

Free The 18!

# THE MILITANT

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## GENERAL STRIKE SWEEPS NORTH ITALY

### National Speaking Tour Is Scheduled By CRDC

Secretary to Visit Principal Cities in Three Month Itinerary; CIO Shipbuilders' Union President Protests Imprisonment of 18

As part of its campaign to free the 18 prisoners in the Minneapolis Labor Case, the Civil Rights Defense Committee this week announced its plans for a national speaking tour by its National Secretary, George Novack. His tour, which is scheduled to start on March 16 in Rochester, New York, will extend for three months during which he will address audiences in the principal cities from coast to coast.

In his statement announcing the tour, the CRDC Secretary said: "There is no more vital issue confronting labor and all real defenders of civil liberties in the United States today than the Minneapolis Labor Case. Through meetings arranged by local CRDC committees during this tour I hope to drive home to trade unionists and progressive forces throughout the country the dangers to the rights of labor and the freedom of the American people involved in the imprisonment of the 18 under the oppressive Smith 'Gag' Act. So long as the 18 are behind bars and the Smith Act is in effect, no trade unionist can consider himself secure from prosecution and every American's freedom of expression is in jeopardy."

JOHN GREEN

President John Green of the Industrial Union of Marine and Shipbuilding Workers of America, CIO last week added his voice to the growing list of union leaders who have protested against the railroad of the 18 to jail. In his letter to CRDC Secretary George Novack, Green wrote: "I consider it my personal duty as a responsible Union leader and as an American to sharply protest the recent decision of the Supreme Court of the U. S., refusing to consider the appeal. . . . To permit such convictions as these to stand establishes a dangerous precedent, stimulating a disastrous disregard of one of the essential constitutional doctrines safeguarding freedom of speech. . . . I strenuously insist that no American should be penalized for his thoughts or beliefs."

(The full text of President Green's letter is published on page 3.)

#### PHILADELPHIA LUNCHEON

A Trade Union Luncheon to organize local labor support for the campaign to liberate the 18 will be held under the auspices of the Philadelphia CRDC Committee on Tuesday, March 7, 12 noon at the Russian Inn, 1233 Locust Street, Philadelphia. Prominent union leaders as well as representative Negro, church and civil liberties spokesmen are scheduled to speak at this affair. Michael Harris, President of the

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### ARMY USED AGAINST WORKERS IN MUNICIPAL WAGE DISPUTE

By DAN ROBERTS

LOS ANGELES, Calif., Feb. 26 —3,500 out of 5,500 civil service employees of the Municipal Water and Power Department, members of the Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, AFL, have just ended a militantly conducted "wage protest." The objective of the "protest" was to remove the threat of a salary cut next June and to win a \$15 a month cost of living salary increase. The protest began Monday, February 14 and lasted 10 days. It was finally broken by Roosevelt, who ordered the army to operate the Department. The workers went back to work with only part of their demands met.

Between 1939 and 1944 the employees of the Department of Water and Power have received only one \$15 general monthly raise in September 1942, and one \$5 raise in January 1944. These raises represent an increase of 13 percent over the 1939 average Department income. The Department of Water and Power has estimated that the cost of living in the last four and a half years has in-

### Administration Plans Grab Of Middle East Oil Fields

Roosevelt's Petroleum Reserve Corporation, through Secretary Ickes, announced on Feb. 6 the administration's project for construction of vast pipelines across Saudi Arabia to transport to Mediterranean ports and refineries the crude oil from the Arabian fields owned by the Standard Oil, Gulf and Texas corporations.

Upwards of \$200,000,000 of public funds is already earmarked for this huge undertaking, which the N. Y. Times has described as "only a comparatively small item in the ambitious program" of American imperialism to grab up the huge oil resources of the world.

Roosevelt is using the government to safeguard and advance the international interests of the American oil monopolies. He has taken his cue from Churchill who in 1913 had put the British government directly into the oil business, by government purchase of the majority stock holdings of the Anglo-Persian Oil Company, thus paving the way for British interests to come out on top of the World War I imperialist scramble for the Middle East oil fields.

#### IMPERIALISM

Wall Street naturally seeks to disguise the imperialist character of its aims in the Middle East. But the fact remains that by show of arms and bribery of a handful of ruling sheiks and landowners the Allied imperialists have looted all the oil reserves from the Arabian peoples. As I. F. Stone correctly contends in the Feb. 26 Nation: "To go into a colonial country and buy oil concessions for favors to desert sheiks, to embark on a long-range program for the exploitation of natural resources which belong to another people, is imperialism, however we choose to disguise it."

On top of stealing their rich natural resources of oil, Anglo-American imperialism plans to enslave the colonial peoples of the Middle East as a source of

increased by 26 percent. Actually, according to the AFL-CIO report on the Cost of Living, prices have increased nationally by 43.5 percent since January 1, 1941 (not 1939). But even according to the Board's own ridiculously low estimate the workers are still shy 13 percent.

#### ARMY SEIZURE

Furthermore, the Department of Water and Power Commissioners had stipulated that both raises granted since 1939 would be terminated in June 1944. At that time Mayor Bowron wanted to "standardize" all civil service pay — that is, to reduce the salary level of the better paid Water and Power skilled unionized workers to the lower level prevailing among employees of the other departments.

Before the army seizure of the Department which broke the "protest," the employees had won the extension of the existing raises for the duration.

The strategy of the "protest"

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#### BULLETIN

DETROIT, Mich., Mar. 7 — General Motors Sub-Council No. 2 in Detroit area representing more than eighty thousand workers voted tonight with only one dissenting vote in favor of full support to the committee for the promotion of Michigan Commonwealth Federation and called upon the international and all affiliated and local unions to support the movement for the new party.

cheap labor. Thousands of poor peasants are being driven off the land and forced to accept work at a few cents a day with Standard and the other international oil monopolies.

The administration and the big oil companies involved in the Arabian deal have unleashed a tremendous propaganda drive designed to "sell" the American people on the desirability and necessity for the Saudi Arabia project. This takes the form of a "scare campaign" to the effect that America's present oil reserves will soon be depleted, and that America's industrial and military potentials are gravely endangered. Also, the lure is being put forward that this project will mean "cheap" oil and gasoline after the war.

#### FALSE ALARMS

The claim that the oil reserves in this country are dangerously low follows the typical alarm sounded by the leading oil monopolies every time they seek government backing for a further advance in seizing foreign oil resources. After the last war, the oil companies' experts put forward the solemn warning that there were only five billion barrels of oil reserves left in this country. Today, over two decades later, there are known proved oil reserves of over 20 billion barrels.

American petroleum production in 1938, the last pre-war year, was 70.6 per cent of the world total, and 40 per cent of the world's oil reserves are within western continental borders. American interests actually control about 58 per cent of all known world reserves. "Under these circumstances," states I. F. Stone in The Nation, "to picture the United States as a duped and plundered oil pauper is ludicrous. Just how much of the world's oil do we propose to hog?"

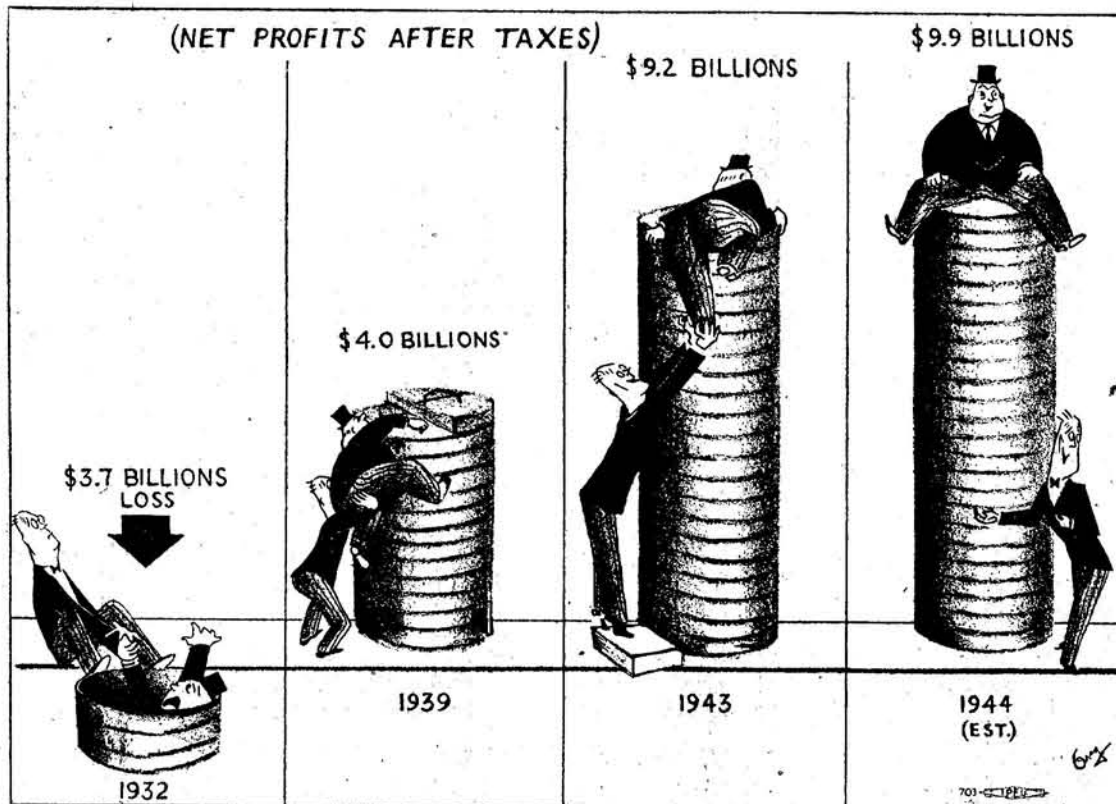
#### "CHEAP" OIL

The promise of "cheap" oil put forth by the administration and oil monopolies is equally ludicrous—and lying. Coupled with their drive for foreign oil reserves, the oil corporations are pushing for "conservation" of American oil supplies. In the double-talk of the monopolies, this means curtailing production at home and restricting international output by cartel agreements in order to maintain scarcity high prices and limit competition.

In addition, the American people will have to pay the cost of huge armies and armaments in order to protect the American oil holdings in the Middle East. The N. Y. Times, one of the most authoritative Big Business mouthpieces admits the Saudi Arabia project "points to a significant

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### Profiteers' Progress



### Murray Sidetracks Fight To Scrap Little Steel Formula

By C. Thomas

Four months have elapsed since the Philadelphia Convention of the CIO raised the demand that the Little Steel formula be scrapped. Over three months have passed since the steel workers gathered in a national wage conference, and drew up a series of demands for wage increases which were designed to break the Little Steel wage-freeze and to provide the steel workers with wages that would permit them to catch up with the rising cost of living.

In the meantime, the CIO in cooperation with the AFL representatives made a study of the cost of living and found that the government Bureau of Labor Statistics had been per-

#### FRUITLESS BICKERING

First ensued weeks of fruitless bickering between Murray and the steel employers. By Christmas eve, when the steel workers' old agreement expired, the negotiations had completely broken down. The union then proceeded to petition the War Labor Board for an order directing the steel companies to extend the contracts with the provision that, "Any wage increases granted in the new contract shall be retroactive to the date of the expiring contract." The petition was rejected by the WLB which stated that it could not approve any retroactive payment of a wage adjustment not within the Little Steel formula. This was tantamount to an open announcement by the board of its intention to "hold

the line" against the steelworkers.

If the CIO leaders were the least bit serious about their demand for the scrapping of the Little Steel formula, the impudent decision of the WLB would have given the signal for the demonstrative resignation of the CIO members from the WLB. Instead of taking this indicated course of action, Philip Murray whined that the decision of the WLB, "places the United Steel Workers of America in a position of having its case judged before the facts are even presented." The steel workers, however, made of sterner stuff and more serious about their demand for wage increases, walked out of the plants, raising the slogan made famous by the miners: "No contract—no work!"

#### MURRAY FRIGHTENED

Frightened by the independent action of the workers, Murray herded the men back to their jobs after Roosevelt had sent him a telegram, which proposed a retroactive clause almost identical with that proposed by the "public members" of the WLB, a proposal which Murray had previously rejected as "prejudicial in nature." Although Murray had accused the WLB of having prejudged the case of the United Steel Workers, he then joined with the steel

#### HOW TO PICK "FRIENDS OF LABOR"

Our idea of how to run CIO Political Action:

Prepare questionnaires for all candidates of both Republican and Democratic parties consisting of one question: "Did you ever walk with labor on a picket line?"

Then having received unanimous "No's" from all candidates, automatically eliminating them, proceed to organize a new party which doesn't hesitate to pick all its candidates from those who have walked with labor on a picket line. It's that simple!

Reprinted from Midwest Labor World, published by Warehouse, Wholesale, Retail and Food Production Workers of Missouri (CIO), Feb. 23.

corporations in having the case certified to the War Labor Board. How can Murray reconcile the demand of the CIO convention that the Little Steel formula be scrapped, with his action in steering the major test case, the steel wage dispute, into that agency whose particular function it is to ENFORCE the Little Steel formula?

The wage demands of the steelworkers are now bogged down in the WLB swamp. The members of the board haggle over whether or not they have the authority to even hold hearings on a case involving the administration's "wage stabilization policy," otherwise known as the Little Steel formula. The demand of the steelworkers for a wage increase involves the fate of the administration's wage-freezing program. No one in his right mind can even en-

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### Six Million Workers Struggle Against The Nazi Occupation

Stalinist and Socialist Parties Call Off Strike in South of Italy On Order of Allies

By William F. Warde

The Italian revolution is blazing again! North Italy is in the violent throes of a general strike. Anne O'Hare McCormick, N. Y. Times political columnist, writes that the general strike has "the force of an insurrection."

The struggles of the North Italian workers, which have been raging ever since the Nazi occupation, and have in the past three months led to greater and ever more frequent strikes, came to a head this week in a general strike of 6 million workers. Industrial production in North Italy is virtually at a standstill. The general strike has already acquired a scope and revolutionary intensity which equals and possibly surpasses the titanic struggles that followed immediately upon Mussolini's downfall.

The revolutionary indignation has been smoldering for months against the Nazi invaders who, with the aid of the Quisling Mussolini blackshirts have been terrorizing the workers and attempting to reduce them to a slave status. The Italian workers are exploited beyond description. Railroad workers in the Milan area were paid in January with requisition certificates for food, which many local stores would not honor. Workers in a motor factory received 25 percent of their salaries in money, 50 percent in new war loan certificates "redeemable immediately on the reconquest of the Italian Mainland" and the remainder in German saving certificates similar to those introduced in France. A number of workers who refused to accept the German certificates were sentenced to death for "fomenting defeatist demonstrations."

#### 20 KILLED

In Milan, sentries turned machine guns upon a parade of workers who attempted to pass through a barricaded street where the headquarters of the local Nazi Army commander was located. At least 20 were killed. The Army Commander in Milan broadcast a warning that disorderly workers would be prosecuted. Ironically, he reinstated the same order which Marshall Badoglio himself issued to curb the mass demonstrations after Mussolini's overthrow, forbidding more than three people to congregate on the streets. Bloody street fighting is still in progress in Milan where German troops have been called out to crush the general strike.

Violent demonstrations have likewise been reported in Turin and Genoa where the general strike, according to Swiss newspapers, was preceded by "rioting and bloody incidents." Twenty-six persons have been reported killed in Genoa and eighteen in Turin. Apparently the railroad workers played a leading part in these strike actions. Hundreds of workers in the Milan area who refused to go back to their jobs to get train traffic rolling were rounded up by truckloads and thrown into concentration camps, awaiting court-martial. Mussolini and Nazi military authorities themselves were forced to take over operation of the transit systems.

#### BREAKING POINT

The opposition of the workers against the exploitation, oppression and hunger was brought to the breaking point by the Nazi attempts to draft Italians for slave labor in Germany and service in the army.

On March 3, over 6 million workers were reported out. Half of the men involved were locked out, following a decision by the Ministry of Economy to reduce consumption of electricity for one week "because of the severe damage from aerial bombardment and the activities of anti-national Partisan groups." The remaining 50 percent walked out in a sympathy strike protesting the lack of food, inequality of treatment between workers on arms produc-

#### BADOGGIO STYLE

There were so many shootings however at militia who attempted to run trolley lines and busses in Milan that officials gave up the attempt to maintain transportation inside the city. In Badoglio style, a curfew was decreed in most of the northern industrial districts from 5 o'clock in the afternoon to 6 the next morning.

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### Stalinists Acclaim Wall Street's Baruch Plan As Labor's Own Program For The "Post-War" World

By Art Preis

No one can accuse the Stalinists of not paying their "honest" debts promptly. Hardly has the ink dried on the promissory note Browder recently handed American capitalism, when the Sunday Worker, comes through with a handsome down-payment. This is a glowing endorsement of the Wall Street-Roosevelt reconversion plan, entitled: "Baruch Report Offers Labor Basis for Post-War Progress."

#### STALINISTS ON BARUCH

Most of the pro-Roosevelt union bureaucrats have at least maintained a diplomatic silence about this monopoly grab-all scheme.

Not so the Stalinists. They rush to wrap in ribbons and cellophane this Wall Street conspiracy to snatch up everything in the country. The Worker tries to sell it to labor as a prize package, no less.

The Baruch-Hancock plan is a legitimate offspring of Big Business, sired by the corporations and delivered by the Roosevelt administration. But that above all, according to The Worker, is what merits the Stalinist "Good Housekeeping" seal of approval. The Worker especially hails the central proposition of the Baruch report which "declares that post-war economy must develop along the path of private enterprise." This, states The Worker, has "greatly strengthened" the plan because "this smashes the 'free enterprise' false issue." Now the capitalists can't complain the

plan doesn't give them everything!

#### NO POSSIBILITY

The Worker cannot withhold its indignation over the fact that "certain liberal groups jumped upon this point of the Baruch report as its chief weakness, as though they saw another possibility than capitalism immediately after the war." The Stalinists do not fail to make clear that such a horrendous possibility does not exist for them.

(See edit. on Baruch Plan, p. 4.)

In order to make Baruch's malodorous stew seem palatable to labor, The Worker first of all rhapsodizes ecstatically about the lovely verbiage sprinkled over this Wall Street dish. It "Ohs" and "Ahs" over the meaningless

generalities and glossy assurances which the Baruch report puts forth as a "solution" to the economic crisis and mass unemployment which "victory" will bring. The Worker fishes out the Baruch report such phrases as a "post-war depression is not inevitable" and if "free enterprise" is given unlimited sway it will afford "the greatest opportunities the people ever had." These phrases The Worker cites as a basis in the Baruch plan for "Labor's Post-War Program." And those "who wait for the 'perfect' plan," sternly warns the Stalinist mouthpiece, are simply bemused idealists, quibblers or downright scoundrels trying to upset the Teheran appearat.

#### NEGATIVE ATTITUDE

The Worker is considerably perturbed over the fact that the

workers don't seem to realize their glowing prospects under the Baruch scheme. "Unfortunately, some circles take a negative attitude toward it, picking on details or upon omissions." Among the "details" which The Worker lists as the object of criticism by obviously narrow-minded sticklers are the two basic provisions of the plan. Ninety-nine percent of the Baruch report—the concrete and specific sections—is devoted to these two "details." One establishes the procedure for ensuring an all-out corporation profits-steal on war contracts terminations. The other provides the machinery for handing over to the big corporations some 50 billions worth of government plants, machinery, tools, raw materials and finished goods

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# Problems Of Women Workers In War Industry

By Ruth Johnson

Overworked, underpaid, beset by personal problems, the working women of America can heartily agree with Trotsky's words "The decay of capitalism deals its heaviest blows to the woman as a wage-earner and as a housewife."

American women, today, in their efforts to combine long hours of factory work with the upkeep of their homes, are so beset by difficulties, that 80 percent of them are forced, within a few months, to give up their jobs. Returning to their homes, they find the constantly rising cost of living makes it impossible for them to remain housewives even if their husbands are employed, so they return to industry only to repeat the frustrating circle.

Mrs. Warwick B. Hobart, adviser on employment to the office of the Secretary of War, admits that "Far outbalancing all other reasons for women quitting their war jobs is ill health, principally resulting from fatigue." (New York Times, Feb. 23).

## Fatigue

Fatigue comes not only from long, arduous hours in a factory. The fatigue so prevalent amongst women war workers grows out of physical weariness aggravated by undernourishment, home tasks, and constant worry. Surveys show, according to Mrs. Hobart, that 85 percent of the women working in war plants do not eat breakfast. Why? Certainly not because 4,000,000 women war-workers are on a diet! Over three-fifths of the women now engaged in defense work are servicemen's wives,

widows, and women whose husbands' incomes are too meager for the family's support. These women have family obligations. These women simply have no time to eat before going to work. The children must be fed, dressed and sent off to school, or taken to someone's home where they can be cared for during the day. Dishes must be washed, beds made. Every minute is precious, so women eliminate the one thing which affects themselves alone—eating breakfast.

## Hard Labor

Having attended to manifold household duties, the woman worker starts off for her job. It may involve hard physical labor—in the shipyards, for instance. It may be monotonous repetitive work, under the most intensive speed-up systems. Or it may require operating a machine designed for men, so that every motion necessitates greater physical exertion than women have been accustomed to using. She probably stands all day, for even in New York, where state labor laws require that she be provided with a chair, war plants violate this small but important comfort under the guise of "wartime emergency."

After eight, nine or ten hours of work, interrupted by a hurriedly gulped lunch, the woman worker punches the time clock, ready to leave the shop. Her day is over—well, not quite.

There is shopping to be done on the way home, for the whole family must eat. By the time she reaches the stores, scarce commodities have all been sold; she may have to trudge from store to store, in search of

a few potatoes, or plan meals based on substitutes. Then she prepares dinner! After dinner, dishes must be washed, the children sent to bed.

But surely her work is done now! Oh, no; there's the family washing to do, because laundry services have been curtailed, and their cost increased; lunches must be made for the next day; the house must be cleaned. If the woman worker manages to average six hours of sleep a night, she is considered fortunate by her fellow-workers.

## Manifold Duties

These day-to-day tasks by no means complete the list of chores the defense worker must do. There are periodical shopping trips to keep the children clothed; to take them to the dentist; to pay bills. The smallest added duty begins to loom before her, as a woman co-worker told me, "like a mountain I just can't climb." She spoke to me on the day she left the factory.

"Do you know why I'm quitting? Because my husband asked me to mail a lock to him at camp. Isn't that silly? But for three weeks I've been worrying about getting to a hardware store, wrapping the lock, and going to a post office to mail it. I just can't do it. I'd rather go back to slinging hash at \$15 a week, than be haunted by a lock."

It is not the accumulation of tasks, the constant pressure of a rigid schedule, not the physical strain of the work, or the undermining of her health by skimpy meals, that proves the breaking point for the average woman, however; by far the most

important factor is the problem of her children's welfare.

According to figures revealed at a hearing before the House Appropriations Committee, "at the present time only 65,772 children are being taken care of in 2,243 child care projects. This does not begin to meet the existing needs, as evidenced by the fact that four out of five women hired today leave their jobs because of home problems." (CIO News, Feb. 23).

Frequently women with small children volunteer for night shift work, intending to care for their children during the day, and take "cat naps" during the afternoon or evening. Impossible though it seems, they hold to their plan with grim determination until the inevitable happens—a complete physical breakdown.

## Juvenile Delinquency

The woman who chooses the day shift faces the need of finding some way to provide for her children's care while she works. Nurseries are few and far apart; seldom do their schedules match the long hours of defense plants. Usually a friend or relative must be asked to help. If children are of school age, they are left to their own devices for several hours each day, a major reason for the wartime leap in juvenile delinquency.

Epidemics of children's diseases strike easily at workers' youngsters who are shunted from home to home in rush hour crowds on subways and buses, sent to afternoon movies for safety, or just left to roam the streets. When illness strikes, the mother

must stay home; frequently this added nervous strain leads to her own physical collapse.

These are the reasons why women consistently have a higher rate of absenteeism than men, and why so many eventually leave the shops. The government, the employers and the capitalist press have been loudly decrying the loss of production due to women's "irresponsibility." Their solution: Chain the women along with the other workers to their jobs by legislative action!

## Child Care

The few paternalistic concessions made by some war plants are scarcely worth mentioning, except to demonstrate their worthlessness and the hypocrisy of the bosses. Some companies have set up shopping bureaus, which in effect give a single high-priced store a monopoly over the clothing purchases of the women who lack time to go elsewhere. Other plants hire "counselors" who benignly advise women under their jurisdiction. The caliber of their advice is well indicated by the incident in which one such sage told a 70c-an-hour worker to send her mischievous son to a summer camp, explaining, "they only charge \$150 a month, you know!"

The Dec. 27 CIO News suggested a "New Year's Resolution" for all government agencies concerned in recruiting women for war jobs: the launching of a national campaign to help solve the problems confronting women workers. Its author pointed out that money now wasted in training

women who cannot remain in their jobs, would pay for adequate child care facilities, recreational programs for young people, government restaurants where meals could be served at cost, and so forth. In addition, shopping facilities and laundry services could be improved.

## Minimum Program

The mere publication of these suggestions however will not end the problem, nor will it "pressure" the government into action. As evidence, the Feb. 7 issue of the CIO News, two and a half months later, reports that there is a child care crisis; "the Federal Works Agency has no funds for new projects. . . ." The article further points out that even the projects now in operation are in danger of closing for lack of funds.

The unions have the responsibility of taking the lead in aiding women workers, by demanding a continuation and strengthening of protective legislation, to minimize physical causes of fatigue; staggered shopping time, to make continuation of home duties possible; equal pay for equal work, and adequate nurseries, conveniently located in working class neighborhoods, financed by the government, and run under the direction and control of the unions.

This represents a minimum union program today to meet the needs of women workers who comprise a majority of the working force in many industries. Such a program will prove to the women workers, many of whom are new to unionism, that their problems can only be solved through the instrumentality of the labor movement.

## TRADE UNION NOTES

By Joseph Keller

"Labor must have its own political party entirely independent of the bosses and their influence," declares the resolution calling for formation of an independent labor party adopted on Feb. 16 by Lodge No. 99, Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen and Engineers, Rochester, N. Y.

Reflecting the New York workers' increasing disgust with present American Labor Party policy, the Rochester railway workers' resolution states that the workers "are becoming more reluctant to participate in election campaigns in support of either old party and have become sick and tired of depending on so-called 'Friends of Labor.'"

Citing Roosevelt's wage-freeze policy and "dictatorial decrees" against labor, the resolution charges that "the administration must and does give way to the most reactionary and labor-hating elements in America" and that "it is impossible for labor to have its basic social problems solved by either of the two old parties."

The resolution concludes by proposing the "immediate formation of an independent party of labor, based on the trade unions and cooperating with other groups of labor and working farmers who express a similar desire." It calls on the international leaders of the railway unions to initiate a conference of all union bodies, including the AFL and CIO, "for the purpose of forming a labor party."

New York's American Labor Party showed a tremendous decline in influence in the special election for Congressman from the preponderantly Democratic Twenty-First Congressional District of New York City. It was able to hornswoggle only 3,226 voters to vote under its label for the old wheelhorse Tammanyite Democrat, James H. Torrens. Torrens, running as a Democrat, barely defeated the Republican candidate, in an election which brought out but one-fourth of the customary voters in this working class district.

Not the least discreditable consequence of the ALP leaders' support of Tammany, was the party's great loss of prestige among the Negro workers who form a large part of the population of the district. The Negro workers turned away from the Democrats, because of disgust with Roosevelt's Jim-Crow policies.

As even the N. Y. Times, March 2, admitted: "Representatives of all groups put the treatment of Negro members of the armed services first among the causes for the change in attitude. Resentment has fed, it was said, on segregation of troops, on the refusal of some of the women's auxiliary services to accept Negro recruits, and especially on the civilian attitude near the camps in Southern States where many northern Negroes are quartered. Another cause of dissatisfaction with the Administration, it was agreed, has been the alleged failure of the President's Fair Employment Practices Commission to enforce its injunctions against discrimination. . . . Also

involved was said to be a growing rebellion against 'second class' citizenship status."

The most important reason for the indifference and apathy of labor in this election, and the consequent loss of ALP influence, is the fact that the workers are sick and tired of going to the polls and voting for some Tammany Hall wheelhorse or Republican crook, under the ALP label, and pretending that this constitutes independent labor politics.

Both the Dubinsky-Social Democratic and the Hillman-Stalinist factions inside the ALP are trying to shove responsibility on the other for the fiasco in the Twenty-First Congressional District elections. Actually, it is their common policy of backing capitalist party candidates which has disgusted the workers, and drives them away from the ALP.

President William Green last week enjoined all AFL affiliated bodies "under no circumstances" to collaborate with Sidney Hillman's CIO Political Action Committee. He made it clear, however, that the AFL leadership continues its "non-partisan" support of capitalist party politics through the traditional "reward your friends and punish your enemies" policy, and does not wish its anti-CIO move to be interpreted as opposition to Roosevelt.

Green's action is a completely reactionary thrust at the idea of labor political unity as well as an expression of his opposition to united action with the CIO on the economic field. As his statement indicates, he has no difference in principle with the political program of the CIO Political Action Committee, which is attempting to pursue the very reactionary course endorsed by Green.

John L. Lewis, President of the United Mine Workers, let out last week a red-baiting blast at the "communists" who, he said, dominate the CIO. Lewis added that if he had remained head of the CIO, the "Communists would have been weeded out long before now."

Every unionist knows that it was precisely under the regime of Lewis that the Stalinists began their penetration and gained their strength inside the CIO. Murray is carrying on where his ex-chief left off.

This attack of Lewis has the immediate purpose of discrediting the CIO Political Action Committee. Lewis doesn't attack the CIO Committee because it practices "company unionism" on the political field, but because it is dominated by "communists."

Lewis again serves to remind us that the ordinary pro-capitalist union bureaucrat is incapable of fighting the Stalinists on any progressive basis. Either the bureaucrats collaborate with the Stalinists, as Murray does today and Lewis did yesterday, or they red-bait and attempt to bureaucratically expel their opponents.

## The Militant

may now be purchased at 242 Broadway, San Diego, Cal.

## Murray Sidetracks Fight To Scrap Steel Formula

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tain the idea that the WLB will render a favorable decision under these circumstances. The members of the WLB admit that they do not have the authority to do so. What then can be the purpose of burying the case in the WLB which can only delay the inevitable showdown with the administration?

This whole despicable conduct of the steel union bureaucrats in the current wage negotiations, proves, beyond a doubt, that they are not serious about the fight. They are in fact waging nothing but a sham battle, designed to throw dust into the eyes of the steel workers. They pretend to be doing everything possible to break through the Little Steel formula, while they are actually betraying the cause.

The treacherous conduct of Murray and his associates stands out all the more glaringly because it comes just a few months after the epic struggle of the miners. How differently that wage negotiation was conducted! There was no question in their negotiations about whether the miners union meant business!

In the very first meeting with the coal operators, Lewis, in the name of a half million union men, flung down the gauntlet of battle. The WLB, he said, was nothing but "a court packed against labor." Trust the WLB? "If I had a yellow dog," Lewis said, "I would hate to have his standard of living fixed by this man Davis and the men who are doing his dirty work in the War Labor Board." To demonstrate that they were not only talking, the miners' union had Thomas Kennedy, Secretary-treasurer of the

UMW, demonstratively resign from the board.

The miners' fight made clear to the whole labor movement that organized labor has the power to smash the Little Steel formula, showed that only militant independent class action can win for labor its just demands. The miners' struggle further demonstrated that it is not the Davises or the Vinsons, but Roosevelt himself who is responsible for the infamous wage-freeze and who is its chief instigator. The miners' strikes proved conclusively that a successful fight for wages can only be waged in direct opposition and struggle against Roosevelt and all his bureaus and boards. They further demonstrated that such a fight can be won.

But Murray and Co. are not interested in struggle. They are engaged in a deliberate conspiracy to shield Roosevelt from the wrath of the working man. They are lined up behind Roosevelt and are more interested in preventing any "embarrassment" to him than in fighting for the unpostponable demands of the rank and file.

The National Convention of the United Steel Workers is scheduled to meet in Cleveland on May 9. The rank and file militants must now bend every effort to have the coming convention call the top bureaucrats sharply to account and to condemn their whole strategy of belly-crawling and surrender. The steel workers must say to Murray and Co.: We want our negotiations handled the miners' way!

The steel workers are in an incomparably stronger position than were the miners. They are not isolated. They are part of a powerful organization of over

five million workers. The rank and file must raise the demand that the CIO representatives immediately break with the discredited, company-dominated War Labor Board. Murray must now be forced to call a national conference of all unions to map out a course of independent and united labor action

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## Stalinists Acclaim Wall Street's Plan As Labor Program

(Continued from page 1)

bought and paid for by the American people.

Still, The Worker is disturbed by the "great amount of space that press accounts" have given to these two "details." The emphasis on these items in the capitalist press, complains the Worker, has "encouraged" the workers to look on the whole plan with a jaundiced eye. It's all right for the capitalists to rob the country blind—but they shouldn't talk about it!

As for "slight" omissions in the plan about which The Worker sees no reason to make a fuss, the principal oversight is a "mere" lack of any concrete program for preventing unemployment, other than the establishment of a "Work Director." His only specific directive is to establish "one place" in each community where ex-servicemen can "learn their rights." How they are to find jobs, the Baruch plan does not indicate.

## WALL STREET AGENTS

Some people, complains The Worker, have even been so small as to "find fault" with "the people who were picked" to administer the Baruch plan machinery. What if Roosevelt has appointed the world's biggest cotton merchant, a notorious anti-labor plutocrat, to have full authority under the Baruch plan to "dispose" of the government "surpluses" to the monopolies? What if Roosevelt has designated a reactionary Harding "Ohio Gang" hold-over, an outspoken opponent of work relief, a corporation executive and candidate for the New York Stock Exchange presidency, to direct the Baruch plan's "employment" program?

But, lest anyone gets the suspicion that the Stalinists favor "withholding criticism" of the report where due, The Worker finally uncovers one "weakness." Labor, it complains, should be granted some "say-so" about the future operations of the Baruch plan through a "joint labor-management-government set-up."

The Stalinists feel the need for a bit of "labor" camouflage to conceal the machinations of the corporation agents in administering the Baruch plan. A few labor bureaucrats as window-dressing might help the administration and Big Business to fool the workers.

But, no matter. The Stalinists are no hair-splitters. They are ready to vote for the Baruch plan, with or without "labor" window dressing. They are brazenly trumpeting the message abroad that Browder was not fooling when he announced that the Stalinists have become the most slavish adherents of American Capitalism. If Wall Street now intends, by means of the Baruch plan, to steal billions of dollars worth of war plants and equipment, paid for by the people, to further tighten its monopoly stranglehold and pave the way for mass unemployment, the Stalinist finks stand ready to help sell this program too to the American people.

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## The Negro Struggle

By Charles Jackson

### The Only Way Out

We have reviewed in the two previous issues the oppressed condition of the Negro today in the Army and Navy that is the result of the policy of segregation as practiced in this "democracy."

The question now in the Negro's mind and on his tongue is: what is the way out of this dilemma? Let us inspect the types of political strategy that are being set forth by our leaders. The Democratic politicians ask us to support their party because Roosevelt is a "humanitarian" and a "friend of the common man" at heart. Further, Mrs. Roosevelt must be a Negrophile because she has her picture taken with Negro children, Negro soldiers and Mrs. Bethune—as if to prove that these creatures won't bite. But before the eyes of the Negro worker today is the plain as day fact that discrimination and segregation are getting steadily worse under the Roosevelt policy of talk pretty and do nothing. What can we expect from that party of the reactionary South which is really run by the Rankins, Bilbos, Connallys and Smiths?

### OTHER PARTIES

The Stalinists are becoming more discredited as a result of such ridiculous proposals that "the Negro should postpone his militant fight for equality for unity in the war effort"—just as if we didn't have sense enough to know that the proper time to fight for your rights is when your opponent is occupied in an outside brawl.

All signs indicate that the Republican party is gaining great Negro support as a result of the mass resentment against the Roosevelt administration and its treatment of the Negro soldier. In fact this may be a significant factor in the national elections. Of course support of the Republicans will accomplish nothing and conditions will worsen regardless of which capitalist party wins the election. It is only because of a lack of correct political education that Negroes can continue to be fooled into shifting back and forth between two parties that represent the same ruling class interests. This farce, the "two-party system," resembles nothing so much as the aimless two-step of a blind man.

### WE MUST FIGHT

Advocates, like A. Philip Randolph, of the "Negro non-partisan political bloc," while admitting that both major parties are alike, contradict themselves by advising us to "throw our support" to such individual candidates as they Democrat or Republican who will "do something" for the Negro. But an individual, even if he "means well," once in office is subject to the pressure of his party organization rather than to the desires of a 10% minority. A Negro political bloc, therefore, that supports any representative of the capitalist "way of life" will not attain its end because the capitalist agent is always at the mercy of the interests of the

financiers whose interests are, in the end, diametrically opposed to the interests of every Negro worker.

Finally there are several groups of idealistic dreamers who think equality can be attained by "people of good will" sitting down to talk it over and finally convincing everybody to be nice to everyone else. These moralists advise "non-violent" action and other pacifist methods. If these people would pull their ostrich heads up out of the sand long enough to see the economic side of the struggle they would realize that we, like every other oppressed group, must fight for what we get.

### ALL THE WAY

The facts lead us to this decision. Negroes cannot win equality by limiting their political strategy within the confines of the oppressive capitalist system. It is like trying to fly a kite in a prison cell. Before the kite gets off the ground we run into a wall. Turning back the other way we meet another barrier. What is worse, in the case of capitalism today in its death agony, is the fact that these walls are gradually moving closer together upon us. Our endurance is almost gone and an acute attack of claustrophobia is about to set in.

That is why the only way out for the Negro is—all the way out. All the way out from within the confining walls of this prejudice fostering, segregating, discriminating, exploiting and oppressing capitalist system. All the way out into the economically free air of socialism here and throughout the world where the profit motive and its greedy manifestations are eradicated forever; where there will be no more promoting race hatred through control of every educational device as well as through the civil courts, the army and the navy.

A Workers and Farmers government would grant the Negro economic, political and social equality immediately. It would do so, as a matter of fact, out of necessity as well as conviction. Because they would realize that the capitalists' only hope of regaining their power would be by splitting the numerically superior working class along racist and other lines. A Workers and Farmers Government would combat all race prejudices by education as well as by law as was done in the USSR between 1917 and 1923. Under such government and only under such government would white and Negro workers be taught to unite for mutual protection and advancement.

Who can successfully lead this fight? The working class of all races and all nationalities. We will be resisted, however, tooth and nail by the exploiters and we must be prepared to defend ourselves in our struggle for vindication. We, as Negro workers, being socially as well as economically oppressed, belong in the ranks of this army, double strength.

# General Strike Sweeps North Italy While Allies Curb Protest Of Workers In Naples

(Continued from page 1)

Law violators caught during this period were to be shot. Public utilities in the northern cities have suspended operations.

During daylight, columns of workers rounded up in house-to-house searches were marched under guard to "recruiting" officers in Milan where their names are inscribed on lists of "volunteer" laborers going to the Reich. After signing, the men are kept inside barbed wire entanglements until they are taken for transportation to the nearest railroad.

Thousands of workers, it is reported, have fled to join partisan groups that are inflicting heavy damage on German transport.

### MASS RESIST

It is clear that the Italian workers are not taking these repression and shootings lying down. Retaliations against the fascist leaders continue. The Milan Corriere della Sera on March 3 reported eight killings of fas-

dragged the Italian people back into the bloody mess, the leaders of these parties then told the workers to look upon the Allies as liberators and restorers of democracy to Italy. Today, they are again trying to enlist the Italian masses behind the imperialist slaughter, this time on the Allied side.

### RESTRAIN WORKERS

These parties have tried at all costs to restrain the workers from the kind of militant mass action which brought about the downfall of fascism and which the workers are using so effectively against the Nazis in North Italy. However, Allied policy has so aroused the workers that the "Committee of National Liberation" coalition was obliged finally to call a ten-minute strike. In the very act of making this menacing gesture, these servile politicians exposed their utterly slavish attitude. To prove to the Allied authorities and Italian capitalists how harmless and house-broken they really are, they instructed the demonstrators to work an extra fifteen minutes during the noon-hour of the day set for the ten-minute strike! Thus these parties proposed to donate an extra five minutes labor to the Italian capitalists for the "privilege" of demonstrating against the capitalist regime.

### ALLIES CRACK DOWN

Subsequent developments quickly showed that they didn't intend to put up even this much of a fight. Alarmed by the prospect of independent working class action, limited though it was, the Allied military authorities immediately moved to head it off. Sir Henry Maitland Wilson, Eisenhower's successor, issued an order from Algiers forbidding walkouts anywhere in the Mediterranean territory under his command. Gen. Sir Henry Noel MacFarlane, chief of the Allied Control Commission, sent a letter to the leaders of the demonstration prohibiting the strike. Together with Lieut. Col. Charles Poletti, former Governor of New York and now Naples regional administrator, he summoned the party leaders into conference and put the heat on them. Police confiscated most of the leaflets announcing the demonstration.

These high-handed attempts at repression sharpened the hostility of the workers toward the Allied authorities. "Typhus-ridden Naples buzzed with anticipation of the strike," cabled the U. P. correspondent on March 3, "since the effort to prevent it has been turning rapidly from a protest against Mr. Churchill's opinions and Premier Badoglio's government into a demonstration against the Allied Control Commission." (N. Y. World-Telegram, Mar. 3).

### DANGEROUS PRECEDENT

This same correspondent gives the Control Commission's own reasons for opposing the strike, which expose the Allies' real attitude toward democracy in Italy. "The Control Commission holds that a strike even of only 10 minutes is an intolerable threat to security only 60 miles from the front, that if a dangerous precedent is set the next one may be more serious, and that it is a form of blackmail while the Allied governments still are considering the question of a future Italian government."

How a ten-minute strike which was to result in five minutes more work, if plans went as scheduled, was "an intolerable threat to military security," the authorities don't—and can't—satisfactorily explain. The real explanation is that the strike is "an intolerable threat to the

### Poll-Taxer Smith and Italy

Poll-tax Representative Howard W. Smith, father of the Smith "Gag" Act and co-sponsor of the Smith-Connally anti-strike law, is extending the sphere of his anti-labor operations to other countries. On March 3 this Democratic Party leader demanded that Roosevelt's administration promptly move to suppress the threatened strike of the Italian workers against Badoglio's regime.

"What the administration can do is step on it," howled Smith. "It's got absolute control over them. They don't have to wait for Congress to act in this case." (N. Y. World-Telegram, March 3.)

Roosevelt's Italian agents didn't need any prompting from Smith. They put both military boots down upon the necks of the Italian workers.

One, a "colonel of liaison between the Wehrmacht and the fascist armed forces," was arrested in a cellar night club by anti-fascists disguised as Fascist militia patrols and taken to the outskirts of Milan where his body was found next morning. The Fascist Vice-Prefect of Milan was killed in a street fight.

This heroic resistance of the Italian masses stands in sharp contrast to the cravenness and the treachery of Stalinist, Socialist and Action Party leaders, who in Southern Allied-occupied Italy have called off upon the insistence of Allied authorities the ten-minute general strike set for 11 o'clock, Saturday, March 4. The political demonstration had originally been called in protest against the Badoglio regime of military dictatorship, hunger and oppression. Roosevelt and Churchill have been propping up this discredited monarchist-military government since they concluded a secret agreement with King Victor Emmanuel and the Butcher of Ethiopia last September. The full terms of this deal have never been made public.

### ALLIED POLICY

In defiance of the manifest desire of the entire Italian people to throw the hated monarch and his marshal into the junkpile alongside Mussolini and his other capitalist ruling-class accomplices, the Allied authorities have used their military force to reinstate these criminals in power and to suppress every opposition to them. The determination of the Italian workers to get rid of Badoglio and the King has been intensified by the recent act of the Allies in turning over all authority in Southern Italy to their shadow government and by Churchill's declaration in his latest speech to the House of Commons endorsing the King and his Marshal as the only legitimate power in Italy.

Prodded by the indignant masses, the Stalinist, Socialist and Action Parties, which are united with three other organizations in a so-called "Committee of National Liberation," were forced to call a ten-minute protest strike against these outrageous violations of the will of the Italian people. The red-hot temper of the masses in Southern Italy can be accurately gauged by the fact that even these treacherous parties were forced to authorize protest actions.

These parties have consistently sold out the revolutionary struggle of the Italian workers for emancipation ever since Mussolini was overthrown. Last summer they called upon the Italian workers to support Badoglio in order to get peace. After Badoglio switched to the Allied side and

## CIO Leader Condemns Jailing

Industrial Union of Marine and Shipbuilding Workers of America

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534 Cooper Street - Camden, N. J.

March 3rd, 1944

Mr. George Novack, Sec'y.,  
Civil Rights Defense Committee  
160 Fifth Avenue  
New York, N. Y.

Dear Sir:

I firmly believe that we at home must ever be watchful if we are to preserve the liberty and democratic rights which have been the heritage of Americans through the Bill of Rights, and for which millions of Americans are fighting in all corners of the world.

Therefore, I consider it my personal duty as a responsible Union leader and as an American to strongly protest the recent decision of the Supreme Court of the United States refusing to consider the appeal of eighteen members of the Minneapolis Truck Drivers' Union.

To permit such convictions as these to stand establishes a dangerous precedent, stimulating a disastrous disregard of one of the essential constitutional doctrines safeguarding freedom of speech.

I care not for the thoughts or political beliefs of the eighteen persons convicted under the reactionary Smith "Gag" Act, but I strenuously insist that no American should be penalized for his thoughts or beliefs.

Furthermore, I cannot conceive of any decent American who would not rebel at the conviction of anyone under a law which would have made criminals of the patriots who signed the Declaration of Independence.

Sincerely yours,

John Green

John Green,  
President

President John Green of the CIO Industrial Union of Marine and Shipbuilding Workers of America writes a strong protest against the convictions of the 18 Minneapolis Truckdrivers Local 544-CIO and SWP leaders railroaded to jail under the vicious Smith "Gag" Act.

security" of the Badoglio regime which the Allies are backing with all their might. The last two reasons given show that what the Allies fear most of all is the "dangerous precedent" of independent working class action. They don't propose to give the Italian workers any democratic rights, whether it is the right to strike or the right to choose their own form of government. They intend to keep in power a puppet regime of the Badoglio type, no matter how reactionary and hated it may be. And the Allies intend to carry through this dictatorial counter-revolutionary policy, regardless of the repression it requires.

How closely Stalin is collaborating with Roosevelt and Churchill in these counter-revolutionary aims is demonstrated by the following incident. "One of those who attended afternoon meetings of political leaders with the Allied Control Commission officials said all but the Communist representative, Paolo Tedeschi, agreed at that time to call off the strike. A Soviet official attached to the commission, General Solodovnik, then was consulted. He said the strike would be cancelled." (N. Y. Times, Mar. 4).

### STALIN COLLABORATES

After a day of conferences, the Socialist and Stalinist leaders knuckled under to the pressure exerted by the Allied authorities and called off the strike. Fearful of the reaction of the masses, they announced that a mass meeting would be held in a public square in Naples on Sunday, March 5th, in place of the general strike. At

this meeting they proposed to present a petition asking the Allied authorities to reorganize the government along "democratic lines."

### CIVIL WAR

The ferocious civil war now raging in Northern Italy and the growing discontent, unrest and rebellion manifest in Southern Allied-occupied Italy show that the Italian revolution which began so mightily after Mussolini's downfall is not crushed, that it lives, is growing and will surely conquer in the end. Again as in September, the Italian workers are in the forefront of the battle. Again, as in September, the Italian workers are displaying their heroism, their capacity for self-sacrifice and struggle, their indomitable courage and will.

The main leadership is apparently still in the hands of the Stalinists and Social-Democrats. These traitors want to betray the Italian masses to the Allied imperialists and their predatory war. But masses learn rapidly in struggle. And through experiences, such as the latest brazen betrayal, they will learn to distrust the traitors and to thrust them aside.

New devoted revolutionary socialist leaders have already arisen in Italy. They will surely grow in strength; they will surely receive the support of the revolutionary Italian working class. Meanwhile the Italian revolution is again reasserting its vitality and its resources. All support to it!

## Nation-wide Tour Is Scheduled By CRDC

(Continued from page 1)

Philadelphia Industrial Union Council-CIO, heads the labor sponsors of this CRDC luncheon.

### NEW PAMPHLET

The new pamphlet published by the CRDC, entitled: "Who Are The 18 Prisoners In The Minneapolis Labor Case?", is slated to come off the press this week. This 32 page pamphlet includes a summary of the salient facts in the case, brief biographies of the 18, a list of 150 union contributors to the defense, and a selection of labor and liberal comment. It also contains a foreword by James T. Farrell, noted novelist and Chairman of the CRDC. Copies can be obtained at 10 cents each from the CRDC National Office, 160 Fifth Ave., New York City.

Also available is a two-color poster, 11" by 17" in size, with the pictures of the 18 prisoners and an appeal for aid to their fight for freedom. Copies can be obtained free of charge from the CRDC.

### Schedule of CRDC Tour

Date	Place	Date	Place
April 23-24-25-26-27	Seattle	May 26-27	Texas
April 28	Portland	May 29-30	St. Louis
April 30 and		June 1	Dayton
May 1-2-3-4-5-6	San Francisco	June 3-4-5	Pittsburgh
May 8 to 22	Los Angeles and San Diego	June 7-8-9-10-11-12	New York
		June 13	New Haven
		June 14-15	Boston
		June 16	New York
		June 17	Newark
		June 18	Bayonne
		June 19-20-21	New York
		June 22-23	Philadelphia
		June 24	Allentown
		June 25	Reading
		June 26	Quakertown



GEORGE NOVACK  
CRDC Secretary

## CANADIAN NEWS LETTER

Tim Buck, leader of the Canadian-Labor-Progressive Party, new name of the Canadian Stalinist outfit, is marching in step with Browder, as new salesman for Capitalism in the western hemisphere. Tim Buck pointed out to the Stalinist faithful that government policies to prevent another depression "will be carried through in Canada only if national unity is maintained on the basis of a frank recognition of the fact that the prospect is for the continuation of capitalistic relationships during the postwar years."

At the same time, to emphasize the fact that the mildly reformist program of the Cooperative Commonwealth Federation is far too radical for Stalinism, the lone Communist member of Parliament in the Federal House, Fred Rose, refused to support the CCF amendment to the Speech from the Throne and cast his vote with the reactionary, pro-capitalist MacKenzie King Government.

Thus we have the slightly ludicrous spectacle of the CCF bureaucrats rejecting Communist offers of unity because the latter are too reactionary.

The Stalinists in their blind rush to the right are coming in head-on collision with the workers and farmers of Canada who are moving leftward. Today even the reformist leadership of the CCF is able to pose as a defender of socialist integrity against the communist traitors.

\*\*\*

The Trades and Labour Congress of Canada, AFL, rival of the Canadian Congress of Labour which is affiliated to the CIO, declared last week that it was not going to compete with the CCL in fighting for the rights of Canadian workers.

In a memorandum submitted to the Canadian Government, the Trades and Labour Congress stated: "We do not agree that any section or group of society

should take advantage of the war situation—we cannot agree that now is the time for political parties to utilize this crisis and waste valuable time in advancing their own political prestige."

This sycophantic statement, coming soon after the heated sessions which CCL leaders had with the Cabinet were hailed by the capitalist press as "a model of finesse and something of a TCL diplomatic victory over the Canadian Congress" (Toronto Globe and Mail, Feb. 25).

Apparently, all you have to do to score a "diplomatic victory" is to crawl on your belly!

TCL Vice-president Pat Sullivan, Stalinist leader of the Seamen's Union, presented the brief on behalf of the AFL fakery. Just a few months ago, Pat was in a Canadian government concentration camp. For his new role, Prime Minister MacKenzie King handsomely complimented him: "You have placed a heavy obligation on the Government to cooperate with you to that end (of advancing the war effort)."

The Canadian Catholic Confederation of Labor, according to reports, also presented a brief which won praise from Mr. King. Since this latter priest-ridden organization is one of the leading strike-breakers in the province of Quebec, Sullivan and the AFL bureaucrats are in the right company.

The CCL, which represents the new mass production unions, has openly recognized the necessity of labor political action. At its last annual meeting, it voted to take political action through the CCF. That is one reason why the Stalinists, who have considerable influence within certain AFL unions, are in such a panic to channelize the labor movement back into the arms of the capitalist government.

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### PIONEER PARAGRAPHS

## INTERNATIONAL CHARACTER OF THE SOCIALIST MOVEMENT

Q: (By Mr. Goldman): What is the position taken by the party on the question of Internationalism?

A: (By Mr. Cannon): The party is Internationalist to the very core.

Q: And what do you mean by that?

A: We believe that the modern world is an economic unit. No country is self-sufficient. It is impossible to solve the accumulated problems of the present day, except on a world scale; no nation is self-sufficient, and no nation can stand alone.

The economy of the world now is all tied together in one unit, and because we think that the solution of the problem of the day—the establishment of socialism—is a world problem, we believe that the advanced workers in every country must collaborate in working toward that goal. We have, from the very beginning of our movement, collaborated with like-minded people in all other countries in trying to promote the Socialist movement on a world scale. We have advocated the International organization of the workers, and their cooperation in all respects, and mutual assistance in all respects possible.

Q: Does the party have any attitude on the question of racial or national differences?

A: Yes, the party is opposed

to all forms of national chauvinism, race prejudice, discrimination, denigration of races—I mean by that, this hateful theory of the fascists about inferior races. We believe in and we stand for the full equality of all races, nationalities, creeds. It is written in our program that we fight against anti-Semitism and that we demand full and unconditional equality for the Negro in all avenues of life. We are friends of the colonial people, the Chinese, of all those that are victimized and treated as inferiors.

Q: What is the position of the party on Socialism as a world system?

A: We not only stand for an International Socialist movement, but we believe that the Socialist order will be a world order, not a national autarchy which is carried to its absurd extreme by the fascists, who have tried to set up a theory that Germany could be a completely self-sufficient nation in an economic sense, that Italy can be, and so forth. We believe that the natural resources of the world are so distributed over the earth that every country contributes something and lacks something for a rounded and harmonious development.

(From "Socialism On Trial," by James P. Cannon, pages 40-41; 10c; Order from Pioneer Publishers, 116 University Place, New York 3, N. Y.)

## Roosevelt Plans Grab Of Arabian Oil Fields

(Continued from page 1)

participation by the U. S. in post-war naval police duty in that part of the world."

This inevitable military cost becomes particularly clear against the background of four decades of bloody imperialist oil rivalry in the Middle East. In World War I, hundreds of thousands of the flower of British and German youth were slaughtered on the altar of oil imperialism in rival attempts to conquer the Middle East.

The Allied Peace Conference after World War I witnessed an unrestrainedly greedy cat-and-dog fight among the victors for control of the dismembered portions of the Turkish Empire which contained oil. The British imperialists finally gained the influence over most of the vital oil

areas, while the French were given the mandate over Syria.

### ROCKEFELLER INVASION

The American oil monopolies, particularly the Rockefeller Standard Oil interests, began a grand-scale invasion of the Middle East immediately after the last war. Their war with the British interests has been bitter, not stopping short of murder of the agents of the contending companies. After 25 years of the dirtiest international intrigue and maneuvering, the American corporations have managed to sink their teeth into about 40 per cent of the Middle East oil reserves.

To protect the American monopoly interests and enable them to derive monumental profits by exploiting the resources and labor of the Arabian peoples, the Roosevelt administration is

now establishing a formal government stake in the Middle East oil claims. Any attempt of rival imperialists to edge in on these claims will be represented as aggression against the United States government itself. American boys will then be sent to Saudi Arabia to lay down their lives in defending "our" property.

The Arabian oil deal exposes the true character of the war aims of Anglo-American imperialism. Roosevelt and Churchill are bringing the backward colonial peoples not the "four freedoms," but robbery of their natural wealth and slavery. Before the Wall Street imperialists lies the goal of world economic domination. That road is smeared with oil.



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

— LEON TROTSKY

## JOIN US IN FIGHTING FOR:

1. Military training of workers, financed by the government, but under control of the trade unions. Special officers' training camps, financed by the government but controlled by the trade unions, to train workers to become officers.
2. Trade union wages for all workers drafted into the army.
3. Full equality for Negroes in the armed forces and the war industries—Down with Jim Crowism everywhere.
4. Confiscation of all war profits. Expropriation of all war industries and their operation under workers' control.
5. A rising scale of wages to meet the rising cost of living.
6. Workers Defense Guards against vigilante and fascist attacks.
7. An Independent Labor Party based on the Trade Unions.
8. A Workers' and Farmers' Government.
9. The defense of the Soviet Union against imperialist attack.

## Soldier Vote Fraud

A storm of reaction is sweeping through the halls of Congress. The timeservers and lackeys of the American plutocracy, grown arrogant and self-confident thanks to the impotence of the labor opposition are drunk with power. They have thrown all caution to the winds. Their campaign of undisguised labor-baiting and unabashed reaction is hitting on all cylinders.

Right in the midst of the war, on the eve of an invasion which promises to pale into insignificance every previous bloodbath in human history, these Congressional jackals have the temerity to disfranchise 10 million men of the Army, Navy and Merchant Marine. That is exactly what the latest "compromise" soldiers' vote measure, agreed to by the Conference Committees of the House and Senate, means in essence.

A century ago, the doctrine of State's Rights was the formula under which the Southern slaveholders fought to preserve chattel slavery. Today, the alliance of northern monopolists and southern bourgeois resurrect this doctrine to disfranchise 10 million American citizens. As far as they are concerned, it is all right for American boys to die on the battlefield in accordance with "federal regulations," but they cannot vote, except on the strict basis of "states' rights."

Some political observers have explained the unprecedented action of Congress by pointing to the Gallup Poll findings which indicate that the strength of the two major parties is so evenly divided that the soldiers' vote may determine the outcome of the elections in favor of Roosevelt. Such a consideration, of course, may have influenced a number of the anti-Roosevelt congressmen.

Far more fundamental to the whole issue, however, is the determination of the plutocracy to preserve and perpetuate the poll-tax system of the south; to keep in power the small clique of southern bourgeois, who subjugate and enslave the people of the south, black and white, and who are able with impunity to spearhead every national campaign of reaction.

The danger of the poll-tax system with its consequent disfranchisement of the mass of southern people, is now plain for all to see. The poll-tax system has already spawned a bill which proposes the disfranchisement of an additional ten million American citizens.

Labor must make use of this issue to fight for an alliance with the workers in uniform, to smash the attempted disfranchisement of the military

forces and the poll-tax system which is responsible for it. Labor now has the definite opportunity of hurling back the reactionary offensive of Roosevelt and Big Business with its attempt to turn the soldier mass against the labor movement.

## UAW Resolution

To those who fostered the illusion that Roosevelt's "Four Freedoms" were more than demagogic promises, the real plans of the administration as revealed in the Baruch report must come as a shock. Roosevelt lost no time in setting up the machinery to administer the plan. The administrators of course are prominent Wall Street bankers and financiers, representative of monopoly capitalism who, in the name of "free enterprise," have been granted the freedom to plunder the wealth of the people embodied in government owned plant and equipment. The only one of the "four freedoms" now left to the people is the "Freedom of Religion." They are still free to pray that the rapacious appetites of the oppressors will leave them a few crumbs to keep body and soul alive.

Until Roosevelt, with his Baruch plan, put an end to the business, the game of post-war planning had been indulged in by liberals, labor bureaucrats and such vestigial remains of the "New Deal" as Wallace who mouths promises about a bottle of milk for every baby in the world. An outstanding "labor planner" was Walter Reuther of the UAW whose elaborate post-war plans were codified by the executive board of the union and broadcast far and wide. Even the fossilized AFL executive committee took a hand in the game and planned a "brave new world" that would be ushered in after the war.

The real plan of the real rulers of this country: a plan to divide the loot, a plan to establish millions of American people in renovated Hooversville, a plan of opulent wealth for the few and crushing poverty for the many, looks far different than the plans of these dabblers, windbags, hypocrites and demagogues.

A plan for the future, which in essence is a political program, is not worth the paper it is written on unless an instrument is provided to carry the plan into action. Such an instrument can only be an independent political party of labor. The Baruch plan devised by the agents of Wall Street has been embraced by BOTH the Democratic and Republican parties. Political support to Roosevelt can only mean support for the Baruch plan. Labor cannot avoid the conclusion that this plan will inevitably lead to depression, unemployment and hunger. To avoid such a descent into the abyss, labor must break decisively with the political parties and politicians supporting the Baruch plan and organize its political party to carry on a serious struggle for labor's own solution to its problems.

## Baruch Plan

The international executive board of the United Automobile Workers, CIO, recently adopted a resolution made public by the union's president, R. J. Thomas, which warned that: "An increasing number of corporations have taken advantage of the patriotic resolve of our members and have deliberately pursued a course intended to deny them their rights under their contracts and to provoke them into engaging in work stoppages."

To what sad state of affairs has the Thomas-Reuther-Addes-Frankensteen leadership led the proud and militant UAW when they can openly whine about the corporations denying with impunity the rights of the membership under their contracts? The end result of the no-strike policy of the leadership is an open confession of bankruptcy. Do they now propose in their resolution to abandon the policy of cringing toadyism and propose to adopt a policy of militant independent action in defense of the union? Not at all! The resolution threatens drastic penalties for those who "resort to work stoppages in response to the provocative acts of management," including the withholding of "any intervention in their behalf in the event of disciplinary actions against them by management." This resolution can only serve to embolden the union hating corporation executives. The corporations now have the green light to go ahead and declare open season on all the shop stewards and committeemen who try to make them live up to their contracts. They have the "unconditional surrender" resolution of the UAW executive board to support their provocations. The resolution lays the basis for a united front between the union bureaucrats and the corporations for a purge of the militants in the UAW.

"Purge those who resist provocation!" That is the formula under which Dalrymple, head of the United Rubber Workers bureaucratically expelled 72 members of the union. The rubber corporation "cooperated" with Dalrymple by firing these workers off the job. The UAW resolution serves advance notice on the auto workers that their executive board is preparing to follow in the footsteps of Dalrymple. Every militant worker, every progressive local in the UAW faced with this threat must demand that the executive board withdraw its provocative resolution.

The chicken-hearted bureaucrats who haven't the guts to lead a fight and compel the profit-bloated corporations to live up to their contracts, now propose to purge those militants who do have the courage to fight for the rights of the union membership. The UAW was not built by, and cannot be maintained under, the doctrine of non-resistance to the bosses' union-busting offensive. The militants who built the union in struggle are now faced with the task of organizing a determined resistance to maintain their democratic rights.

# Roosevelt Uses Army In Municipal Wage Dispute

(Continued from page 1)

was not to achieve a complete power shortage, but to keep open power service to war plants and hospitals. The union sought to achieve a total walkout and then to reassign to the power stations emergency crews of workers. The "protest" committee itself took over responsibility for maintaining repair service and kept a number of repair trucks at "protest" headquarters for trouble shooting. After a few days of the "protest" the Water and Power Department officials were forced to admit that service was maintained only on sufferance of the "protest" committee.

## STANDING JOKE

The standing joke of the workers during the walkout was to pray for rain. Committed to a main strategy of partial service,

the movement counted on a good storm to interfere with the rest of the service. On February 20 their prayers were answered. Los Angeles suffered its worst storm in years. The rain, hail and flood tore down lines all over the city. 85,000 homes were without electricity and a number of factories including one important aircraft plant were shut down. It was at this point that the Mayor and the commissioners were forced to negotiate, which they had steadfastly refused to do up to then, and to extend already granted raises through the duration. But it was also at this point that the Army intervened to prevent the power workers from gaining further concessions. The workers were thus forced to return to work at the same rate of pay.

The "protest" received practically no support from union officials in this area. Other AFL

unions and the CIO State, County and Municipal Workers of America used the shabby excuse that the movement had been styled a "wage protest" instead of a strike to crash the picket lines that were maintained before the plants and the offices of the Department. The local top officials of longshoremen publicly denounced the strike. William Green intervened at Mayor Bowron's request with an angry telegram reminding the workers of the no-strike pledge.

## WORKERS BACK STRIKE

In spite of the fink activity of the top officialdom of the labor movement, the "wage protest" undoubtedly had the backing of Los Angeles' working class population. This is the third time within a period of eight months that public utility workers have downed tools for higher pay.

# Workers' BOOKSHELF

SHARK'S FINS AND MILLET by Ilona Ralf Sues. Little, Brown and Co., Boston. 1944. 331 pp. \$3.50.

The Chinese people are conducting a progressive war for national independence against the Japanese imperialists. But their struggle is hampered, undermined and betrayed by the reactionary and repressive policies of the rotten Chiang-Kai-shek dictatorship which seized power after crushing the revolution of the Chinese workers and peasants in 1926-27.

The author of this book on China is a typical left liberal. Her book however, provides valuable and interesting reading, because of the description of the real state of affairs in China even though she offers only puerile and valueless solutions to the problems she describes.

The author cites many examples of the rampant corruption of Chiang's government taken from her personal experience in China. Chiang's hypocrisy and corruption are revealed in his handling of the opium traffic, the white imperialists' "gift" to the Orient. Six months after his declaration of the "Opium Suppression Plan," Chiang instituted a "revenue-yielding" monopoly of opium production as a result of pressure from the opium dealers. Widely heralded "opium burnings" were held in which garbage, bamboo and everything but opium were burned.

When the author asked a Chinese official why opium wasn't burned, she was told that it was "too expensive!" A few wretched opium addicts were shot in the streets while the big opium dealers continued their activity undisturbed. No wonder! To the post of "Director of Opium Suppression" Chiang appointed Tu Yueh-sen, the biggest opium smuggler in China!

Tu Yueh-sen is more than an opium smuggler—he is China's

most powerful capitalist and, as Sues reveals, one of Chiang's principal financial backers. Here is exposed part of the ties that bind Chiang's dictatorship to the reactionary big bourgeoisie.

Sues heaps example upon example of the Chinese bureaucrats and profiteers wallowing in luxury while the masses starve on a diet of millet. This is the meaning of the very title of the book. Shark's fins are an expensive delicacy, which is eaten only by the very wealthy Chinese. Millet is a coarse grain cereal eaten by the masses.

At the time of the evacuation of Hankow, when medical equipment was most urgently needed for wounded soldiers, rich Chinese families were using Red Cross ambulances to transport their vases, tapestries and rugs out of the city! When the small amount of cargo space on the few planes from Hong Kong could have been used to bring sorely-needed medical supplies, one Chinese banker's wife, typical of her class, ordered a plane of fruit.

The character of the Chiang regime is illuminated by the protestation of one Chinese intellectual who was asked to take over a government post: "I am an honest man, I can't be an official."

Under Chiang's regime the Chinese workers and peasants are brutally mistreated whether they remain in the factories and fields or are conscripted into the army. The author tells of the intolerable working conditions in the Chinese factories and shows how the militarists "recruit" soldiers for the army. "Peasants and workers were taken by force, regardless of age or family, roped together by their wrists, and led to the barracks in long Indian file." Needless to say, no "decent people" were conscripted.

An interesting part of the book is devoted to Sues's visit with the Stalinist-controlled Eighth Route Army, where she interviewed the

leading Stalinist officials. At this period the Stalinists were just coming into the full flower of their "Popular Front" and her interviews with the Stalinist leaders reveal the horrible degeneration of the Stalinist movement.

Chou En-lai, Political Director of the Communist Party, stated that: "Education, not revolution, would emancipate the nation." After some fifty years of "democracy," the Chinese people could "determine freely and knowingly" whether they wanted "the democratic form of government" or "some other form — socialism, fascism, or communism."

The author is bewildered by the incredulous abasement of the Stalinists before Chiang Kai-shek. They "refrained from criticizing the government" in any way, and on one occasion, she reports, Chu Teh gave a talk on the development of the Red Army without so much as mentioning the civil war that raged between it and the Kuomintang for seven years!

This policy of political capitulation to the Kuomintang progressively weakened the position of the former Red Armies. Chiang struck a severe blow at them in 1941 when he descended upon the New Fourth Army in Anhwei province and routed it from its positions after a fierce battle.

A reading of this book, even though written from the point of view of a naive left liberal, who in spite of all her observations and experiences still retains a certain faith in Chiang-Kai-shek and his government, leaves one with the unalterable conviction that the Chinese masses, fighting so heroically against the imperialist invader, will in the course of the struggle, create a new leadership that really represents them, and does not trample upon their aspirations and aims and betray them as does the present reactionary dictatorship of Chiang Kai-shek.

Reviewed by DAVE JEFFRIES.

## "Even-Handed Justice" Under Capitalist Rule

A federal charge of "sabotage," involving a possible prison sentence of 30 years, has been brought against a young welder at the New York Navy Yard because he allegedly "made a defective weld" while working on a battleship. The faulty weld had been almost immediately discovered, and the FBI admits it was due to "carelessness" and not "anti-American activities."

The real purpose for putting the heat on this worker, as revealed by Assistant United States Attorney Albert V. De Meo, is to use him as an "object lesson." "If this indictment is sustained," De Meo stated, "it will serve as a model for prosecuting any person who in the future is deemed guilty of willfully careless work on war equipment."

While pressing a "sabotage" charge against this worker, the FBI has been singularly indifferent to the profit-seeking practices of the shipbuilding corporations, which have been responsible for the crack-up of scores of Liberty Ships and the loss of many lives.

As an example, according to the testimony of a Maritime Commission inspector before the Truman Senate Committee, the Kaiser shipyard officials refused to follow the welding procedure specified in the blueprints of the Gibbs and Cox Co., design agents for the Maritime Commission on the Liberty Ships. Cracks in the various structural components of the ships were reported to the company, which "made no move to correct the causes of these failures, but... delivered the ships with dangerous residual stresses in them unrelieved." Huge weights, as much as 100 tons, were used to force plates into position when they did not fit.

Workers who make mistakes because of speedup and fatigue are threatened with savage prison sentences. But corporations are permitted to get away with deliberate practices that amount to "murder for profit," and which actually constitute sabotage on a wholesale scale.

## Wall Street Prepares For War Against Labor Unions

Under the heading of "industrial munitions," the War Production Board is allocating steel and other materials to produce "shells, machine guns, gas bombs, black-jacks, hand-cuffs and ankle chains" for use in the United States and "in India," according to charges made last week by CIO President Philip Murray. "Industrial munitions" is the term designating arms produced for corporations and local governments to be used in the suppression of strikes and "civil disorders."

Murray is reported to have lodged a vigorous protest against the inclusion of allocations for "industrial munitions" in a recent confidential report of the Controlled Materials Plan Division of the WPB. His complaint was registered in a private session with WPB Chairman Donald Nelson and Vice-Chairman Charles E. Wilson.

The report of the LaFollette Senate Civil Liberties Committee, which held extensive hearings in 1939, revealed that the chief purchasers of "industrial munitions" are the anti-labor corporations and local and state governments. According to the LaFollette report, it has been common practice for the labor-hating corporations to subsidize purchases of "industrial munitions" for local governments.

Although the WPB has not explained the specific purposes of the "industrial munitions," including that they are intended to further Wall Street's war against the labor movement in this country and to help British imperialism slaughter the revolutionary masses of India.

## OPA Director Admits Huge Growth of Black Market

"One out of every three stores" in the country is violating OPA price ceilings and "housewives today are paying \$1,200,000,000 as tribute to the black market in food alone," admitted OPA Administrator Chester Bowles in a radio address on Feb. 29.

Black markets, he declared, are "extensive... in some fields dangerously extensive. It has been estimated that between 3 and 4 percent of the average cost of all food is due to black market operations... In addition there are millions of dollars in overcharges on the sale of clothing, tires, gasoline, furniture, second-hand refrigerators, and other home equipment."

Although attempting to give a generally optimistic picture of the price gouging situation, Bowles was compelled to admit some of the real facts about price rises which the Bureau of Labor Statistics has recently attempted to conceal with phony statistics claiming a cost-of-living rise of only 23.5 per cent since Jan. 1, 1941.

Contrary to the BLS claims — put forward as a basis for denying wage increases beyond the Little Steel formula — Bowles confessed that many vital factors are not included in the BLS figures, including the effect of the black markets and price violations.

For instance, these figures do not measure "the extent to which clothing quality has deteriorated in the last two years," he stated. "Shoddy merchandise is passed off at a price for which you would normally expect to get the finest quality." The term, black market, he admitted "also applies to chiseling on rents in the 350 defense rental areas throughout the country."

These admissions, which can be regarded as very conservative, confirm the charges made by the joint AFL-CIO cost-of-living committee against the fake figures of the BLS, and establish the correctness of the labor survey showing an actual cost-of-living rise of 43.5 percent while wage increases have been limited to 15 percent.

**FREE THE 18!**

# International Notes

## FRANCE

A virtual civil war "exceeding the ferocity of the 1794 reign of terror or the 1871 commune" is raging throughout France against the Nazi and Vichy rulers, according to Ralph E. Heinzen, United Press correspondent recently released from a Nazi concentration camp in an exchange of prisoners.

An underground army over 500,000 strong of whom "more than half are either Communists or Socialists," is conducting a bloody struggle against the Nazi decree to deport a million French workers to slave labor in the Reich. This underground army is composed principally of young workers and poor peasants.

This composition of the underground, plus recent reports of extensive strikes in France, emphasizes the proletarian character of the resistance. So fierce is the struggle that the Nazis have had to waive their four-year restriction against arming of the Vichyites, who have organized a special "security force" numbering tens of thousands to combat the anti-fascist rebellion.

The ruling French capitalists are particularly fearful of the social-revolutionary potentials in this revolt. Thus Pierre Laval confessed in a recent address before commanders of the new militia that: "I know that if the anti-Fascist revolution triumphs I will receive a ball in the neck, but I won't be alone. Many

bourgeois will go down with me."

## KOREA

Korean revolutionaries who have fought Japanese imperialism for over three decades were infuriated last December when they learned how much of the "four freedoms" was reserved for them by the Cairo conferees. In the Cairo statement of aims toward a defeated Japan, Roosevelt and Churchill conspicuously refrained from promising immediate and unconditional freedom for the Koreans, stating only that Korea would be given national independence "in due course."

Kim Koo, President of the Provisional Korean Government in Chungking, last week expressed once more the fears of the 30,000,000 enslaved Koreans that the Allied powers plan to replace Japanese imperialism rule over Korea with their own domination. Koo asserted that "certain individuals"—meaning the Allied rulers—intend to place Korea under "international control for a transitory period after the war." Koo declared that "nothing short of full and immediate independence" would be acceptable to the Koreans, who have been conducting a "holy fight against aggression, imperialism and injustice. We insist that all peoples must be free and equal. They all must have a right to govern themselves."

## ENGLAND

The British Labor Party's executive committee last week reaffirmed its intentions of remaining the indispensable agents of British imperialism in the labor movement by voting continued support of the present Tory-Labor political truce.

These bureaucrats implemented their vote by agreement in speeches that the truce should be maintained until Churchill and the Conservatives seek to break it, or until there has been a partial demobilization of the armed forces.

These moves are intended to head off the growing resistance of the British workers to the political truce which chains them to Churchill's war machine. This resistance has been reflected in recent important by-elections where independent candidates have torn up the Tory-Labor Party agreement and defeated Conservative candidates.

Churchill, who unsuccessfully intervened in several of these by-elections, has also become panicky at the leftward trend of British labor. Last week he began pushing his cabinet's much-publicized "post-war" national health program, a sort of Tory-diluted Beveridge plan. The arch-reactionary Mackenzie King government in Canada, confronted by a similar leftward movement of the workers, is also pushing a phony "health plan."