to 100% of the workers voted to strike.

Last week the "impartial arbitrators" on the WLB, who are now acting like drunken policemen, flatly rejected the portal-to-portal pay provision in the agreement negotiated between the United Mine Workers and the Illinois Coal Operators

Association. Under the pressure of the miners' militant strike struggle, the greedy mine owners had agreed to pay \$1.25 a day for travel time underground. Calling it a "hidden wage increase," the board snatched out of the miners' hands this much needed additional pay which they more than earn every day on their dangerous job in the bowels of the earth.

### BREWSTER ORDER

Threatening to use its new police powers against 4,000 UAW-CIO members on strike at the Brewster Aeronautical Corporation in Johnsonville, Pa., the WLB ordered an immediate and "unconditional" return to work. The immediate issue was the arrest by the U. S. Coast Guard of four plant guards, members of the union and paid by Brewster, who had protested a violation of their seniority rights. The plant guards were recently put in the Coast Guard temporary reserve after being promised that it would not interfere with their rights under the union contract.

The union reports stalling on grievances by the management in all Brewster plants, and the Johnsonville incident is viewed as an overt act by the company presaging an intensified campaign to undermine the union. Ten days ago the WLB turned down a two cents an hour increase which the company had agreed to grant in compensation for the loss of holiday wages.

Impudently telling the workers to "respect labor's no-strike pledge," the labor members of the board voted for the strike-breaking WLB order and joined in asking the workers to forego strike action "even in the face of provocation..."

The Johnsonville workers have returned to the job. However, the union membership in the Long Island City, Newark and Johnsonville Brewster plants has voted to file notification of intention to strike under the Smith-Connally Act.

### PREVIEW IN OHIO

The Regional War Labor Board at Cleveland has given a preview of the line the national board can be expected to take on strikes called under the provisions of the Smith-Connally Act. "Regardless of whether a strike is conducted in accordance with the War Labor Disputes Act," the regional board states, "... no case will be considered on its merits while the workers are on strike. No case will be advanced on the docket while there is a strike." The occurrence of a strike "will be taken into consideration" in deciding whether or not a union merits the maintenance-of-membership clause, the regional board adds.

The labor members treacherously voted to support the Cleveland board's strikebreaking plan to reinforce the vicious Smith-Connally anti-strike law.

### WAGES KEPT FROZEN

George W. Taylor, vice chairman and so-called public member of the WLB, boastfully announced on August 26 that the average

## Happy Day For Big Business

Corporation profits are continuing to break all records. According to the official figures released by the Commerce Department in its August business survey, corporations are now raking in profits after taxes at the unprecedented annual rate of \$8,600,000,000 and will do even better in the second half of 1943, and still better in 1944. Big Business is pocketing almost a billion and a half more boodle annually than it did in the best peacetime year, 1929. Since the outbreak of World War II in 1939 these profiteers admit to having pocketed more than 34 billion dollars in profits alone.

Not only the profits of peacetime but the profits of the last war pale into insignificance beside the astronomical sums Big Business is coining out of the suffering and blood of the current slaughter.

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As the workers filed in to pack the Queensboro Arena, where the meeting was held, one could see the soberness with which they

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# Tasks Of The Coming Auto Union Convention

By E. R. Frank

The eyes of the whole labor movement are again turned on the United Auto Workers Union, whose eighth convention will open in Buffalo on October 4. For the UAW is today the strongest trade union in the country. Its membership has passed the million mark and is still growing.

The UAW has more than mere size to recommend it as the most important union in America. Unlike many other unions, it was built and grew strong in bitter strike struggles against America's industrial giants. Above all other unions the UAW is distinguished by the active participation of a greater percentage of its shop militants and stewards in the work and decisions of the union.

## Contrast With Last Year

The eighth convention of the UAW, in contrast to the convention of a year ago, will meet at a time when the top leadership is split in two sections. After Pearl Harbor, the Reuther and Addes factions united organizationally — they had always been united on basic program — and formed a unified leadership. At the Chicago convention last year, this united leadership confronted the rank and file and unanimously fought for the adoption of a pro-Roosevelt, pro-war "union sacrifice" program. Likewise in unanimity, they unsuccessfully attempted to deprive the membership of many of its democratic rights.

The leading militants who protested against the cowardly policy of the UAW leadership thus faced the opposition of a united leadership. That is why for the first time in UAW history the militants found that they were forced to rely solely on their own resources, strength and program. The beneficial effects of this course were obvious at once. The key questions agitating the auto workers were debated openly and squarely at the convention on the level of the political understanding of the delegates. The fight for a militant program was not deflected or obscured by considerations of unprincipled clique alliances or horse-trading of votes.

The lineup for the coming Buffalo convention shapes up somewhat differently. Today the UAW Executive Board is split again. Two caucuses, one under the leadership of Reuther, the other under the leadership of Frankensteen and Addes, are feverishly lining up support for the convention.

The faction fight flared into the open over six months ago when Reuther and Addes clashed over the issue of incentive pay. Under Reuther's leadership, the Executive Board rejected the proposals of Addes and condemned the incentive pay program. The heated nature of the faction struggle became obvious when La Motte, director of the Chrysler locals, publicly accused Reuther last May of "fomenting" the four-day Chrysler strike. The faction fight reached a high point at the Michigan State CIO convention in July of this year when the supporters of Addes and

Reuther lined up in two hostile caucuses and bitterly fought each other on the convention floor.

## Differences in the Leadership

What are the differences that led the UAW leaders to split again and launch a factional fight in the union?

The program of the Addes-Frankensteen group is a replica inside the UAW of the Murray program in the national CIO. Like Murray, the Frankensteen-Addes group wants to hogtie the labor movement to the war machine, to convert the labor movement into a miserable appendage of Roosevelt and the Democratic party. Like Murray, Frankensteen and Addes follow a policy of cooperating with the Stalinists in the unions where the latter constitute a force. Of course, these bureaucrats do not have to alter their program in the slightest to do that. In all practical respects their program is today identical with the fink program of the Stalinists.

The Reuther faction likewise espouses a pro-war, pro-Roosevelt "sacrifice" program. Why has it then organized a separate faction and why does it wage bitter warfare with the Addes-Frankensteen faction? Since the last convention Reuther and the UAW top officials associated with him have grown increasingly aware of the rising dissatisfaction of the American worker with the Roosevelt labor policy. In the UAW, this sentiment is of an especially articulate and explosive character. Reuther and his supporters understand better than the others the tremendous potentialities of this rank and file movement. That is why they have decided to try to take the leadership of it. The new faction fight has started in the UAW for the same basic reasons as the faction fights of the past: the dissatisfaction of the rank and file and their determination to force through a more aggressive program. This growing resentment has now found its reflection in the top leadership of the union itself.

But just as in the past, the top bureaucrats do not take the leadership in order to lead a principled fight for a more militant labor program. Invariably in the past these top bureaucrats have used the dissatisfaction of the rank and file for their own narrow clique aims, to strengthen their personal hold on the leadership at the expense of their rivals. Invariably, they toned down the program of the progressive opposition and steered the fight into harmless channels. That was the pattern of Reuther's leadership in the past struggles in the UAW. That is the pattern of his leadership today.

Under the direction of the Reuther caucus, the demand for action to rescind the no-strike pledge at the recent Michigan State CIO convention was deliberately watered down to a recommendation to Murray and the national CIO officials who continue to reaffirm the no-strike pledge. A similar fate overtook the proposal to launch an independent labor party. The original resolution, which proposed to break with the two employer-dominated

parties, was changed to a proposal to launch the independent labor party for the purpose of upholding Roosevelt's war leadership. And again, as in the past, a major part of the time and effort of the Reuther caucus was spent in horse-trading and lining up votes to elect Reutherites as state officers, not in order to carry through a more militant program, but to tighten the hold of the Reuther caucus on the Michigan State CIO machine.

## Present Policy of Reutherites

The insincerity and lack of principles of the Reuther leadership were even more glaringly revealed in the aftermath of the Michigan CIO convention. The CIO leaders took fright at the tremendous scope of the labor party sentiment and set up a "political committee" under the national chairmanship of Sidney Hillman for the purpose of heading it off and deflecting it into the channels of a fourth-term campaign in 1944. At the midwest CIO conference called by Hillman in Chicago, the Reuther leaders present acquiesced in this sellout and forgot all about their speeches at the Michigan CIO convention. Several of them expressed themselves as completely satisfied with the Hillman proposals.

The convention program of the Reuther caucus shows where the Reutherites are really heading. "We stand," the caucus document reads, "for an aggressive program of political action based on full support of the CIO policy of mobilizing labor, farmers and all progressive forces for united political action behind President Roosevelt and for the election of public officials who will advance the interests of the common people against the forces of reaction."

"We stand for continued full support of President Roosevelt and Philip Murray. . . ."

One of the few points of their faction program at the Michigan Convention to which the Reuther leaders continue their allegiance is their organizational opposition to the Stalinists. (Politically they are in virtual agreement.) Like Dubinsky in New York, Reuther wants to isolate the Stalinists and destroy their influence in the labor movement.

## The New Tactic of Stalinists

At the Michigan CIO convention, the Stalinists took a leading part in organizing the Addes caucus in the debates on the convention floor and in lining up votes for the faction slate. Moreover, from the beginning of the coal crisis last March right up to the state CIO convention, the Stalinists were busy conducting a smear campaign against Reuther because of his opposition to the incentive plan.

Following their debacle at the Michigan CIO convention, the Stalinists hastily came to the conclusion that their too obvious factional leadership was a mistake and placed them in too vulnerable a position within the UAW. The Stalinists became convinced that the heated factional atmosphere that prevails in the union makes it more difficult to squelch the rank and file oppo-

sition and to hound the militants out of positions of influence. The Stalinists thereupon dropped their vilification campaign against Reuther and launched a new drive to reunite the Reuther and Addes groups for the purpose of reestablishing a united leadership. A united leadership, they felt sure, could more successfully attempt to repulse the growing rank and file opposition to the CIO policies of surrender and defeat. They propose to fight the growing militancy of the union membership by the slogan of unity. Break up the factions, they cry, let us have an end to all factionalism. Let us have unity behind the leadership of Roosevelt and Murray. The Stalinists are pushing the same old fink program in the UAW but under new methods and new slogans.

## The Chicago Convention

The UAW Chicago convention of August, 1942 registered the first important union protest against Roosevelt's domestic policy. But that is all it was, a protest. The auto workers still considered the author of this policy as "the greatest humanitarian ever in the White House." They were still confused as to how to remedy the desperate plight of the labor movement. The savagely critical, full scale debate of the Chicago convention on the Roosevelt labor policy was concluded by adopting the lame demand that Roosevelt instruct the WLB to set up regional boards! The delegates were still under the Roosevelt "hypnosis," they had still not attained the political clarity to work out an effective alternative program to the sellout policies of the UAW and CIO top leadership. The proposal of one delegate to rescind the union's no-strike pledge met with absolutely no response on the part of the convention. For all its militancy and the bitterness of its criticism, the Chicago convention constituted no more than a protest.

Witness the great advance in the political thinking of the auto workers as demonstrated at the Michigan State CIO convention one year later. The delegates not only criticize and attack the leadership. They propose an alternative program of action. In spite of the distorted form of its resolutions, the Michigan CIO convention demands for rescinding the no-strike pledge and the launching of an independent party of labor constituted a call for the economic and political independence of the labor movement. Unquestionably these two demands will become the key points of debate on the union's policies at the coming Buffalo convention.

The Buffalo convention will meet in a fateful hour of American labor history. Roosevelt has just renewed a vicious anti-labor offensive by his decree authorizing "sanctions" against the labor unions. At the same time, the WLB has served notice through its infamous decisions in the recent shipbuilding and coal mining cases that the wage freeze remains. The auto workers, smarting under the new repressions and the skyrocketing war inflation, are in a fever of resentment and dissatisfaction. They are seeking a way out.

## A Clearer Understanding Today

Today the auto workers have a clearer idea of what they want than they had a year ago. The hardships and experiences of the past twelve months have clarified many things. The three coal strikes of 1943 have not gone by without leaving an indelible impression on the minds of the union militants. They possess a more conscious, more precise alternative program to the treacherous program of the CIO leadership. They want to break with the whole setup which shackles their unions to the war machinery. They want to smash the Little Steel formula by which their wages remain frozen under conditions of soaring war prices. That is what the rank and file are thinking and mean when they compress it in the single phrase: Rescind the no-strike pledge.

The auto workers are likewise sick and tired of the pushing around they have been taking at the hands of their alleged representatives in the government. They want to see the government run by men who represent them and their interests. That is what the rank and file mean when they compress it in the formula: Build a labor party.

## What the Auto Union Needs

Will the convention give adequate expression to these aspirations of the rank and file? All the bitter experiences of the past struggles in the auto union point to the evil effects that invariably follow when the militants place their reliance on the leadership of a Reuther, an Addes or some other bureaucrat. All past experiences along this line attest to the fact that the top bureaucrats take the leadership only to head it, only to strengthen their own clique control over the union. The militants must take these lessons to heart. They must not water down their program or their fight for the interests of the men back home in the shops, in return for some posts on the Executive Board. They must not make unprincipled deals to elect some individual to office at the expense of program and a clear, decisive fight for the program on the convention floor.

If the leading militants under the leadership of Reuther and his friends succeed in kicking off the Executive Board two or three of the most obnoxious bureaucrats, that will have very little significance for the progress of the labor movement. It will contribute little or nothing to the solution of their problems.

If the militants absorb the lessons of the past, they will rely only on their own strength and resources. They will refuse to blunt their aims by those trades or unprincipled deals. They will make a clear-cut fight for a militant labor program, headed by the key proposals to rescind the no-strike pledge and to build an independent party of labor. Only in this way will the eighth convention of the UAW give true expression to the desires and the aspirations of the auto union membership and provide inspiration and leadership for a campaign to repulse the union-busting offensive of the bosses and the government.

## TRADE UNION NOTES

Twenty-seven coal miners received six-month suspended prison sentences and were put on probation for three years by Federal Judge F. P. Schoonmaker at Pittsburgh on August 30. They had been brought to trial by Roosevelt-Biddle under the Smith-Connally anti-strike law when they refused to go back to work at the conclusion of the third coal strike.

The imposing of sentences followed a plea of nolo contendere entered by the miners during the trial proceedings. In effect this action meant that they would make no defense and would submit themselves to sentence without admitting guilt.

Unfortunately the United Mine Workers did not carry through the court fight to challenge the constitutionality of the Smith-Connally Act. The use of this vicious anti-union weapon against the courageous coal miners would have evoked heavy mass support for the UMW had it decided to make the fight.

Roosevelt has gotten away with another blow at the unions. This can only embolden him in his campaign to drive down the workers' standard of living. It is imperative that the unions call Roosevelt's hand every time he moves against them.

Three of the 30 miners involved were not present in the Pittsburgh court to receive sentence. No irony could be more cruel than the fact that they are now hospitalized because of injuries sustained in a recent mine accident.

The government has branded these workers criminals because they struck to defend their standard of living. But the "majesty of the law" has to wait while their toll-worn bodies recover from wounds received on their dangerous job.

Another 19 men were killed and 25 were injured this week by gas explosions in an Alabama mine.

The greedy mine bosses won't pay a living wage to the miners, nor will they provide for the full safety of the miners on the job. Roosevelt's War Labor Board backs the bosses every time.

The government has failed to compel the mine owners to protect the miners' lives, but has taken drastic measures to prevent the miners from forcing the mine bosses to raise their wages.

The first strike following a vote under the Smith-Connally law began August 30 at Jamestown, N. Y. The strike ballot put the following question to the workers: "Do you wish to permit an interruption of war production in wartime as a result of this dispute?"

Twenty-five workers voted "yes." One voted "no." The strike is in protest against the lay-off of nine members of the International Association of Machinists. Twenty-eight workers are involved.

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The Stalinists are always a jump ahead of the run-of-the-mill union bureaucrats. The Daily Worker of August 28 boasted that UE Local 1102 of St. Louis, which is dominated by the Stalinists, had "suspended 10 members for six-month and three-month periods for their part in unauthorized stoppages of work at the Emerson Electric Manufacturing Co. turret plant. The union asked the management to lay the 10 off for the period of suspension."

The Stalinist delegates will be out in full force at the coming national convention of the UE in New York on September 12 to urge the adoption on a national scale of fink policies similar to the one followed in St. Louis.

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Employers and their stooges have always contended that segregation of Negroes in industry is justified because it enables them to get all kinds of skilled jobs. But the great majority of the Negro people have learned to see through this false argument and have come to understand that industrial segregation is contrary to their own best interests.

This was shown last week in the answers given to a poll conducted by the Pittsburgh Courier on the question: "Do you approve of segregating the Negro as a worker as in plants of the Sun Shipbuilding Company and the Alabama Drydock and Shipbuilding Company?" The results were: 88.8% said No; 7.4% said Yes; 3.8% were uncertain.

Among the answers given in the poll were the following: "As long as Negroes are considered as persons unfit to work with other people, so long will our development be retarded, and so long will race discrimination continue to grow." Another said: "Build a temporary place for me . . . separate me . . . then five me at the first whim and the first excuse. . . that is the way it always works."

The real motive of the employers in segregating Negro workers from white is to create antagonisms and confusion and thus to frustrate unionization of their plants. But the Sun Shipbuilding employers have failed in their purpose. Two weeks ago they were ordered to give collective bargaining rights to the CIO Industrial Union of Marine and Shipbuilding Workers.

## Big Business Magazines Boost 'Incentive' Plans

(Continued from page 1)

voice in this capitalist chorus for the reintroduction of the hated speedup. And a number of labor officials, afraid of fighting for higher wages against the wage-freezing edicts of the Roosevelt administration, have fallen for this bosses' scheme and are trying to put it over on the workers in the unions. That gold-plated megaphone of Big Business, Fortune Magazine, gleefully writes that: "The United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers (CIO), chief union exponent of incentives, reports 300,000 members working under them."

Business Week admits that the incentive method "had its beginnings in the old-time straight piecework system." According to this system, workers were offered inducements to meet and to surpass norms of production set up by time-study of the operations involved. This drove the workers to exert extra efforts in order to make more wages. Then the employer would slash the piecework rates and the workers would find themselves earning about the same as before the speedup.

This is the trap set for the workers by the new "incentive wage plan." This plan aims to get one group of workers to put pressure on another to speed up their production. Ed Gallagher, ex-president of UAW Local 280, describes how this system operates in the Detroit plant of Continental Motors:

"Every man in the group keeps an eye on every other man in the group. A worker who slows down is hurting his fellow workers. His fellow workers don't stand for it. And the union doesn't. The union steward checks on every unwilling worker and puts him on probation. . . . We calculate that the company is plenty busy running the plant. We run the men."

This is how union men and officials are turned into speedup artists and slave-drivers for the bosses. The same sort of speedup work is practiced at the Murray Corporation in Detroit by union officials and time-study stewards whom Fortune calls "The Pressure Boys."

## MAIN BENEFICIARIES

The principal beneficiaries of this pressure are not the workers, who put out far more than they get paid for in wages, but the bosses. Both Readers Digest and Business Week point out that the increased rate of exploitation under the incentive wage plan enables employers to pay a little more in total wages without injuring their profits. With the greater output from the speedup, William Hard informs the employers in Readers Digest, "your

## ALP Leaders Sell Out Again: Support Haskell

By Grace Carlson

If a New York trade unionist needed further proof of the utter inability of the American Labor Party leaders to carry out a policy of independent working class political action, the whole-hearted endorsement by the ALP heads of the Democratic nominee for Lieutenant Governor, Lt. General William Haskell, should clinch the argument.

From 1926 to 1942, "labor candidate" Haskell, served as the State Commander of the New York National Guard. Every worker who has ever been on strike knows that this places Haskell on the other side of the picket line. For several years before this after the end of World War I, Haskell was a relief administrator in the Balkans and in Russia — a post which also gave him experience in strike-breaking and in combating the revolutionary uprisings of the terribly oppressed workers and peasants of these areas. This is the gentleman in whose behalf the ALP withdrew its own nominee, Joseph V. O'Leary.

The organized workers in the American Labor Party want neither the reactionary Republican, Joseph Hanley, whose record as majority leader of the State Senate has not endeared him to the trade union movement, nor the equally reactionary Haskell.

## THE FACTIONS AGREE

However, what will best serve the interests of the ranks of ALP workers does not concern the ALP tops. Their eyes are on the White House and the leaders of all three groups fighting for control of the ALP — the Dubinsky Social Democratic group, the Stalinists, and the newly-created CIO Political Action Committee, led by Sidney Hillman — try to outdo each other in their eagerness to get a nod of approval from the President. Alex Rose, State Secretary of the ALP and a member of the Dubinsky group, hailed Haskell's nomination as an assurance of "unity of New Deal forces in President Roosevelt's home state," which would be "a prelude to a New Deal victory in the crucial election of 1944."

Even before Haskell was endorsed by the Dubinskys who are in control of the ALP state committee, Vito Marcantonio and Eugene Connolly, leaders of the Stalinist faction, made a hysterical demand on them to withdraw O'Leary and support Haskell.

net cost goes down and your net income goes up."

The spokesmen for the capitalist class and their labor lackeys can be expected to put on increasing pressure to foist this scheme of super-exploitation upon the workers. The workers' answer to their conspiracy should be a demand for the scrapping of the Little Steel Formula and a rising scale of wages to meet the rising costs of living.

## Trotsky Memorial Meeting Held By Seattle Branch

SEATTLE — The local branch of the Socialist Workers Party held a Trotsky Memorial Meeting on Sunday, August 22. The main address was delivered by Art Sharon who reviewed Trotsky's life, revolutionary career, and teachings especially in the light of the great current events which are verifying in life the reality and truth of Trotsky's program. The speaker pointed out that Trotsky stood side by side with Lenin in guiding the first stage of the world revolution which began with the victory of the Russian workers and peasants in the October revolution of 1917. In the years of reaction that followed, Trotsky prepared for the second stage of the world revolution which is now unfolding and which Trotsky's Fourth International is destined to guide.

Following Sharon's talk, the audience heard an electrical transcription of Trotsky's speech on the occasion of the founding of the Fourth International.

The following telegram was sent by the meeting to Natalia Trotsky, "Seattle Trotskyists and friends join in sending you re-affirmation of our confidence in the coming victory of the Fourth International. The stormy days now upon us bring our Old Man's vindication."

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## The Negro Struggle

By Albert Parker

### Evaluation of Harlem Outbreak

We return this week to the much debated question of the outbreak in Harlem on August 1-2. Our readers may recall that *The Militant* characterized it as a spontaneous, unorganized protest against Jim Crowism, explaining that its root cause was the Jim Crow system in civil life and the armed forces. We pointed out that it ill behooved the Negro press to denounce the participants in the Harlem outbreak, stating that if they wanted someone to denounce, they should direct their headlines and editorials against the real culprits: the Jim Crow system itself and all those who deliberately or unconsciously defend and support that system. And if that didn't satisfy them, we continued, they could then heap coals of fire on the heads of the self-styled Negro leaders who fail to offer the masses an adequate program, with the inevitable result that they are driven to desperate and poorly prepared action.

Other papers and other writers took a different position. Among the Negro writers who did not join in the chorus against the Harlem masses we can recall offhand only J. A. Rogers, historian and columnist for the *Pittsburgh Courier*. A paper describing itself as socialist, *The Call*, which apparently doesn't know any better, printed a picture of Marion Anderson to prove that there are good and cultured people as well as bad and uncultured people in every group. (As a Los Angeles correspondent to this column pointed out: "Mrs. Roosevelt could not have done better.")

What we are concerned with here are the people who should and do know better. Even after thinking the question over for a while, three of these—George S. Schuyler in the *Courier*, Roy Wilkins in the *New York Amsterdam News*, and Langston Hughes in the *Chicago Defender* still cling fast in their August 28 columns to their previously expressed position. If we devote our attention to Mr. Schuyler's remarks, it is because he is the most widely read Negro writer in the country, with a deservedly good reputation for his consistent advocacy of an alliance between the Negro people and the labor movement. He writes:

"Negro editors and commentators who characterized the Harlem vandals as hoodlums are being criticized in some extremist corners as failing to champion their race in a time of crisis, because they did not champion arson, robbery and gangsterism with sociological alibis. Such racial chauvinism is disheartening to those who know the facts and know they cannot be defended by any responsible person. No possible good can flow from such depredations, whether committed by colored or white people."

But nobody is being asked to champion arson, robbery and gangsterism. All that we are calling attention to is the need to understand why these things took place. Unless that is done, the next steps cannot be taken. Unless that is done, you can write editorials and articles until the typewriter keys wear out and still nothing will be changed or improved.

Our viewpoint is that capitalism and the system of race discrimination and segregation which it breeds were the causes of the Harlem outbreak. This is not a sociological alibi but a scientific fact, which one can ignore only at the risk of stum-

bling and breaking one's neck. Overlook this fact and you are reduced, as so many able and intelligent men have been this last month, to deploring and to lecturing—side by side with the capitalists and Stalinists—the Negro masses who are the hardest hit victims of Jim Crow. We stress this sociological fact not because we want to make a moral judgment against the capitalist class but because we want to direct attention to the program for preventing such outbreaks and doing away with Jim Crow.

Let us note, however, that Mr. Schuyler's comment is not limited to moralizing. He is also opposed to such outbreaks because "no possible good" can flow from them. This is another question and must be discussed on another level. It is one thing to tell the Negro masses—as *The Militant* does—that the method they used to demonstrate their opposition to Jim Crow and their willingness to fight against it is ineffective and that they should seek other, more effective methods. But it is another thing to fly off the handle and castigate the masses to such an extent that the main issue—the struggle against Jim Crow—is entirely lost sight of. If your intention is to influence and educate the masses, no possible good can flow from that either.

This whole discussion reminds us of many of the slave rebellions that took place a century or so ago. We all know how cruelly the slaves were oppressed and exploited—and that the arguments raised on behalf of the maintenance of slavery sound monotonously like the arguments raised on behalf of the maintenance of Jim Crow today. Many of the slaves were ignorant and superstitious, they had no understanding of the forces at work in society, they rarely had leaders who knew how to give them the proper guidance.

But when they saw no other way out, when their patience came to an end and their resentment reached a boiling pitch, they revolted—in most cases blindly, often realizing that they had little chance of success. In many instances they resorted to arson and robbery, often innocent bystanders (like the small storekeepers in Harlem) were killed and beaten.

Now the question arises: Who and what were to blame for the "excesses" committed during these revolts? If you leave aside the sociological, economic and political explanations then you could come to the conclusion, as some well-meaning abolitionists did in that period, that the slaves were to blame. But the verdict of history is that the slave system and the slaveholders were responsible. And today the Negro people and the labor militants pay honor and tribute to the memories of those brave, unlettered slaves who didn't have a full and correct program but who had the courage to fight against oppression in the best way they could see.

We don't pretend that the Harlem outbreak was completely identical with the slave revolts, but we do maintain that the same spirit was evidenced. Those who look only at the effects and shut their eyes to the causes will learn nothing from the Harlem events. Those who see the indissoluble connection between the two will be able to learn at least one thing useful for the struggle against Jim Crow—namely, that the masses today are ready to fight and are desperately seeking the correct program.

## KELLAND DRAFTS PLAN FOR THIRD WORLD WAR

(Continued from page 1)

tees" postponed to an indefinite future. At the same time, these four nations will also form a mutual assistance pact, for offensive and defensive action against any possible aggressor.

### CAGEY ALLIANCES

This four-nation pact, however, does not quite satisfy the makers of the plan. For they propose to supplement it with another pact this time with England alone. As custodians of world peace, China and the Soviet Union are apparently not quite trustworthy.

The next proposal lists another safety alliance, but this time with Great Britain excluded. This alliance is to include all the countries of the Western Hemisphere "for joint action against any trying a conquest of American soil."

The American imperialists, it will be observed, suspect all other imperialists of having the same project of world domination that they have. As the old saying goes, "It takes a thief to know a thief."

Spokesmen for the administration have remained significantly silent on the program. Papers like the *N. Y. World-Telegram* and *The Sun* have commented with approbation; other publications have refrained from comment. Some leading Republicans like Taft have expressed mild disapproval. As a matter of fact, regardless of how the post-war plans of American Big Business are sugarcoated, they are all essentially no different from the draft of Republican Kelland.

Fortunately for mankind, these gentlemen are not the only ones making plans. The workers and masses at home, as well as in the countries they plan to police and

# War Labor Board In All-Out Drive Against Trade Unions

(Continued from page 1)

rate of factory wages had been increased only six-tenths of a cent an hour for the period since Roosevelt ordered wages frozen at the September 15, 1942 levels. Speaking for the War Labor Board, Taylor deplored as "inflationary in character" a reported increase of six cents an hour in gross average hourly earnings during the past eight months. Aside from the microscopic change in the average hourly rate of pay, this utterly inadequate increase of six cents in gross average hourly earnings was due to overtime pay, shifts to higher-wage industries, upgrading, etc.

The WLB brazenly calls this pittance "excess" purchasing power. "The proper methods for siphoning off excess purchasing power have been outlined by the President," Taylor concludes. "They are higher taxes and greater savings."

### PRICES SKYROCKET

In this same period since September 15, 1942 prices, according to union reports, have shot up nearly 50%. Yet the Roosevelt administration has rigidly enforced the freezing of wages and is now calling for "truly stiff" taxes and compulsory saving.

"If we leave out... the increase in the price of food" the cost of living has "remained remarkably stable," WLB chairman William H. Davis had the gall to say in a board statement rejecting a wage increase for more than one million shipyard workers. This con man thus lightly brushes aside the workers' increasingly difficult problem in procuring the very fuel of life itself. It is precisely food prices that have skyrocketed the highest of all.

The *CIO News* of June 7 reported that since September 15, 1942 beef prices are up 10 to 50% and fresh vegetables 50 to 400%. Even the Department of Labor, whose figures are notoriously inadequate on cost of living increases, admits that between April, 1942 and April, 1943 the price of beans rose 64%, potatoes were up 65% and onions 89%.

AFL President, William Green, speaking in Detroit in July, declared that "food prices, in every American city, have gone up from 50 to 200%." In a Los Angeles speech on April 24, CIO President Philip Murray said that "since September 15, 1942... living costs, particularly in foodstuffs, have increased approximately 38% for the average worker in the United States."

It should be noted that Murray was speaking here not of food prices alone but of the general sharp increase in the cost of living.

### DEMAND WAGE RAISES

The heavy pressure of rising prices on the workers is further reflected in the fact that since last September millions of workers have presented wage demands to the War Labor Board only to have them curtly rejected.

An increase of one dollar per day to meet rising living costs was demanded in last year's contract by 454,000 auto workers. The board permitted a pittance raise of only four cents an hour in General Motors and Chrysler. The Ford workers received no wage increase whatever. Renewed demands for wage increases in General Motors are again before the WLB. The board denied any raise at all for 230,000 aircraft workers while another 30,000 received only four and one-half cents an hour. A general wage increase was denied to 65,000 packinghouse workers.

The WLB has bitterly resisted the struggle of 580,000 coal miners for a raise in wages despite the fact the miners have proven to the hilt that prices have gone skyhigh in the mining areas. A measly three cents an hour increase was all that 50,000 rubber workers got from the board when they were clearly entitled to at least eight cents even under the wage-freezing Little Steel formula. The WLB flatly turned down the demand of 1,100,000

shipyard workers for a wage raise. After the Railway Labor Board had already scaled down to only eight cents an hour the wage demands of 750,000 railroad workers most of whom now get very low pay, Director of Economic Stabilization Vinson arbitrarily vetoed the decision.

These three and one-quarter million men and women listed above are but a part of the great number of workers who have presented wage demands to the WLB and other government agencies only to have them rejected outright or whittled down to almost nothing.

### ROLLBACK FARCE

Under heavy pressure from the union membership to do something to correct this intolerable situation, the top officials of the AFL and CIO were forced on March 22 to plead with the War Labor Board to junk the Little Steel formula and allow wage increases based upon actual living costs.

The bosses and their "public member" stooges on the board refused to make any change in wage policy. Roosevelt kicked the union officialdom back into line with his "hold-the-line" executive order of April 7.

Thereupon the union officials turned to the price-rollback demand, shying away from thought of trade union action. They supported Roosevelt's subsidy farce

in an effort to cover up for him and to deceive the workers into thinking that the officials were doing something to represent their interests. At the same time the union officials doubly betrayed all of the workers by supporting Roosevelt's strike breaking campaign against the coal miners.

Among the rank and file members of the unions, on the other hand there were widespread manifestations of support for the striking miners. Caught between the upper and nether millstones of frozen wages and rising prices, the workers want action to win wage increases. They are getting fed up with the traitorous conduct of the union officialdom.

The heavy vote for strike action in all NLRB polls conducted under the Smith-Connally Act is a significant indication of the trend in sentiment among the workers.

### UNION DEMOCRACY

The union officials are supporting Roosevelt's efforts to convert the trade unions into auxiliary governmental instruments of repression against the workers. To facilitate this sinister program they are today more brazen than ever in their attempts to usurp the policy-making powers of the union rank and file.

Before the workers can successfully defend their interests they must sweep aside as so much rubbish the present official union policies. The no-strike pledge must

be rescinded. The labor traitors must be forced off the War Labor Board.

Full restoration of trade union democracy must be one of the first aims of the workers in the struggle to defend their rights. This is the only way to guarantee that the unions will function fully and exclusively in the interests of the membership.

### BUILD LABOR PARTY

Support of the capitalist political parties by the unions has been an equally important factor in the grinding down of the workers' standard of living. "Friend of labor" Roosevelt long ago ordered wages frozen, but he has made no serious attempt to keep down prices. Now he has ordered police action against unions and individual strikers in his efforts to perpetuate the wage freeze. The "friends" of labor in Congress have supported Roosevelt against the workers at every turn or have raced ahead of him in the anti-union campaign.

The workers must break with the Democratic and Republican Parties and all the candidates of these capitalist parties. The trade union struggle in defense of the workers' rights must be extended onto the field of independent working class political action. The trade union workers must take the lead in building an independent labor party, based on the unions and controlled by the unions.

# Mass Resistance Rises Against Hitler's Rule

(Continued from page 1)

has set off great demonstrations in Bulgaria and a general strike, calling for peace, has broken out in Sofia and Central Bulgaria. The masses have taken advantage of the death of the King to again demonstrate their anti-Nazi, anti-war sentiments. The Bulgarian government, dominated by the officer caste, is an Axis satellite, one of the signers of the anti-Comintern pact of 1941. The Bulgarian masses, however, are pro-Soviet. A May Day, 1942 demonstration in Sofia had sent the King fleeing from the city for safety.

Under the pressure of the masses on the one hand, and the German demands for fuller control on the other, the regency appointed to succeed Boris, is expected to be short lived. Unless the Germans send troops in quick-ly, an A. P. dispatch from Istanbul, predicted on August 30 "a Republican or Socialist govern-

ment" will be established by the masses.

In Germany, the Nazi government, fearful of the signs of unrest among the masses, has appointed Heinrich Himmler Minister of the Interior, in an attempt to keep the German masses in line by naked police violence. Many reports of apathy and disaffection among the Germans have seeped through the strict Nazi censorship. Workers in Germany are refusing to go to the plants for fear of bomb attacks.

A Swedish writer reports that "the civilian courage has increased as the people begin to feel that power is no longer securely held by the government."

The rising ferment inside Germany is reflected in the declining morale among the German troops. Reports have multiplied of disaffection and mutiny among submarine crews, garrison troops, etc. According to a report issued by the Belgian Information Center in New York, on August 21

German soldiers in Belgium took part in a mutiny against their officers.

### THROUGHOUT EUROPE

Everywhere the mass sentiment against the fascists is mounting. Even the local police have been compelled to bow to it. Thus, in Norway, the Oslo chief of police was executed by the Nazis for refusing to carry out Nazi orders to arrest Norwegian women who refused to go to Germany to work.

Great strikes broke out in Holland in May, and continued resistance to the labor draft is reported in Belgium and France. In Hungary and Rumania the masses, following the example set by the Bulgarian neighbors, are demonstrating for the withdrawal of troops from the Russian front and against the Nazis and their local satellites.

As the mass sentiment rises to an explosive pitch all over Europe, the Nazis are resorting to the naked rule of the bayonet as their last recourse.

## Workers' BOOKSHELF

MOTHER RUSSIA by Maurice Hindus. Doubleday, Doran & Co., 1943. 395 pp., \$3.50.

For twenty years Maurice Hindus has been visiting Russia ostensibly "with only one purpose in view — to hear the people talk." The fact, however, that he has been permitted by the Kremlin to return time and time again means that all his books have found favor in the eyes of Stalinism. His latest book is still another indication that Hindus reports the "way the people talk" in order again to justify the current political line of the Stalinist clique.

We shall confine ourselves to the following three aspects of the book:

1. Hindus attempts to show that the magnificent defense of the Soviet workers is based upon the Stalinist theory of "socialism in one country." Nowhere does he undertake a political exposition of this theory: "This is not the time and place to discuss and examine the historic controversy," he writes. But his whole examination of Soviet life is an oblique defense of the Stalinist theory. All the internal reactionary moves of Stalinism — forced collectivization, the purges, reactionary legislation on working conditions, family, divorce, etc. — are palmed off as inevitable prerequisites for the defense against imperialism. And there is not a single word about the international consequences of "socialism in one country" — the cruel defeats in China, Germany, Spain, etc., which were the result of Stalin's policy.

2. Hindus devotes whole chapters to singing the praise of "old Russia," "Mother Russia." Stalin dares not summon the Russian workers to battle by reminding them of the great traditions of the Red Army under the leadership of Trotsky. The glorious achievements under men like Trotsky, Muralov, Smirnov, Mrahkovsky and other legendary heroes of the Civil War are kept from the masses; but the feudal nobility of "old Russia" — Nevsky, Suvorov, Kutuzov — are heralded by the Kremlin's literary hacks as "glorious ancestors" to inspire the Russian soldiers. Hindus, following the Kremlin's pattern, chants rhapsodies to the past: "Russia was rediscovered, Mother Russia, old Russia, the Russia of yesterday and of the faraway and hazy past, of legendary heroes

and legendary triumphs." Stalin has not only abandoned revolutionary internationalism, but seeks to bury Soviet patriotism, based upon the achievements of the October Revolution, under the mire of Czarist "heroes" and traditions. Hindus joins the other literary prostitutes in fulfilling this assignment of the Kremlin.

### Slander and Silence

3. Hindus openly falsifies history and vilifies Trotskyism in more than one instance. For example, he attempts to imply that the five year plans were the product of the genius of Stalin and "socialism in one country." It is an historical fact that it was Trotsky and the Left Opposition who first raised the campaign for the industrialization of Russia and fought for it as an integral part of the struggle against Stalinism. Abandoning revolutionary internationalism, Stalin then appropriated the Trotskyist program of industrialization and applied it in his own bureaucratic and distorted manner. Not a word of this is to be found in Hindus; on the contrary, we read the following miserable summary: "Stalin won. The exile, imprisonment and eventual execution of various opposition groups signaled among other things the Russian break with the Trotskyite idea."

Hindus prefers to omit the fact that Stalin's break "with the Trotskyite idea" was really his betrayal of Marxism-Leninism. The Kremlin and all its agents must bury in silence or slander the meaning of all the events since Lenin's death.

There is one point on which we can agree with Hindus. Speculating on the possible dissolution of the Comintern (before it occurred) he writes: "But let us not hasten to assume that the rebelliousness which now empties itself into the communist parties would cease to exist. Most emphatically it would find an outlet elsewhere, in a new organization or in the Trotskyite Fourth International."

Hindus has to admit that the struggle of the working class for liberation must find its leadership under the banner of Trotskyism! A correct, even if back-handed admission — from the lips of one of Stalin's literary agents.

Reviewed by Mark Braden

# The Conflict Between The USSR And Her Allies

By A. Roland

So long as there was still present the danger of a German victory, the "United Nations" were constrained by fear of such an outcome to remain silent on their political differences. But Axis Europe is visibly breaking apart. Hitler's power is ebbing fast. The organization of Europe in the post-war period is now moving up on the agenda. And not only the fate of Europe but that of the entire world for the next epoch hangs in the balance.

The Quebec Conference took place against the background of all the complexities of the coming period. That conference proved clearly, of course, that the United Nations coalition itself contains two opposed and contradictory camps. The Anglo-American allies must meet separately not only to decide their future military moves, but just as important, to determine a common policy when confronting the Soviet Union. Stalin highlighted this fact by his public acknowledgment that the USSR had not been invited to send any representative. All the "explanations," official and unofficial, cannot do away with the fact that Roosevelt and Churchill were making military decisions (based on their political aims) quite independently of Stalin. They could inform him of their decisions and conclusions only after the fact.

The Kremlin's protest and resentment were manifested in the striking withdrawal of the two Ambassadors, Litvinov and Maisky. The Russian dictator showed in this way his lack of trust in the good faith of the Allied leaders. The capitalist press did not fail to note in this gesture the veiled threat of separate peace with a German government freed of Hitler and his immediate gang. The Allies have never consented to permit Stalin to have all the territory he demands in the reorganized Europe. He has every reason to fear that the capitalist leaders are concocting schemes for preventing Soviet expansion after the victory. Or at least to keep such expansion to a minimum.

The Kremlin bureaucrat has served notice that he will not accept any unilateral action on the part of the "democracies" in connection with the administration of occupied countries. Russia has given no sanction to AMGOT, the organization set up for this purpose. It was in part Stalin's refusal to give recognition to AMGOT (and its aims) that also led him to grant fuller rights to the French Committee of National Liberation than did Roosevelt. Stalin wants no precedent which will permit the Allies to send troops of occupation into Poland or Finland or those parts of the Balkans which can be used as strategic bases against the Soviet Union. It is for this same reason that the Kremlin frowns on an Allied invasion of the Balkans and would rather see a second front in western Europe.

The Quebec Conference and Stalin's reaction to it can thus be seen in the light of moves in the game of power politics. If there were no other forces that might intervene in the situation, the "organization" of Europe would become a matter of pressure bargaining among the victors. Underlying the obvious conflict over boundary questions there is the basic antagonism between the Soviet Union with its still nationalistic property, and the imperialists. The trend within the Soviet Union — towards capitalism or once more towards socialism — remains an uncertain quantity.

This class question will not be solved at any conferences, even at the future ones in which Stalin will be included. It is the masses of Europe, including Soviet Russia, who will give the final answer. The Churchill-Roosevelts and the Stalin bureaucracy have one aim in common — to prevent the success of any proletarian revolution anywhere in Europe. In their inevitable upheavals, the European workers and peasants will have to face the opposition of both the imperialists and their aids within the degenerated workers' state, the Soviet bureaucracy.

Stalin hopes to keep the Russian workers and peasants quiescent under the spell of national expansion. The fascist dictators will fall. First Mussolini topples. Then comes the turn of Hitler. But Stalin hopes to emerge as the Great Marshal who regained all the lost Russian territories — and more! There are many who think that the downfall of the other dictators will serve to make Stalin all the more powerful. In this they are greatly mistaken.

The political crisis of capitalist Europe led to the rise of the dictators. The regimes of Stalin on the one side and Mussolini-Hitler on the other, were regimes of extreme crisis. The Soviet masses, in the thick of the crisis after the first world war, felt keenly the dangers of their situation. Exhausted by the terrible defeats of the world working class, and foreseeing another war, they tolerated Stalin despite all his crimes.

But the war of intervention that they dreaded so much, finally came. Out of it the Soviet Union will emerge victorious. The period between the wars saw the tremendous growth of the working class in the Soviet Union. It is no longer the very small percentage of the population that led the masses to victory in the October Revolution. Let the Italian or the German workers signal the rise of the new revolutionary wave, and the Soviet masses will not fail to respond. They will be satisfied not by the addition of a small piece of Polish territory or the Baltic states, but by a Socialist United States of Europe, the outcome feared by both Stalin and Churchill.

Neither the Stalinist bureaucracy nor the imperialists can organize the new Europe. They can only drag the continent and the world down in ruins. Only the European masses can save civilization from this burning continent. For that purpose the proletarian revolution becomes absolutely necessary. Not the seizure of territories by the Stalinist clique, but the independent action of the toilers will resolve the awful crisis brought on by the second world war. The usurpers in the Kremlin will be engulfed with the other dictators under the stormy waves that sweep Europe in the process of establishing the free federation of the Socialist United States of Europe.

From Pp. 72-73, "The Third International After Lenin," 1936, 357 pages, \$2. Order from Pioneer Publishers, 116 University Place, New York 3, N. Y.

### Pioneer Paragraphs

## THE INEVITABLE OUTCOME OF 'SOCIALISM IN ONE COUNTRY'

By Leon Trotsky

If it is at all possible to realize socialism in one country, then one can believe in that theory, not only after but also before the conquest of power. If socialism can be realized within the national boundaries of backward Russia, then there is all the more reason to believe that it can be realized in advanced Germany. Tomorrow the leaders of the Communist Party of Germany will undertake to propound this theory. The draft program of the Comintern empowers them to do so. The day after tomorrow the French party will have its turn. It will be the beginning of the disintegration of the Comintern along the lines of social-patriotism.

The communist party of any capitalist country, which will have become imbued with the idea that its particular country possesses the "necessary and sufficient" prerequisites for the independent construction of a "complete socialist society," will not differ in any substantial manner from the revolutionary social democracy which also did not begin with a Noske but which stumbled decisively on August 4, 1914, over this very same question. When the statement is made that the very existence of the USSR is a

guarantee against social-patriotism because in relation to a workers' republic patriotism is a revolutionary duty, then in this one-sided application of a correct idea there is expressed national narrow-mindedness. Those who say so have in mind only the USSR, closing their eyes to the entire world proletariat.

It is possible to lead the proletariat to the position of defeatism in relation to the bourgeois state only by means of an international orientation in the program on this central question and by means of a ruthless rejection of the social-patriotic contraband which is masked as yet but which seeks to build a theoretical nest for itself in the program of Lenin's International.

It is not yet too late to return to the path of Marx and Lenin. It is this return that opens up the only conceivable road to progress. We address this criticism of the draft program to the Sixth Congress of the Comintern, in order to make possible the realization of this turn in which salvation lies.



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To defend the USSR as the main fortress of the world proletariat, against all assaults of world imperialism and of internal counter-revolution, is the most important duty of every class-conscious worker.

— LEON TROTSKY

### JOIN US IN FIGHTING FOR:

1. Military training of workers, financed by the government, but under control of the trade unions. Special officers' training camps, financed by the government but controlled by the trade unions, to train workers to become officers.
2. Trade union wages for all workers drafted into the army.
3. Full equality for Negroes in the armed forces and the war industries—Down with Jim Crowism everywhere.
4. Confiscation of all war profits. Expropriation of all war industries and their operation under workers' control.
5. 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.

## Labor Day Lies Of Union Haters

On Labor Day the Democratic and Republican "friends of labor" will momentarily conceal the knives they and their colleagues have been plunging into the workers' backs for the past year. On the platform, in the press and on the air they will praise labor, make unlimited promises, tell the workers to trust in the capitalist system or in the benevolence of Roosevelt. And the union bureaucrats will rub their paunches in approval.

WLB Chairman Davis has provided a sample of this fake oratory in his Labor Day statement to the labor press. "This is our Labor Day pledge to you," declares Davis. "The National War Labor Board will give you case full and fair treatment, and will act on it with all possible speed."

This promise will be greeted with loud jeers by the millions of workers in auto, rubber, steel, packinghouse and shipyards who waited month after month for the WLB to pass on their demands and then had them denied or slashed to a pittance. The miners received no "full and fair treatment" from this "court packed against labor." The WLB did not even stop to hear their case before they tried to hang the UMW.

The labor movement finds itself in a blind alley on this Labor Day because it has followed the policy of trusting in the false promises of such "friends of labor" as Davis and Roosevelt. The AFL-CIO leaders continue this policy even though its bankruptcy is manifest. They suppress every attempt of their rank and file to rely upon their own independent power in economic action against the employers. They try to head off the growing movement for an independent labor party in order to cling to Roosevelt's coat-tails no matter where labor is being dragged.

To prevent their conditions from going from bad to worse, the workers must break, and force their leaders to break, with all the scoundrels who make a profession of deceiving and betraying the workers for the benefit of the bosses. They must break with the two capitalist parties. They must build their own political organization, an independent labor party based upon the trade unions and pledged to a militant program of action in defense of labor's rights and welfare.

## The USSR And The Plan To Isolate It

The Kremlin is becoming more and more outspoken about the plans being cooked up by its "allies" in Washington and London (with the help of the Vatican) to isolate the Soviet Union in the post-war Europe. Several weeks ago, the Moscow periodical, *War and the Working Class*, openly charged in an article that a *cordon sanitaire* is being organized against the USSR along her western boundaries. The Soviet Embassy in Washington is now circulating this article in its current information bulletin.

The Kremlin still pretends that the plans to bottle up the USSR emanate from a handful of reactionaries. But the truth is that a *cordon sanitaire* against the Soviet Union is an integral part of the Roosevelt-Churchill "democratic" program for the reconstruction of Europe. Why? Because London and Washington want first and foremost to preserve capitalism in Europe. And the preservation of the capitalist order requires the isolation and the eventual destruction of the first workers' state.

Undeniable dangers are looming ahead for the USSR. Far from averting them, it is precisely the Kremlin that bears the greatest responsibility for these dangers. Stalin's policy calls for the preservation of the capitalist order in Europe. This is the "concession" he made in return for a military alliance. Thereby Stalin has facilitated the capitalist attempts to isolate the Soviet Union.

The only other order possible for Europe is the socialist order. Only by the extension of the Soviet property forms — nationalized property — to the rest of Europe can the USSR escape isolation and survive. Once again it is Stalin who has done the most to bar the road to the struggle for the establishment of the Socialist United States of Europe.

The diplomatic moves and counter-moves of the Kremlin and its "allies" give expression to the fundamental class differences and the irreconcilable conflict between the two social orders. In the critical days ahead this conflict is destined to come to the fore more and more sharply.

## Navy's Attack On The Brewster Union

The action of the U. S. Navy in arresting more than a score of guards working at the Johnsville plant of the Brewster Aeronautical Corporation and now holding four guards for court-martial is an ominous indication of the growing trend of the government towards totalitarianism and anti-labor repression. Increasingly we are beginning to hear of the Army, Navy or some other arm of the military injecting itself into the internal affairs of a union and under the guise of patriotism sweeping aside the contract in existence between the union and the management. The brass hats of the military have ordered the "disciplining" of union members. They have demanded the abrogation of certain clauses of union agreements. In many cases, they have ordered the outright dismissal and blacklisting of militant union fighters.

The United Auto Workers union, with which the Brewster local is affiliated, has already suffered heavy blows from these many encroachments of the military. Union militants have been fired and blacklisted under Army orders in the Buick, Bohn, Bell Aircraft and numerous other plants. The rank and file outcry against this brazen union-busting campaign on the part of the military became so strong six months ago that the International Executive Board officially took cognizance of the matter at its March meeting and protested the action of the Army. But of course, the Board even in this case did not deviate from its cowardly, capitulatory policy. The Board did not propose an aggressive line of action to hurl back the anti-labor offensive of the bosses via the military brass hats. It merely demanded that the army not fire any union members without first granting them a full and impartial hearing!

Now Thomas and Company have gone so far in their treachery that up to the present time they have not even bothered to protest, much less propose to fight, the infamous action of the Navy in the Brewster plant.

The Brewster incident illustrates again the fact that the top bureaucrats are so tied up in the war machine, they are so dependent on the government, they have so completely taken on the job of labor agents of the employer-dominated government that they cannot and will not defend even these elementary rights of the union membership.

The coming Buffalo convention of the UAW will do well to give unambiguous warning to these anti-labor brass hats that labor will not tolerate totalitarian interference with its rights.

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## Workers Remain Opposed To Badoglio Government

(Continued from page 1)

arate crossroads to break up the parade, but were unsuccessful. . . Only the news that Badoglio was about to speak persuaded the workers to disperse.

"In Turin, however," the report continued, "the announcement merely served to postpone a clash that finally broke out shortly after noon. According to first reports, some groups of demonstrators barricaded themselves in ruined buildings in the center of the city." There, armed with machine guns, they held out for more than an hour. Another report said they were joined by some Italian soldiers before German troops drove them out.

### DESERTIONS AND STRIKES

The next day travellers returning to Madrid confirmed reports that peace demonstrations and strikes were extending from the north to the central part of Italy, and that thousands of desertions were taking place from the Army. "The highways and byways of central and southern Italy, according to one person, were 'streaming with Italian deserters.'"

On August 20 Badoglio's Minister of Labor, Leopoldo Piccardi, visited the northern cities for conferences with the workers' leaders. In Turin he was greeted with a 24-hour strike, of which one dispatch says:

"The Popolo di Roma states that, despite the publicity attendant on preparations for the strike, military authorities were powerless to prevent it and for an entire day all industrial workers, employees of public services and and transport maintenance men stayed home. Attempts to round up the workers led to hundreds

of clashes and were discouraged." (N. Y. Times, August 24.)

### PEACE DEMANDS

A neutral diplomat returning from Rome told the N. Y. Times correspondent in Rome on August 26 that opposition to the government appeared to be increasing and that the king might fall with the government if the leadership of the workers "finally decides to go into action. . ."

"Illustrating the trend of popular opinions in Italy, the diplomat concluded his recital of events with the description of a 'joyful manifestation' a few days ago when it was rumored through-out Rome that 'a foreign leader had met a violent death.' Romans poured into the streets leading to the Palazzo Chigi, where for hours they chanted to Premier Badoglio, 'Down with the war! Long live Italy! Italy for Italians in peace or war, but for the Italians alone!'"

This demonstration is doubly significant. In the first place, Rome was supposed to be the center where the government faced the least active opposition. Secondly, it shows that the Italian masses, yearning for an end to the war, are not seeking the kind of "peace" which will mean a mere change in war alliances and a continuation of the war on Italian soil under the domination of the Allies.

### HOLDING WORKERS BACK

The Ministry of Popular Culture assumed "absolute control over the Italian press" on August 23, and the outside world is receiving little more news about the events in Italy than it did under Mussolini. As a result, it is difficult to get a full picture of the activities and policies followed by

those who appear, at least for the time being, to be holding positions of leadership among the workers — the liberal capitalist Action Party, the Socialist Party and the Communist Party.

Nevertheless, it is plain from the reports which have come through that these organizations, despite the "leftist" proclamations attributed to them, have been the chief factor restraining the masses from revolutionary actions against the government. These organizations have denounced the government for continuing Italy's alliance with Hitler, but they have failed to attempt to organize the workers for the overthrow of the government, despite the obvious readiness to struggle shown by the workers in their splendid demonstrations and their response to calls for one-day strikes, half-hour work stoppages, parades, etc. Instead of fighting to replace the Badoglio regime with a government representing the workers, they have followed the policy of "putting pressure" on the government.

The first reports about a "truce" between these organizations and the government, begun in order not to "embarrass" Badoglio and increase the difficulties facing him in the form of German opposition to Italy's withdrawal from the war, were received in August. Later a dispatch from Rome reported:

"Late last night a conference between the left-wing leaders and military commanders in Milan, seeking an 'armistice in labor strife pending the outcome of the government's negotiations' broke up with a deadlock." (N. Y. Times, August 18.)

Another indication of the policy pursued by these organizations was the conference held between some of their representatives in the northern cities and Labor Minister Piccardi. To strengthen their bargaining power, the leaders of the workers called a 24-hour strike which the authorities were completely unable to prevent — and then these leaders entered into discussion with the representative of the government which they have been denouncing and told him what "demands" they had to make on the government.

This is not the behavior of parties irreconcilably opposed to the government, but rather of parties ready to deal with the government if the proper terms can be arranged.

### CREATE ILLUSIONS

Of course, no organization — least of all the Marxist party — is called upon to attempt the revolutionary overthrow of the government if the conditions are not ripe for it. But no party can prepare for revolution in the future if today it sows illusions among the masses about the nature of the government, as the present leadership of the workers has been doing.

There is a revolutionary situation in Italy today, but it may be overcome by Badoglio and the ruling class if they are given time. The main problem presently facing the Italian people is still the task of creating a party which has no intention of compromising with any capitalist regime but which is on the contrary completely devoted to the struggle for a Workers' and Peasants' Government, the only kind that can bring peace and security to Italy.

## What Causes Delay in Delivery of 'Militant'

A number of new readers have complained about the long delay which sometimes occurs between the time that *The Militant* is mailed and the time when it reaches subscribers. There was a lapse of something like ten days in the delivery of one issue last month.

These delays are not the fault of *The Militant*. The editorial staff regularly submits the last of its copy to the printers early on Wednesday morning, and the circulation department regularly prepares the copies of the paper for mailing on Thursday morning. What happens to the paper thereafter rests in the hands of Post Office Department and Justice Department officials in Washington.

In March of this year the Postmaster General, in a decision widely criticized in labor and liberal circles, revoked the second-class mailing privileges of *The Militant* because of its criticisms of the administration's domestic and foreign policies, its denunciations of Big Business and its advocacy of an independent labor party and a Workers' and Farmers' Government. The arbitrary and flimsy pretext for this act was the government's contention that an individual reading *The Militant's* criticism of the administration and Big Business might be persuaded thereby not to enlist in the armed forces.

*The Militant* announced its intention to contest this decision in the courts, and as a preparatory step filed a reapplication for its second-class privileges early in July. No word has since been received about the fate of this reapplication. Meanwhile the paper continues to go through the U. S. mails under third-class and fourth-class rates, with each issue being held up until it has been examined and released in Washington.

Readers who wish to do something about the delay in the delivery of *The Militant* should direct their complaints not to us, but to Postmaster General Walker, Washington, D. C.

## The Dissolution of the Canadian Communist Party

The Communist Party of Canada was liquidated last month when the Canadian Stalinists formally launched a "Labor Progressive Party" — an "all-inclusive labor-farmer movement" — in a convention at Toronto.

The new Stalinist program in Canada shows how far these renegades have travelled on the road of their betrayal of Marxism, and the world working class. The primary planks, in line with the Kremlin's policy, call for national unity to win the war. First and foremost, of course, is the opening of the "second front" in Europe. The Canadian version of the Stalinist speedup or "incentive plan" is dished up in the guise of a "partnership" between farmers and labor with the government for "greater war production." The sole concession to the immediate demands and needs of the Canadian workers is a plank calling for "equal pay for equal work for women and youth over 18."

The bulk of the program is devoted to post-war reconstruction. And even here the Stalinists do not go beyond a mild program of reforms to preserve capitalism in Canada. They ask for a few reforms in taxes and in the constitution, promise unemployment and health insurance, "security for the armed forces upon demobilization," tax-exemption for disabled citizens, etc. The most radical proposals call for a minimum post-war wage of \$25 a week, a billion dollar housing program, "a national agricultural policy" and the "nationalization of productive monopolies."

This wretched prescription for the patching up of Canadian capitalism is sugar-coated with a promise of "greater democracy to Canada." There is no mention of socialism and socialist tasks. There is only a promise that "eventually socialism may be established." All this, lies Tim Buck, the "National Leader" of the revamped Stalinist organization, is in "the spirit of the teachings of Marx, Engels and Lenin." (Daily Worker, August 30.)

Among the pretexts cited for the liquidation of the old organization is the failure of the Canadian government to lift the ban on the Communist Party. Therefore the Stalinists proceeded to organize a new party for the support of this self-same government.

## Davies' Film Picketed By British Trotskyists

The Davies' whitewash film, "Mission To Moscow," has been consistently picketed during its showings in London by members of the Trotskyist Workers' International League. The theatres are picketed with placards exposing the lies of the film. The demonstrators also sell a special penny folder telling the truth about the GPU-Hollywood whitewash of Stalin's crimes. During the first week-end of the film's run 7,000 copies of this folder were sold and thousands of theatre-goers and passers-by expressed interest in the placards and the purpose of the demonstration.

Some of the demonstrators have remained at their posts as long as 8 to 10 hours without a break.

The Socialist Appeal, organ of the W.I.L., reports: "Several of our comrades were assaulted by hysterical Stalinist men and women (a miserable bunch of middle class patriots) with the object of creating a scene and attracting the notice of the police. Out of the huge crowds which collected as a result of these attacks, hundreds of people bought the folder exposing the film. Each day a few of our comrades have been arrested by the police and lugged off to the police station on a charge of 'obstruction.' The Stalinists selling Davies' book, 'Mission To Moscow' and anti-Trotskyist pamphlets are usually left unmolested by the police."

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