

The Fight Against The Poll-Tax System

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THE MILITANT

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207

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WLB Says Little Steel Formula Will Continue

Roosevelt's Agents Lay Down Anti-Labor Barrage to Scare Off AFL-CIO Officials from Conducting Fight for Wage Increases.

Roosevelt is now organizing his counter-offensive against the labor movement in a desperate attempt to preserve the wage-freeze. He fears that the WLB approval of the contract signed by Ickes with the United Mine Workers has opened wide the sluice gates to new demands for wage increases. He is striving to overcome his administration's definite loss of "face" on the labor front. The big windbag, William H. Davis, WLB chairman, became quite melodramatic about the "fall" of the WLB. The coal wage agreement, according to Davis had injured the board's strike policy. Then quoting Marc Anthony, Davis exclaimed: "Great Caesar fell. O, what a fall was there, my countrymen. Then I and you and all of us fell down." The quotation does not make it clear whether Davis or Roosevelt is the Caesar who fell. But one thing is sure: Davis is smarting under the blow of the miners' victory.

In an attempt to scare off the Murphys and Greens from following in the miners' footsteps, the WLB proceeded to lay down an anti-labor barrage immediately after they were forced to approve the mine agreement.

WAGE FREEZE CONTINUES

On Nov. 10, Davis announced that the coal wage agreement "has not impaired the wage stabilization policy." Davis insisted that his Nov. 5 letter to Vice-President Wallace, where he implied that labor's wages had been frozen while prices had been rising was "widely misunderstood and misapplied."

"So far as I am concerned," he declared, "I have not begun to surrender and do not intend to surrender any part of the wage stabilization program."

The next day the WLB returned to the attack by accusing the UMW of "cynical and repeated violations of the no-strike policy." Three of the WLB public members then threatened the labor movement with a new union-busting campaign if they insisted on fighting for higher wage increases. "Legislative sanctions," they declared, "more thoroughgoing than now exist may be required unless organized labor itself demonstrates from now on its determination to accept the bitter with the sweet and to comply with the orderly processes of government."

Big Business proceeded to emit its own savage growl at the labor movement. Momentarily cornered, they were forced to go along with the Ickes-Lewis agreement. Their industry representatives on the WLB voted along with the "public" members to approve the agreement. But now they are trying to organize their minions more strongly than ever before to prevent the rest of organized labor from winning wage increases.

WANT NEW LAWS

In a separate statement, the four industry representatives urged "the necessity for immediate consideration by congress of legislation to amend existing laws, in order to require responsibility

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Letter Reveals the Growth of Trotskyist Movement in Egypt

The following extracts are from a letter to Britain from Cairo:

"Of the Egyptians I have contacted some acknowledge themselves as Trotskyists, others do not, but still take up our position."

"The membership of this group is dominated by Stalinists; they ran a fortnightly review in Arabic. The friction in the group came to a head after the dissolution of the Comintern and resulted in the Trotskyists controlling the review from which the Stalinists have withdrawn support. (The press censorship is very strict, however, with a corresponding effect on the policy of the review.)"

"One of the comrades has been imprisoned twice: his 'line' during interrogation was similar to Cannon's [testimony in the Minneapolis trial.] He has now been released after 10 months' imprisonment — pending trial. Another comrade recently received some material from another section. It is needless to mention how welcome is any literature to these comrades — and most of them understand English. They have contacts throughout the Middle East."

"About the affair in the Greek armed forces [reference to rank and file movement in Greek army against reactionary monarchist officers] in the Middle East last March — the leaders of the revolt were disarmed and are now in concentration camps. Long live democracy!"

"In today's Egyptian Gazette is a report of a speech by Bevin against Trotskyites. . ."

Nazis Face Rising Tide Of Resistance

By Miriam Carter

Grimness was the keynote in the Nov. 8 Nazi celebration of the 20th anniversary of the Munich Beer Hall Putsch, in contrast to the swagger of previous demonstrations. Hitler in his speech made many threats against "German people who despair," "cowards," "criminals," and others who are defeatists. No gay buntings were permitted to remind the masses that 20 years ago the Nazis made their first bid for power.

This year, the tenth of their unchallenged rule, the Nazis "celebrate" amid rumblings from the German and European masses which presage doom for Hitlerism.

More and more reports of mass unrest and sporadic uprisings in Europe are today seeping through the unrelenting Nazi-imposed censorship. In France, Norway, Austria, Bulgaria, Rumania, Hungary, German-occupied Italy and Germany itself—in every corner of Nazi-ruled Europe, the masses, encouraged by the downfall of Mussolini's fascism and the victories of the Red Army, are displaying in numerous ways

their hatred of an anger with the murderous fascist rule.

RISE IN RESISTANCE

From France come reports of increasing worker resistance, the shooting down of French fascists, and spreading guerrilla activities. In Lyons, states an unconfirmed dispatch to the Nov. 12 N. Y. Times, 800 persons were shot down by the fascists during Armistice Day demonstrations for peace.

In German-occupied Italy the workers continue their valiant struggle to rid the country of the German fascists and their Italian Quislings. Guerrilla activities have been so effective that the Nazis have offered amnesty to all Italian and French guerrillas in the Maritime Alps who surrender before Nov. 15. In attempting to quell the continual street fighting between the workers and the fascists, turf was established in Milan. The workers defied it. In a demonstration on Armistice Day, eight demonstrators were killed, while scores were wounded by Nazi gunfire.

Anti-Nazi demonstrations by workers in Austria are becoming more and more widespread as the Red Army continues its westward drive. Anti-Nazi slogans are multiplying on walls. Here is an eyewitness report from the Nov. 8 N. Y. Times: "In October, an informant said there was a big riot in the Hirtenberg munitions works and in a factory at Leitha that turns out canned goods for the German Army. . . Anti-Nazi demonstrations have occurred in all parts of Austria, he says, and he cites the Florisdorf-Vienna locomotive works the Koeflich

ALTON LEVY

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Sweeping Soviet Advances Worry 'Democratic' Allies

Post Office Still Interferes With 'Militant' Mailing

Subscribers Advised To Protest to Walker

Another issue of The Militant has been held up for more than a week by the arbitrary, unwarranted and unexplained interference of the Post Office Department in Washington. The Nov. 6, 1943, issue was finally released for mailing by Washington in response to a telegram of protest from The Militant. However, the postal authorities gave no explanation for the long delay in releasing the issue for dispatch. This high-handed procedure is typical of Washington's interference with the mailing of the paper during the past year.

This systematic persecution of The Militant first began when the Nov. 7, 1942, issue was held up by Roosevelt's Post Office Department. However, The Militant did not learn of the action until complaints from subscribers began to pour in and then upon telephoning the post office the business manager was informed for the first time that Washington had ordered the issue withheld from the mails.

At a Post Office Department hearing in Washington on Jan. 21, 1943, government attorneys demanded revocation of The Militant's second-class mailing rights because of the paper's criticism of administration foreign and domestic policy, the war-profiteering of Big Business, and its advocacy of an independent labor party and a Workers' and Farmers' Government. On March 3, 1943, Postmaster General Walker, a member of Roosevelt's cabinet, cancelled the second-class mailing rights of The Militant.

Many trade unions and liberal organizations have joined in the protest against this arbitrary cancelling of mailing rights to a working class paper. In fact, so raw was the government's case against The Militant in the Post Office hearing in Washington, that even the capitalist press, particularly the N. Y. Times was forced to protest — not, it is true, against the cancellation of mailing rights, but the method used to do it.

DELAY IN WASHINGTON

Five issues of the paper have been destroyed by the post office as "nonmailable." The last issue to be destroyed was the 1943 May Day number.

Since November 1942 all issues of the paper have been withheld from dispatch until released by Washington. This bureaucratic interference has meant a delay of from three days to more than a week, even when the issues are eventually released by Washington.

Last July 8 The Militant reapplied for its second-class mailing rights. Subsequent inquiry as to the status of the application brought the reply that the matter was "receiving consideration." Four months have passed and the postal authorities still have not acted.

Attorneys for The Militant state that the Post Office Department appears to be using the method of delay as a substitute for an outright refusal to grant the second-class mailing privileges. It may therefore be necessary to go to court and thus force the postal authorities to act.

Meanwhile, we advise the readers who have complained about the delay in the delivery of The Militant to direct their protests to Postmaster General Walker, Washington, D. C.



Reprinted from United Automobile Worker, CIO.

Wall Street Profiteers Fill Coffers With War Billions

The windfall of profits the war has brought American Big Business is shown by two recent reports. The first is a table published in the current CIO economic news letter giving the comparative profits of 29 leading corporations before and during the war.

Of the 29 companies, 14 made ten times as much in 1942, before taxes, as they averaged in 1936-39. Almost all multiplied their pre-war income, before taxes, by four. In several cases the percentage increase was numbered in the thousands. The American Car & Foundry Co., for example, increased its profits 9,700% in 1942 over 1936-39; Mack Trucks showed a 624% increase; Remington Arms went up 521%; Budd Mfg. Co., 2,113%.

Inasmuch as a corporation may not be required to pay a tax in excess of 80% of its total profits, a 1,000% increase in profit, before taxes, leaves the company with double its normal income. All but six of the twenty-nine companies doubled their average peacetime incomes, after taxes, in 1942. Several gained five times as much. And most of the corporations are doing even better in 1943 than in 1942.

CORPORATION RESERVES

In addition to raking in enormous profits and paying out lush dividends, the big corporations are piling up colossal reserves, it was disclosed in a survey made public on Armistice Day by the Securities and Exchange Commission. The SEC reported that, starting almost from scratch in 1929, American Big Business by the end of 1942 had increased its reserves by 2,800%!

Taking the five largest concerns in 50 basic industrial groups, the SEC survey revealed that 146 of the 250 companies had accumulated reserve funds by the end of the 1942 aggregating \$514,593,000. These reserves amounted

THE CANDID Mr. CHURCHILL

"Last year, in 1942, I thought it right to say that I did not consider it any part of my duty to liquidate the British Empire. I do not conceal from you that I hold the same opinion today." (Churchill's speech at the London Lord Mayor's Luncheon, Nov. 9.)

Churchill has war aims no different from those of the other big capitalists. He is only more brutally outspoken.

London And Washington Seek New Agreement With Stalin

Red Army Breaks Through on Central Front; Nazi Lines Begin to Crumble in the South

By John G. Wright

NOV. 16.—The Red Army's greatest offensive of the war is gaining crushing momentum. The Soviet forces have swiftly and relentlessly utilized their major breakthrough in the Kiev area in order to widen the breach and to forge ahead at lightning speed toward the Pripiet marshlands along the old Polish frontiers. Nov. 15 Moscow dispatches placed the advancing Red columns almost 100 miles west of Kiev.

This latest advance virtually cuts the German lines in two. The southern front is almost isolated. Still more, rout now threatens the Germans not only along the crumbling southern front but in the central and northern areas as well.

A note of panic is creeping into the dispatches of the German High Command. What they fear at this time is the slashing of their lines into three segments, with the northern front severed from all contact with their tenuous positions in the center.

GOMEL CIRCLED

In the Gomel sector, the main German bastion of the central front, 140 miles north of Kiev, other Red Armies are lunging toward Gomel's two railways, whose capture would cut off the avenues of retreat in this pivotal area, and at the same time would isolate the German northern flank. The German High Command admits Soviet advances in this sector but claims that the initial attacks on the strategic railway center of Rechitsa had been beaten off. Hitler's generals can find comfort nowadays only in boasting that they have been temporarily able to avert a near disaster. But the Red Army communique of Nov. 16 refutes even this hollow boast by announcing the capture of Demekhi, west of Rechitsa, thus cir-

cling Gomel and severing its main railway line.

On the southern front the Red Army is on the verge of reaping the full fruits of its decisive victory in the battle for the Dnieper. Berlin itself broadcast the news on Nov. 15 that a Soviet army of 500,000 had smashed through the lines north and northwest of Krivoi Rog. A full-scale breakthrough in the big Dnieper bend would mean a debacle for the German armies on the southern front.

"COMPLICATIONS" AHEAD

The Red Army, pedaled in triumph, strikes terror into Nazi hearts. But statesmen in London and Washington are also uneasy before the Soviet titan. They may still wear forced smiles in public but their hearts are filled with gloom and foreboding. Tell-tale of "democratic" reaction to the news of Soviet triumphs are the comments of the N. Y. Times editors, who in analyzing the consequences of the German reverses at Zhitomir, were compelled to admit sadly that the situation was one "likely to complicate the problems for the western Allies." (N. Y. Times, Nov. 15.)

Just what is it that these authoritative spokesmen of the American capitalist class fear so much? They immediately fear, among other things, new "complications" with the Kremlin. As the Times editors put it, the Soviet advances are "likely to revive the issue of the Polish frontiers shelved temporarily by the Moscow conference."

This is not exactly prescience

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Lebanese People Revolt Against 'Free French'

mandatory regime and proclaim you free and independent."

Early in November the recently elected Lebanon Republican Chamber of Deputies, tired of the constantly broken promises and continued exploitation, voted unanimously for full sovereignty and independence of Lebanon.

In reply to the demand that the French get out of Lebanon, de Gaulle, Delegate-General of Lebanon, Jean Helou, promptly imposed strict censorship, suppressed the press and all civil liberties and instituted "modified martial law." The Lebanese instead of being cowed defied the French "democrats." Thereupon Helou, after consultation with the French Committee of National Liberation, acted like all colonial despots.

TOTALITARIAN PRACTICES

The Lebanese Chamber of Deputies and the duly elected Government were declared dissolved. President Bechara El-Khoury and "such other members of the Lebanese Government as could be found" were clapped in jail. (N. Y. Times, Nov. 12.) Helou then appointed Emile Edde, whom

the Arabian press had correctly designated as a French Quisling, "to take charge of state affairs." Again, this was in accord with traditional colonial practices. The French had followed the same despicable course in Syria in 1934 and again in 1939.

The Lebanese demanded that their arrested leaders be released and their civil liberties restored. They were answered with a still greater display of force. Senegalese troops, armored cars, tanks were ordered out. The demonstrators were machinegunned in the streets. The number of casualties is still unknown. The French authorities have pretended from the outset that reports of "disturbances have been grossly exaggerated." According to the colonial administrators, this is all "enemy propaganda." Actually, hundreds must have fallen in the fighting that broke out in Damascus, Aleppo, Homs, Tripoli, Latakia, and later spread to Saïda and Beirut.

In the countryside, Druze tribesmen and guerrilla formations took up the struggle. The Lebanese

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Alton Levy Released After Three Month Imprisonment

Private Alton Levy, former union organizer, was court-martialed by the anti-labor, Jim-Crow Army Brass Hats for protesting the Army's Jim-Crow system. He was finally freed from the Army stockade at the Lincoln, Nebraska Air Base, after serving three months of a four-month sentence.

In spite of numerous demands from labor unions, the War Department has refused to make public the testimony at the trial.

Samuel Wolchak, Chairman of the AFL-CIO committee to free Levy stated: "The release of Alton Levy is a real victory but must be followed by his complete vindication. . . On that fight depends the safety of many thousands of American boys like Levy who have been trained by their unions to work for equal rights for all."



ALTON LEVY

(Continued on page 3)

TRADE UNION NOTES

By Marvel Scholl

There are fifteen million unorganized white collar and professional workers in the country who are still receiving the same rate of pay which they received in 1941, before the cost of living began its swift spiral upwards. These millions include department store clerks, bank employees, teachers, librarians, city, county and state government employees etc. WLB appeals are denied these people because they have no union to speak for them.

These are the facts set forth in a series of two articles by Louis Stark, N. Y. Times Washington correspondent in the Nov. 14-15 issues of the paper. Stark says that the question—how may the wage inequalities between the wages of white collar workers and the wages earned by workers represented by labor unions be redressed?—was put to federal officials and congressmen. The answers he got were entirely consistent with the people of whom he asked the question.

Not one of these representatives of the capitalist class whose answers were printed suggested to the fifteen million workers that the way out of their dilemma was to seek and get organization.

Stark virtually admits that it is the lack of organization among these exploited white collar workers which is responsible for their present predicament. But that doesn't mean that he proposed to them that they go out and organize. On the contrary, he puts the blame for the rising cost of living on the wage increases gained by organized labor.

The facts adduced by Stark are a powerful, albeit unintentional, argument for the 15 million white collar workers to join up with organized labor.

Montgomery Ward and Co. stalwart "defender" of things "American" — read open shop — have announced that they will not renew the contract which they signed last December with the United Retail, Wholesale and Department Store Employees Union; that they are entering a suit in federal court in Washington, D. C. for an injunction to restrain the WLB from "forcing" them to sign another contract. They are also suing the union and fourteen of its officers for one million dollars for libel for certain articles printed in the union's paper The Spotlight and the CIO News.

Union officials label the damage suit as an attempt to muzzle the union and deny it freedom of speech and press.

Sporadic strikes continue to flare up all over the country, despite the existence of the Smith Connally anti-strike law and the criminal penalties attached to striking in violation of the law.

One such strike occurred on Nov. 10 at the Ford Willow Run plant when the workers in three departments walked out after the company refused to reclassify die setters. The strike was settled on Nov. 11 when the workers responded to an appeal from the UAW-CIO local union heads to go back to work pending the outcome of negotiations with the company.

The die setters strike was the second in two weeks. In the previous week 3,000 casters in the River Rouge plant walked out in protest against the dictator tactics of a department foreman. The strike was settled late the same day, but when the workers returned in the morning they found the same foreman in his place. So they walked out again.

Sunday Forum Features Analysis Of Elections

"The elections everywhere have shown that in the last three years fewer and fewer workers have been participating. . . This can only mean that they have lost faith in both major political parties. . ." said John Fredericks before a group of workers in his lecture on Labor's Role in the 1943 Elections at the Sunday forum, November 14, held in the New York School of Social Science's hall at 116 University Place.

The speaker explained that even though the majority of the working class supported Roosevelt and his administration in this election, there is a growing feeling among them of apathy and discontent.

The results of this election, according to the speaker, will strengthen the reactionary forces in Washington and in the trade unions. Reactionary congressmen will push for more restrictive legislation, the enforcement of which will drive the masses to the left. The more determined

this time to be joined by 4,000 afternoon shift workers from the same department. The department has been the scene of a couple of near riots as the supervisory men mixed with strikers in hand to hand battles.

In Cleveland 4,200 employees of the Warner and Swasey Company walked out on strike when the company attempted to discipline shop stewards for not punching time cards during the time they were engaged in settling grievances within the plant. A conference of company officials and officers of the International Association of Machinists (AFL) was called in an attempt to settle the strike.

3,650 employees of the American Steel and Wire Co. walked out on strike at Worcester, Mass. on Nov. 13 in a contract dispute. United Steel Workers Union New England director, Martin J. Walsh said that the company's actions constituted "a mockery of collective bargaining."

300 employees of the Engersoll-Rand Co. plant at Athen, Pa. went on strike on Nov. 13 in a wage fight.

Aero-Notes, organ of Brewster local 365, prints a leading editorial in the Nov. 3 issue on the Vinson Naval Committee hearings on the UAW-CIO Brewster Local union: "The hearing currently being conducted by the Vinson Committee goes merrily on. Days run into weeks and weeks run into months, but apparently the boys have all year. . ."

"The committee, which is made up, at best, of individuals who are extremely conservative, is seeking to discredit Tom De Lorenzo and, through him, all of Local 365 UAW-CIO. And this is not a job which is being done in isolation against a union which has established a reputation for being progressive. It is an attempt against unionism in general. Both the CIO and the United Automobile Workers leadership had better sit up and take notice of what is actually happening. Frankly the whole thing smells like an old-fashioned 'witch hunt'. . ."

American Labor News, the official Eastern UAW-CIO Shop Paper, analyzes the 1943 election results in the Oct. 19 issue:

"The election returns on Tuesday, November 2, represented a defeat for the forces of progress and liberalism supported by Labor.

"There are several lessons Labor can draw from these returns.

"One: The realization underlined by the fact that the American Labor Party cannot succeed by endorsing the better of two poor candidates, as in Detroit or New York, but must rely on independent political action.

"Two: Labor divided against itself is absolutely ineffective to accomplish anything, and only helps anti-union forces to control the country. Last week's elections are a strong argument for political unity in the labor movement.

"Three: It is apparent that unless labor forces learn to support their own people, and not any political hack that the two major parties decide to nominate, they can have little hope of keeping the strength they now possess."

reaction becomes, the more resolute the workers will become, thus placing the inevitability of open conflict between the two classes on the order of the day.

Labor will learn in the course of these political struggles that the only road open to them is the road of independent working class political action. Labor will learn that only by presenting its own party, its own program, can they win the support of the poor, the support of the lower middle class, the white collar worker, the Negro, the working farmer—the toiling and exploited.

Comrade Fredericks closed his remarks by pointing out that only after the labor movement has learned the lessons of this past election can "the working class go forward and build its own party, formulate its own program, on the basis of independent working class political action. From there labor can go forward to a workers and farmers government."

Party Celebrates 26th Anniversary Of October

Los Angeles

LOS ANGELES — Filling the Embassy Auditorium South Hall, members and sympathizers of the Socialist Workers Party, gathered here to celebrate the 26th anniversary of the October Revolution. Murry Weiss delivered the main address of the celebration.

"All the basic lessons for the working class are to be found in the experience of the Russian Revolution," Comrade Weiss said. "First: the workers conclusively showed in action that the working class can take state power, solve the pressing national tasks confronting it, and hold this state power. Thus they translated into flesh and blood what was only written in books up to then.

"Second: The Russian Revolution showed that the proletarian revolution leads to gigantic strides forward in economic and cultural development.

"Third: The experience of the Russian Revolution showed that without a revolutionary party that spends years in the testing of its program and its cadres, all talk of socialism is a pipe dream."

Comrade Weiss discussed the problems of the defense of the Soviet Union in the Second World War:

"The fundamental antagonism between the Soviet Union and Anglo-American capitalism sharpens with every recapture by the Red Army of an important Soviet town. The thesis of the Fourth International, enunciated in 1934, that 'every big war, irrespective of its initial motives, must pose squarely the question of military intervention against the USSR applies to Anglo-American capitalism as well as to German capitalism.

MOUNTING CONFLICT

"One sixth of the world is out of the clutches of world imperialism. This arouses the lust of every capitalist nation that has poured 90% of its economy into war channels in order to enlarge its source of markets and its field of investment.

"The mounting conflict between the Soviet Union and Anglo-American capitalism is finding its expression in the 'border question,'" Comrade Weiss added. "The border question plays an important role in the long history of the struggle against the Soviet Union. The states forming the border countries were torn from Russia and converted into spears against the Soviet Union. Germany and the Allies participated in the work of establishing these border countries, typified by Manheim's Finland."

In preparation of the meeting,



Occasionally branches find that they have back issues of The Militant on hand. Our New York agent found the following method of distributing such copies very effective:

"New York Local had a distribution Sunday morning of back issues of The Militant in conjunction with a leaflet distribution advertising the Russian Revolution meeting November 7. The papers were distributed in Harlem, in the Italian neighborhood, and on the East side. One worker who came to the meeting said that he had found the paper and a leaflet under his door that morning. He said that he was interested in the Trotskyists point of view and asked about forums and other meetings."

Our Youngstown agent sent complimentary issues of The Militant to a number of workers in his territory and then sent each worker a letter asking him to subscribe to the paper.

The first results are two subs and the agent says that he hopes "to have a few more in the near future."

A letter from our Los Angeles agent officially notifies us of the successful conclusion of their subscription campaign:

"Enclosed is \$26 for the attached subs. . . So ends the sub contest. San Pedro lost so they will buy beer for Central Branch (Los Angeles) sometime in the near future."

Detroit has asked us to send a supply of subscription blanks for The Militant and Fourth International. The agent writes that they "have a sub drive coming up in a few weeks."

We hear regularly from our Plentywood, Montana agent concerning his activity. This week

leaflets bearing a picture of Lenin and Trotsky reviewing the Red Army were mailed and distributed throughout the city. The collection at the meeting was \$60.

Chicago

CHICAGO—An overflow meeting to celebrate the 26th anniversary of the October Revolution was held here this afternoon in the Cornish Room of the Hamilton Hotel. The meeting, sponsored by the Chicago Local of the Socialist Workers Party, brought out a record attendance of industrial workers from the auto, aircraft, steel and packing-house industries.

Lydia Bennett, the main speaker, gave an inspiring address that evoked an enthusiastic response from the audience. She described the great historic achievements of the Bolshevik Revolution, its international character, and its permanent significance to the international working class.

Hailing the Italian revolution and the rise of the Italian masses as the beginning of the European social revolution, the speaker pointed to the demonstrated power and fighting qualities of the Italian workers as the token of the coming revolutionary events throughout the whole world.

"The Italian masses have lit the spark for the new October, which will end forever the monstrous crimes of capitalism with its degradation and exploitation of the many by the few, with its wars and fascism," Comrade Bennett said. "The Italian upsurge has revealed the internal weakness and rottenness of capitalist rule, and that the workers and not the rulers will have the decisive say in the outcome of the war."

DEFEND SOVIET UNION

Speaking on the defense of

FELIX MORROW NOW OUT OF DANGER AFTER OPERATION

Felix Morrow, editor of Fourth International, is convalescing at New York's Beth Israel Hospital from an emergency operation for acute appendicitis.

Comrade Morrow was stricken while in Philadelphia covering the CIO convention for The Militant.

He is now out of danger. It will be some time before he will be able to resume his editorial duties.



we received another six-month subscription from him for another worker in Montana.

The following inquiry was turned over to Pioneer Publishers, but it is interesting to quote here because it came to us from a reader of The Militant:

"I understand that you have issued a pamphlet exposing the fallacies in the Davies' film, 'Mission to Moscow.' If so, will you please mail me a copy. . . I should like this or any arguments you can supply on the Moscow Trials and purges as soon as possible. I am a student and am writing a thesis on the Trials and wish to present facts in my paper."

Pioneer Publishers has informed us that it is supplying this Militant reader with "The Case of Leon Trotsky"—a transcript of the Dewey Commission hearings in which Trotsky refuted the charges brought against him in the Moscow Trials; and "The Truth about 'Mission to Moscow'—a tabloid widely distributed before theatres where the film was being shown. Distributors of The Militant should keep this material in mind if they receive similar requests.

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Carries full stock of Pioneer Publishers Pamphlets; also other U.S. and foreign Marxist Literature.

ODE TO WLB

The War Labor Board is a great institution
For all labor trouble they have a solution
Just fill out some forms, a hundred or more
And they will accept them and send you some more.

They say, "Now don't 'phone us or send us a card
Just fill out form Sixty, in length but a yard,
And when we receive it, you'll hear from us soon—
Just six months or so on some Monday at noon."

Your case is a tough one we'll have to admit
Forms Thirty or Sixty just don't seem to fit
So our latest and best we are sending to you—
Form Forty-four Thousand Nine Hundred and Two.

You will notice the clause in paragraph eight.
It cancels all forms you have sent us to date.

Page four hundred fifty, clause three hundred one
Explains very clearly to start on page one.

Item six hundred two is the one you must watch.
Don't write it in English—just print it in Scotch
If we haven't sent all the knowledge you seek
Please ask us more questions in Hebrew or Greek.

Your case has a place down deep in our files
Which extend underground for twenty-one miles
But for another, we have room to spare.
You may be certain we'll hide it somewhere.

Now don't be impatient, you'll hear from us yet
In four or five years we will not forget.
Your WAR LABOR BOARD will then send to you
Form forty-four thousand nine hundred and two.

Reprinted from
Michigan CIO News.

Detroit

DÉTROIT—The 26th anniversary of the Russian Revolution was celebrated here on Nov. 7 by members and friends of the Detroit Branch of the Socialist Workers Party.

The main speaker was Comrade Morris Stein, who pointed out that the Trotskyist celebrations being held today in all parts of the world have nothing in common with the anniversary meetings held by the Stalinists, or with the hypocritical gatherings in the Russian Embassy in Washington attended by the flunkies of Wall Street.

Trotskyists glory in the Russian Revolution, not as a museum piece, but as a great and lasting achievement of the working class from which valuable lessons can be learned and applied to future struggles. Comrade Stein urged the audience to learn these lessons well, since the day when workers the world over will rise again in quest of their freedom is not far off.

The meeting was closed by the singing of the Internationale.

Ohio Branches Hear SWP Plenum Report

AKRON, Ohio, Nov. 15 — The Youngstown and Akron branches of the Socialist Workers Party held a joint meeting Sunday, November 14, to hear and discuss a report on the recent Plenum of the National Committee.

The joint session, attended by about 20 steel and rubber workers, listened with great interest to the report on the International Resolution made by S. Jones. A very lively discussion followed the report. Most of the discussion centered around the dilemma facing the United States and British ruling classes in their attempt to stifle the coming European revolutionary wave.

Following a report by Joe Andrews on the Plenum call for a \$15,000 fund to expand the press and organizational work of the Party, the joint meeting unanimously accepted the quotas assigned to the Youngstown and Akron branches. Each branch felt confident that the quotas, both set at \$200, could be met and probably be oversubscribed.

The plenum report and discussion was followed by reports of branch party and trade union work. The Youngstown branch reported on the steel union and the current problems facing the workers in that area; the Youngs-

town branch also reported that it has had a continual growth in the last three months, recruiting several steel workers in that period. The joint meeting was the first meeting attended by a new Youngstown woman comrade, who stated that she was inspired by the discussion.

The Akron branch reported on the situation in the rubber locals, where very heated local union elections are being held. The Akron branch has also recently been augmented in strength, and the comrades expect continued growth.

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Sunday Open Forum

Subject:

"LEBANON AND FRENCH COLONIAL OPPRESSION"

Discussion Leader:
MARK BRADEN

Sunday, Nov. 21, 1943, 8 P. M.

Auspices: New York School of Social Science

116 UNIVERSITY PLACE (Cor. 13th Street)
NEW YORK CITY

WLB STILL ADHERES TO LITTLE STEEL FORMULA

(Continued from page 1)

of unions and to provide additional protection. . . against those who misuse the power presently permitted."

The wage and job freeze, the Smith-Connally "slave-labor" law, the Roosevelt sanctions, the draft board regulations, the espionage laws — all these are not enough. Big Business is still not satisfied. It now demands that the anti-labor drive go still further and at a more furious pace in the direction of total reaction.

The next day, Nov. 12, William Green, AFL president, protested against the labor baiting offensive of the WLB. In a letter to Davis, Green said: "Statements such as these made by the WLB make it increasingly difficult for labor to participate in the work of the WLB as now constituted and to maintain confidence in the board. . ."

Of course, Green's threats do not mean very much, and neither Roosevelt nor his henchmen take them too seriously. Still, when even chicken-hearted William Green begins to issue threats, it is a sure sign that a real labor crisis is brewing.

The "public" members of the

WLB assured Green that "organized labor, except for the United Mine Workers, has had an excellent record in its patriotic cooperation with management. . ." But they again attempted to throw a scare into the hearts of the Greens and Murrys: "It is our counsel and most urgent injunction that the Lewis defiance not be an example, which if followed by other unions, would require legislation not only more thoroughgoing but, in its possible feature, unfair to the labor movement. . ."

WLB BAITS LABOR

It is possible that the Murrys and Greens will be scared off by this heavy barrage of threats and dire warnings. But when the CIO convention declared against the Little Steel formula on the heels of the miners' victories, a trend was started in the labor movement which cannot be easily channeled or damned up. Whatever the pussyfooting bureaucrats decide to do, the rank and file of the auto, steel, rubber and the other unions mean to follow in the footsteps of the miners.

Brewster UAW Local Upholds DeLorenzo

Thomas DeLorenzo was given an overwhelming vote of confidence by members of the Long Island division of Brewster UAW Local 365. The Nov. 8 membership meeting attended by over five thousand workers heard DeLorenzo report on the anti-labor Vinson Committee which had "revealed" that DeLorenzo had legally changed his name and had misstated his previous experience on a job application.

His real crime, DeLorenzo stated, was that he fought for the policy of the Local. He would continue to fight for this policy, he said, of refusing to knuckle down to the bosses or the government.

A reactionary Stalinist-dominated clique did their best to disrupt the meeting and prevent the adoption of the vote of confidence. It succeeded only in discrediting itself.

Answering the Stalinist accusation that DeLorenzo and Local 365 were not following CIO policy,

DeLorenzo declared: "No, we are not following CIO policy. We don't believe in turning the other cheek or giving a blank check to Roosevelt. We are following our program, which is for the defense of labor by a revision of the no-strike pledge and the building of a labor party."

Similar action was reported to have been taken at membership meetings held by the Newark and Johnsville sections of the Brewster local.

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The Negro Struggle

By David Ransom

Jim-Crow Politicians in Detroit

Whenever election time draws near, capitalist politicians pretend to suffer a change of heart about Negroes and their struggle for equality. Politicians who overlook the existence of Jim Crow the rest of the year discover the Negro problem around election time.

Democrats, Republicans, and "Independents" alike make wonderful promises. If only some of the promises made in the last ten years by politicians had been kept, Negroes would be much closer to having the equality that is rightfully theirs. But as everyone knows, once election time is over, the promises are put away to gather dust until the next campaign. Meantime Negroes see the government, controlled by politicians they helped elect, spending Jim Crow. The elections this year were no exception to this rule.

There was one campaign this year in which Negroes were promised nothing by either candidate for office. As a matter of fact they were the target for vile racial mudslinging by both sides. This took place in the mayoralty campaign in Detroit between Edward J. Jeffries and Frank Fitzgerald. Another reason this campaign deserves the attention of Negroes is the fact that Mayor Jeffries, the candidate running on an open anti-Negro, anti-labor program was elected to office.

With a long record of anti-Negro behavior behind him, Jeffries could not appeal to the Negroes with promises of fair treatment. They remembered only too well that Jeffries blamed the Negro population of Detroit for the anti-Negro pogrom of June 21. Nor have they forgotten how Jeffries whitewashed the police force that turned its guns on the Negroes thereby aiding the white rioters in their attacks on the Negroes.

Another issue which turned Negroes away from Jeffries was his support of Jim Crow housing. The Mayor was sufficiently vocal on this score during the election. He said, "Arrayed against me are groups demanding mixed housing—the mingling of Negroes and whites in the same neighborhoods. I have said and will continue to say no."

The Negroes of Detroit passed their judgement on Jeffries in the primaries of Oct. 5. Jeffries, with 60,000 votes ran a poor second to the 98,000 votes of his rival, Fitzgerald, who had the backing of the unions and the Negro organizations. Yet it was Jeffries and not Fitzgerald who was elected on Nov. 2.

Jeffries won because his "progressive" rival, Fitzgerald fished for the support of Big Business and the votes of the anti-Negro elements. Although he was backed by the unions, Fitzgerald criticised the Mayor for raising the pay of city employees. And in order to win the votes of the anti-Negro elements, this so-called "liberal" condemned bi-racial housing in these words: "It was the mayor who invaded a white neighborhood with a Negro housing project and he can't deny it. . . I never have taken a stand in favor of bi-racial housing. I do not do so now."

There is no doubt that the combined vote of the Negroes and the progressive workers could have put Fitzgerald into office had he advanced a pro-labor, pro-Negro

program. But since Fitzgerald vied with Jeffries in attacking the labor movement and the Negro people, a great many Negroes and trade unionists stayed away from the polls on Nov. 2.

The Detroit election proves again that Negroes and workers cannot depend on capitalist politicians, "reactionary" or "progressive," to represent their interests.

INCIDENTS IN DETROIT

Four months have gone by since the June 21 flare-up and federal troops are still stationed outside the city waiting for the next outburst of anti-Negro violence. The first result of Mayor Jeffries' "race hate" campaign and election, has been to stimulate the activities of the anti-Negro provocateurs.

In the last two weeks, there have been a number of incidents around the housing issue. The racial demagogues are set on frustrating the attempt of the Negroes to break out of the Jim-Crow ghettos.

Last week a group of bigoted whites sought the eviction of Charles Reynolds and his family from a house they bought in a "white" neighborhood. According to these whites, the deed to the property contained a clause forbidding anyone of the "African race" from occupying the premises.

The night that Reynolds moved in a committee of whites called on him and demanded that he move out. Reynolds, who doesn't seem to scare easily, refused to budge and informed this committee of prejudice that he would resist any attempt to dislodge him.

In an attempt to segregate the Negroes of the village, the white residents of Inkster sought to secede from this suburb of Detroit and set up a new village. Their plan was to take 80 per cent of the territory and leave the remaining portion plus a village debt of \$750,000 to the Negroes.

An injunction to prevent this swindle was won by Ford Local 600, UAW-CIO, and the NAACP, and the Civil Rights Defense Federation.

The Negroes of Detroit are not only fighting the Ku Klux Klanners and the city administration, but the Federal government as well on the question of Jim-Crow housing. It is the established policy of the Federal government to build segregated housing projects for Negroes.

Last week a suit to force bi-racial occupancy of a Federal Housing project came up for trial in Wayne County circuit court. The suit was filed a year and a half ago when the Hamtramck Housing Commission passed a resolution declaring the project "for whites only."

The government defended its Jim-Crow policy by declaring it would cause chaotic conditions throughout the nation if Negroes should win the right for bi-racial occupancy of the project. White families would have to be evicted to make room for Negro families.

If enough houses were put up, both Negro and white workers could easily be taken care of on an equal basis without causing a "chaotic condition."

An adequate housing program, minus Jim Crow, is what the white and Negro workers must demand of the government.

Sweeping Soviet Advances Worry 'Democratic' Allies

(Continued from page 1)

on their part. For on the previous day the N. Y. Times had carried in its columns a dispatch relating to a speech by Oumansky, Stalin's GPU envoy to Mexico, who fixed the Polish borders along the line established by the Stalin-Hitler pact in 1939.

STALIN'S DEMANDS

In other words, Stalin had already served public notice that he insists on those territorial demands which the Red Army is now in a position to realize in life, but which had been so solemnly "shelved" less than a fortnight before in order to make possible Stalin's "historic" agreement with the Allies.

The Times report of Oumansky's speech inferred that it was made on Stalin's orders. In this report it was stated that "diplomatic circles" were certain that Oumansky's declaration "was the outcome of instructions from the Kremlin." (N. Y. Times, Nov. 14.) And as if to dispel any possible doubts in this connection, Stalin's

personal organ, Pravda has resumed in Moscow its vitriolic attacks on the Polish Government-in-Exile in London. (N. Y. Times, Nov. 16.)

NEW "DISCUSSION" URGED

From excited London, James B. Reston cables that "the Russian offensive has progressed so far toward the German frontier that questions that seemed comparatively remote even a few weeks ago—questions of the occupation of Germany, the position of Poland, etc.—now logically arise for discussion." (N. Y. Times, Nov. 16.)

These words, approved by the London censors, are pregnant with meaning. Their implication in some respects is clear enough: The Moscow agreement is apparently already out-dated—owing to the Soviet victories. If agreement is to be maintained another pact must supplant the Hull-Molotov-Eden negotiations which, as is now obvious, had not definitely settled but simply postponed the most burning issues.

With events moving at an ever greater speed, especially on the military arena, London is eager for Stalin to get together at once with Churchill and Roosevelt. So is the N. Y. Times. Washington is also pressing. They fear that further advances of the Red Army would establish the Soviet Union as the dominant military power in Europe; and that this would encourage the European masses to drive out the Nazi rulers, the capitalists and the landlords.

Meanwhile clouds of discord are beginning to gather again over Stalin and his Allies. These new "complications" did not come unheralded. Even immediately after the conclusion of the Hull-Molotov-Eden agreement, there were signs that all was not quite so harmonious or long-lasting as the Moscow participants had pretended amid great diplomatic fanfare and festivities.

DISCORDANT NOTES

For instance, Churchill concluded his Nov. 9 Mansion House speech in London by re-issuing a thinly veiled call for the establishment of a bloc between U. S. and Britain. In words strongly reminiscent of the same demands voiced by Churchill during the strained relations with the Kremlin in the months prior to the Moscow agreement, Churchill said on Nov. 9: "All the happiness of future generations depend upon the fraternal association of Great Britain and the United States. . . . To be sure, Churchill did not fail to add that this was to be a two-power alliance "with-in and without prejudging of the larger world structure that will be erected. . . ." (N. Y. Times, Nov. 10.) But this could not alter the fact that Churchill with his Nov. 9 call for a two-power bloc had placed a big question mark over the Nov. 1 "three power" agreement.

Two days later Halifax, British Ambassador to Washington, reiterated Churchill's call for "closer ties between U. S. and Britain" before the Academy of Political Sciences, Hotel Astor, New York. (N. Y. Times, Nov. 11.) Against whom could this bloc be ultimately directed if not against the third party in the "three power" bloc officially set up only a few days before?

If in the period before the Moscow agreement Stalin replied to Churchill's demands for a two-power alliance by organizing a "Free Poland Committee" a "Free Germany Committee," and so on, then in the weeks since the Hull-Molotov-Eden agreement Stalin's answer to Churchill comes in the form of flat territorial demands.

THE CLASS CONFLICT

Reflected in the feverish moves and countermoves by Stalin and his Allies on the diplomatic chessboard is the basic antagonism of our epoch: the irreconcilable contradiction between the decayed system of capitalism, which Roosevelt and Churchill are fighting to perpetuate at all costs, and the new social order which the Soviet Union still represents despite its political degeneration under Stalin. This antagonism temporarily submerged is coming to the forefront by the titanic victories of the Red Army and the powerful revolutionary currents these victories generate on the continent of Europe.

It is by no means excluded that still another agreement, or even agreements may be reached by Stalin and his Allies. A Roosevelt-Stalin-Churchill pact may supplant that of Hull-Molotov-Eden. But the same forces—operating under the inexorable laws of the class struggle—which "out-dated" the Moscow agreement will in the end blow up any agreement with the "democracies" which Stalin may deem it expedient to sign in the next period.

Washington's viewpoint, as expressed in an Algiers dispatch is no less cynical: "It was indicated that the American action was more in the nature of presenting a solid wall with Britain than of initiating a protest. . . ." (N. Y. Times, Nov. 16.)

The British it is implied are only awaiting a favorable opportunity to step in, displace the French, and to restore "law and order."

Meanwhile, according to the latest reports, the situation in Lebanon remains "potentially grave" and a "real clash" may come anytime.

One thing stands fully revealed in the light of the Lebanese events. French capitalists remain in defeat what they always have been and always will be—ruthless exploiters of their own and colonial peoples. "Democracy" on their lips is the same sham and the same lie as on the lips of all capitalists, victorious and defeated alike.

Nazis Face Rising Tide Of Resistance

(Continued from page 1)

coal mines at Graz, and the Danube shipyards at Linz."

FERMENT IN AUSTRIA

Desertions among Austrian troops on the Russian front have reached such proportions, that the Austrian Gestapo chief, Ernst Kaltenbrunner, has been forced to admit that "defeatism was particularly strong in Austria." (N. Y. Times, Nov. 4) The strength of the mass anti-Nazi pressure is further shown by this fact: even Austrian Nazis are now suspect. Their German masters consider them "undependable" and are replacing them with German Nazis. "The Nazi police rule in Austria is now one hundred percent," a N. Y. Times dispatch of Nov. 13 said. "The country begins more and more to resemble a vast prison camp."

Nazi troops are being rushed into Bulgaria, because of the tremendous pro-Soviet sentiment among the people. The Carpatho-Ukraine area of Hungary is in a "state of near chaos" with guerrilla activity against the Nazis increasing as the Red Army moves westward.

Most significant of all are the reports of mass unrest inside Germany, for Germany is the leading capitalist country on the European continent, and when it cracks the European revolution will surge onward in a tidal wave.

SIGNS OF COMING STORM

The continual defeats on the Russian front, coupled with a growing shortage of food and fuel, have aggravated the situation inside Germany. Taking their cue from the Italian masses, the German masses have begun

demonstrations on such a scale against the Nazis that, as the N. Y. Times of Nov. 4 states, Berlin and forty other cities in Germany have been placed under martial law. Mass arrests of suspected anti-Nazis were reported on Nov. 12.

Dissatisfaction among the troops has also been reported. Five hundred German soldiers are said to have mutinied in Southern France, after receiving orders to proceed to the Russian front. According to the N. Y. Times of Nov. 12 all the officers and non-commissioned officers were killed, and a pitched battle ensued between the troops and the Elite Guards.

NAZISM IN STRAITS

To maintain their hold on the people, the Nazis must fall back on threats and terror. Faced with defeats, the Nazis have erected pillboxes in the streets of Berlin. They have built a thick granite wall six and one half feet high around the Oslo police station. Laval has increased his personal bodyguard. Vichy has become a "machine studded fortress." S. S. guards and the hastily revived S. S. Storm Troops have been sent into Austria to establish police rule.

But mass resistance increases and mass pressure intensifies. These are the kind of reports that came out of Italy in the period immediately before the fall of Mussolini and the eclipse of fascism. The Nazi rulers see the handwriting on the wall; their frantic efforts to stem the tide of resistance will avail them nothing. Just as the Italian masses destroyed the fascist regime, so the German workers will overthrow Hitler and his thugs in the struggle for the Socialist United States of Europe.

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clusion of the social democracy into the coalition, the passage of power to the party of MacDonald, and so forth), immediately thereafter to force the antagonisms to a head again and acutely raise the question of power.

(From Pages 80-82, "Third International After Lenin," 1936, 357 pages, \$2.00. Order from Pioneer Publishers, 116 University Place, New York 3, N. Y.)

Workers' Attitude Toward Government Plant Seizures

By M. Morrison

There is one aspect about the struggle of the miners that is exceedingly interesting and significant, since it deals with their attitude to the question of the ownership of the mines. When John L. Lewis called off the third strike he issued a statement in which he said that the miners were willing to work for the government under prevailing conditions but not for the operators. Undoubtedly this statement expressed the sentiments of the miners.

Not that the miners relished the idea of working for the government without a contract and without any raise in wages, but they were willing to do so for the government and not for the private owners.

This attitude can be correctly interpreted to indicate an instinctive dislike to work for the profit of private owners and a growing awareness, on the part of the working class, of the necessity for abolishing private ownership of industry.

In quite a few instances it has happened that workers who have gone out on strike were willing to go back to work without gaining any of their demands as soon as the government took over the operation of the struck plants. Undoubtedly the feeling that the workers were too weak to fight against the government had something to do with this attitude, but it would be a mistake to ignore the fact that the workers were actually willing to work, for a while at least, for the government without getting any of the demands for which they went out on strike.

The workers do not see in the government an employer who makes profit out of their labor and this explains their willingness to work for the government under conditions where they would refuse to work for a private employer.

To foster this sentiment against private ownership of industry is the first duty of every advanced worker. The attitude of willingness on the part of striking workers to return to work if only the government takes over a plant, and even to insist that the government should take it over, can be the starting point of an effective agitation against private ownership of industry. It would of course constitute a tremendous gain if the workers as a class would be imbued with the feeling that they should not continue to work for private owners.

There is however a serious danger in the present attitude of the workers in favoring the taking over of struck plants by the government. The danger lies in the fact that the kind of "government ownership" which results when the government takes over an industry where there is a strike, in effect, limits the rights of the workers and gives them no advantages. Under present procedure the government simply takes over a factory and prevents a strike. It operates the factory for and on behalf of the employer.

When the government took over the mines there was no change whatever in the actual management of the mines. The only change that occurred was that, under the Smith-Connally Act, the workers were not allowed to strike. From this type of "government ownership and control" the workers may easily react in favor of private ownership.

Some conservative trade union leaders are taking advantage of this situation to get the workers

to oppose the government's taking of the factories out of the hands of the private owners. For the conservative bureaucrats private control of industry means greater freedom for bargaining and hence greater justification for their existence.

As against the workers who favor having the government take over factories and plants where there are strikes, it is necessary to point out that this does not in the least eliminate the private owner. In effect it places a policeman in the factory to prevent strikes. It is true that the owner does not like the idea of having the army or navy take control of his property. He prefers the policeman to be on the outside and prevent strikes without in any way interfering with his rights as owner. He sees danger even when only nominal control is taken away from him.

As against the conservative trade union bureaucrats who oppose government control because they favor private ownership in principle, the advanced worker must show that to permit private individuals and corporations to own huge industries is to permit a large proportion of the money made from the labor of the workers to be given to the owners as profits, thus reducing the share which is rightfully due to the workers.

For the advanced militant the problem is to utilize the sentiment of the workers in favor of having the government take over industries where there are strikes, as a point of departure for educating the workers to the necessity of eliminating private ownership of industry and instituting workers' control. It is necessary for the advanced militants to present their own program for nationalization of all war industries and placing them under workers' control.

Two powerful arguments can be used to convince workers of the necessity of taking industries away from the private owners. One is that the profits derived by the private owners can be used to increase the wages of the workers. Right now profits are higher than they have ever been before. The advanced worker must be well acquainted with the amount of money that the owner's take for themselves as salaries and profits. It is necessary to make every worker understand how much his wages could be raised at the present time if profits were eliminated.

Another argument which is convincing to workers is the waste that exists in industry because of the exclusive concern of the owners for profits. Especially is this true on government cost-plus contracts. In general, workers resent inefficiency and waste and it is not difficult to win their sympathies for a system which would introduce honesty and efficiency in industry.

Naturally one need not expect that the workers, as a whole, will immediately accept the idea of nationalizing the war industries under workers' control. A consistent propaganda in favor of this idea, using the sentiment of the workers in favor of the government's taking over an industry under strike, and utilizing, among others, the two arguments suggested above, will certainly help prepare the workers for a real struggle on behalf of eliminating private ownership and instituting workers' control of industry.

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And inasmuch as Europe, accustomed to world domination, with the inertia acquired from

its rapid, almost uninterrupted growth in the pre-war period, now collides more sharply than the other continents with the new relation of forces, the new division of the world market, and the contradictions deepened by the war, it is precisely in Europe that the transition from the "organic" epoch to the revolutionary epoch was particularly precipitous. . . .

The revolutionary character of the epoch does not lie in that it permits of the accomplishment of the revolution, that is, the seizure of power at every given moment. Its revolutionary character consists in profound and sharp fluctuations and abrupt and frequent transitions from an immediately revolutionary situation; in other words, such as enables the communist party to strive for power, to a victory of the fascist or semi-fascist counter-revolution, and from the latter to a provisional regime of the golden mean (the "Left bloc," the in-

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— LEON TROTSKY

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The Poll Tax

The Senate is preparing to repeat, what has in recent times, become an annual farce. The Senate Judiciary Committee, by a vote of 12 to 6, has finally after weeks of delay reported out favorably the Poll Tax Repeal Bill. Immediately the reactionary poll-tax Senators sprang into action. They openly boasted that they would filibuster the poll-tax bill as they did a year ago. Senator Bilbo, who represents the State of Mississippi by virtue of the fact that over 90% of the Mississippi population is disenfranchised, served notice that he would start the filibuster. Eastland and McClellan, poll-tax senators of Mississippi and Arkansas, announced that they were preparing "several hundred" amendments.

The poll-tax Congressmen are venal timeservers of the northern banks and corporations and the southern millionaire landlords and growers. This corrupt crew labors in Washington with the one purpose of keeping the Negro and white workers of the south in a subjugated and half-starved condition. The poll tax and its consequent disenfranchisement of the overwhelming majority of the southern population, makes it impossible for the labor unions to exert any pressure on these mercenary politicians.

But the southern bourbons and their Congressional agents could not preserve the poll-tax or for that matter, their oligarchic rule over the South, were it not for the generous assistance and support of northern Big Business, and its Congressional stooges. The octopus of Wall Street needs the southern bourbons not only to bleed the South and extract from its workers and sharecroppers untold profits. The southern bourbons are also the spearhead of every reactionary union-busting campaign. The alliance of northern Big Business and the southern bourbons is not only an alliance against the southern Negro and white workers; it is also an alliance against the labor movement of the north.

Last year the Senators refused to vote the cloture rule and thus permitted a few southern demagogues to talk the anti-poll tax bill to death. Now O'Mahoney, Democratic Senator from Wyoming and a supposed liberal to boot, is running interference for the poll-taxers. He is trying to bury the anti-

poll tax bill by his proposal to repeal the tax by means of a constitutional amendment. Such a procedure would only drag on for years. The ward-heeler politicians of the state legislatures of thirteen of the southern states could hold up the constitutional amendment for years and prevent its passage. The CIO has correctly characterized O'Mahoney's maneuver as a "parliamentary trick."

Roosevelt, the head of the Democratic Party, continues to maintain his tomb-like silence on the poll tax. The man who spouts about bringing the "four freedoms" to the people of the whole world has so far found not one word to say on behalf of the simple freedom of the right to vote. Like the Wall Street masters, he, too, has an alliance with the southern bourbons. He appoints their leading representatives to the Supreme Court bench, to his Cabinet and to the most important war agencies. His own assistant, Byrnes, who works right out of the White House, is a prominent poll tax politician.

In his many years in the White House, Roosevelt has demonstrated over and over again that he understands very well how to mobilize public pressure on Congress when he really wants a bill passed. His record on the poll tax issue proves beyond the shadow of a doubt that he does not intend to break his alliance with the poll taxers and that if they are insistent enough, he will again permit them to sabotage the bill. Roosevelt may make a perfunctory gesture here and there; he will never fight the poll tax.

The fight against the poll tax is far more than a fight for Negro rights. It represents one significant line of the whole battle-front against reaction. Abolition of the poll tax will be a great aid to the labor movement, not only of the south, but also of the north. The labor movement must press forward to defeat the poll tax.

"London's Optimism Over the War Is Shown in Pessimism on Stocks." — Headline in the financial section of N. Y. Times, Nov. 16. The cable from London then goes on to add: "A new phrase, 'danger of peace,' has been conceived. . . and this phrase apparently rings just as ominously in the ears of the American investor as it does in British ears."

The cannibals of capitalism have always coined new phrases to cover up the filth and blood of their profit system. The prospect that they will not long be able to continue their profiteering in the dead is to them — the danger of peace!

War Criminals

Roosevelt and Churchill pledged in the Moscow agreement that the war criminals "will be brought back to the scene of their crimes and judged on the spot by the peoples whom they have outraged." If this promise were sincere, King Victor Emmanuel, Badoglio and the rest of the King's generals would be turned over to tribunals of the Ethiopian, Libyan, Spanish, Albanian, Russian, Yugoslav and Greek peoples, and first of all to a tribunal of the Italian people themselves.

But Emmanuel and his generals have not been handed over to be judged and punished by the peoples whom they have so cruelly outraged. Instead Roosevelt and Churchill have welcomed these bloody fascist butchers into the Allied camp, clothed them with the status of co-belligerency, and by force of arms preserved their rule over the Italian people.

Now the Yugoslavs have branded as war criminals two members of Badoglio's cabinet, Generals Mario Roatto and Vittorio Ambrosio. Roatto was sent to Spain by Badoglio during the Civil War. He commanded the barbarous fascist forces that machinegunned helpless Spanish refugees on the road to Malaga in 1937. For two years before the Italian surrender, Roatto was chief executioner against the Croats and Slovenes in the Balkans. The workers of Turin remember Roatto as the man who ordered the troops to fire at the slightest provocation to prevent demonstrations. Ambrosio was responsible for bloody massacres in Yugoslavia and Greece.

The Yugoslav charges made Roatto too hot to hang on to, so he has just been dropped from the Badoglio cabinet. But he has not been turned over to the Partisans to be judged at the scene of his crimes. Ambrosio still remains in the Badoglio cabinet while his case is "under investigation" by General Eisenhower. Emmanuel and Badoglio, no less than Mussolini, were the real authors of the atrocities committed by Roatto and Ambrosio. Yet they remain in authority, propped up by Allied bayonets.

The leniency of Roosevelt and Churchill toward their Italian puppets is a necessary part of their war program. For the fact is that really to indict war criminals is to indict the capitalist system itself. It is capitalism that is the arch war criminal. And capitalism is the breeder of fascism.

Roosevelt and Churchill are committed to preserving the capitalist system against the workers' revolution in Europe. But European capitalism, in its utter decay, has spawned fascism. Who is there left to defend rotted capitalism in Europe except the fascists, the reactionary generals, the Vatican? How else can Roosevelt-Churchill save capitalism except by working with the fascist beasts, their natural allies against the revolutionary working class?

That is why Roosevelt and Churchill made a deal with Emmanuel and Badoglio instead of turning them over to the peoples they have outraged. That is why so many fascist laws are still being enforced in Allied-occupied Italy.

That is why Roosevelt and Churchill are preparing an attempt to put the hated monarchs of Greece and Yugoslavia back on the throne.

And that is why at the first opportunity the "democratic" Allies will make similar deals with fascists elsewhere in Europe and with Nazis in Germany.

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.

An Analysis of Election Results

Editor:

The recent elections have again demonstrated the bankrupt policy of the union bureaucrats in trying to convince the trade union movement to elect so-called "friends of labor" to political office.

The most significant aspect of the election has been the defeat of the Hillman formula. Despite the endorsement of Roosevelt, and the Hillmans, the Greens and the Murrys, the Democratic Party has suffered terrific defeats in Philadelphia, New York, New Jersey, Kentucky and elsewhere. It wasn't very long ago that when Roosevelt endorsed a candidate his election was practically assured. We now see a different situation in the political arena.

The workers understand too well the anti-labor policy of the administration. They understand very well the Little Steel formula, job freezing, wage freezing, soaring

cost of living, increased taxation, and the steady decrease in their standard of living as the bosses rake in super profits.

Roosevelt's hypnotic spell over the workers has been broken and these election events sound grave warning to the union bureaucrats to break from Roosevelt.

Immediately after the 1942 elections the militant workers saw the necessity of building an independent labor party based on the trade unions and this expression was gaining tremendous popularity. Resolutions for an independent labor party were passed in many unions; heading the list is the Michigan CIO convention, representing 700,000 workers. The trade union bureaucrats feared this tremendous weapon and wanted to kill it. Hillman's political formula was then put forth. It represented nothing new to the workers, just the same old policy of "defeating your enemies and voting for your friends."

Gompersism was again brought forth: company unionism in

politics. With all the resources at their disposal the union bureaucrats were able to stem the tide of the independent labor party movement but not kill it, as Hillman so fondly hoped.

Now Hillman and Co. will be faced with a more determined trade union movement and will be more cautious in their support of Roosevelt for a fourth term. Three days after the election, the CIO convention, meeting in Philadelphia, decided to postpone action on the fourth term.

Responsibility for the trend in the recent election lies in the false policies of the union leadership. These trade union bureaucrats must either break from Roosevelt and his anti-labor policy or be pushed aside by the power of the rank and file.

Thirteen million organized workers will settle for nothing less than an independent labor party.

JOHN R. EDDING
Reading, Pa.

Workers' BOOKSHELF

UNDERCOVER by John Roy Carlson, E.P. Dutton and Co., 1943. 544 pages. \$3.50.

"Undercover" presents a cross-section of the fascist movement of America. Mr. Carlson shows us the hysterical meetings with trained speakers playing on the emotions and prejudices of the audience; he describes and prints numerous pieces of fascist literature; he exposes fascist connections with people highly placed in American political life (including many Congressmen); gradually it all adds up.

Back in 1938 Mr. Carlson left his quiet life and entered the maze of American fascist movements. For four years, working undercover, he explored the fascist scene, joined the organizations, interviewed the leaders and collected the material which comprises his book. The result is a comprehensive picture of the fascist movements in the U. S. both foreign imports and native brands.

Christian Mobilizers, Silver Shirts, Klansmen, etc., weave in and out. In the foreground are such figures as Pelley, Deatherage, Coughlin, McWilliams, Gerald K. Smith, Senators Nye, Wheeler and Reynolds. Operating more quietly, and providing the fascist forces with a theoretical basis, is Lawrence Dennis "intellectual exponent of American National-Socialism."

Far in the background are leading industrialists such as J. H. Rand, Jr., Lamont du Pont, Alfred P. Sloan, Henry Ford, etc., as well as numerous "Park Avenue patriots" whose contributions sustain the fascist forces.

The leaders are usually clever opportunists, occasionally merely emotional crack-pots. The follow-

ers are on the whole dupes misled by a planned campaign of misinformation. The backers of the movement are prominent industrialists, and wealthy old ladies alarmed by the very thought of communism. That is the anatomy of the fascist movement.

There are excellent sections of the book which provide background material for an understanding of racial conflicts in Detroit and Boston today. There are numerous sketches of rank and filers, including that of Tony Bommarito, one time bodyguard for Gerald K. Smith, to whom "labor organizing on a racial basis was just a convenient racket." And there are the almost endless interviews with the Shrewd, cynical, opportunistic leaders of the various fascist groups.

It is to Mr. Carlson's credit that he points out the fascist danger to those in the country who until now have been unaware of its existence, and who smugly went along on the premise that "it can't happen here." Unfortunately, however, Mr. Carlson reacts hysterically, and never once during the book betrays any understanding of the social nature of fascism.

Fundamentally, there is no meaning to the book except within the framework of Marxism which alone can fully explain what fascism is, and whom it serves. Without such an understanding the Mobilizers, Silver Shirts, etc., must remain merely hate movements nurtured in twisted personalities, as Mr. Carlson naively conceives them.

But once the class forces embodied in the opposition of work-

ers and bosses is understood we have the key to a real understanding of the nature of fascism. Fascism then shows itself to be a movement calculated to establish an open, brutal political dictatorship of the bosses who can no longer appease the workers with liberal crumbs, and who to protect their rule resort to open force against the labor movement. That is why the industrialists finance their fascist puppets. (Though Mr. Carlson thinks they are unaware of what they are doing.)

And that is why, too, though there be a hundred organizations there is basically only one program — anti-Negro, anti-communist, anti-semitic, and anti-labor.

The connection between different aspects of fascist propaganda appears to be only incidental to Mr. Carlson, who in his naive way does not see the various forms attacks on the labor movement can take. But that the connection is not incidental the labor movement long ago recognized. Attacks, for example, on alien, or minorities are in reality flank attacks against organized labor and labor's rights. They are attempts to divide and crush the labor movement, and must be recognized as such.

Mr. Carlson would do well to read Daniel Guerin's "Fascism and Big Business" which clearly shows the social basis of fascism, and the fact that fascists serve as the tools for the interests of the ruling capitalist class.

As a result of Mr. Carlson's failure to draw correct conclusions, "Undercover" is "a knife without a blade."

Reviewed by Helen Russell

International Notes

The French workers have heroically proven their determination never to submit to the domination of Hitler. They are just as determined that neither the capitalist French Committee of National Liberation in Algeria nor the Anglo-American capitalists shall dictate the future of the French working class. Here is what an underground newspaper, published jointly by the Socialist and Christian (Catholic) trade unions of France, has to say on this subject:

"There must be no trickery towards the resistance movement any more than towards France herself.

"France belongs neither to the banks, to trusts, nor to professional politicians, nor yet to the direct representatives of certain international tendencies. Nor is she either the property of a decaying capitalist class which, by its technical incompetence, political blindness and social egotism has led us into disaster, and which, having first tried to save itself by collaboration with Berlin, is now turning its eyes towards the City of London and Wall Street.

"The French working class, which ever since the Armistice has undertaken resistance to the invader, could never lend itself to the eleventh hour maneuvers

of the opportunists and traitors of the banks and trusts. Everything must be clear and straightforward. . ."

The Canadian Government has authorized the use of home defense troops below a certain medical grade for compulsory labor on the railroads. The men will continue under military law and discipline: all work orders will be received in the form of a command by a superior officer. The soldier-laborers will remain on army pay and allowances.

This vicious slave-labor decree is one of the most brazen devices yet concocted by the "democratic" capitalist governments in an effort under cover of the war to break down the wage structure in industry and undermine the trade unions.

A significant feature of the recent election in Australia was the large "khaki vote." About 800,000 Australian soldiers, sailors and airmen voted at camps, airfields and battle stations from Sicily to Halifax. The breakdown of the vote revealed that a large percentage was cast for the labor party with some air stations returning a 93% labor plurality.

A Nov. 9 AP dispatch reports

information received from Istanbul of a force of 4,000 Bulgarian guerrillas battling regular army troops in the mountains of Bulgaria near Stara Zagora. The guerrillas are said to have notified the Bulgarian government that they will fight until a new government that will break away from Germany is formed.

The dispatch describes the guerrilla force as generally leftist, adding that landings of Russian paratroops and seaborne troops on the Bulgarian coast have been reported from Sofia.

Newly organized bands of Rumanian guerrillas are reported to be locked in battle with Rumanian Army forces near the Danube's Iron Gate at the junction of Hungary and Serbia, and in the Rumanian-Bulgarian frontier districts of Craiova and Silistra.

A large force of Italians are now fighting with the Partisans against the Germans in Yugoslavia. Other Italian guerrilla contingents are mobilizing in the Apennine mountains in Italy. Puppet Fascist officials in German-occupied northern Italy are withholding food rations from the families of known Italian guerrillas.

Millions of Expatriates -- Europe's New War Problem

By Edith Kane

In the N. Y. Times of Nov. 11 there appeared a small box of finely printed figures from which the anguished moans of millions of suffering humanity seemed almost audible. The item reported an official document of the Allied governments estimating the number of homeless or displaced persons scattered over Europe. The grand total listed officially exceeds 21 million, but as the statistics were being compiled, many more millions were uprooted from their homes, and the latest estimate is advanced to 30 million, with the total still growing.

Thirty million men, women and children — almost the equivalent of the population of Britain — bled white by five years of starvation, disease and war, have been torn from their native lands and shipped like cattle hundreds of miles away as prisoners or slaves. These 30 million lives are war casualties which do not appear on the official casualty lists, but their plight is the direct responsibility of those who have unleashed the second world holocaust.

And how do the "democratic" Allies propose to treat these victims? Quintin Hogg, a young Tory member of the British House of Commons, an authoritative spokesman for the ruling class, presents in the October issue of Foreign Affairs an illuminating picture of the nightmare that the capitalist class has in preparation for Europe:

"Droves of expatriated workers will roam far and wide without the means of livelihood. Towns will have been battered. Food supplies will have been disorganized. Epidemic disease will probably appear on an enormous scale.

"All Europe, as well as Germany, will be in confusion. . . . Always there will be an insistent cry for food. Homeless people will demand houses. War prisoners and foreign workers from German factories will ask care and lodging on their way home in places which cannot accommodate them. Factories will be closed. Chaos will reign everywhere. . . . It is idle to pretend that this period of chaos will prove short."

And the solution? "The one sure source of food," Hogg says, "will be the United Nations Relief Organizations. The one instrument of political security will be the authority of the victorious powers. . . . Some," he adds, "will not like the policy they entail. All will have to accept it."

That is where Mr. Quintin Hogg and the other would-be planners make a mistake. The oppressed, exploited, war-ravaged masses of Europe will fight to regain and establish real homelands and win freedom from war and freedom from want by fighting to build a Socialist United States of Europe.

Bosses Drop Safety Rules in Mad Drive for Profits

By Grace Carlson

The capitalist press, radio and movies are filled with stories of the patriotism, ingenuity and initiative of the shipyard owners because of the number of ships which their yards are turning out for the U. S.

Very little is said by these capitalist publicity men about the enormous profits which the shipyard magnates are making in this war. Nothing at all is told of the price which the shipyard workers are paying for the speed-up in construction schedules. Numerous articles in medical journals, however, relate the grim story of the mounting number of casualties among the shipyard workers.

Dr. Phillip Drinker of the Harvard School of Public Health, recently published the results of a survey which he and Dr. John Roche made for the U. S. Navy and U. S. Maritime Commission in shipyards with government contracts.

Hundreds of cases of lead poisoning were found among shipyard welders. Dr. Drinker attributed this to the fact that now metal plates are often painted with red lead in the yards in order to keep fast construction schedules, whereas this painting job was formerly done after the plates were in their final position. Workers who weld these painted surfaces without special protection against the poisonous metal fumes suffered from lead poisoning. In one yard, it was reported that nearly every welder working on such painted surfaces was ill at one time or another with slight or major symptoms of lead poisoning.

Flash burns of the eyes of shipyard welders and others working near the welding operations are increasingly frequent. Very little safety equipment is provided to protect workers from the welding glare.

It is up to the workers themselves, organized in their trade unions, to fight for efficient protective equipment and safe working conditions.

Vinson Warns Masses Must Assume Heavier Tax Load

The Investment Bankers Association met in annual convention last week to consider how Big Business is faring in the war, and to plan further extension of the profits of the monopoly banks and corporations in the coming year. Roosevelt sent his personal appointee Fred M. Vinson, Director of Economic Stabilization, to assure the bankers that their interests are being fully protected by the Administration.

Did Roosevelt's man Friday tell the bankers that the money changers had to be driven out of the temple? No. Vinson proposed to the bankers a "courageous" program of taxation to be imposed on the millions of industrial and white collar workers and the ranks of the middle class.

"Four-fifths of the national income," Vinson asserted, "is held by individuals earning \$5,000 a year or less, and if purchasing power is to be siphoned off from those levels where inflationary pressures are greatest, it must be drawn from these income groups."

After ten years of Roosevelt's "battle" against Big Business and his honey campaign on behalf of the "forgotten man," Roosevelt winds up by granting the bankers and the billion-dollar corporations their largest profits in the history of American industry, and by imposing on the "forgotten man" the most outrageously high taxes since the founding of this country.