**Paris Commune** - SEE PAGE 3 -

# THE MILITANT PUBLISHED IN THE INTERESTS OF THE WORKING PEOPLE

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# Fraternal Body **Supports Fight** To Free The 18

**Reading Railroad Union Leaders Join** Protest in Labor's Ranks Against Jailings

NEW YORK CITY — The Workmen's Circle, In Northern Italy biggest labor fraternal organization in the United Brave Nazi Terror States, last week gave vigorous endorsement to the national campaign of the Civil Rights Defense Committee to free the 18 prisoners in the Minneapolis Labor case. In a letter to all branches, J. Baskin, General Secretary of the Workmen's Circle, wrote:

"At a meeting of the National Executive Committee of the Workmen's Circle, held on Feb. 6, 1944, it was decided to endorse the work of the **Civil Rights Defense Com**mittee, which has undertaken to provide defense and relief for the 18 Minneapolis union and socialist leaders and their families. The work of the **Civil Rights Defense Committee** is essential for political and civil liberty. We appeal to the Branches of the Workmen's Circle to give their moral and every financial support to the efforts of the above mentioned Committee.'

#### **RAIL UNIONS PROTEST**

The Civil Rights Defense Committee is circularizing the 850 Workmen's Circle branches throughout the country with an appeal for financial aid.

In a joint letter to the CRDC a group of railroad union leaders union sponsors of this affair infrom the important rail center of Reading, Pa. also registered their protest against the frameup and jailing of the 18. Their letter states in part: "To convict and imprison trade unionists and members of a minority political party not for what they did, but solely for their beliefs, is contrary to every principle of democracy the CRDC's campaign were reand in violation of the Bill of

Rights." Among the signers who alled upon President Roosevel

**CRDC TOUR** George Novack, Secretary of the Civil Rights Defense Committee this week, starts upon his national speaking tour in behalf of the 18 prisoners in the Minneapolis Labor Case. On March 16-17 he will be in Rochester, N. Y.; on March 18-19 in Buffalo, N. Y. The following week he is scheduled to speak in Youngstown, Akron and Cleveland.

During his tour, which will last for over three months, the **CRDC** Secretary will address audiences in the principal cities from coast to coast. Watch for his appearance in your city.

wife of one of the 18 prisoners, were the principal speakers at a Philadelphia CRDC last Tuesday. aid of the CRDC meant to the prisoners, and their wives and

children who are receiving regular monthly relief allotments from DEFY ULTIMATUM the defense committee. Local

cluded President Michael Harris troops in Lombardy, met with rep-Union Council, Robert Parker, Area Director of the National CIO War Relief Committee, and Franz Daniels, General Organizer of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America-CIO. A number of pledges of support to ceived.

Miss Carey also addressed a

# **Biggest British Strike Since 1926;** Italian Masses Defy Nazi Ultimatum

# **Striking Millions**

By RALPH GRAHAM Bloody repressions by the German Wehrmacht and Fascist cut-throats have failed utterly to quench the spreading fires of revolution in Northern

Italy where millions of workers are engaged in a life-and-death struggle against the Nazi oppressors and their Italian henchmen. On March, 10, with the flames of mass working-class action leaping ever higher, the capitalist press threw the blanket of

censorship over the momentous Italian events and no news has appeared since. But before the censors clamped down on this mighty battleground of the class struggle, sufficient had been reported to show that Italy's heroic working-class, far from capitulating before the Nazi terror, were continuing the struggle with the greatest determination.

On March 7, German machinegun squads took up posts in the labor luncheon given by the streets of Milan, Turin and other industrial centers, ready to back Myra Russel told how much the good and it with gunfire an ultimatum to 6,000,000 striking workers to return to their jobs by 8 a.m. the following day.

At the same time, General Zimresentatives of the workers in an effort to avert a showdown at arms. Piero Parino, Fascist provincial chief, informed Zimmerman that despite radio appeals, work-

ers in 43 provinces would defy the ultimatum to return to work.

to grant pardon to the Min- tional Association for the Ad- as a condition of work resumpto grant pardon to the Min-neapolis prisoners were Clarence Vice - Chairman the issues involved in the Min-the issues involved in the Min-the issues involved in the Min-Feriagame, Vice-Chairman the issues involved in the Min- resulted, not in surrender, but in labor party. Machinists Union, Berkshire Local neapolis Labor Case. Among the a series of counter-demands by 682; John Torchia, Local Chair- prominent Philadelphia leaders the workers shows how deeply man, Blacksmiths Union, Local who have recently endorsed the the proletariat has been stirred work of the CRDC are Theodore and what great reserves of revo-



The Workers' Front

# New Political Party Launched At Michigan Labor Conference

**By John Saunders** 

DETROIT, Mich. - 415 delegates from 85 CIO and AFL unions of Michigan representing a total membership of over 225,000 responded to the call of the Michigan Committee for the promotion of a Farmer-Labor Party and sent delegations to the study conference at the Book-Cadillac hotel on Saturday and Sunday, March 4 and 5. More than two-thirds of the delegates came from UAW-CIO locals.

This splendid turnout is all the more significant since all of the organizations that participated in the conference braved the antagonistic pressure and opposition of the whole national and state CIO top officialdom.

Indicating the grim determination of the workers to continue and women that gathered to-ation of the workers to continue and women that gathered tothe fight against the Nazi-Fascist gether at the Book-Cadillac second chaired by Frank Mar-oppressors, the workers' represquart, Educational Director of the Ford River Rouge Local 600 Round in Its Fight

# **English Capitalists Alarmed By Display Of Miners' Power**

Welsh Workers Lead Struggle; Ignore Pleas **Of Strikebreaking Stalinist Union Heads** 

#### **By Art Preis**

MARCH 13. - Britain's ruling class stands panic-stricken as over 100,000 striking coal miners enter the second week of their militant struggle, the greatest demonstration of British working class power since the 1926 General strike. The majority of the South Wales miners, who represent the heart of the strike movement, at rank and file pit head meetings today rejected the demands of their treacherous leaders that they resume work. These leaders over the week-end

sought to drum up a back-to- | This upsurge of class struggle, work vote with frantic patriotic which comes in the fifth year of appeals and glib promises that the war and on the eve of the all the miners' demands will be European continent, has a progranted after they return to found political significance, not work. But the labor bureau- lost on the British capitalists. crats have, for the time being, lost all control of the situation. The rank and file members are 1943 witnessed the greatest numighting mad.

The strike was launched early last week by 85,000 workers in of acute labor dissatisfaction has the key South Wales collieries and quickly spread with thousands of other miners walking out all over England and Scotland. The conflagratory sweep of this struggle in Britain's most vital hysterical and fear-ridden agitation by the entire capitalist press.

IMMEDIATE CAUSE

sulting slap in the face.

full intensity last week.

The immediate provocation of for their future under continued the strike was the refusal of the capitalist control of the mines. Churchill government to redress After years of grinding poverty the grievances of the miners and mass unemployment before arising out of the Porter Com- the war, the miners find that five mission awards. While the coal years of war which have enriched operators have been piling up the coal owners, have brought monumental profits through big them only the barest existence price boosts and fat government despite long hours, speedup and subsidies, the government com- the increasing hazards of work mission, headed by Lord Porter, in the mines. And ahead of the last January brushed aside the mine workers lies another bleak

full-scale Allied invasion of the The present coal strike is the culmination of a growing labor upsurge in England, which in ber of strikes and strikers since the 1926 conflict. This evidence found direct political reflection

in the mounting resistance to the Tory-Labor political truce. Independent candidates, tearing up the coalition agreement, have won sweeping victories in recent imindustry immediately evoked portant by-elections over the Tory-coalition candidates. The miners themselves are

fighting with such a sense of immediacy and urgency out of fear

Local 652; Giuseppe A. Befano, NAACP, Frank E. Ritter, Chair-President Brotherhood of Maintenance of Way Employees Lodge ware County Industrial Union 2780; George K. Oarsons, Vice Council, Rev. Douglas Horton, Local Chairman Boilermakers Congregational Christian Chur-Local 560.

#### LABOR LUNCHEON

Carolyn Carey, CRDC regional representative, and Myra Russel,

**URW MEMBERS FIGHT AGAINST NEW DALRYMPLE EXPULSIONS** 

AKRON, O., Mar. 9 - The W. L. B. by the Labor conciliastrike of tire builders at the Gen- tor, John R. Steelman. The WLB eral Tire and Rubber Company | sent telegrams ordering all workwas answered by punitive action ers back to work, and threatened on the part of the United Rubber to call in the armed forces to Workers International General break the strike.

Executive Board last Monday. The stormy situation at the Gen-They expelled Howard Haas and eral local promises to continue Ray Sullivan, leaders of a rank unabated as the International and file opposition group. The Board members follow one dictaopposition group had fought Sher- torial action with another. In exman Dalrymple's previous bu- pelling Haas and Sullivan, the reaucratic action in expelling 72 most authoritative spokesmen of band builders for participation in the membership were hit. an alleged "wildcat" strike.

After a week of deliberation, the General Executive board voted proof in itself of the sentiments to reinstate 62 of 69 bandbuilders of the rank and file. Despite Dalwho had been fired several weeks rymple's threats and regardless ago from their jobs as a result of his strong-arm methods, the of Dalrymple's dictatorial expulsions. This retreat was due to a maintain the democratic rights campaign of growing proportions guaranteed under the constitution against Dalrymple's arbitrary of the URW. moves against the militant membership of the General local.

But the URW board accompanied its capitulation in the cases of the 62 workers, who were reinstated and put back to work with full seniority rights, with expulsion of Haas and Sullivan, both former General local presidents, on the grounds of "disruptive activity." The expulsion of the two was met with a strike of tire builders, which spread throughout the General Tire and Rubber Company plant.

The strike was referred to the ion.

tary Railway Carmen of America Spaulding, President of the tutionary energy it possesses. man, Legislative Committee Dela- a UP dispatch from the Italo-

ches of the USA, Rev. Marshall L. Shepard, Mt. Olivet Tabernacle stuffs and a curtailment of prices. be done before a slate of candi- PANEL REPORTS

(Continued on page 2)

The five demands, as listed in Swiss frontier, were:

Baptist Church, and Edith M.

for active military service. 3. An end to the shipment of Italian technicians to Germany. 4. Reduction of curfew hours in principal Italian cities. 5. Immediate liberation and return to Italy of thousands of top CIO leadership. The panel re-

(Continued on page 4)

#### SENIORITY AND THE DRAFT

Col A. V. McDermott, New York City Selective Service Director, last week instructed employers in his area to disregard seniority provisions of union contracts by laying off draft-eligibles first, regardless of their length of employment in a given plant. The effect of the new pol-

The fact that their expulsion was met by another strike is icy, which applies to more than 700 New York City war plants, will be to nullify the contractual seniority rights for men between the ages of membership is determined to 18 and 38 who do not have a 4F status.

In his announcement, Col. McDermott stated that "we Dalrymple is now faced with a cannot be concerned with sendilemma. He cannot expel all iority questions as the dethe General workers. Should he mands of the armed forces

expel additional workers as must be met." "ringleaders" of this latest It is clear that this ruling strike, he risks provoking anestablishes a precedent enablother and even more serious ing the government to wipe out strike. Meanwhile, the company, by edict the chief means for growing bolder by the hour, has protecting workers from arincreased its campaign of intimidation and provocation.

The events thus far have demonstrated to the hilt that the URW membership is prepared to fight the attempt to impose a dictatorial regime on the rubber unHotel and elaborated further

#### NECESSARY SPADE WORK

Although everyone at the conference realized in the words of Chairman Matthew Hammond, President of Local 157, UAW- under the direction of Brendan a OP dispatch from the Italo-<br/>Swiss frontier, were:CIO, that "now is the time" to<br/>build a new party, the panel re-<br/>ports all indicated that a lot ofSexton, International Represen-<br/>tative, UAW-CIO, studied the<br/>problems "Looking Toward Elec-1. Immediate improvement inports all indicated that a lot ofstudied the<br/>problems tions." quantity and quality of food- spade work would still have to

2. Withdrawal of the order dates could be run. The emphasis calling up the classes of 1924-25 was placed on winning the support of many more mass organizations, especially the CIO opinion, the delegates neverunions. It was realized that inbeen done in key UAW-CIO locals

fight directly into those union locals where the official leadertendency of the temporary of- labor party clubs and caucuses

ficers to weight the scale in favor of non-union organizations, as was done in the issue of the Call to the Study Conference, the panel recommendations rejected this manner of representation and the nature of the organizations involved. In this way the unions will be accorded their just repre-

#### **REAL BUSINESS**

sentation.

Larrie Piercey, member of the clash between William Z. Fos-Executive Board of the Michigan ter, national chairman and Earl and Greater Detroit Council of Browder, national secretary, Tucker P. Smith, Vice-president over the application of the new of Michigan CIO, and David line of the Stalinists was pub- for cooperation with any and all Lewis, National Secretary of the lished in the capitalist press Cooperative Commonwealth Fed- last week. According to the reeration of Canada, the delegates got down to the real business of ports, the rift occurred over Browder's recent proposal to the conference.

The conference divided itself dissolve the Communist Party bitrary discharges and anti-labor discrimination. It would practically every delegate par-cational" society to preach the have the further effect of ticipating. The first discussion permitting the government to panel was headed by Willard glory of the "free enterprise" abrogate union contracts generally under a protext of wartime "necessity."

under the guidance of Professor Wesley Maurer, of the Depart-Second class mailing rights ment of Journalism of the Univer-

are restored to The Militant, sity of Michigan, dealt with effective as of this issue, by "Looking Toward Party By-Laws order of the Postmaster Genand Constitution"; and the fourth eral's office, the paper's Busi-Sexton, International Represenness Manager was informed March 3, 1943, after a number

Although the panel discussions of issues had previously been disclosed many differences of confiscated and destroyed by theless arrived at certain clear- Post Office officials.

sufficient organization work had cut conclusions accepted by the The Militant is informed, howoverwhelming majority of the ever, that the postal authorities aggressive than the previous one. be expected to provide in peaceto combat the opposition of the participants. Panel Number 1 will continue to hold up the mail. The counter-pressure and threats time?" urged recruitment for the new ing of each issue before final disports proposed plans to carry the party among diversified organiza- patch in order to permit the Solitions, especially "labor, farm, citor of the Post Office Departsmall business, profession, racial ment to determine its "mailabilship was opposed to an inde- and minority and religious." It ity" in conformity with postal regpendent labor party. Despite the laid the groundwork for forming ulations.

A letter from Third Assistant

(Continued on page 2)

# The Stalinist Bureaucrats And Their adhered to the more democratic method of apportionment accord-ing to numbers integration of Policy Of Cooperation With Wall Street

By R. Bell

Stalin regime in the Soviet Union, they could not condone cooperalike Henry Ford." Browder stood "clear headed Wall Street busi- thoroughly corrupted monolithic American capitalists, including ness men" who supported the departy, that its National Chairman Girdler, Ford and the NAM.

cisions (as yet unpublished) of must rush into print with a the Teheran conference. The day after the appearance for a "clarification" of "questions tools and stooges of Big Busiof these reports, the Daily Worker of secondary importance." into four study panels, with by converting it into an "edu- published a front page statement No one should entertain any ilby Foster deprecating the "florid lusions however about Foster's imagination of the writers on cer- rebeiling against the "Teheran"

tain New York newspapers in policy, enunciated in Browder's about a "change" in policy Martinson, Educational Director system of monopoly capitalism. conjuring up imaginary struggles Madison Square Garden speech. and break here and now with of the Ford Bomber Local 50 The nature of the difference within the leadership of the Com- William Z. Foster is an old case the treacherous and reactionary UAW-CIO. It drew up recom- was indicated by the March 9 munist Party." Foster insisted hardened and cynical bureaucrat. Stalinist movement.

demands and vista of economic crisis and even established a minimum wage of worse conditions of unemployonly 5Lbs. (\$20) a week for inside | ment and starvation wages. workers and 4 Lbs. 10 shillings

NO ORDINARY STRIKE (\$18.50) for surface workers.

"This is no ordinary strike," This represents only a fraction of the minimum wage increase reveals the N. Y. Times corsought, and provides no raises respondent writing from Wales. for most of the miners, who work "For the sake of the record, of on piece rates. In addition, the course, there is a dispute over award allowed no differentials the wages and allowances set for skilled men and those with forth in the Lord Porter award ... long experience and ignored the But the trouble goes much last Friday in a letter from the demands for health and safety deeper . . . back to the last war New York City postmaster. conditions. To the miners the and before that . . . back to the These rights were cancelled on Porter award was simply an in- black days of unemployment, shocking working conditions and No sooner was the Porter bad pay... The feeling is taking award announced than one local root that if Government cannot mine strike after another broke control the mining industry at a out. Each succeeding strike has crucial moment in world history, been more extensive, feverish and what measure of direction can it

> of the government and mine Behind the dispute over the owners, and the exhortations of Porter wage award lies a more the treacherous union officials, fundamental-the real-issue of all failed to quell the fury of the the strike. That is the desperate miners that finally blazed in its need and desire of the miners for organization and operation of

This fury springs from a far the mining industry in a manner deeper source than the immediate

(Continued on page 4) issue that provoked the strike.

N. Y. Times, which reported that | that there was no "struggle" over | As long ago as 1928, he told CP Foster, supported by Sam Darcy, the "main line." "Such discussions members in personal conversation The Communist Party has a member of the national com- of it as have developed within the that Trotsky had the only correct become so totalitarianized that mittee, had "declared that while party do not touch upon the main communist program. Foster reeven the hint of a difference of they would be willing to cooper-line," says Foster, "but turn about mained faithful however to the ate with the 'liberal capitalists' the further clarification of ques- Stalinist bureaucracy, because After listening to the opening opinion in the leadership is con- like Thomas W. Lamont, head of tions of secondary importance." Stalin had the machine and Foster addresses of Matthew Hammond, sidered news. Reports of a J. P. Morgan and Co., who has Such "questions of secondary im- hoped to become the "beloved taken a friendly position to the portance" presumably, as whether leader" of the American CP. Since the Stalinists are to cooperate then, for nearly 20 years, Foster with the "bad reactionary" as has gone along with every Stalintion with 'reactionary capitalists' well as "good liberal" capitalists. ist betrayal and sell-out, as he Things have come to such a will go along with the latest propass in this thoroughly rotted, posal to lie down in bed with the

> Stalinist workers, who do not public apology for having asked want to become strike-breaking ness, whether of the "good" or "bad" variety; who are genuinely indignant at the latest betrayal, had better give up all illusions

#### (Continued on page 2)

representative of the steel com-

Stephens argued that the steel

union demand for a 17 cents-an-

hour wage boost was "delibera-

tely" aimed at smashing the "na-

on the Little Steel formula, and

contended that the panel hearings

were not the place "in which to

determine a change in the nation-

of the fact that the only function

of the WLB is to administer the

wage freeze and prevent the

granting of any wage increases

President Philip Murray, how-

above the Little Steel formula.

the work of the panel or en-

interminable squabble over pro-

from taking direct militant action.

mazes leading only to a dead-

\* \* \*

end.

cedure and "jurisdiction."

stoppage of work.'

Of course, everyone is aware

al stabilization policy."

Steelworkers of America.

By Joseph Keller

The current War Labor Board of the rank and file against the

panel hearings on the steel work- inhuman and dictatorial treat-

ers' wage demands have been a ment of the veterans of this war.'

farce from the start. The first This is a preview of the kind

panies to appear before the are going to get once they return

panel, John A. Stephens, a U. S. to the production lines. That's

Steel Corporation vice-president, really what the bosses mean

flatly disputed the right of the when they prate about "nothing

crease for the 750,000 workers The company has fired 10 work-

represented by the CIO United ers who participated in the

ever, took the occasion to defend committee's revelation about the

these farcical hearings and reas- Liberty ships, scores of which

sert his anti-strike policy, stating have cracked up at sea because of

courage in any way whatever a none-too-sensitive capitalist poli-

At this same hearing, a spokes- statement that he rose to vouch

man for 500 steel fabricating for the "soundness" of these

companies disputed the right of ships because a scandal about

the panel to consider the demands them might be used "to smear the

were not "basic steel." Other Probably some of Curran's own

stalling points of procedure were union members have died in these

introduced by the panel chairman. crackups. Certainly, union seamen

He wants the steel workers to members and the testimony of

sit back passively and watch fellow CIO unionists mean nothing

the government and corporation to a lickspittle Stalinist bureau-

shysters shunt their demands crat who wants to demonstrate

through all the WLB twists and his reliability to the capitalists.

charges, provoked a heated session | the number cast for the CIO.

it was not his purpose to "obstruct defective construction.

of their workers because they administration."

effort to prevent the workers ship construction.

nanel even to consider a wage in- is too good for our heroes."

of treatment the worker-soldiers

demonstration. But the union's

international officials, through a

statement of President R. J

the discharged workers and have

and effective action" against

them. The statement acknow-

ledges the provocations of the

company, but directs the work-

ers, in effect, to submit uncon-

Joseph Curran, Stalinist head

Union, appeared before a Truman

Senate Committee hearing last

week and tried to discount the

Curran nauseated even the

of the CIO National Maritime Michigan movement.

ditionally to the company.

# TRADE UNION New Party Launched In Michigan NOTES Notes of my (Continued from page 1) de the body that in some and

# Highlights Of The Labor Conference

When David Lewis contrasted derstood. David Lewis's referthe sumptuous surrondings of the ence to "those who have recently Book-Cadillac Hotel to the rickety dissolved themselves into a study "that the way to recruit farmers for the panel reports and discusframe building where the CCF group for the promulgation of is to help farmers organize into sion started on that basis. When held its founding conference in the ideas of big business" needed their basic economic organiza- the delegates finally had an op- August, 1943, the representatives have been deliberately falsified. Canada, Tucker P. Smith replied no further explanation. Like- tions. All possible help should be portunity to digest the substitute of Canadian big business have In one instance, a CCF leader in that the Book-Cadillac had been wise his allusion to "those left- given such organizations as the" rented not for its elegance but wingers who are only one yard because it afforded the largest to the left of the extreme right floor space available. wing.'

Later' a woman delegate was Anyone who signed a pledge overheard to explain that the study conference would not have card stating that he favored been held on "the largest floor building an independent party of Thomas, have refused to defend space available," were it not for labor now, was eligible to register the well-organized trade unions as a delegate and participate in tional stabilization policy" based called on the local to take "drastic in Michigan, many of whom fin- all the proceedings of the study anced large delegations to the conference. This did not prevent conference. She pointed out that | Nat Ganley, the Stalinist whip the CCF, founded 12 years ago, in the UAW, from attempting to was forced by circumstances to butt in at the Sunday afternoon find its base among farmers and general assembly. Announcing himself as a deleworkers who were as yet unor-

ganized. In this difference lay a gated observer from Local 155, he factor wholly advantageous to the asked for the floor and was told he could have it upon signing 48-hour work week during the

the pledge card and paying his Among the large UAW locals registration fee of \$1.50. Ganley retired momentarily to read the pledge, but was soon back asking for a point of special privilege. In spite of derisive laughter and cries of "Sit down" from the delegates, he again took the floor to propose that instead of the pledge adhered to by all

the other delegates, he be given farmers. While there was much healthy the floor on the basis that he discussion and disagreement had supported the Farmer-Labor among the delegates, on one point Party in 1936 and was willing to do so again in 1944 should conditions similar to 1936

"You don't get the floor" said and misery which capitalism holds for the rest of the conference.

tions, the presiding officers be a pledge to abide by the prokept reminding the delegates of gram of the party."

movement for independent labor middle class elements and grouppolitical action may soon be ings which "must not be alien- party shall not have a candidate doubting the wisdom of bucking ated. There are loads of people the tide. Tracy Doll, head of in Michigan," they said, the Progressive Labor League don't belong to unions." Tucker P. Smith came to the mike at the close of the confer-

ex-marines with medical dis- ing 267,118 total votes, or half thinking now in terms of action The panel recommendations also and results. Where did he tell declared "that between candithroughout as observers. on March 8 between several Independent or unaffiliated thoroughly reactionary the delegates to go for aid? "Go dates of other parties, this party,

policies of the present leadership in its recommendation that "in

organizations where official opposition is met, steps should be taken to form new party promotion groups." It further stated recommendations were substituted Farmers' Union."

built it." Special stress was the present government-owned to the monopolists. Among the recommendations brought in by this discussion group as a basis around which to rally Michigan workers, farmers and soldiers were the following: A guaranteed war; After the war a five-day, six hour wage week with adequate pay; Against the National Service Act; Compulsory Vacations with pay; Confiscation of all war profits; Union wages for soldiers NEW NAME Full democratic rights for sol-

diers; Genuine Collective Bargaining, doing away with the War Labor Board; Crop insurance for

CONVENTION SET Panel Number 3 recommended that a call for a Constitutional Convention be issued as soon as possible. The full conference later made the period more specific, within seven months. The panel proposed the basis of representation of 100 or less and one delegate for every additional thousand or major fraction thereof. The structure of the new party was to be "a federation of

organizations, of party clubs and is further recommended that the sole requirement for membership

The last panel which discussed elections recommended that "this for the office of the President' of the United States" in the coming election. It recommended the gathering of petitions to place the new party on the state and local ballot, pending the call for actively participated at the conference. The Militant may now be purchased at

SHOWED RESENTMENT

Before the delegates had an opportunity to comprehend what was taking place, the over-all

Nat Grey, Educational Director the part of the presiding com- dian working class. of B-Building, Local 600 UAW- mittee and laid the report on the "taking control of economy from chairmen however had disapwas present to present his panel's that the Recommendations Com<sub>7</sub> were not to be turned over five recommendations, the first history of eastern Canada that one being not to run a presi- labor has turned so sharply dential candidate for 1944. The against the capitalist parties. conference accepted this recommendation almost unanimously be-| September 1939, the organization strength reveals. cause of the impracticability of of the workers in industry has running a presidential candidate proceeded at an ever increasing in one state. On a question asked tempo as a result of the enormby Paul Silver, Sexton stated that ous expansion of Canadian indusendorsement of Roosevelt.

> been expended over procedure, talists, in a frenzy of fear, have organizations and they water imposed a series of vicious antithat after the conference acted on this panel report, there was labor laws designed to protect in an effort to gain the support little time left to consider the their profits and saddle the workother panel reports point by ers with the whole cost of the war.

point. Since the second panel report was not mimeographed there was no way for the conference forts to maintain even the presall report. During the discussion on the over-all recommendations, rank and file delegates stressed their fight is on the political as party groups in unions where the is evidenced by the preponderofficial leadership was in opposi- ance of CCF candidates elected tion to the new party and calling and the heavy CCF vote in the upon the State-wide Committee | industrial areas. Another significant feature of to establish subcommittees for that purpose. The Chairman the election was the vote of the assured the delegates that this armed forces. The CCF received proposal was embodied in the an even higher percentage here

report. After a heated discussion the conference voted to accept the name Michigan Commonwealth Federation instead of the Farmerinfluence of the CCF whose national secretary was present and

242 Broadway, San Diego, Cal.

by C. Charles

Order from

OFL

WHAT'S



Since the election for the On-| (Nazi) and a totalitarian party. tario provincial legislature in Speeches made by CCF leaders report, they openly displayed shown their panic at the growing the west stated that those who resentment at this maneuver on class consciousness of the Cana- refused to obey CCF legislation would be dealt with by the police

In this election, the Co-opera- and the military. He was quoted CIO, reporting for the second table in order to take up the tive Commonwealth Federation as saying that those who are oppanel, voiced the necessity of panel reports. Most of the panel secured thirty-four seats in a posed to the CCF would be shot. house of eight-five. Of the re- At the same time the big corthe exploiters by the people who peared and only Brendan Sexton maining seats, the Conservative porations and banks have pub-Party holds thirty-five, the Liblished hundreds of advertisements placed on the proposition that recommendations. Sexton stated erals thirty-six and the Labor and pamphlets extolling the vir-Progressive (Stalinist) Party, tues of free enterprise. What the and government - financed plants mittee had omitted two of his two. This is the first time in the ruling class fears primarily is not the spineless leadership and reformist program of the CCF but the radicalization of the Canadian workers which its growing Since the outbreak of war in

> The course taken by the CCF leadership in the face of these reactionary assaults clearly indicates the recommendation of the panel try. The Canadian Congress of the path of betrayal they would not to run a presidential candi- Labor, CIO, has increased its follow if elected to power. Indate could not be construed as membership since 1940 from 55,- stead of mobilizing the working class to come to their support 000 to 250,000. The AFL and the Catholic syndicates in Quebec against the class enemy, they province have had a correspondtour the country addressing Ro-So much time had previously ing growth. The Canadian capi- tary clubs and similar bourgeois down their already weak program of the middle class. The recent statement of David Lewis, the national secretary of the party, that under a CCF government

> The workers finding their ef-Canada would be such a well orto pass on it. The delegates were | ent living standard opposed not | dered country that American capithus forced to take up the over- only by the bosses but by the tal would flow in and be paid a whole power of the capitalist good rate of interest makes amstate, have become conscious that | ply clear how far these "socialists" will go to convince the the necessity of building pro-labor well as the economic front. This capitalists that they are respectable and trustworthy.

Nevertheless, support of the CCF is a tremendous step forward in the development of the Canadian labor movement. The Canadian Congress of Labor has endorsed the party as the political arm of labor and many unions have al-

ready affiliated. It is the duty han in the civilian vote. The alarm of the ruling class of advanced Canadian workers to support this movement, to work for manifested itself immediately. the conversion of the CCF into The kept press unleashed broada mass party based on the trade sides of slanderous and scurril-Labor designation thus far used. ous editorials. They proved to unions, and to formulate and fight This was undoubtedly due to the their own satisfaction that the for a militant and aggressive So-CCF is a National Socialist cialist program of action.



Chrysler Local 490 from Detroit, and locals 599 and 659 from ticians of the committee with his Flint. \* \* \* there was complete unanimity: that post-war problems demanded

\* \* \*

represented at the conference

were Locals 50, 400, 600, and 900,

comprising the Ford group; also

amalgamated tool an die Local

157, Briggs Local 212 and

In this fashion, the steel negotia- have testified to the committee tions have bogged down into an that "they'll never get me on another Liberty ship." The CIO shipbuilding workers union, re-The WLB industry members presenting the men who build the in store for them, they must take and the steel corporation spokes- Liberty ships has run lengthy exmatters into their own hands. men are contesting the power of posures in its official organ, the the WLB even to consider the Shipyard Worker, of the deliberate

steelworkers' demands. But Mur- profiteering practices at the ray is playing the burlesque Kaiser shipyards which have through to the end, in a frantic resulted in dangerous Liberty home on leave. But the lives of his own union

The CIO and UAW top bur-

The CIO won 1,766 NLRB elecparticipated in the study confertions out of 2,350 contests in ence as a delegate, while John "Disciplinary" suspensions of 1942-1943, polling a total of Gibson, President of the Michigan three Ford Motor Company River 515,271 votes, while the AFL won Rouge plant workers, two of them 1,398 out of 2,018 elections, receiv-

hundred protesting workers and unions participated in 745 electhe company's labor relations of tions, winning 416. Their total movement is apparently well un- plants, and get to work," he cried. of neutrality though it may be ficials. The workers stormed into individual votes numbered 140,the labor relations office and, 780. The CIO surpassed by more

(Continued from page 1)

18 Minneapolis defendants.

SUPPORT CASE

them...

political action which could not be prevail. entrusted to the Democratic or Republican parties. These work- Chairman Hammond, and that er and farmer delegates knew was the last heard from Ganley, that to avoid the unemployment, although he remained to observe

eaucrats, who had denounced the the importance of the diversified

State CIO Council and Richard ence to make a plea that the del- a Constitutional Convention where Leonard, one of the top men of egates go out and recruit new the decision would be made the Reuther caucus, were present members and raise funds. He was what candidates would be run.

role of the Stalinists in the labor back to your unions and your as such, shall adopt an attitude

Among the vitally interested soft pedal the panel reports on visitors at the Saturday afternoon organizing drives among rank of individual membership. And it session was a group of soldiers and file union members. To count-

\* \* : There was a definite tendency evinced by the top committee to

eract these panel recommenda-

mussed it up a bit and gave a of all other unions. dose of tough medicine to a plant These comparative figures reveal the tremendous attraction cop who tried to get rough.

The two marine veterans were of industrial unionism, despite given suspensions for smoking in the do-nothing policies of the CIO a lavatory. According to Joseph leaders. The total vote in favor Twyman, President of Ford Local of unionism generally, in a period 600. UAW-CIO, because of their that has witnessed only retreats nervous condition these ex-serv- on the part of the leadership, Hurley, President, Penna. Assoicemen "need a cigarette once in testifies to the inherent attractive ciation of Teachers of Colored a while." The protest of the work- power and vitality of the Ameri- Children. ers "was the spontaneous reaction | can labor movement.

according to the company version. than 100,000 the combined votes



A worker in one of the big in this week for subscriptions to shipvards in the New York vicin- the paper." Los Angeles — "Al (literature

pended."

ity told us that "The Militant is the best paper in the country" agent) is in bed with a cold so and he wondered why it doesn't I enclose a money order from him sell better. "Maybe," he thought, for two 1-year Militant subscrip-'because it is only four pages." tions." He also told us that he has no-San Francisco — "Enclosed find ticed the distributions at the yard money order for two 6-month rehave had an affect because some newals and one new sub. Read union members who take the floor | your latest list of expired subs show by their remarks that they have been influenced by articles part of these people and have al-

in The Militant. \* \* \*

The following letter was sent the remaining people listed next to us from Plains, MONTANA: Sunday. Needless to say, we are Will you please have the quite proud of our record and

kindness to send me a sample hope that our report will be of copy of The Militant, as I am help to other branches in going deeply interested in the fight for about this work. There is a lot full social, economic and politi- of work involved, but the results cal equality for the colored peo- far outweigh the energy ex-

ple. "I saw the announcement of The Militant in a recent issue of sub . . . During the UAW Educa-The Progressive of Madison, Wis- tional conference here one of our consin. \* \* \*

Two of our agents increased She didn't get his name, but he their bundle orders during the asked that The Militant be sent week, Seattle by 100 copies and him 'on exchange'." Los Angeles by 200 copies.

The following agents sent in subscriptions during the week: Youngstown - "Enclosed you will find a money order for five 6-month subs to The Militant . . Please send us some Militant and F. I. sub blanks."

Detroit - "Enclosed find a money order for \$14 which came

WORKMEN'S CIRCLE ENDORSES CAMPAIGN TO FREE PRISONERS

> you and your Committee the best of luck in your continued efforts

to release the 18."

**Militant Wins** STALINIST SMEAR

A typical Stalinist attempt to mear the Minneapolis prisoners Mailing Rights smear the Minneapolis prisoners was exposed and rebuffed by the (Continued from page 1)

Crucible Steel Local 2149, United Steel Workers of America-CIO. Postmaster General Ramsey S. Without the knowledge or ap- Black to the New York City postproval of the union leadership or master states in part: "You have membership, the Stalinist A. been authorized to accept for Fishman, former editor of the mailing at publishers' secondlocal union paper, "Steel Front" class pound rates of postage all inserted a slanderous item against issues of 'The Militant' which conthe Minneapolis prisoners. form to the requirements for

In response to a protest from mailable matter. ..."

the Civil Rights Defense Com-The letter also states that the mittee, George P. Masi, Recording Secretary of Local 2149 wrote The Militant at the direction of on March 8: "Our membership is the Post Office authorities reapdeeply resentful of the fact that plied for second-class mailing Mr. A. Fishman utilized our good rights, to March 4, 1944 "have name and our local paper for been examined . . . and since the propagation of his own views none of these issues have been - we have already seen a good and for his own personal gain. held to be non-mailable, ad-Our Executive Board has removed mission of the publication is behim as Editor, and is recommending authorized in the accompanying his expulsion from the Local. ing communication... However... I trust that this information will such authorization is revocable

assure you that Local 2149 does upon determination by the Depart not share the views of Mr. A. ment that the publication does Fishman, and we deeply regret not conform to the law." the slanderous reference to the

This is amplified by the letter from the local postmaster which states that "you are also informed that . . . the instructions of

"Moreover, at our regular mem-The Solicitor for The Post Office bership meeting of Feb. 17, the Department to withhold all cocase of the 18 was taken up, your pies of each issue for advice as letter and the statement of Irving to mailability have not yet been Abramson, President of the N. J. rescinded."

State CIO Council, were read. A The Militant is vigorously motion was made and passed protesting the continuation of this endorsing the statement of Presiarbitrary and discriminatory cendent Abramson, endorsing the sorship, with its threat of further defense of the 18, and urging deprivation of mailing rights. President Roosevelt to pardon The original abrogation of second-class mailing rights was made

"I am sending a copy of this after a hearing before postal auletter to the State President so thorities last March, in which the that he will know that our Local, reasons given for the proposed acrepresenting over 10,000 employes | tion included publication of antiof Crucible Steel Company, Atha administration political comments Works, gladly joins with him and and exposures of government Jimthe State Council in defense of Crow practices and the profiteerthe Minneapolis defendants. I wish ing outrages of Big Business.

mitted to run on more than one ticket. SUBSTITUTE REPORT

critical of all." Under Michigan

state law no candidate is per-

"who

#### All the panel reports were given to the general assembly before the noon recess. They were then to be mimeographed and distributed to the delegates upon

reconvening for discussion and action by the general body. Upon reconvening, however, not all the panel reports were made available to the delegates. The recommendations on the policy and platform were not forthcoming. The typed copy of the report of panels 3 and 4 had several important omissions and changes. Instead of these reports, two typewritten pages of "Recommendations of the Study Conference Recommendation Committee" were distributed to the delegates, supposed to be a condensation of the four panel reports. The wording of these recommendations was so equivocal issues from July 7, 1943, when and full of double meanings that PIONEER PUBLISHERS the delegates had difficulty in understanding them. Many of the



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SATURDAY, MARCH 18, 1944

THE MICITANT

#### The Preacher Takes a Back Seat

\_By Charles Jackson\_

of increasing self-confidence in there were a few exceptions the younger Negro is the very where isolated preachers doubledefinite trend away from the crossed the ruling class by leadchurch. One or two generations | ing revolts and adopting militant most influential institutions in the every-day life of the Negro. where priests of the Catholic The church had a large following Church, (an historic agent of the of all ages and the preacher was ruling class) participated in cerusually the most revered and tain periods, in the revolutionary sands of partisans and underrespected leader in his commun-

ity. Today, the church has very little following among the younghowever, have been and are today er Negroes except in some of the more backward small towns of real fight for equality. the South where no other recreational centers exist. The com- lot is Bishop Gregg, who was their retreats and hiding places,

munity leader now is more often chosen by the War Department an outstanding trade unionist or to visit Negroes in training customarily taken over the graves a progressive professional worker.

This plainly points to the fact and sailors are not accepting destroyed, until their accomplices, that the Negro, in his political without protest the unjust treatgrowth, is passing from adoles- ment meted out to them in this deprived of their rule and until cence to manhood. He is no long- Jim Crow Army and Navy. Yet er willing to take a kicking after his "survey" Bishop Gregg tion is victorious. around and continue praying on had the gall to inform the public bended knees. Instead of waiting that all the boys, in the segrefor some mystic force to hand gated labor battalions, are well him down 'dem golden slippers' satisfied and their morale is high. he is demanding sufficient income In other words, the War Depart- exist for only seventy-one days. ment policy as to treatment of the to buy himself leather shoes he can wear right now. He is saying: "I will take bread today cream. The Bishop serves his for my labor and will not wait for 'pie in the sky when I die'." well.

The common belief that religion is deeply imbedded by nature in. the Negro's mind is a myth. What has happened is that his accomplish in the minority strug- of time, it left a record of mind has been artificially condigle in this country. Negro and tioned by constant religious propaganda forced down his throat church to take the lead in prac- whole world and revealed to all in overdoses from infancy to old ticing the vaunted slogan of mankind what immense vistas lie age. This was done, incidentally, 'brotherhood of man' by abolish- before humanity, once it sucin a methodical way and for a ing segregation within their holy very earthly and materialistic purpose. When the slaves were "White Man's View" devoted his brought to this country 300 or so years ago they knew nothing about the Christian religion. Just tions. What he and others like who determined to wipe it out like the Eskimos, Aztecs and him fail to realize is that the and to efface the memory of its other primitive people, they church as an institution is serving gave a supernatural interpreta- and has always served the interests of the ruling class. The, tion to the phenomena of nature, like thunder, lightning, rain, etc. church does not and can not stand weapon in the hands of the ruling Their tribal dances and other religious expressions stemmed from put its lofty principles into prac- versal arming of the people. It basic impelling interests such as tice on a scale that would be of proclaimed the separation of the hunt, the feast, sex and wars any practical value to the Negro church and state and the nafor existence against competitive or any other oppressed group. It tionalization of all church propertribes.

The missionary activity where-I want equality any more than they all religious bodies. It gave to by they were "converted" to want a workers and farmers gov-popular education a purely Christianity was initiated and ernment because it would endan- secular character by forbidding financed by the slave owning rul- ger their profits and rule. Its religious inculcation in the public ing class. This class was acting property is tax-free, its schools schools. It moved to protect the in its own interests and not in are subsidized by "philanthrop- new government against careerthe interests of the slaves. These ists" and its ministers are built ism and bureaucracy by its decree men knew that the fear of the up as community leaders. In that the highest salary received unknown could be employed as an, return for its subsidized existence by any employe of the Commune, auxiliary method to keep the its policies are about as 'Christ- including the members of the govslaves in bondage. Curiously like' as those of J. P. Morgan. It ernment, could not exceed 6,000

# What The Immortal Paris Commune of 1871 Means To The International Working Class

The Workers in Power

OMMUNE DE PAR

Today, on the seventy-third anniversary of the Paris Commune, the French workers, shackled by the Nazi invaders and betrayed and terrorized by their own capitalist class, are un-One of the unmistakable signs fair, we should mention that able to honor with demonstrations and mass meetings, as is their custom, the memory of the heroic fighters of the Paris Commune. At the end of this May, they will be unable to carry wreaths, as is their custom, to the tombs of the Communards ago the church was one of the methods of struggle. This was who were murdered in the dreadful slaughter of the "May seen on a larger scale in Ireland Week." But we can be certain that the memory of that historic event still burns deeply in the

hearts of the countless thou- turned into the responsible and struggle for Irish freedom. The ground fighters, who are preparmajority of Negro preachers, ing today to follow in the foot-Uncle Toms when it comes to a steps of their gallant forbears. And we can be equally certain The most brazen of the present | that they will, in their homes,

take the oath that they have camps and overseas. All reports of the Communards, to intensify indicate that the Negro soldiers the fight until the Nazis are the French capitalist class, are the cause of the Socialist revolu-

#### PARIS COMMUNE

The Paris Commune, the first workers' government, was able to From the very first day of its Negro soldier is just peaches and birth, it was surrounded on all sides by enemies, who plotted its master, (his earthly one), very destruction. From the very first day of its birth, it was forced to

In connection with the church concentrate most of its energies

as a whole, we find a popular on military preparations and misconception as to what it can defense. Still in that short period achievement and work which inwhite spokesmen are advising the spired the working masses of the ceeds in removing the deadly grip walls. Ted le Berthon, author of of capitalism. By the same token, the Paris Commune aroused the column of March 11 in the Pitts- fiercest hatred on the part of burgh Courier to such admoni- the capitalists all over the world, accomplishments.

The Commune abolished the standing army, the time-honored on its own feet. It is helpless to class, and replaced it by the uniis the agent of those who do not ty. It abolished state support of

at all times revocable agent of the Commune. So were the officials of all other branches of the administration. From the members of the Commune downwards, the public service had to be done at workmen's wages. The vested interests and the representation allowances of the high dignitar ies of State disappeared along with the high dignitaries themselves Public functions ceased to be the private property of the tools of the central government. Not only municipal administration, but the whole initiative hitherto exercised by the State was laid into the hands of the Commune . . . Its true secret was this. It was essentially a workingclass government, product of the struggle of the producing against the appropriating class, the political form at last discovered under which to work out the economical emancipation of labor.

#### RED FLAG

"When the Paris Commune took the management of the revolution into its own hands: when plain workingmen for the first time dared to infringe upon the governmental privilege of their 'natural superiors,' and, under circumstances of unexampled difficulty, performed their work modestly, conscientiously, and efficiently - performed it at salaries the highest of which barely amounted to one-fifth of what, according to high scientific author- Paris Commune had to be crushity, is the minimum required for ed, effaced, drowned in blood. a secretary to a certain metro- The memory of its achievements

politan school board - the old had to be wiped out. The rule of world writhed in convulsions of capitalism was not safe while the talists, agreed to release to them rage at the sight of the red flag, red flag continued to fly over the the French army held captive by the symbol of the republic of la- Paris City Hall. The Commune, the Prussian forces. With this

**The Crisis In Argentina And Socialist Struggle** 

By A. Roland

in Argentina is a fresh illus- deal" involving the purchase of the part of the masses of work- to get rid of the heaps of corpses 1917 of the Workers' State in revolutionary party leading the Land scandals are hardly new in imperialists is a revolt of the working class with the guidance Argentine history, but this one

as president, the veteran socialist are concerned even more in the senator Palacios, brought to light present stalemate over the pos-The present deep-going crisis the facts of the "Palermo land sibility of independent action on

tration of the importance of a land for an airdrome by the army. ers. The last thing desired by the it made after the battle was over! "To find a parallel for the conwould awaken in

army the French bourgeoisie enescape: the same denunciations of tered Paris, and overcame the political and private enemies; resistance of the Communards. the same indifference for the butchery of entire strangers to

BUTCHERY As soon as the capitalist solery of the Parisian proletariat

been witnessed since the days of of 'civilization'." antiquity. The French capitalists determined to teach the proletariat a lesson it would never forget. "It was only after eight days' fighting" Engels relates in his

'that the last defenders of the cre of defenseless men, women, trades. and children, raging all through the week on an increasing scale, reached its zenith. The breech-Federals' at the Pere Lachaise cemetery, where the final mass murder was consummated, is still standing today, a mute but eloquent testimony to the savagery of which the ruling class is capable as soon as the working class dares to come out for its rights. Then came the mass arrests; when the slaughter of them all proved to be impossible,

the shooting of victims arbitrarily and the removal of the rest to

#### LURID LIGHT

trial by courts-martial."

workers, soldiers and intellectuals, who were creating, in the words "The civilization and justice of ourgeois order," Marx wrote, comes out in its lurid light whenever the slaves and drudges of that order rise against their | INSPIRED WORKERS masters. Then this civilization and justice stand forth as undisguised savagery and lawless Bismarck, head of the German class struggle between the appro-Government, witnessing the impopriator and the producer brings tence of the defeated French capiineffable infamy of 1871. The self-sacrificing heroism with showed what kind of a governfor eight days after the entrance the work of building a new of the Versaillese, reflects as socialist society. The Paris Commuch the grandeur of their cause,

the feud. There is but this difference, that the Romans had no diers under General McMahan mitrailleuses for the despatch, in crushed the opposition, a butch- the lump, of the proscribed, and that they had not 'the law in their began, the like of which had not hands,' nor on their lips the cry

-THREE

100,000 VICTIMS

All in all, about 30,000 Parisians were murdered, another 45,000 arrested, many of whom were introduction to Marx's work, afterwards executed, thousands more imprisoned and sent into Commune were overwhelmed on penal servitude or exiled. Paris the heights of Belleville and Me- | lost about 100,000 of its sons, innilmontant; and then the massa- cluding the best workers of all

The working class was of course still very inexperienced. The socialist proletariat was itself loaders could no longer kill fast divided into many sects. Moreenough; the vanquished workers over one of its most important were shot down in hundreds by leaders, Blanqui, was a prisoner mitrailleuse fire. The 'Wall of the in the hands of the capitalists. The Communards committed many important mistakes in their fight with the capitalists.

The fundamental reason however for the vanquishment and obliteration of the Commune is to be found in its historic prematureness. Marx himself established the historic law that no social system passes from the stage until it has exhausted its selected from the prisoners' ranks, progressive potentialities. And capitalism, in the day of the Comgreat camps where they awaited mune, was far from having reached its zenith. In this sense, a workers' government was still historically premature. The French capitalist class, its powers far from exhausted, was able to

drown the Commune in the blood of its heroic fighters.

Despite the brutal crushing of the Paris Commune, its achieverevenge. Each new crisis in the ments inspired the workers throughout Europe. Within a few years, new mass socialist parties out this fact more glaringly. Even arose in the principal countries the atrocities of the Bourgeois in of Europe, able to build on the June 1848 vanish before the foundations erected by the heroic Communards. The Commune which the population of Paris- ment the workers must have in men, women and children-fought order to hold power and begin mune for the first time showed as the infernal deeds of the sol- what the "dictatorship of the diery reflect the innate spirit of proletariat" meant in practice. It that civilization of which they pioneered the struggle, which later saw further development glorious civilization, indeed, the and fulfillment in the construction by Lenin and Trotsky in Russia.

"Working men's Paris, with its luct of Thiers [head of the French | Commune," wrote Marx, "will be



A drawing of the forerunner of the soviets. Here is depicted

a district committee of the Paris Communards, men and women,

of Lenin, "a new type of state-the Workers State."

enough, the non-violence of the can not lead the fight for equal- francs christian gospel was stressed in ity because the policy of its mas- WORKERS' CHARACTER preaching religion to slaves who ter is to divide, exploit and rule. were held in bondage only by Recourse to religion in solving violence.

in "after life" in return for reasoning power of otherwise in-"humble ways" on earth was cal- telligent and conscientious miliculated to lull the exploited peo- tants. If we would become men ple into the belief that laboring we must "put away childish without pay or freedom was a things." Superstition, fear of the great virtue.

The ruling class here, as usual, the traditions of the past must be used members of the oppressed discarded forever. We must step group to carry out the betrayal. forth unhampered - with clear The Negro preacher was built minds and freehands - if we up as the leader of the people in | are to be successful in our strugreturn for selling to his brothers gle for racial equality and freethe 'boss-man's' religion. To be dom.

#### **PIONEER PARAGRAPHS**

### WINNING A POPULAR MAJORITY FOR THE IDEAS OF SOCIALISM

Q: (By Mr. Goldman) What is in American history of a minorthe opinion of Marxists, as far ity refusing to submit to a maas winning a majority of the jority? people to Socialist ideas?

A: (By Mr. Cannon) Yes, that portant one. The conception of certainly is the aim of the party. the Marxist is that, even if the That is the aim of the Marxist transfer of political power from movement, has been from its in- the capitalists to the proletariat ception. Marx said the social re- is accomplished peacefully, then volution of the proletariat - I the minority, the exploiting capithink I can quote his exact words talist class, will revolt against from memory - "is a movement | the new regime, no matter how of the immense majority in the legally it is established. interests of the immense majority." He said this in distinguishing it from previous revolutions which had been made in the in- that the Southern slave-holders terest of minorities, as was the case in France in 1789.

Q: What would you say is the opinion of Marxists as far as the desirability of a peaceful transition is concerned? A: The position of the Marxists

is that the most economical and a majority in office? preferable, the most desirable method of social transformation, by all means, is to have it done peacefully.

Q: And in the opinion of Marxists, is that absolutely excluded?

solutely excluded. We say that talists of Spain. the lessons of history don't show upon it.

our problem has been calculated The promise of great reward to, and certainly will, warp the unknown and blind obedience to

was

The Commune was unable, because of its difficulties, to undertake a very ambitious program in the social sphere. But even here, it showed its character of a popular workers' government. Night work was abolished in bakeries. The system of fines, whereby bosses imposed wage cuts on their workers, by arbi-

tranily fining them, was forbidden. Finally, the famous decree that all factories and workshops abandoned or closed by their owners, were to be turned over to

duction resumed under the work-

ers' control. Karl Marx, who followed with passionate interest the developments of the Commune from London, was overcome with enthusiasm. He kept in constant touch with the Parisian members of the First International, in the Commune sending them advice and aid. He wrote to his friend Dr. Kugelman on April 12,"What A: I can give you a very imelasticity, what historical initiative, what capacity for self-sacrifice in these Parisians! After

six months' starvation and ruination by internal treachery, even more than by the enemy without, they rise under the Prussian bayonets as if there had never been a war between France and Gérmany, and as if there were no I can give you an example in enemy outside the gates of Paris.

American history. The American History offers no parallel to this Civil War resulted from the fact greatness!"

#### couldn't reconcile themselves to MARX'S ESTIMATE

the legal parliamentary victory of Northern capitalism, the election of President Lincoln. Q: Can you give us an example outside of America where a reac-

tionary minority revolted against | municipal councillors, chosen by A: Yes, in Spain — the coaliwards of the town, responsible tion of workers' and liberal par- and revocable at short terms. ties in Spain got an absolute ma-

class of that country is confused. uncertain and torn by factional- fected France in 1934. Members ism. Its main and final reliance, of the cabinet and of Congress the army, reflects faithfully the were implicated. One Radical

shifting struggle of would-be power occurs against a back- then the senate, fearful of ground of internal and external further consequences, refused to cleavage. It adds its own instability to the general political turmoil. With the ruling class thus torn asunder, unable to unite issued which authorized on a policy, there is only one element lacking to characterize the situation as a revolutionary one — an independent working associations of workers and proclass party capable of leading the

oppressed.

It is primarily but not solely bers in Buenos Aires. the impact of the second work war which has created the present | THE STALINISTS difficulties for the Argentine ployed, unusual for Argentina.

In his celebrated work "The Civil War in France," Marx eswise have found their way into socialists.

timates the work and signific-Axis hands. But much of the ance of the Paris Commune. "The material purchased remained inside of the country for lack of Commune was formed of the shipping space. The surpluses universal suffrage in various have piled up.

#### CRITICAL SITUATION

The majority of its members The explosiveness of the social in the slightest at the threat jority in the elections and was were naturally workingmen, or and economic forces at work soon against the existence of the no sooner installed than it was acknowledged representatives of came to view in politics. Ortiz, trades unions when the military confronted with an armed rebel- the working class. The Commune who had become president, junta overthrew Castillo. It was, A: Well, I wouldn't say ab- lion, led by the reactionary capi- was to be a working, not a par- through the choice of Justo, in as a matter of fact, prepared to

liamentary body, executive and one of the most fraudulent elec- give cordial support to the new (From "Socialism on Trial," legislative at the same time. In- tions seen in Argentina in many dictator, General Ramirez, when any important examples in favor by James P. Cannon; pages 34- stead of continuing to be the years, resigned for reasons of ill- he broke off relations with the of the idea so that you can count 35; 112 pages, 10c. Order from agent of the central government, health in July 1940 on the eve of Axis and acted to carry Argentina pon it. Q: Can you give us examples sity Place, New York 3, N. Y.) if its political attributes, and lowing month, with Castillo acting The Anglo-American imperialists abroad.

of a correct program. The ruling served to arouse the masses much as the Stavisky scandal had afsocial and political situation. The deputy shot himself when the exposure came. The senate censured dictators for personal and clique Ortiz who promptly resigned, but

> accept the resignation. The socialist party grew in influence in the ensuing period. In 1942 it had five deputies elected to Congress. This delegation grew in later elections to seventeen. The socialist bloc held the balance of power between the two dominant parties. The socialist

party grew to over 100,000 mem-

The Communist (Stalinist) Party landowners and capitalists. The lost all influence in Argentina war has torn the normal ties of because of its political gyrations. Argentina with world economy. It has several thousand adherents, Its first effects were to disrupt but the party is outlawed and the normal import and export exerts slight influence. The line liberation cannot be achieved by trade upon which Argentina is of the Argentine Stalinists, due the native bourgeoisie. It is just absolutely dependent. The raw account being taken of the na- as impossible for the Argentine materials and foodstuffs that tional differences, has been much capitalists to wage a successful found their way to England and like the line followed in China struggle against imperialism as Germany piled up in the ware- and in other semi-colonial counhouses and granaries. The first tries. At first the Stalinists put class. The capitalists can only result was to produce a growing forward the idea of national seek some form of compromise unemployment. In 1940 the gov- liberation from imperialism with one camp of imperialism or ernment reported 180,000 unem- through class collaboration. More the other, whichever exerts the recently with Soviet Russia allied dominant influence. To really The industrial bourgeoisie was to democratic imperialism in the fight successfully against imstrengthened in relation to the war, the attacks on imperialism big landowners. The Argentine have ceased. The sole efforts of tional liberation, it is necessary government sought and obtained the Stalinists have been to bring to arouse the masses to the aid from both the United States Argentina into the war on the highest pitch of enthusiasm and and England for the purchase of side of the allies. In this they activity in the struggle. But that

> The idea that entry into the war on the side of the allies would aid the cause of democracy in Argentina is one of the worst illusions on the part of the workists, but also against the native ers and the middle class. The bourgeosie. United States was not concerned

That is the lesson of every single struggle in the colonial and semi-colonial countries. It must serve as the foundation on which the Argentine workers will build the party which will lead them to power. In such a struggle they will find allies in the working

the toilers in the factories and on the land a new political consciousness.

#### PERSPECTIVES

The situation in Argentina is still fluid. It is possible that the trades unions will act in the interests of self-preservation. Naturally, without the intervention of the masses, the bourgeoisie

will overcome the crisis and reach some form of relative stability. The likelihood is that under the tremendous pressure now being exerted by United States imperialism, the native capitalists

and landowners will be forced to follow the course on the world arena desired by the allies. There remains the need for a really independent working class

party that would know how to take full advantage of the present crisis. Democracy will not be achieved in Argentina by the victory of the industrial capitalists over the landowners. National it was for the Chinese ruling perialism and thus to achieve nacommodities that might other- have a common policy with the would mean following a program in the real interests of the workers and toilers of city and country. Such a program can be of fered only by a working class party. It would be directed not only against the foreign imperial-

capitalist government] and his bloodhounds, we must go back to the times of Sulla and the two Triumvirates of Rome, the same Its martyrs are enshrined in the wholesale slaughter in cold blood; great heart of the working class. the same disregard, in massacre, Its exterminators history has alof age and sex, the same torturing of prisoners; the same proscrip tions, but this time of a whole pillory from which all the prayers class; the same savage hunt after of their priests will not avail to

are the mercenary vindicators. A

great problem of which is how

for ever celebrated as the glorious harbinger of a new society. ready nailed to that eternal concealed leaders, lest one might redeem them."

FOURTH INTERNATIONAL **Table of Contents** FOR MARCH 1944 THE MONTH IN REVIEW ..... Editorial Comment The Meaning of Stalin's Constitutional 'Reforms' THE DOG DAYS OF THE LEFT OPPOSITION ...... by James P. Cannon BRITISH WOMEN IN INDUSTRY ..... by A. Keen JAPAN FACES THE ABYSS II Conditions in Large-Scale Industry and Agriculture ..... by Li Fu-jen GERMANY'S PRISON CAMPS (Book Review) ..... by J. B. Stuart FROM THE ARSENAL OF MARXISM Military Doctrine or Pseudo-Military Doctrinairism (Second Part) ..... by Leon Trotsky IS MARSHAL 'TITO' - BREZOVICH? 20c a copy - \$2 for a yearly subscription Order from Business Manager 116 University Place, New York 3, N.Y. SUBSCRIBE NOW TO The Militant WEEKLY Clip and mail this coupon THE MILITANT PUBLISHING ASSOCIATION 116 University Place, New York 3, N. Y. I enclose S1.00 for a 6 month subscription to The Militant \$2.00 for a year's subscription to The Militant. Name ..... Address ..... 

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the Act of March 3, 1879."

STRIKE CONTINUES

# **AFL Head Speaks Out For 'Free Enterprise' Plan**

William Green, AFL President, in a recent Detroit speech found only one objection to the Baruch "reconversion" plan, the Wall Street-Roosevelt scheme to hand over all government-owned plants, equipment and supplies to private monopolies. Green complained merely that the Baruch plan makes "no provision . . . for labor and management to participate in the administration of post-war planning."

The reference to "management" is purely gratuitious. As Green well knows, Big Business drafted the Baruch plan, administers it and is its sole beneficiary. He is really whining because the bureaucratic union handmaidens of Roosevelt have been ignored in the Baruch monopoly "post-war grab-all" plan. Wall Street and the Roosevelt administration have grown so contemptuous of the "labor statesmen" they no longer feel the need for their services in the "post-war" planning.

On the basic purposes of the Baruch plan, Green sees eve to eye with Wall Street. The Baruch report proposes to create the "atmosphere in which private initiative and resourcefulness can again take hold." Green orated in Detroit that "American private industry faces the opportunity of a century in the post-war period. . . the opportunity to justify the advantages of our free enterprise system."

Green thus applauds the Baruch scheme to help the monopolies snatch up the tens of billions worth of government "surpluses" paid for by the workers. He votes with both hands for the "free enterprise" system that is preparing to usher in a more devastating era of mass pauperization and unemployment than was known even in the decade before the war.

Whatever complaints Green and the rest of the union leaders may have about being shoved into a back seat under the Baruch plan, they are compelled to support its fundamental propositions by virtue of their continued support of Roosevelt and the government. The Baruch plan is Roosevelt's "blue-print" for the "post-war world." As loyal servitors of Roosevelt, the union leaders automatically serve his program. This is the end-product of their refusal to break with capitalist politics.

## **Army Sells Unused Tools** As 'Scrap' to Companies

A preview of what will happen to tens of billions worth of government-financed plants and tools under the new Baruch plan is given by a War Department sale to private corporations of \$1,721,000 worth of valuable unused cutting tools as "scrap" for \$36.000.

The tools were originally provided the Studebaker Corp. under a 1940 contract entered into by Undersecretary of War Patterson. The contract was changed. and the tools remained unused. Finally, the Army Air Force removed them and placed them in its Detroit tool store.

In July 1943, the WPB ordered the Air Forces' headquarters liaison officer to scrap these valuable tools, but no publicity was to be given the matter "as it was desired to keep the public from knowing too much about overpurchases and cushion ordering."

After the tools were already given away to various corporations for 2 percent of their value, a Chicago firm bid \$1,250,000 for this "obsolete" equipment. The whole transaction is under investigation by the Truman Senate Committee, which revealed that severa

miner, the Balkan peasant, the Italian worker, together with their class brothers in the Soviet Union, THE MILITANT France and Germany, will sweep on to victory.

# **No-Strike Pledge**

in moving against their own rank and file members stands in glaring contrast to their craven attitude and halting pace in the struggle against the wage and job freezing program of Big Business. A case in point is that of the top leadership of the United Automobile Workers, CIO. The union is demanding wage increases beyond the Little Steel formula. To replace the wage freeze, the UAW executive board instructed all local unions to demand in all union contracts an escalator clause: a rising scale of wages to meet the rising cost of living. This program, if meant seriously, involves a head-on conflict with the Roosevelt administration and its "wage stabilization" policy.

Yet, there has been no serious preparation for such a struggle. The official leadership is marking washing their "friend" in the White House. They indicate very clearly that they have no intention of leading a fight against the corporations and their national Executive Board recently made public a resolution complaining about the number of corporations who were taking advantage of the "nostrike pledge" by denying the union membership their rights under the union contracts and who were seeking "to provoke them into engaging in the union of the power to enforce its contracts and ance to deliberate company provocation. It would seem that the obvious need under the circumstances is to rescind the no-strike pledge in order to rearm the union for the impending showdown with the corporations. Certainly if the union, bound hand and foot by the no-strike pledge, finds itself incapable of enforcing its existing contracts, how can new contracts?

Instead of this obvious conclusion, the UAW resolution proceeds to reaffirm the no-strike pledge "without any qualifications" and threatens drastic penalties against local unions and members who engage in "unauthorized" strikes. As there can be no such thing as an "authorized" strike under an "unqualified" no-strike pledge, the resolution of the UAW executive board amounted to a statement of unconditional surrender to the auto barons.

It wasn't long before the first victims were offered upon the altar of the unconditional surrender resolution when ten men were discharged and ten others suspended by the Ford Motor Company for engaging in an "unauthorized" work stoppage and participating in a disturbance which was caused by outright company provocation. This "disciplinary" action by Ford came on the heels of a letter in which R. J. Thomas, UAW president, called upon the Ford local to take "drastic and effective action" against the union members involved. Lacking the guts or will to counsel "drastic and effective action" against the corporations and their agents in Washington by leading a fight for the escalator clause, the labor fakers use the nostrike pledge to strengthen their bureaucratic grip

**North Italian Strikers** 

# The speed and audacity of the labor bureaucrats

time, playing "politics," and shielding and whitepolitical agents in Washington. The UAW Interwork stoppages." The resolution amounted to a confession that the no-strike pledge had deprived rendered it helpless to offer any organized resistit conduct an effective struggle to scrap the Little Steel formula and win an escalator clause in the

**Brave The Nazi Terror** (Continued from page 1) The importance of the issue at | everywhere. These workers will stake is realized by the Nazi-Fas- say to themselves: "If our Italcists. The Milan Fascist newspa- ian brothers can make such a Italian workers arrested and deported to Poland. glorious fight in the teeth of Nazi per Corriere della Sera, declared

on Mar. 10 that the workers had | tanks, machine-guns, bayonets and firing squads, we too, can act deserted their jobs "purely for political and military reasons" and more boldly." And so the "dem-Failing to receive any satisfacocratic" censors are doing all tory reply to these demands, the would be punished as "enemies of they can to conceal the Italian workers' gigantic strike action the state." events. While great events are unfold

continued. The New York Times In other words, the struggle far orrespondent in Berne could only transcends the seemingly immereport on Mar. 9 that less than ing in Northern Italy, with the diate issues represented by the workers displaying an unconquerone-third of the 6,000,000 striking workers' five demands and takes able determination to defeat their workers had returned to the fac on a distinctly revolutionary character in which the question of oppressors, Southern Italy prestories and that of this one-third ents a picture of a political mornot more than 25 percent were power is of necessity involved the question: "Who is to rule ass in which the "leaders" of the actually working. This report is masses-the rotten coalition of of the utmost significance. It Italy? the Stalinist, Socialist and Action means that while 4,000,000 work-This is understood by the "democratic" imperialists just as well parties-are striving with might ers are out on the streets battlas by the Nazis and their Italian and main to deliver the workers' ing the armed forces of the bloody Nazi oppressors, about 1,500,000 henchmen. That is why news of movement, bound and gagged, into are engaged in a virtual sit-down

the struggle has been cut off by the hands of the Allied imperialstrike within the plants. the censors as with a knife. Wash- ists. The German military authori- ington and London naturally wel-At the insistence of the Allied

ies, for the first time since the come any action which creates occupation authorities, these commencement of the imperialist difficulties for their Nazi imper- craven capitulators called off a war, are confronted with an up- lialist rivals, but they want the ten-minute strike which the workrising of mighty proportions and Italian workers to restrict them ers had forced them to proclaim remendous revolutionary signific selves to actions of a simple anti- in protest against Allied policy ance. An AP dispatch from Naples Nazi character, to hold these acin supporting the hated King and on Mar. 10 stated that the Ger- tions within limits which they his Marshal Badoglio. But, finding nans had moved tanks into acshall dictate, to refrain from raisthemselves unable to restrain the tion against strikers in Milan and ing fundamental issues of a revmasses completely, the fake lead ther industrial centers on the olutionary character. ers decided on a mass protest ombardy plain. However, the situation is such demonstration in Naples, where

If the workers create, in the that the Italian workers can sethe AMG authorities permitted course of their struggle, revolucure a real amelioration of their them to criticize "Italian person ionary leadership which can lift miserable plight only by a fundalities" but not the Allied occupa the struggle to the high revolu- amental shake-up --- by a victortion authority. Thousands of workers gathered

ionary plane of a fight for so- ious struggle to vanquish capitalcialism, if they can win out ism and establish their own rule. for the demonstration, which took against the Stalinist and Social- It is just this - independent acplace under the watchful eyes of lemocratic traitors within their tion by the workers around an Allied troops. Nearby, according ranks and against their brutal en- independent program of their own to the New York Times, monarchemies without — a long nail will - that all the imperialists fear. ists favoring retention of the nave been driven in the awaiting King attempted a counter-demon INSPIRES WORKERS. coffin of European capitalism stration, but so small was the res-

which spawned both the Nazi and Meanwhile, the struggle is a ponse that the attempt had to be Fascist regimes. source of inspiration to workers abandoned

# **Biggest British Strike Since 1926 Alarms Capitalist Class**

(Continued from page 1)

ing jobs, decent conditions and Was My Valley' today has a tint permanent security. Thus, the of red. The coal miners talk adbasic demand of the miners is miringly of communism. . . One for nationalization of the coal in- man, who said he earned 4 Lbs. a dustry to end the capitalist anarchy which makes a blight of said: 'Our only hope for this the miners' lives.

#### PORTER AWARD

The Porter award has evoked this militant resistance because it has convinced the miners that sentiment which roused the the government has no intentions miners to give the Commonwealth its occurrence on the eve of the of running the mines contrary to | Party candidate an overwhelming | tremendous revolutionary strugthe profit-interests of the owners. victory in a recent Yorkshire by-If this is what the Churchill gov- election when he ran on a program fact of profound importance both ernment hands the miners in calling for immediate nationalizaresponse to their very modest im- tion of the mines.

ists take over'."

political thinking of the British miners. It is the same sort of

British Stalinist leader, is tour-

This indicates the tenor of the ists during the general coal strikes in the United States. come of the present coal strike. gles impending in Europe is a

revolution. The insurrectionary mediate demands during the strikes in North Italy and the POLITICAL SIGNIFICANCE crucial war period, reasons the virtual civil war in France are The full political significance harbingers of the titanic mass miner, how can this government be relied upon to operate the of the miners' struggle is further upheavals to come. But already mines in the interest of the work- clarified by the character of their one of the two major imperialist ers once demand for coal slacks top union officials, who are sold powers aiming to crush the off? The answer of the British body and soul to the Churchill European revolution is itself torn miners is to press the fight for government and are seeking to by open class struggles. And the a solution of their problems right behead the strike by every means great coal strike is only the at their command. The key South beginning. now.

A United Press dispatch re-| Wales Miners Federation counts: "The scene of Richard headed by Arthur Horner, a that will give assurance of last- Llewellyn's best-seller 'How Green | leading Stalinist, and the whole leadership is heavily weighted with Stalinists. Harry Pollitt,

ing the mine fields pleading with the workers to return to the pits. Thus, the British hirelings of the Kremlin are emulating the strikebreaking of the American Stalin-

Whatever the immediate out-

223,600 (51 percent).

"For the most part," the

Bulletin declares, "industrial un-

dertakings have just ceased to

paper manufacture, which were

wages are 113 marks a month

week after forty years in the pits, country is to have the Commun-

for England and the European

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

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Saturday, March 18, 1944

- 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
- drafted into the army.
- forces and the war industries—Down with Jim Crowism everywhere.
- priation 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.
- Workers' and Farmers' Govern-8. A ment.
- 9. The defense of the Soviet Union against imperialist attack.

- 4. Confiscation of all war profits. Expro-

- 1. Military training of workers, financed

  - Trade union wages for all workers
  - **5.** Full equality for Negroes in the armed

#### **Britain And Italy**

The military defeats of Nazi Germany have brought a qualitative change in the mood of the European masses. The victories of the Red Army have inspired more intensive revolutionary mass opposition in the Nazi-held territories. The collapse of Fascist Italy engendered by the mass resistance to the Mussolini regime and its war, unleashed the Italian revolution which again reveals its unconquerable power in the present general strike. The growing resistance movements in the Balkans have assumed a distinctly class character. And now the British Tories are trembling in the face of the militant and stubborn struggle of the British coal miners. The European workers and peasants are entering the political arena as an independent force. The fiction of "national unity" is giving way to the realities of the class struggle.

The specter of the proletarian revolution is haunting the champions of capitalist "order". In an editorial comment on the revolt of the workers in northern Italy, the N. Y. Times, authoritative spokesman of the American money bags, concludes that: "The rising of the northern workers suggests" that the Italians, like the French, may have something to say about their own Government and even about their own fate in the final reckoning. It is another sign that the Europe that will rise when Germany is defeated may have ideas for the future that will not always fit into the plans of the Great Powers."

The European workers and peasants have gone through an historical experience since 1914 richer in lessons than the whole preceding history of mankind. It will not be as easy to fool the workers this time; it will not be easy to cheat them; it will not be easy to suppress and enslave them. What the European masses are determined to avoid is a return to the conditions of capitalist anarchy under a new and worse Versailles treaty which will Balkanize Europe and reduce the continent to a wilderness of exploitation, starvation and suffering without end. The workers have shown a keen class instinct in their striving to unite against their oppressors. With a correct program and leadership no power on earth can stop the forward march of the European revolution. The European workers will yet upset all the reactionary schemes and conspiracies hatched during the secret diplomatic meetings of Roosevelt; Churchill and Stalin. They will thrust aside all their would-be oppressors, exploiters and dictators. Under the slogan of the Socialist United States of Europe, the British coal

on the union in order to protect themselves from the justified wrath of the rank and file.

The preservation of the UAW as a progressive and democratic union requires that every local union adopt resolutions demanding that the executive board withdraw its "unconditional surrender" resolution. The fight for internal union democracy is intimatey tied up with the fight against the no-strike pledge and the wage freeze.

### Military Rule

A new, ominous development in American life is the growing power of the military caste and its increasing intervention in all fields of civilian life and activity. The most recent example was the appearance of General George C. Marshall, Chief of Staff, who appeared before the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations, to express, in the name of the War Department opposition to the resolution sponsored by Senators Wagner and Taft favoring the free entry of Jewish people into Palestine and the eventual establishment of a Jewish homeland there. In commenting on the incident, a columnist for the N. Y. Times remarked: "As always, the General made his military statement with authority which none was disposed to question." Washington correspondents agree that as a result of this intervention the resolution will remain buried in the Senate committee.

This concept of unquestioning subservience to the authority of the military caste is being advanced from all quarters of the ruling capitalist class. When the chiefs of the War, Navy and Maritime Commission came out in support of a labor draft, the head of the War Manpower Commission, Paul V. McNutt, withdrew his previous opposition with the statement: "When those in charge of the prosecution of the war decide that such an act is necessary, 'who are we to question?' Therefore, I support it."

The existence of a professional clique of military brass hats which interferes in every sphere of activity, the extension of the Prussian military code to civilian life, spells the end of democracy and the establishment of an openly reactionary military dictatorship. The danger is real and only an aroused labor movement can lead a struggle for the defense of democratic rights against the attempt to Prussianize the nation. Only by breaking decisively with the political agents of the military caste and launching an Independent Labor Party can such a struggle become effective.

# International Notes

MEXICO Chinese servants.) I went into | ple of the tiny Baltic state of another shop and asked for a Esthonia is drawn in the Feb. 1 The political resolution, "Perspectives and Tasks of the Apyard of tobralco. The sales as- Bulletin of the International Fedsistant said contemptuously, 'We eration of Trade Unions. Accordproaching European Revolution,' adopted last November by the have no tobralco for boys here.' ing to the Bulletin, some 13,000 buildings and 2,500 farms have Now we would like to know 15th anniversary Plenum of the whether this is the freedom from been totally destroyed. Stocks Socialist Workers Party, has been want for which African blood is published in Spanish in the form and herds have declined as of a pamphlet by the Mexican being spilled in this global war?" follows: horses, 30,500 (15 percent); cattle, 239,800(34 percent); Section of the Fourth Interna-IRELAND sheep, 320,000 (46 percent); pigs,

tional. A striking cover design A hunger strike by Irish shows the upraised fists of workers projecting from a global world against a background consisting of the sickle and hammer emblem of the workers' revolution.

#### SOUTH AFRICA

relatively important at Tallinn white skins as well. Northern Jim Crow is not an exclusively and Turi, have been wiped out Ireland is a British colony where of existence. . . There are only American phenomenon. It is fighters for the country's indepractised in all the countries 141 trucks and 170 private cars where white-skinned imperialists pendence are persecuted in much still serviceable. The entire merhold sway over black or brownthe same way as are the fighters cantile marine has vanished, or for India's independence. skinned peoples. The "war for has been sunk or requisitioned. . The hunger strikers, some 30 democracy" has brought fresh Approximately 109,000 persons have been carried off, deported or manifestations of the reactionary in number, and led by Hugh race discrimination which Jim McAteer, IRA chief of staff, are killed. Over 9,000 are in prison. demanding that they be segre-Crow connotes. There has been a 10 percent drop

Negroes in South Africa, one gated from the common criminals in the total population, bringing of the components of that Empire and treated as political prisoners. it to about 1,000,000, but the which Churchill has sworn to But the British jailers determined number of men between the ages uphold and preserve at all costs, to uphold Britain's arbitrary rule, of 20 and 35 has fallen by over are now being denied the right are resisting this demand with 50 percent. . . Whereas export to buy articles of which there is the same stubborn arrogance they prices have fallen (under Nazi a shortage due to the war. One display in India. Like Pharoah of pressure) by about 50 percent of them, writing in the Bantu old, they "harden their hearts" since 1939, prices on the home Mirror, a South African Negro against all who resist their Black Market have gone up tyranny. They realize that in this | twentyfold. Official rations, with paper, tells the following story: "I was out shopping and went period of war and revolution only a food value of 950 calories, are

the strong arm of repression can | the lowest in Europe and about into a leading bazaar and asked for a milk jug. A good lady told delay the day of reckoning-the one-quarter of pre-war consumpday in which colonial peoples will tion. They are wholly inadequate me politely, 'Sorry James, but we are not allowed to sell milk rise in their full might to throw for keeping body and soul tojugs to boys.' ('Boy' is a term off the chains of imperialist gether and supplementary supuniversally used by the white slavery. plies from the Black Market are out of the question. Maximum

imperialists in addressing or ESTHONIA referring to Negroes; it was also

used by the white imperialists in A tragic picture of what Nazi which would just buy one kilo of China when addressing their domination has meant to the peo- butter in the Black Market. . ." officers involved in the deal have been reprimanded, but "no action was taken against any higher authoritv."

# **Real Aims of Roosevelt's Oil Deal in Middle East**

The Roosevelt administration's project for a government-financed pipe-line across Saudi Arabia to aid the Standard Oil, Texas and Gulf Corporations aroused such complaints from small competing oil independents about the "thin wedge of government" ownership" that the government has been compelled to issue a reassurance on this score.

"High government officials who must remain anonymous," according to the N. Y. Herald-Tribune, March 10, issued a statement "to the industry to dispel its suspicions. . . The Petroleum Reserves Corporation, it was declared, would not become an owner or part-owner of any oil property abroad. . . nor does it intend to compete in any way with private industry."

These "high government officials" reveal that the purposes of the PRC are "to assist the oil industry by installation of pipe-lines or other necessary facilities which would be self-liquidating and privately operated. . . the PRC will be in position to assist American oil companies in efforts to participate in foreign oil reserves."

That this "participation" is at the expense of the Arabian peoples, whose natural resources are being looted, is not mentioned.

At the same time, Roosevelt intends to protect the big American oil monopolies from the competition of rival imperialist interests. "British financial largesse to Middle Eastern rulers put private American firms at a disadvantage. . . the American government is determined to sit down at the oil bargaining table with the British this spring and to display a friendly but strong hand," explains the Herald-Tribune.

The American people are thus warned ahead of time that they will have to continue paying huge taxes, will have to continue to send their sons to the far corners of the earth, in order to guard the stolen wealth of the oil barons, and to police the colonial peoples, so that they may be more thoroughly exploited for the greater profit and glory of the Wall Street monopolists.

- The real meaning of the "four freedoms" and the Roosevelt-Churchill talk about "equal access to raw materials for all nations great and small," is being demonstrated in the Middle East, where the Arabian peoples are being asked to hand over their oil reserves at the point of Allied bayonets and permitted the "freedom" to watch the imperialist bandits squabble over a division of the spoils.

Republican Army prisoners in Belfast comes as a reminder that British imperialism rules over and exist. Spinning, weaving and oppresses not only peoples with colored skins, but some with