

CIO UNION DEBATES NO-STRIKE PLEDGE

CRDC Opens Fund Drive For High Court Appeal

The Civil Rights Defense Committee has launched a nation-wide campaign to mobilize support for its appeal to the U. S. Supreme Court to declare the Smith "Gag" Act unconstitutional and to reverse the conviction of the 18 Socialist Workers Party and CIO members sentenced under this act in the famous Minneapolis labor trial of 1941.

Both the convictions and the Smith Act were upheld by the U. S. Circuit of Appeals in St. Louis on Sept. 20. Initial steps in the appeal have already been taken by the attorneys for the defense, who include Albert Goldman for the Civil Rights Defense Committee and Osmond K. Fraenkel for the American Civil Liberties Union.

The national office of the CRDC has informed its 30 local branches throughout the country that the committee's fund-raising campaign for the Supreme Court appeal will begin on Oct. 15. It is estimated that \$2,500 will be needed to finance the preliminary legal and other expenses involved in the appeal. The CRDC will attempt to raise this sum by direct appeals to labor and liberal organizations and individuals, meetings, social affairs, etc.

The CRDC also announced that in addition to its two pamphlets on the case: "Witch-Hunt in Minnesota" and "The Bill of Rights in Danger" it will shortly publish a six-page leaflet for mass distribution. Copies of the above two pamphlets can be obtained at five cents each from the CRDC at 160 Fifth Avenue, New York.

Last week, in a statement to the press the CRDC declared that the decision of the U. S. Circuit Court of Appeals in upholding the convictions "strikes at the very heart of civil liberties in the United States."

"The Smith Act is clearly unconstitutional and violates the rights of free speech and free press guaranteed by the Bill of Rights. The defendants in the Minneapolis case are 'guilty' of nothing but exercising their constitutional and democratic rights of free expression. The upholding of their convictions sets an extremely dangerous precedent which can be used in witch-hunts against other trade unionists and minority political groups."

Ohio Steel Local Members Fight for Union Democracy

CLEVELAND, Ohio, Sept. 27.—Workers at the American Steel and Wire Co. here have succeeded thus far in stymying the attempts of United Steel Workers bureaucrats to conduct a secret heresy trial against James Adams, militant president of Local 1298. This is the latest development in a long fight which these workers have been putting up against both the company and Philip Murray's stooges, who seem equally determined to stamp out all militancy and independence in the union.

The union membership had walked out of the plant on August 16, after the company suspended two committeemen in a dispute over Saturday overtime pay at the Cuyahoga Works. The plant stayed down for two days and employees in the company's other plants here began to walk out in sympathy, especially after the firing of five more union men, including Adams.

At the union meeting on Aug. 17, William F. Donovan, Murray's director in this district, de-

(Continued on page 2)

Labor And Liberal Comment On the Minneapolis Trial

"This union condemns the convictions in the Minneapolis labor case, and protests the interference of the FBI in the democratic procedure of the labor movement."—1942 national convention, United Transport Service Employees of America, CIO.

"No more important issue of civil liberties in the courts has arisen in recent years."—American Civil Liberties Union.

"The prosecution and conviction of 18 officers and members of Local 544-CIO and leaders of the Socialist Workers Party in the Minneapolis labor case under the provisions of the Smith 'Gag' Act sets a dangerous precedent which can be used against the labor movement. . . Our Executive Board is on record as supporting the fight of these men against political persecution."—Irving Abramson, president of New Jersey State CIO Council, announcing that body's decision to support the appeal of the 18 defendants.

"We recognize this as a general attack on labor and therefore a fight that all labor must rally to. Resolved, that the Rochester Railroad Council goes on record condemning these convictions of workers under this law, pledges its aid in helping to fight the case to the Supreme Court."—Rochester Railroad Council.

"The prosecution and conviction are challenges to every believer in civil liberties. They are an example of the very thing the Bill of Rights sought to make impossible—the imprisonment of men not for what they did, but for what they thought and said."—The Nation.

"This is a clear case of Justice Department interference in a trade union matter. . . If it is successful, many informed observers are expecting other indictments of labor figures who do not toe the mark in the way some bureaucrat would prefer that they do."—Labor's Non-Partisan League.

More than 125 CIO, AFL and independent central labor bodies and local unions indicated their opposition to the convictions by sending contributions to support the work of the Civil Rights Defense Committee, which is conducting the appeal for the defendants.

Food and Troops Are Allied Weapons For Combating Revolution in Europe

By Philip Blake

While the Allied leaders are not very much interested at the present time in committing themselves too definitely on the flood of post-war resolutions, plans and proposals which have been introduced in this country and Britain, they have already outlined the blueprint of "international machinery" for preserving capitalism in Europe and are busily at work implementing it.

Food and "order" are the slogans under which this machinery will operate to prevent the peoples of Europe from democratically choosing socialist governments.

In Washington last week Secretary of State Hull announced the terms, already approved by the U. S., British, Soviet and Chinese governments, for the establishment of the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration, which will handle the collection, transportation and distribution of food and other supplies for those areas in need of them.

NEW MACHINERY

The plan announced by Hull was substantially the same one drawn up earlier this year, slightly revised to meet the objection of some of the smaller Allied governments that it gave too much power to the four big powers. The plan will become effective for each nation as soon as it signs the agreement.

Each participating government will select a representative who will become a member of the council of the new body. A central committee, functioning between meetings of the council, will be composed of representatives of the U. S., Britain, USSR

(Continued on page 3)

Reuther-Addes Groups Fight For Control Of Auto Union

By E. R. Frank

The eighth convention of the United Auto Workers opens at a time when the union is in the throes of a violent faction struggle between the Reuther-Leonard and the Addes-Frankenstein groups for control of the union. The top leaders of these two caucuses are obviously determined to convert the convention into a factional squabble over posts, jobs and control, just as they did at the Buffalo convention of 1941.

Are there any basic differences between the Reuther and Addes factions on the all-important question of program? No!

The program of the Addes-Frankenstein group is a replica inside the UAW of the Murray program in the national CIO.

Like Murray, the Frankenstein-Addes groups want to hogtie the labor movement to the war machine, to convert the labor movement into an appendage of Roosevelt and the Democratic Party. Like Murray, they support the punitive, labor-baiting War Labor Board. Like Murray, they supported the wage-freezing Little Steel formula, under cover of a spurious, fictitious, fake campaign for a price rollback.

Like Murray, Frankenstein and Addes follow a policy of cooperating with the finky Stalinists in the unions where the latter constitute a force. Of course, that is not surprising. In all practical respects, Frankenstein and Addes advocate the same fink program for the UAW as the Stalinists.

THE REUTHER CAUCUS

The Reuther caucus leaders, outside of their fight against the universally hated piecework system, espouse the very same reactionary "sacrifice" program. Their final convention program gives the whole show away. It states: "We stand for continued support of President Roosevelt and Philip Murray. . ."

Why then has Reuther organized a separate faction and why does he wage bitter warfare with the opposing Addes-Frankenstein faction? In order to secure power and control of the union for his own clique. Reuther and the top UAW officials associated with him are probably a little smarter than Addes and Frankenstein. They are keenly aware of the growing dissatisfaction of the rank and file.

But Reuther and the other top officials associated with him have not tried to assume the leadership of the militant cause in order to fight honestly and clearly at the convention for a genuine militant program. Quite the contrary! Reuther seeks to use this dissatisfaction of the

Warren K. Billings Urges Postal Pardon

Warren K. Billings, who himself spent 23 years in prison as a labor martyr, has written from San Francisco asking Governor Thye of Minnesota to grant Kelly Postal a pardon. Billings, together with Tom Mooney, was sent to jail through an anti-labor frameup in 1916. Postal, likewise the victim of a frameup, has been sentenced to five years in prison because of his union activities. The text of Billings' letter follows:

I am writing this letter to ask you to grant a pardon to Kelly Postal. I have sponsored his case and now support his pardon petition for reasons which are, perhaps, stronger with me than with almost any other person who has written to you. Perhaps you are familiar with my case and the companion case of Tom Mooney, and know that I was released from prison by executive clemency.

Kelly Postal is now in prison for doing something which anyone else in his situation would have done and which seems to anyone not a lawyer as the only right thing to do. When the majority of his local union voted that he should make a transfer of its funds, he did so.

To sentence a man to the penitentiary for doing something which impresses any person as the right thing, seems as unjust as sentencing him on perjured evidence (as I was sentenced). I believe I can safely say that when Governor Olson released me, all people who knew my case felt he had done the right thing. I am sure that when you pardon Kelly Postal the people who are familiar with his case will feel the same way.

I therefore ask you to grant his application for a pardon.

(Continued on page 3)

Convention Leaves Major Shipyard Problems Unsolved

By MIRIAM CARTER

NEW YORK, Sept. 26 — 518 delegates gathered in New York September 21-24 for the ninth annual convention of the Industrial Union of Marine and Shipbuilding Workers of America, CIO. The leadership of the union, headed by President John Green and Secretary-Treasurer Philip Van Gelder, revealed that it is not interested in solving the workers' problems. This leadership has but two aims—to keep the union membership subservient to the Roosevelt war machine, and to retain its control of the union.

Few of the workers' grievances were even taken up at the convention. Resolutions were passed pledging full support to the Roosevelt administration and its agencies, support of the CIO Political Action Committee and a reaffirmation of the no-strike pledge. No mention was made of the wage-freezing Little Steel formula.

GREEN'S SPEECH

The only reference to the War Labor Board was in Green's opening speech to the convention. "We have recently made substantial progress through use of the WLB machinery," he declared, "and we have every reason to believe that we can continue to get

(Continued on page 2)

Akron Delegates Demand That Rubber Union Break With WLB

TORONTO, Sept. 26.—Opposition to the "union sacrifice" program of the United Rubber Workers leadership was voiced by a large group of delegates to the eighth annual convention of the union, meeting here last week. But because the opposition lacked the necessary program, leadership and organization, the Dalrymple leadership was able to put across its entire program at the convention and retain control of the International Executive Board.

The most important resolutions adopted by the convention called for the reaffirmation of the no-strike pledge, and endorsement of the pro-Roosevelt CIO Political Action Committee.

The Stalinists, who played their usual fink role at this rubber convention, raised a hue and cry for a second front. However, the resolution for a second front was defeated. Approximately a dozen delegates voted in favor of the resolution, thus indicating the specific Stalinist strength at this convention.

Most of the convention debates centered around the issue of the no-strike pledge. Every resolution that dealt directly or indirectly with the question of strikes provoked considerable discussion and

criticism of the Dalrymple leadership. But the opposition allowed the Dalrymple forces to out-manuever them from the very beginning on this vital issue.

NO-STRIKE PLEDGE

The resolutions committee brought in its own resolution which reaffirmed the no-strike pledge and declared that all stoppages since the last convention were unauthorized. Although the powerful Goodrich Local 5 of Akron and Local 210 of Pittsburgh had presented resolutions calling upon the convention to withdraw the no-strike pledge, no attempt was made from the floor to have the committee bring these resolutions before the convention.

All of the delegates who took the floor on this question spoke in favor of the committee resolution and launched attacks against the Akron strike of

(Continued on page 2)

Salute To Revolutionary Fighters of Italy

An Editorial

Churchill's latest speech to Parliament is the final proof that Anglo-American capitalism intends to establish in Italy a reactionary regime around the Royal House of Savoy. Support of a government composed of the same ruling class elements who collaborated amicably with Mussolini for two decades is the answer of Roosevelt and Churchill to the revolt of the Italian workers for a government of their own choice and in their own interests.

Simultaneously, Hitler is expressing his own undying hatred and fear of the revolution in the anti-fascist centers of northern Italy. It is estimated that his generals have massacred at least ten thousand of the best working class fighters in Turin, Milan and Rome. The cities are being sacked, the workers slaughtered and starved.

After 20 years of prostration under the fascist heel, the Italian workers rose up in revolt. For the first time in this war, the masses decisively intervened on the political stage. They took to the streets, staged giant peace demonstrations and strikes, fraternized with the troops and began destroying the whole machinery of the hated fascist regime.

The fascists will never be able to turn back the clock and undo what the masses accomplished in the first sweep of the revolution. The myth that fascism had put an end to the class struggle has been shattered for all time. The blows dealt fascism in Italy have given new hope and courage to the masses of all Europe. The workers know that, when the opportunity arises, they can put their fascist oppressors to flight.

But the Italian workers were unable to achieve the main aims of their struggle. Today, with their country a bloody battleground, these courageous and heroic fighters are being made to pay a terrible price for their revolt. The Italian workers are, for the time being, wholly on the defensive.

That the workers were thus driven back was due, first of all, to the absence of a strong Marxist party. The treacherous Stalinist and reformist leaders in Italy therefore had free rein to restrain the masses and divert them from overthrowing Badoglio when his regime was hanging by a hair. The Axis and Allied leaders were able with impunity to strike heavy blows against the Italian revolution, each in the manner available to them.

The tasks facing the Italian workers are exceedingly difficult and complex. They wanted and want above all to get out of the imperialist war and to have a government that can bring them security. But no more than the masses in the rest of the world can the Italian people any longer achieve these aims under capitalism.

The only revolutionary forces in Italy are the working class in alliance with the peasantry. The revolution which the working class can and will lead is the socialist revolution. The only alternative to the present rule of the big industrialists and the banks is the rule of the councils of workers, soldiers and peasants.

While it is possible, of course, that a "democratic" capitalist government, on the model of the Weimar republic of 1918, may succeed Badoglio, such a government would constitute only a short-lived stage ending either in the victory of the workers' revolution which would establish a Workers' and Farmers' Government or the victory of the counter-revolution, which would establish a starkly reactionary military dictatorship.

But to organize a successful revolution, the workers must have an experienced revolutionary leadership, a strong Marxist party. And that takes time to build, even if the task is accomplished in the heat of battle. The Italian workers needed time—to perfect their organizations, to strengthen their ranks, to test out the various leaders and programs, to build their revolutionary political party. They did not get that time.

This does not mean that the Italian revolution has been crushed once and for all. Despite bloody repressions and under staggering odds, they continue their resistance, which now takes the forms predominantly of sabotage, strikes and guerrilla combat. Their continued resistance under such unfavorable conditions serves as assurance that the workers will resume their forward march as soon as the opportunity presents itself.

We salute the heroic revolutionary fighters of Milan, of Turin, of all Italy. Their martyred dead have not died in vain; they will be avenged by the coming resurgence of the Italian revolution. To these fighters goes the honor of beginning the new series of revolutions which will surely end with the establishment of a Socialist United States of Europe, a Europe of brotherhood, prosperity and peace.

TRADE UNION NOTES

By Marvel Scholl

The two day, railroad strike which last week tied up traffic in the Los Angeles area has ended. Angered by the actions of Fred M. Vinson, economic stabilization director, who vetoed a 13 cents per hour wage increase agreed to between the Brotherhood of Railway Trainmen and the Pacific Electric Railroad, 2600 employees of the company walked out Sept. 24.

Workers on the Santa Fe, the Union Pacific, and the Southern Pacific roads supported the strike by refusing to handle any freight consigned to the Pacific Electric. President Roosevelt ordered the strikers back to work, announcing that he had appointed a special three-man mediation panel to consider their case, but that the case would not be considered as long as the men were on strike. At a mass meeting on Sept. 26, 80% of the workers voted to return to work.

The strikers will receive full pay for the two days they were on strike. And the new panel is to begin its considerations on the basis of a return to the union's original wage demands for \$1.04 1/2 per hour.

At least 14 more miners met their death last week when a dust explosion rocked the fifth level of the Moffett-Schroeder mine near Minersville, Pa. Several others were injured, many were burned.

Rock-dusting and proper ventilation could have prevented these deaths and saved many more thousands of lives which have been lost in similar explosions. But rock-dusting and adequate ventilation cost money; money spent thus means less profit for the mine owners. And profits are sacred.

The WLB handed down an edict last week, ordering the Brewster Aeronautical Corporation and UAW-CIO Local 365 to sign a contract "forthwith" embodying all of those terms upon which the company and the union have thus far agreed. A separate contract, covering plant guards, is to be negotiated. The guards are to be completely under the control of the Navy Department. Their seniority rights, for the duration of the war, are to be abrogated. The edict orders the company to sign a closedshop contract with the union for six months. At the end of that period the union must prove that "it has so discharged its responsibilities as to warrant the continuation of the closed shop."

The company was also put on "probation." Production, says the WLB, must be stepped up. A report issued last week by the Truman Committee, characterizes production conditions in the Pennsylvania plants of the company as "extremely bad."

Frederick Reibel, president of the company, placed the blame for the lack of production on the union. Reibel said there would be

no improvement until the WLB got the company a "labor contract which is workable."

R. J. Thomas, president of the CIO United Auto Workers, was arrested at Houston, Texas, last week for a test-case violation of a newly-enacted anti-labor law which makes it compulsory for anyone soliciting union membership to obtain a license from the Secretary of State. Immediately upon his arrival in Houston to address the Oil Workers International Union, Thomas was served with a temporary restraining order.

After he had spoken at a mass meeting of workers at Pelly, Texas, Thomas was arrested on two counts—for violating the law and for ignoring the restraining order. He was sentenced to three days in jail and fined \$100 for violation of the restraining order.

On Sept. 22, the Shipbuilding Panel of the WLB ruled that when maintenance-of-membership contracts are renewed, the new contract must contain an "escape" clause, providing a fifteen-day period during which union members may "resign" from the union.

The Industrial Union of Marine & Shipbuilding Workers, is seeking the renewal of its contract with the Federal Shipbuilding and Drydock Corporation which contains a maintenance-of-membership clause. The IUMSW has indicated that it plans to appeal this ruling to the WLB.

Last week Fred M. Vinson turned down two more wage increases. He vetoed a 40 to 50 cents per hour minimum wage scale for 10,000 employees of the work-glove industry. He also refused a new wage scale, 10% below wages paid packinghouse workers in St. Louis, for the employees of five meat-packing plants in Louisville.

The "non-partisan" committee set up by the Buffalo convention of the New York AFL to investigate candidates for political office has given its endorsement to Republican Joseph Hanley, candidate for lieutenant-governor. Thomas Murray, state AFL president, said that this action had been taken because Hanley has "given friendly consideration to labor's problems."

The U. S. Gypsum Company has filed suit in federal court to restrain the WLB and Fred Vinson from using sanctions against it to force the signing of a maintenance-of-membership contract ordered by the WLB for its Warren Ohio plant. A strike of UMW District 50 against the Chemical Solvents Corporation began in Peoria, Ill. last week when the company fired a union member for "refusing to obey orders." The union had been holding in abeyance the strike action which the workers voted for in a ballot under the Smith-Connally law six weeks ago.

POSTAL HEARING TO BE HELD ON OCTOBER 11

Application for Kelly Postal's pardon was filed on Sept. 23 with the Minnesota State Pardon Board by Elwood Fichette, Minnesota attorney retained by the Civil Rights Defense Committee. The hearing is set for Oct. 11.

Through his attorney Postal claimed he was convicted solely on a legal technicality and at no time were any of the union funds in question diverted to his own use or otherwise misdirected. His conviction centered around the turning over of Local 544-AFL funds, in accordance with the almost unanimous vote of the members at a regular meeting, to the newly-organized Local 544 CIO.

In a previous trial Judge Hall directed the jury to discharge the case. In a second trial on virtually the same charges, Postal was found guilty of "embezzlement" and sentenced by Judge Arthur W. Selover to five years in prison. Postal is now in Stillwater State penitentiary.

Roger Baldwin, director of the ACLU, has written to all members of this organization in Minnesota, urging them to ask Governor Thye to grant a pardon to Postal. George Leonard, Minnesota ACLU attorney is preparing a brief on the case to be submitted to the Pardon Board.

The trade union movement rallied to the support of Kelly Postal in many ways this week. A resolution passed by the Phoenix Brass Workers Union No. 462, Irvington N. J., placed this CIO local "on record in

condemning the conviction of Kelly Postal and in support of the efforts made in his behalf by the Civil Rights Defense Committee to free him."

A considerable number of petitions urging the release of Postal have been received with the signatures of union men and women belonging to trade unions include Brewsters Union Local 205, Minneapolis, Minn.; Brewers Union Local 9, Milwaukee, Wis.; UAW-CIO Local 6, Melrose Park, Ill.; UAW-CIO Local 212, Detroit, Mich.; Mechanics Educational Society, Local 9, Detroit, Mich.; Industrial Union Marine & Shipbuilding Workers, Local 1, Camden, N. J.

Among this week's contributors to the Kelly Postal Pardon Fund were Mechanics Educational Society Local 9, Detroit, Mich.; UAW-CIO Local 264, Waukesha, Wis.; Workmen's Benefit Fund No. 91 New York City.

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Union Debates No-Strike Pledge

(Continued from page 1)

40,000 Goodrich, Firestone and Goodyear workers last May. One delegate, obviously a Stalinist, called for the expulsion of those who refused to go along with the no-strike pledge. The opposition remained silent at this critical juncture, failing to speak either in defense of the Akron strike or in support of the two resolutions against the no-strike pledge. Few delegates voted against the committee resolution.

At a later point on the agenda a resolution submitted by Firestone Local 7 of Akron came before the convention. This resolution stated that the executive board has no right to pledge the membership to a policy of no strikes and that in the future all pledging for the membership should be by referendum vote. A minority of the resolutions committee presented a watered down substitute for the Firestone resolution, and the discussion took place on this substitute instead of on the original resolution.

AKRON DELEGATION The attack on the substitute resolution was led by Dalrymple who stated that "certain little groups want to hamstring the executive board" and demanded full powers for the executive officers to enforce the no-strike pledge which the convention had passed earlier in the day. This provoked lengthy and heated discussion on the question of the no-strike pledge and the Akron strike.

The first clear voice against the no-strike pledge was raised by a delegate from a small local in Trenton, N. J. He said that many men in his local receive wages of \$24 a week. They are frozen to their jobs and if they are not able to strike they will have no means of bettering their conditions. Another delegate from Chicago stated that the workers' one defense is the right to strike and that right should not be taken away from them.

The Akron delegates played a leading part in this discussion as they did throughout the entire convention. Delegates from Akron Locals 5, 7 and 9, spoke for the substitute resolution. Others from Locals 6 and 7 spoke against it. On the vote, the substitute resolution was defeated 154 to 78.

DEBATE REOPENED

What had really occurred was a reopening of the debate on the no-strike pledge. If the discussion had taken place on the original Firestone resolution rather than on the watered down substitute brought in by a minority of the resolution committee, a clearer expression of the sentiment against the no-strike pledge could have been obtained. Nevertheless, the vote as it stands indicates considerable opposition to the no-strike pledge and to the democratic actions of the executive board. The vote also clearly indicates that the forces with which to build a progressive group were present at the convention.

The following day the resolutions committee reported "on a resolution presented by Goodrich Local 5, Akron, demanding that the United Rubber Workers withdraw its members from the War Labor Board and urge all other labor members to do likewise. The Goodrich resolution attacked the WLB for its decision which whittled the rubber workers down to a measly three cents an hour wage increase. The resolutions committee recommended that the convention vote down this resolution.

RUBBER WORKERS MAD

George Bass, president of Local 5, characterized the WLB as a reactionary group that makes its own laws. "The rubber workers are mad," he stated, and ended with a plea to the convention that the rubber union leave the War Labor Board. The resolution to withdraw from the WLB was lost with about 50 delegates voting in favor of it.

Still another fight on the no-strike pledge occurred when the committee on officers' reports commended Dalrymple for suspending members who went on strike. A heated discussion took place as to whether or not the International president has such powers. Dalrymple's remarks left no doubt as to his intention to use all the power he possesses against the militants. The committee report was adopted with a sizeable minority voting against it.

The convention adopted a resolution calling for support of the CIO Political Action Committee which is designed to keep the workers tied to the Roosevelt administration and the Democratic Party. This resolution specifically came out against a "third party," that is, an independent labor party.

THE CCF A Canadian delegate pointed out that this resolution could not apply to Canadian conditions as a labor party already exists in Canada. The chairman of the resolutions committee, in discussing this point, stated the third party

was all right for Canada because "they have no liberal party to fight for the workers like we have in the States."

No resolution for an independent labor party had been submitted to the convention. No voice was raised to propose that the workers build their own political party. This convention, meeting in Ontario, the scene of the recent smashing electoral labor victory by the Cooperative Commonwealth Federation, presented the best opportunity to explain to the assembled delegates the necessity for independent working class political action in the United States.

There were indications that many delegates mistakenly thought the CIO Political Action Committee was a step in the direction of an independent labor party. A presentation of the labor party question at this point would have made clear the reactionary role of the labor bureaucrats on the political field and would have assisted in uniting the progressive forces against the policy of the union leadership.

SICKENING SPECTACLE

The convention had inflicted upon it the usual plague of "guest speakers" representing the War Man-power Commission, the War Department, war relief bodies, etc., who took up much valuable time. Their faces and figures were different but the speeches were all alike—how labor must continue to sacrifice and continue to support Roosevelt.

The convention closed with the election of general officers and the executive board. At this point the delegates were presented with a sickening spectacle. George

Bass, one of the leaders of the convention opposition, nominated S. H. Dalrymple for re-election to the office of president. He declared that Dalrymple's sincerity could not be disputed and that he had served the organization well. There were no other candidates running for this office and Dalrymple was unanimously re-elected.

The incumbent vice-president and general secretary were likewise re-elected without opposition. An executive board which in the main supports the Dalrymple leadership was elected.

KEYSTONE SLOGAN

The first thing that was needed by the opposition delegates and still is required is a program around which to rally the progressive forces. The opposition delegates did not adhere to this principle. Instead they centered their organizational activity around slates for the executive board rather than around the key issues.

The failure of the opposition to fight for the labor party indicates that they did not realize it is now more necessary than ever to carry the fight in defense of labor's rights onto the political arena. A truly progressive program today must have as its keystone the slogan for the independent labor party.

The rubber workers won't like the decisions of this convention. They will know that they have received no answer to their pressing problems from the convention decisions. It is up to the militants in the union to elaborate a program that will mobilize the forces to lead the rubber workers in the right direction.

Steel Workers In Ohio Defend Union Democracy

(Continued from page 1)

livered a harangue about "substituting mob rule for orderly procedure" and told the men to go back to work on any terms. Adams criticized Donovan for failing to settle any grievances; this he showed was one of the causes for the strike. The workers did not return to work until the following day when they had won from the company a promise to reinstate the fired men.

A new spirit of solidarity and militancy grew among the workers as a result of the outcome of the strike. But this was not to the liking of Donovan or his henchmen, Horan and Kanecki.

DONOVAN GETS "TOUGH" To be sure, Donovan knew how to make fighting speeches. He told the press, for example: "It seems to me that there is a concerted effort on the part of all steel companies today not to settle any more grievances than they must. . . It looks as though the companies have taken their gloves off and are getting tough and I have taken my gloves off, thrown them in the corner and am ready for a showdown."

This was an outright lie, however, for when Donovan got tough it was not with the company but with the very union members who were doing the most to force the company to settle grievances. Horan and Kanecki appeared at a Local 1298 meeting, preferring charges against Adams on 15 counts and announcing he would be tried a week later.

The charges boiled down pretty much to two items: "slandering and willfully wronging" a member of the international union, and violating the no-strike pledge and contract by "authorizing and encouraging" the strike. Truly this was heresy! Had not the Plain Dealer praised Donovan as a great labor leader? What right had some lowly wire drawer to make criticisms? As for the strike, if the government would not prosecute under the anti-la-

bor Smith-Connally Act, then Murray's agents would act as police themselves.

MEMBERS INTERVENE

Adams appeared before a trial committee of five local members to face the charges, and Horan was present to pillory Adams. However, a considerable number of the union members turned up to pound on the locked doors of the trial session and insist that the trial be at least as public as those held in ordinary courts.

As a result the trial committee adjourned, conceding that the question of how the trial should be conducted should come up before a meeting of the union. A few days later Donovan informed the press that Raymond Jablonski, president of Local 1519 of the American Workers—one of the plants which had come out in sympathy—was also to be tried.

GREEN AS POLICEMAN

In his acceptance speech, Green declared: "I expect the members of this organization to take the

SWP in New York Exceeds Quota in Sales Campaign

Going over the top in its campaign to distribute James P. Cannon's book "The Struggle For A Proletarian Party," Local New York, Socialist Workers Party, exceeded its quota of 200, and ended the campaign with a total of 215 copies of the book sold.

At a citywide social held Sept. 25 in honor of the winners, a set of Cannon's book and Leon Trotsky's "In Defense of Marxism" bound in red leather, was presented to Libby Allen, who had sold the most books during the campaign. Runners-up were Richard Kellner and Larissa Reed.

TRIAL DATE SET

The trial committee, packed with Horan men, could then have declared Adams exonerated because of Horan's failure to stay and press charges, but instead it suddenly found that business on Sunday is illegal—although the other affairs of this and thousands of other locals had been settled on Sunday for years. The committee set the following Thursday as the time for the trial, which will make it difficult for many of the workers to attend.

The workers of this local have decided that not all dictators are in Europe—some are right in their own international union. They demand that the members democratically control their own unions. Their fight has the support of all who believe that the unions belong to the membership.

Shipyard Convention Leaves Workers' Problems Unsolved

(Continued from page 1)

an even break from these government agencies." Green did not get down to cases or he would have been forced to admit that the WLB flatly rejected the demand of the shipyard workers for a wage increase.

The reports of the past year's organizing efforts prove that the government agencies have hampered the progress of the union's organizing drive. Edward Gallagher, national director of organization, told the delegates that the organizing efforts of the union have been impeded by the Navy Department's "brass hat boys" at the Electric Boat Company in Bayonne, N. J. and Groton, Conn.

Ruth Meyers, public relations head in the Kaiser organizing drive in Portland, Oregon, reported that the government agencies in Portland worked hand in glove with the company and the Boilermakers Union (AFL) to keep the CIO out. "Everywhere we turned in Portland," she said, "we seemed to hit a stone wall, except when we spoke to the workers."

LAND INVITED

The whole effort of the leadership at the convention was spent in keeping vital issues from being discussed. The convention was run in a high-handed fashion. At each session there were one, two or three speakers invited by the leadership to address the convention. There was a steady parade of "Gold Braid" across the platform urging greater speedup in production and more "cooperation" with management and government agencies.

One of these speakers was Admiral Emory S. Land, head of the United States Maritime Commission. Only a year ago Admiral Land had declared that "union organizers ought to be shot at sunrise." The bankruptcy of the top leadership is revealed by their invitation to this labor-hater to address the convention.

So much time was spent in listening to speeches, and recessing, that when the time came for adjournment, 65 resolutions were referred for action to the incoming General Executive Board.

John Green was re-elected president unanimously. Van Gelder was re-elected as secretary-treasurer.

GREEN AS POLICEMAN In his acceptance speech, Green declared: "I expect the members of this organization to take the

SWP in New York Exceeds Quota in Sales Campaign

Going over the top in its campaign to distribute James P. Cannon's book "The Struggle For A Proletarian Party," Local New York, Socialist Workers Party, exceeded its quota of 200, and ended the campaign with a total of 215 copies of the book sold.

At a citywide social held Sept. 25 in honor of the winners, a set of Cannon's book and Leon Trotsky's "In Defense of Marxism" bound in red leather, was presented to Libby Allen, who had sold the most books during the campaign. Runners-up were Richard Kellner and Larissa Reed.

advice given them after due consideration. . . I'm getting sick and tired of spending time ironing out difficulties within locals. . ." Green was referring to his role as policeman over locals or members who dared to violate the no-strike pledge. Several weeks ago the GEB authorized Green to punish any such "recalcitrants." This is further evidence that the reactionary policies of the union leadership are not accepted by many members. It also demonstrates the steady bureaucratization of the union.

The campaign of the present leadership to housebreak the union was made amply clear in the Officers' Report. During the past year, this report discloses, four local unions have had their charters revoked, and five locals have been placed in receivership. Thus almost 25% of the locals have felt the heavy hand of the bureaucracy.

The only struggle that took place at the convention was a clique fight for power between Green and the Stalinists. This struggle broke out around the Velson case.

Irving Velson is the Stalinist president of Local 13, Brooklyn, and was a member of the General Executive Board. Green led the fight to oust him from the GEB, basing himself on the provision in the constitution which bars "communists" from holding office in the union. Green's followers carried on a disgraceful, jingoistic, red-baiting attack on Velson.

CLIQUE FIGHT

Velson's defense was on the same low level as the attack. Van Gelder and Walter S. Pollard, Sr., receiver of Local 9, San Pedro, defended him, because they claimed the evidence against him was insufficient. Velson's main argument was that such



During the week we received three letters from our agent in Portland. All of them contained subscriptions to The Militant and the third letter explained: "Enclosed are two more subs. . . My letters to you for the last week are like a continued story, no? On the mailing list we tried, we are selling subs to about 75% of those we can get hold of."

Our Los Angeles agent sent us two subscriptions and we will be hearing further from her because she says: "We are having a sub contest between Central Branch (Los Angeles Local) and San Pedro. The results should be more and more subscriptions flowing to New York in the next few weeks."

Seattle is winding up one subscription campaign and getting ready to launch another. "Enclosed is another sub. That makes a total of 23 since our campaign started. . . Enclosed also is the first publicity on a special campaign we are starting. We're taking a list of 200 names composed of boilermakers, pipefitters, and sealers. As far as we know, they know nothing whatsoever about the paper—except that they might have seen it at some of our shipyard distributions. We'll let you know whether we get any results."

attacks disrupt the "unity" necessary to carry out the "CIO win-the-war program." Not one speaker protested against the persecution of an individual because of his ideas.

The struggle on the Velson case revealed that both the Stalinists and the Green clique are united on a reactionary "union sacrifice" program. The cliques are merely fighting for posts and jobs. Green won on the roll call vote by 402 1/2 to 203 1/2.

The Marine and Shipbuilding Workers Union was built in militant strike struggles. Despite the Herculean efforts of the top leadership to wipe out these traditions, thousands of militants still remember the past struggles and their lessons. There were evidences of this at the convention, despite the present bureaucratization of the union.

John Filacheck, from Local 36, Wilmington, spoke up against the no-strike pledge. " . . . Congress put our heads on the chopping block (with the Smith-Connally act)," he said. "If we pass this they'll bring in another bill to continue to chop our heads off."

Many delegates took the floor to speak for the spreading of the ideas of unionism and building the power of the union by organizing the unorganized yards. Several delegates demanded union action to protect the health and safety of the workers.

There is no doubt that these delegates expressed the sentiments of thousands of shipyard workers.

The militant shipyard workers, who expected a program from this convention to redress their many grievances, will be sorely disappointed. They will conclude that they cannot look to Green, Van Gelder or the Stalinists for leadership in this fight.

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The Negro Struggle

By Albert Parker

The Communist Party Line Today

During the first year after Hitler's attack on the Soviet Union in June, 1941 the Communist Party in this country disgusted and lost a considerable number of Negro members by its openly reactionary attitude toward the struggle for Negro equality. Their propaganda line then was simple and crude, amounting to nothing more than this: Winning the war is paramount and everything else, including the Negro struggle, must be subordinated to it.

But the dissemination of this line at a time when the Negro people as a whole were stirring with indignation against Jim Crow, war or no war, lost the C.P. so much prestige not only with its Negro members but also with the Negro community as a whole, that the Stalinist leadership had to effect some changes.

What the Stalinists changed, at the beginning of the summer of 1942, was not the line, but the emphasis. Earl Browder explained in a Madison Square Garden speech on July 2 that the Communist Party line did not mean abandonment of the Negro struggle. This idea arose from a "misunderstanding," he said; what the C.P. advocates is "redress" of the Negroes' grievances in order to facilitate the winning of the war.

From that day to this, the Stalinists have angled their propaganda in this manner. They no longer emphasize the "secondary" character of the Negro struggle. Instead, they talk and write about how Jim Crow hinders the war effort and how the needs of the war call for the elimination of these Jim Crow bars. This silences some of the criticism against their treacherous policies while at the same time it leaves the Negro struggle where it was before — subordinated to the party's pro-imperialist line.

This change in emphasis has not fooled many politically mature and honest people. Report had it last year that Richard Wright had broken with the party's line on the Negro problem; last month the Stalinists repudiated Angelo Herndon's activities. Although neither of these well-known figures has issued a statement on the question of the rift between them and the party is highly symptomatic. A Harlem YCL leader had to publicly rebuke Mike Gold in the Daily Worker last month for his slanderous analysis of the Harlem protest demonstration early in August. Roi Ottley's "New World A-Coming" reports that the C.P. "has lost ground steadily since the war began. Many Negroes complain that in the Communist Party's quest of national unity the struggle for Negro rights is being sacrificed."

Nevertheless, it must be admitted that a considerable number of Negro militants still remain loyal to the Stalinist party today, and that it has even been able to make some advances among Negroes newly entering into political activity. How does this happen?

Partly because the Communist Party continues to mask its treachery behind the prestige of the Russian revolution whose gains in the field of race relations still remain in the Soviet Union.

despite the degeneration of the revolution under Stalinism. Partly because the Stalinists are able to point to the unions they dominate, in which there are generally greater opportunities and equality for Negro workers than in unions dominated by AFL craft union bureaucrats. But most of all, we believe, because the Negro members and sympathizers of the Communist Party have not yet realized that the party's position on the Negro struggle today consists of support in words and betrayal in action.

In this connection we would like to call attention to "Hitler's Uprisings in the United States," a chapter from Earl Browder's forthcoming book, printed in the Sept. 12 Worker. Here, as cleverly formulated as you will find it anywhere, is the essence of the Stalinist line.

Browder condemns race prejudice in this article. Why? Because as a result of it "national unity has been undermined. The development of our military power has been delayed. . . The moral authority of the United States among the other nations is seriously damaged. . ." Not one word about the effects of Jim Crow on the Negro people! Not one word about the effects of the working class as a whole!

The reason for this is apparent throughout the article. Browder adopts this approach because his intention is to reason with the capitalist class and the government responsible for fostering Jim Crow, to convince them that it is to their own benefit to eliminate discriminatory practices. Thus the whole struggle for equality is treated as though it were a debate or a friendly discussion, with Browder pleading with the capitalists and for the Negroes and white workers in this debate is presumably to stand meekly by and say "Hear! Hear!" at the proper intervals.

Such an approach has nothing in common with that of Marxism, represented in this country by the Socialist Workers Party. We know, and the experiences of the Negro people have demonstrated, that the fight for Negro equality is not a debate in which the enemy can be convinced but a relentless struggle to the end in which no holds are barred on either side. The capitalists know what they are doing; and they are doing it deliberately because they don't intend, war or no war, to grant equality to the Negroes. They are glad to have the service of the Negro masses, but they have nothing but contempt for the pleas of the Browders.

The Negro people already have a surplus of advocates to plead for them with the ruling class; they have the well-meaning liberals and the respectable Negro leaders and many more. They have always had such "help" and it has never done them any good. What they need now is a party which will lead the working class in an all-out struggle against the ruling class and that they will not find in the Communist Party which is interested only in advancing the foreign policies of the Stalin bureaucracy in the Soviet Union.

Reuther-Addes Groups Fight For Control Of Auto Union

(Continued from page 1)
will be the next secretary of the UAW.

The leading militants are demanding more and more insistently that the UAW break with the whole setup which shackles their union to the war machinery. They want to smash the Little-Steel formula by which their wages remain frozen under war inflation. These militants are beginning to realize that it is absolutely necessary to break with the labor-hating War Labor Board which is attempting to destroy the independence of the labor movement. This is what the rank and file are thinking and what they want when they compress it in the single formula: Rescind the no-strike pledge.

The leading militants are likewise growing sick and tired of the pushing around that labor has been taking at the hands of their alleged representatives in the government. They are daily becoming more and more aware that the Democratic and Republican Parties are completely employer-controlled and that the policy of electing to office so-called "friends of labor" only represents the old "company unionism" on the political field. They are inspired by the recent election victories of the Canadian labor party movement, the Cooperative Commonwealth Federation (CCF), and are determined to see in this country a government which represents labor and its interests. That is

what the rank and file mean when they compress it in the formula: Build a labor party.

MICHIGAN CONVENTION
The rank and file have very unambiguously expressed their strong dissatisfaction with the official CIO policy and their desire for a radical change. The Michigan CIO convention, representing decisive sections of the auto union, spoke its mind on two of the most important questions facing labor today.

In spite of the fact that Scholle, Victor Reuther and other top leaders of the Reuther caucus succeeded in watering down the resolutions, the Michigan CIO convention expressed itself against the cowardly and capitulatory policy of Philip Murray and the national CIO, as well as the policy of the UAW leaders. It declared for the revocation of the no-strike pledge and the launching of an independent labor party in opposition to the employer-dominated Democratic and Republican Parties.

Likewise some of the largest and most important locals of the UAW have passed resolutions, for introduction at the convention, advocating a sharp break with the official policy and a return to militant and independent unionism.

UNION RESOLUTIONS
Detroit Briggs Local 212 has submitted resolutions calling for the withdrawal of the no-strike

pledge, for a restoration of overtime and premium pay, for a rising scale of wages to meet the increased cost of living.

Detroit Steel Products Local 351, headed by Paul Silvers, who with Emil Mazey was spokesman for the labor party resolution at the recent Michigan CIO convention has likewise submitted a resolution calling for revocation of the no-strike pledge, and a resolution which demands the launching of a labor party. Similar actions have previously been reported in The Militant from such key locals as Flint Chevrolet and Buick, the Chicago Buick local and many others.

Will the convention give adequate expression to these aspirations of the rank and file? The present conduct of the top bureaucrats, both of the Addes and Reuther variety, as well as the whole bitter experience of the past struggles, points to the evil effects that invariably follow when the militants place their reliance on the leadership of a Reuther, Addes or some other bureaucrat. All past experiences along this line attest to the fact that the top bureaucrats assume the leadership of the militants with the sole purpose of strengthening their own clique control over the union.

The experience of Emil Mazey, president of the Briggs local and chief "left wing" leader of the Reuther caucus, is very instructive in this regard. Mazey makes a pretense of

fighting for a militant program, but at the same time he remains in the Reuther caucus, propping it up with his prestige and inducing militants from other locals to join it. Invariably when a showdown comes on any question, Mazey capitulates to Reuther.

Mazey's explanation is always the same: that a break with the Reuther caucus would bring into control of the union a group that is still more reactionary. Actually his policy keeps the militants tied to the Reuther caucus and prevents them from striking out on their own. By this policy, he helps Reuther smother the genuine militant movement and divert the faction fight into a clique struggle for posts.

The militants must take these lessons to heart. They must not water down their program or their fight for the interests of the men and women back home in the shops in return for 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 it on the convention floor.

A CLEAR PROGRAM

If the militants under the leadership of Reuther and his friends use the coming Buffalo convention merely to replace Addes with Leonard and to kick off the Executive Board two or three of the most obnoxious bureaucrats, that by itself will have very little significance indeed for the progress of the labor movement. It will contribute very little to the solution of their problems.

If the militants absorb the lessons of UAW experience, they will rely only on their own organization, their own independent program, their own resources, their own strength. They will refuse to blunt their aims by horse trades or unprincipled deals. They will make a clear-cut fight on the convention floor for a militant program, headed by the proposals to rescind labor's no-strike pledge and to build an independent party of labor.

A clear presentation at the convention of such a militant program in opposition to the reactionary program of the top UAW officials, followed by a democratic discussion, will only be welcomed by the auto delegates. It will serve to clear the atmosphere and conclude the faction fight. The convention will clarify the issues in dispute and authoritatively establish the will of the auto membership and the program of the union for the coming year. On this basis and on this basis alone can the convention delegates properly proceed to deal with the question of slates and leaders.

Stalinists Soundly Beaten In Chicago UAW Elections

CHICAGO, Sept. 26. — The Stalinist machine in the United Automobile Workers locals here has sustained another pre-convention defeat. Six of seven delegates elected to represent Studebaker Local 998 at the forthcoming UAW convention ran on a slate in opposition to that of the Stalinists.

Last week, at the largest meeting ever held by the local, the Stalinist officials attempted to have the delegates instructed to support their reactionary program. This attempt was overwhelmingly defeated.

This defeat for the Stalinists was particularly significant because they have been in almost full control of the local since the local elections last spring, and they had made strenuous efforts to put over their bureaucratic program of "no slates, no caucuses, no program" except their own.

This is the third large UAW local in this area which has rejected the Stalinist policy in the delegate elections. Buick Local 6 elected ten of eleven delegates who pledged themselves to oppose the no-strike policy, and General Motors Electro-Motive Local 719 elected eight out of ten delegates similarly pledged.

STALINIST GOON SQUAD
The Stalinists had concentrated in the Studebaker plant when it went into production in the spring

of 1942, and have since held a dominant position in the local. Last spring, with the aid of a reactionary anti-Negro craft union clique and the intervention of the International officers, the Stalinist machine, headed by Carl Swanson, bargaining committee chairman, took over almost complete control of the union apparatus.

Drunk with power, the Stalinists began a reign of terror. At a membership meeting a few weeks ago, the Stalinist leaders had a big goon squad and uniformed city police present to intimidate all opposition. Taken by surprise, the rank and file was effectively silenced at this meeting.

The real intent of these terroristic methods was made clear at a subsequent meeting, when Gertrude Selig, a well-known local Stalinist, introduced the executive board's proposal to bar all caucuses and slates in the delegate elections. This was intended, of course, to give the Stalinist machine an uncontested election of their own hand-picked delegates.

OPPOSITION WINS

The membership revolted against this totalitarian policy, defied the Stalinist goons, and overwhelmingly defeated the proposal. At this same meeting they voted against binding the delegates to the Stalinist program of "Support our Commander-in-

Chief, unconditional acceptance of the no-strike policy, and national political unity against a third [labor] party."

An opposition caucus, composed largely of shop stewards, was formed. The Stalinists opened up one of their typically vicious slander campaigns. But the membership revealed its opposition to the bureaucratic methods of the Stalinist leadership by electing six of the seven delegates from the opposition slate.

The Stalinists then tried once more to bind the delegates to their program. But the membership at last week's meeting refused to consider the Stalinist proposals, which had been turned down previously.

The opposition slate did not put forward any positive program of its own for the convention, which was a genuine shortcoming. These developments reflect largely a reaction of the union membership to the undemocratic methods of the Stalinist leadership.

Food and Troops Are Allied Weapons For Combating Revolution in Europe

(Continued from page 1)

Allied leaders will be used in Europe as a weapon—withheld from revolutionary governments, no matter how democratically selected; placed at the disposal of anti-revolutionary governments, no matter how detested by the masses. The terms of the agreement issued by Hull explicitly leave the way open for the extension of food and other supplies to "authorities" not recognized as governments.

While food is a powerful weapon in combating revolution in famine-stricken countries, it may not be able to turn the trick by itself. Also needed is force, that is, troops. That the Allied leaders are not overlooking this consideration was evidenced last week in a speech made in Britain by Sir Samuel Hoare, author of the infamous Hoare-Laval betrayal of Ethiopia and now British ambassador to Spain.

"ALLIED GARRISONS"

Britain, he said, has become the "leading military power of Europe." "Having achieved this power, he asserted, Britain does not intend to abandon it and tomorrow it may be the safeguard of European stability. . . . "Sir Samuel placed 'food and order' as the first needs of Europe. 'We are prepared in full cooperation with our great Allies to prevent famine by insuring the effective distribution of food supplies and to forestall anarchy by Allied garrisons at key points on the continent,' he said." (N. Y. Times, Sept. 21.)

Thus many a soldier, originally told he was being trained to fight for democracy and against fascism, may find that he is being used to suppress socialism and maintain the same capitalist system which caused the present war. Thus many a Johnny won't come marching home until long, long after the Axis forces are defeated.

Ownership Of Factories And Nature Of Soviet Union

By M. Morrison

A statement in my Aug. 21 column in The Militant, dealing with the question of the morale of the Red Army, has met with an objection on the part of a Chicago reader. The statement that he refers to declares that the idea that the workers own the factories in the Soviet Union is a fiction of the Stalinist bureaucracy.

But it is not a fiction, contends the Chicago reader. The workers in the Soviet Union do own the factories. The Soviet bureaucracy has illegally taken control away from them. And the objecting reader proceeds to offer an analogy of a trustee who has possession of property in trust for a beneficiary but who retains for himself all the income and benefits of the property. The real owner, however, is the beneficiary and not the crooked trustee. (I am giving the gist of the reader's letter from memory, as I do not have it before me.)

Analogies never prove anything. At best they serve to illustrate what one has in mind. At times they only lead to endless and futile arguments that do not concern themselves with the real issue but with the analogy. It is my opinion that the analogy which the Chicago reader brings forth as justification for his contention that the workers in the Soviet Union own the factories is far from being helpful to our fundamental position that the Soviet Union is a degenerated workers' state.

There are two methods of approach in solving the problem of the nature of the Soviet Union. The dialectical method, followed by Trotsky, bases itself on the origin of the Soviet Union, the nationalization of industry by the state emerging from the October Revolution and the developments under the regime of the Stalinist bureaucracy. Basing himself on the Marxist concept of the nature of the state as an instrument guarding property forms and considering the origin and development of the Soviet Union, Trotsky designated it as a degenerated workers' state.

The non-dialectical approach starts by setting up criteria for an ideal workers' state, examines the Soviet Union, finds it wanting in one or more of these criteria and concludes that it is not a workers' state. This is the method of Sidney Hook and also of Max Shachtman. In general the opponents of Trotskyism on the question of the nature of the Soviet Union demand that the workers' state have workers' democracy before honoring it with such a characterization.

Any insistence on the formulation that the workers in the Soviet Union own the industries and offering the analogy of a trustee who has cheated a beneficiary must necessarily play into the hands of Hook and Shachtman because it means arguing the question on the basis of their method of approach. It would mean the necessity of arguing such abstract questions as: What constitutes ownership? What is the difference between ownership and control? If the Soviet bureaucracy is a crooked trustee and does everything it wants with the property legally belonging to the workers, what is the sense of calling it the property of the workers? If a thief steals my property, is it not his to all intents and purposes?

All of these and a host of other abstract and irrelevant questions are thrust aside by the Marxist approach of considering the origin and development of the Soviet Union. I do not mean to say that all questions dealing with the differences between property forms in the Soviet Union and in the capitalist countries are to be disregarded; we must avoid formulations which can only lead to confusing the real problem.

The most important argument against the contention of the Chicago reader that we should say that the workers of the Soviet Union own the factories is the theoretical incorrectness of the formulation. This was pointed out by Trotsky in "The Revolution Betrayed." The new Stalinist constitution contains a clause: "the state property — that is the possession of the whole people." In discussing this clause, Trotsky asserts that "this identification is the fundamental sophism of the official doctrine."

"It is perfectly true," continues Trotsky, "that Marxists beginning with Marx himself, have employed in relation to the workers' state the terms state, national and socialist property as simple synonyms. On a large historic scale, such a mode of speech involves no special inconvenience. But it becomes the source of crude mistakes, and of downright deceit, when applied to the first and still unassured stages of the development of a new society."

"State property," says Trotsky, "becomes the property of the 'whole people' only to the degree that social privilege and differentiation disappears, and therewith the necessity of the state. In other words: state property is converted into socialist property in proportion as it ceases to be state property."

There is nothing to add to Trotsky's explanation. It will of course not satisfy the doctrinaires who insist on a specific answer to the question: what class owns the nationalized property in the Soviet Union? The answer can only be to show that the Soviet state owns the factories and then proceed to give Trotsky's explanation of the nature of the Soviet state.

In my article of Aug. 21, I made the following statement: "The morale of the Red Army does not of course prove that the Soviet Union is a workers' state. The suggestion that someone said something to this effect is one of Shachtman's debating tricks." It was a rather risky statement to make, I must admit, because it is quite possible that some comrade was guilty of making a bad formulation. I assumed the risk because Shachtman failed to cite any quotation justifying his assertion.

Shachtman replied and proved that I was right in thinking that he had nothing upon which to base his statement. To confound me he gives the following quotation from The Militant of Aug. 14: "The morale of the Soviet people. . . testify to the unbending vitality of the October Revolution." He also cites similar quotations from other issues of The Militant. I must say that I subscribe to this formulation. To Shachtman this is the same as saying that the morale of the Soviet people proves that the Soviet Union is a workers' state, but it is not the same to me.

To say that the vitality of a person is due to a certain food does not at all indicate the nature of the food, which has to be ascertained by investigating the food itself. To say that the morale of the Soviet people is due to the October Revolution does not prove that the Soviet Union is a degenerated workers' state. In his haste to answer, Shachtman forgot that the first rule about writing anything is to stop and think.

I must however admit that the expression, "the workers of the Soviet Union own the factories" was actually used in The Militant. I did not, however, as intimated by Shachtman, say that it was not used. Shachtman has to be grateful to the editors of The Militant for overlooking an incorrect formulation now and then. It gives him something to write about.

PIONEER PARAGRAPHS

MARXISTS WORK TO GAIN A MAJORITY FOR SOCIALISM

By James P. Cannon

We cannot eat our cake and have it too. We must either "submit" to the majority and confine ourselves to propaganda designed to win over the majority—or, we must seize power, more correctly, try to seize power and break the neck of the party, by minority "action."

Marxist authority is clear and conclusive in choosing between these alternatives. When we took our stand in court regarding "submission" to the majority we were not "folding our arms" and making "opportunistic" statements of "passivity in the face of the imperialist war" as we are accused. Nothing of the sort. The testimony states, repeatedly, and with sufficient emphasis, that, while "submitting to the majority"—that is, making no minority insurrections or putches—we are organizing, speaking, writing, and "explaining"; in other words, carrying on propaganda with the object of winning over the majority to our program, which is the program of social revolution.

Neither were we simply trying to "make an honorable impression on the jury without taking into consideration that we should talk for the masses." To be sure we did not stupidly disregard the jury which held the fate of 28 comrades, not to mention the legality of the party, in its hands. But we were speaking also, and especially, "for the masses." We testified primarily for publication. It was our deliberate aim to convince those who would read the testimony in printed form of the truth that the proletarian movement which we aspire to lead is a democratic movement, and not a "conspiracy," as the prosecutor and the whole of the capitalist press would picture it, and as loose talkers would unconsciously aid them to so picture it; not a scheme to transfer power from one clique to another, but a movement of the majority in the interest of the majority.

(From Page 41, "Defense Policy in the Minneapolis Trial," 1942, 64 pages, 20 cents. Order from Pioneer Publishers, 116 University Pl., New York 3, N. Y.)

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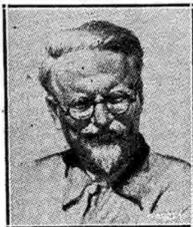
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— LEON TROTSKY

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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.

Defend Free Speech

Big Business, Congress and the Roosevelt administration have advanced another step in their campaign to outlaw the workers' right of free speech. That is the ominous meaning of the U. S. Circuit Court's action in upholding the Minneapolis conviction under the Smith "Gag" Act of 18 Trotskyists and militant trade unionists.

The "Gag" Act was the forerunner of the flood of anti-labor legislation which Congress and the state legislatures have since unloosed against organized labor. It was condemned by the CIO, AFL, American Civil Liberties Union and virtually every civil liberties organization. Deliberately designed as a weapon against the workers' political parties and trade unions, this Act flagrantly violates freedom of speech and freedom of the press as guaranteed by the Bill of Rights. Its sponsor was the same Smith who acted as co-author of the iniquitous Smith-Connally anti-strike law. Both measures are actually part of the Big Business program against labor.

These 18 defendants, members of the Socialist Workers Party and the CIO, are the first victims of the "Gag" Act. They have been persecuted and convicted because of their fight for trade union democracy and because their Trotskyist ideas are intransigently opposed to the reactionary domestic and foreign policies of the Roosevelt administration. Their case is a test case for the cause of labor's rights and civil liberties during the war. If they are sent to prison, a precedent will have been provided for further prosecutions of trade unionists and new witch hunts against minority groups.

Now that the Circuit Court of Appeals has upheld the convictions, the fight must be carried to the U. S. Supreme Court. The Civil Rights Defense Committee and the American Civil Liberties Union, acting in behalf of the defendants, have already initiated the necessary steps for the appeal to the high court.

The entire labor movement and every other progressive force has a most vital stake in the outcome of this case. Recognizing this fact, many trade unions, civil liberties organizations and individuals assisted in appealing the case to the circuit court. This support must be continued in the fullest measure so that the defendants will have the necessary means to carry through their fight to challenge the constitutionality of the anti-labor Smith "Gag" Act.

Congress and the Soldiers' Families

More than 1,000,000 men now in the armed forces have left behind wives, children, parents or other dependent relatives who are receiving a miserably inadequate allotment from the government. And Congress has shown no inclination whatever to provide sufficient funds for the care of these dependents from the billions of dollars it is appropriating for the prosecution of the war.

At present the mother of one child receives a meager \$62 per month to meet all expenses; only \$10 per month is allowed for each additional child. Dependent parents receive a bare \$37 per month. Close to 4,000,000 dependents of servicemen are receiving only this stingy government allotment in the face of steadily rising prices.

Last July the Senate passed a bill, backed by the War Department, providing a paltry increase of \$6 per month for the mother of one child and \$1 for each additional child. The House recessed without acting on the measure and it is still being held up in the House Military Affairs Committee.

Representatives Kilday and Thomason, poll tax Democrats from Texas, are reported to be opposing the bill on the ground that the dependents of Mexican laborers would be ruined if they got as much as \$75 per month when they "are used to having \$25 a month." Representative Sikes of Florida, also a poll tax Democrat, opposes an increase because it might give Southern laborers "more than they are used to." Another Democrat, Representative Costello of California, contends that the treasury cannot stand the strain of paying out additional allowances. Incidentally, there is a great deal of coolie labor in California as well as in Texas and Florida.

No less serious is the problem of maternity and infant care for the wives of enlisted men. Congress appropriated only \$4,000,000 to provide this care during the whole fiscal year of 1943. The House has since approved an emergency measure providing an additional \$18,600,000 to last through next July. The penny-pinching policy of Congress on the care of servicemen's families is graphically illustrated by the fact that the "emergency measure" provides four and one-half times the sum originally appropriated. Even with this increase, the Children's Bureau reports, an estimated 19,000 cases cannot be financed. Nor does this measure provide for maternal and infant care for the families of the three top grades of non-commissioned officers, who comprise about 7% of the enlisted men.

A very large number of these servicemen's families are working class families. Like the rest of the working class, they are caught between rising prices and frozen wages, except that they are confronted with a particularly vicious form of wage freezing. It is the duty of the labor movement to fight for a decent standard of living for these dependents of the men who have been taken into the armed forces.

Arriving in Cairo last week after a tour among soldiers on several fronts, the Rev. Dr. William B. Pugh, chairman of the General Commission on Army and Navy Chaplains, gave the following estimate of what U. S. soldiers are thinking today:

"You could tell these boys' fathers 25 years ago that they were on a holy crusade, in a war to end war or fighting to save democracy. Not so with the modern American soldier. He would almost laugh at me if I talked such rot."

Puerto Rico

With the impudent deceit of a New Deal liberal covering up for Wall Street, Governor Rexford Guy Tugwell pretends, in a report to the Interior Department released this week, that the trouble with Puerto Rico is that Washington has no policy toward its Caribbean colonial possession.

Tugwell knows better than anyone what that policy is because he has been administering it for the past few years. Puerto Rico has been kept in an impoverished and economically backward state for the profit of the sugar-growing corporations, shipping companies and absentee landlords.

The Puerto Rican people know only too well the real nature of their ruler's policies. As Tugwell himself is compelled to acknowledge, Puerto Ricans are no better off today, after 45 years of American domination, than they were when the island was wrested from Spain in 1898. The leaders of the Puerto Rican nationalist party who spent years in Atlanta prison and the revolutionists who have felt lead from American guns during their demonstrations for independence know what the policy of the United States is.

Against this policy of colonial starvation and repression, *The Militant* calls for the immediate and unconditional independence of Puerto Rico.

"Make no mistake—if Badoglio and his reactionaries have interim control of the mechanisms of government and access to the Allied radio, they will be prepared with something just as bad as fascism, though it will be dressed in a coat of many colors instead of black," said Leon Henderson at a mass meeting in Italy in New York on Sept. 26. Yet Henderson and all the other liberals continue, despite their wailing, to give 100% support to the administration whose policies are leading to the establishment in Italy of "something just as bad as fascism."

It Is Time to Build An Independent Labor Party

WORKERS' FORUM

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

Need to Deal With Student Problems

Editor:

One omission on the part of *The Militant* is in any appeal to the youth.

The youth today are faced with several problems and though they are naturally tied up with those of the working class as a whole, they have their own particular angles, especially insofar as they affect the youth in school. First, school life has become a problem of how to fit the individual for the war, not how to train him for his own advantage. Second, and probably most important, the student knows that he is fated in the great majority of cases for military service.

In other words, instead of facing what he imagines to be a sound economic future, the student today graduates into a

military machine which is a realistic nightmare. Where formerly this matter of graduation involved simply the question of the student's future economic conditions, today graduation means the army or navy. Formerly the political tie-up was more or less obscure; today the political aspects are much more apparent.

The very fact that one of our old slogans—"Give the vote to the 18-year old!"—has become the plaything of capitalist politicians shows that there must be a certain ferment among the youth.

Our own experiences in recruiting here in Seattle have shown that it is both possible and valuable to direct our attention to the high school and college youth. Our recent recruits to the Socialist Workers Party have included three such young people

who came across our literature and came around to us looking for some solution to the chaotic mess in which the youth have been placed. Needless to say, they have brought other young people around, their enthusiasm acting as a tonic to everybody. Maybe Seattle is an isolated case. I doubt it.

In looking over the May Day Manifesto printed in *The Militant*, I was surprised to see not one word or reference to the youth. In the past period this has been the general practice in the paper. Some space should be devoted to this problem and recognition should be given to the fact that one of the main, if not the most fertile, grounds of recruitment today is the youth.

A. S.
Seattle, Wash.

Canada's Fast-Growing Labor Party Movement

By LARISSA REED

Of great interest to the international working class is the growing radicalization of the Canadian masses. This development was sharply revealed in the August 4 elections in Ontario, when the Canadian labor movement successfully asserted its political independence.

The Cooperative Commonwealth Federation (CCF), which to this time had never held a seat in the Ontario legislature, won 34 out of the 90 seats in Parliament. All the industrial seats in Ontario, largest and most heavily industrialized province in Canada, went to the CCF candidates, 19 of whom are trade unionists. The Canadian Congress of Labor, meeting in Montreal last month, endorsed the CCF as its political arm.

The CCF is rapidly becoming the national mass labor party of Canada and threatening the domination of the old line capitalist parties. Its popular vote in Ontario increased from 80,000 in 1937 to 390,000 in the recent election. As reported by CCF leaders, the three groups that polled most strongly for the CCF were the workers in the war plants, the miners and lumberjacks in Northern Ontario, and the soldiers.

GROWTH OF THE CCF

Product of the world-wide depression, the Cooperative Commonwealth Federation was formed in August, 1933. Its early com-

position and leadership included many petty bourgeois elements (lawyers, teachers, small businessmen) as well as farmers and workers. United against the political strangle hold of monopoly capitalism, the CCF struck out on its own with a reformist program. This program included demands for public ownership of banks and big industries and championed strong labor unions and farmers' cooperatives. Up to last year it was considered an insignificant movement of protest against the two old reactionary ruling parties of Canada. In the national elections of 1940 the CCF won only eight out of the 245 seats in the Canadian House of Commons.

About a year ago, under the impact of the war, organized labor entered the CCF on a large scale. This great acquisition transformed it into a political force of such strength that it "has given the two old parties the shivers," writes Vera Primrose in the Sept. 3 *Michigan CIO News*. "At present there is a mad scramble by the two old parties to work out some strategy to put a halt to the current success of this new party that is fast taking over the Canadian government."

SOLDIER VOTE

The reactionary capitalist parties are worrying not only about the rising political power of the working masses but also about its influence upon the men in the armed forces. The soldiers cast an extremely large vote for

the CCF in the Ontario elections. This vote "surpassed all previous predictions," writes Miss Primrose. "In three districts where the CCF had previously conceded the election to the Conservatives, the soldier vote swung the elections and gave the district to the CCF."

The CCF has attracted the workers because of the semi-socialist character of its domestic program. Although the program is similar to that of the British Labor Party, the workers at the present stage of their political development see in it the embodiment of independent labor action through which they intend to oppose the two capitalist parties: the Liberal and the Progressive-Conservative. The enthusiastic support of the workers and soldiers for the CCF represents the first stage in the growing political consciousness of the Canadian masses.

The organized workers of Canada have blazed the trail for their fellow-workers across the border. Their example should give an impetus to the growing movement for an independent labor party in the United States, despite the present servile and treacherous union leadership which declares that the time is not yet ripe for such independent political action. The answer to them is: "If the Canadian workers can do it, so can the American workers."

International Notes

The Italian working class continues to offer violent resistance to the Nazis, despite setbacks and bloody repressions. UP reports that Turin is "the scene of bloody street fighting." Guerrilla bands are reported operating throughout the north. An AP dispatch of Sept. 27 states that "Nazi authorities in Milan announced today that only those who resume work will receive food rations."

Obviously great strikes are continuing in Milan. The revolt of the Italian masses is by no means at an end. The indomitable spirit of these revolutionary fighters gives confidence that at the very first favorable opportunity, the revolt of the Italian masses will flare up anew. The red flag will fly again over Turin and Milan.

"It is necessary . . . that all the surviving forces in Italy's national life should be rallied together around their government and that the King and Marshal Badoglio should be supported by . . . liberal and left wing elements." (Churchill's Report to House of Commons, Sept. 21.)

The correspondents report that the British and U. S. governments are trying to secure the participation of several so-called Italian liberals in the Badoglio government. Not even the brazen hypocrites of Anglo-American capitalism can dress up Badoglio and the King as "liberals" or "democrats." The Badoglio deal stinks to high heaven. That is why Roosevelt and Churchill are

so anxious to camouflage the feeble Badoglio dictatorship.

Aneurau Bevan, one of the "left wing" leaders of the British Labor Party, bitterly attacked Churchill's report. He accused the Churchill government of deliberately bombing Turin and Milan for reactionary political reasons.

Of course, Bevan like the rest of the milk-and-water "left wing" of the Labor Party doesn't propose to do anything about it. His paper, the *British Tribune*, admits that the British Tories need "the cooperation of British labor in the murder of the infant European revolution. . . British democracy cannot assist in the establishment of democracy in Europe if it remains chained to the coalition." The *Tribune* insists however that "the first step (for labor) is not to leave the government."

The other day a man asked the British Ministry of Labor and National Service to allow him to start working every morning at 8 o'clock instead of 7. He said he needed the extra hour "to get the baby up to Granny's." Asked why his wife could not take care of the baby, he explained that she had to get up at 5:30 to get to her job in an aircraft factory at 6. When asked why Granny could not come and get the baby earlier, he replied: "Granny doesn't get off the night shift herself until 7."

"Labor Minister Ernest Bevin has scripted everything that looks like an able-bodied man in

this island except the statues in the park," writes the N. Y. Times correspondent. Mr. Bevin himself concedes that his policy is "ruthless." The N. Y. Times correspondent concludes: ". . . the recent strikes . . . during the last few days suggest that maybe the Minister of Labor had better give up scraping the bottom of that barrel."

The Canadian Congress of Labor (CCL) held a convention last week in Montreal. The CCL recorded a remarkable growth, having tripled its membership in the last three years. The Canadian CIO now represents more than 200,000 workers.

The Yugoslav People's Army of Liberation, broadcasting a special war bulletin heard in London, announced the capture of Savnik, in the hills of Montenegro. Over 50,000 Italians were reported to have joined the Yugoslav army with their stores and munitions. The Yugoslav partisans now hold the whole Dalmatian coast from Spalato to Cattaro, as well as two thirds of Slovenia.

A delayed AP dispatch from Calcutta, India, reports that "hundreds of persons are dying from starvation and scores more each day are reaching the point where food and medical care cannot fully restore damaged minds and bodies."

People dying like flies from starvation and hunger! That is all British imperialism can offer the Indian people after 200 years of its rule.

Secret Reports Disclose No Shortage of Profits

No one has done a better job of exposing the OPA's failure as a price enforcement agency than a special subdivision of the OPA which investigates and prepares studies of war profits in the various industries. This is one reason why OPA officials make every attempt to keep these war profits studies confidential and why only occasional facts about them find their way into the public prints.

In recent weeks reporters for the liberal press have managed to get their hands on OPA studies made of two typical industries: meat and hosiery. The facts contained in these reports correspond in every way to the Department of Commerce's figures showing that Big Business is raking in greater profits today than ever before.

One could never tell from the profits of the large meat packing corporations that there was either a meat shortage or regulations supposed to hold down the prices of meat. The 53 companies which handle 85% of the country's meat supplies made a profit of \$108,613,000 in 1942. This represented a 336% profit increase over the average of less than \$25,000,000 enjoyed by these same corporations in the peacetime years of 1936-39.

Similar astronomical profit rises have been uncovered in the OPA report on the hosiery industry. This industry is dominated by 55 companies who sell 40% of the women's silk, rayon and nylon hose. Last year their profit increases over the 1936-39 average amounted to 413%. The increases of some of these 55 companies came to as much as 704%. And this happened although the industry reported a slump in sales during 1942!

Millions of housewives and trade unionists will probably agree with us that the OPA is doing a far better job in computing war profits—although it tries to keep these figures secret—than in its highly publicized and miserably ineffective price control program.

American Labor and Europe's Refugees

Organized labor in this country last week went on record in favor of the granting of asylum to the refugees. Union leaders representing the CIO and AFL requested Secretary Hull to "admit to all territories under Allied control Jewish refugees who may succeed in escaping from the Nazi hell."

This step, which reflected the views of labor's rank and file, was both significant and welcome. But the union officials took such a weak and confusing approach in their statement to Hull that there is little likelihood of their request being paid much attention.

First, they asked that the Allies "warn" the Nazis that they will be "held accountable as war criminals and will be punished for every innocent life they have taken." However, given the present rate at which Hitler is exterminating the Jews in Europe and the Allies' callous failure to even alleviate their plight, there may be "war criminals" to be punished after the war, but no Jews to be saved.

Secondly, the union leaders glossed over the democracies' criminal record on the refugee problem by saying "time and again the President, the Secretary of State . . . have declared their revulsion at the abominable crimes" of the Nazis.

They thus hypocritically omit to show that "time and again" these sugary words of sympathy have been followed by complete inaction. Immigration quotas have been cut to the bone; the infamous White Paper halting immigration into Palestine still stands; and from the "exploratory" Evian conference to the "exploratory" Bermuda conference—with decisions so "secret" they have not been revealed yet—Allied policy has consisted of rich rhetoric and no action.

The doors must be opened to the refugees—and they must be opened immediately if it is to do any good. But this cannot be achieved by whitewashing the role of the Allied leaders, who certainly could offer some means of relief to the refugees if they wanted to. Only by exerting the full pressure of labor's ranks against the hypocritical Allied leaders will the doors of refuge be opened to the tortured victims of fascism.

Who Pays for Those Big, Expensive Ads?

The employers, occupied with war contracts for the government, have less goods to sell the public than at any time in the last ten years. Yet, according to the Department of Commerce, they are now spending 160% more money on advertising than they did in pre-war days. The *Wall Street Journal* estimates that the sum of two billion dollars is being spent on advertising this year.

That does not mean, however, that this money is coming out of the pockets of the employers. On the contrary, practically all of it is being paid in the form of increased taxation by the American people. Here is how it works:

Advertising is computed as part of business costs. Companies doing war work at cost-plus thus get back not only what they pay for advertising, but an additional sum as "legitimate profit." Where cost-plus contracts are not in effect, the companies get practically all the money back by lowering the amount of excess profits taxes due the government.

Since this results in greater production costs and lower taxes paid by the corporations, the government increases the taxes on the masses, who are paying the costs of the war.

This advertising has its effect on the policies of the capitalist press. It influences the press to defend the corporations when they are attacked for profiteering and fraud, and it plays no small part in the editorials opposing limitations on salaries and advocating higher taxes on the workers. Thus the advertising paid for by the small taxpayers is used in the end to support legislation raising the taxes of these same small taxpayers.

Think about it the next time you see those big, expensive ads in the press and you'll see that in this instance, as in all others, profits and not patriotism is the main concern of Big Business.