

NEW ANTI-SOVIET MANEUVERS REPORTED

Gandhi Fast Exposes Real Aims Of British In India

By Felix Morrow

The British government's refusal to release Gandhi from prison, in the face of his readiness to die as a protest, has undoubtedly served to clarify the fact that British imperialism has no intention of granting India independence under any conditions.

The Cripps Mission did a clever job of confusing the outside world, since Cripps — aided by the American capitalist press — pretended that he had gone to offer independence "after the war."

But the confusion sown by Cripps has been slowly dissipating during the ensuing year. For one thing, Churchill, over-confident at the results of the British repressions in India and the "United Nations" successes in the war, permitted himself to crow too soon when he boasted in November: "We mean to hold our own. I have not become the King's First Minister in order to preside over the liquidation of the British Empire."

For another thing, the continuing resistance of the great masses of India, despite the British repressions, has brought home to many the simple thought that so many Indians would not be dying under British gunfire and in British prisons if Cripps had offered them a real alternative.

Now the awful spectacle of the aged Gandhi dying of hunger as his only means of protesting imprisonment has undoubtedly crystallized a world-wide realization of the real aim in India of the British ruling class. What kind of regime is it that dare not release Gandhi? Obviously a regime which has no support at all within the country and which is ready to massacre tens of millions to maintain its totalitarian rule.

WORLD-WIDE PROTESTS

That the true face of imperialist rule in India is becoming plain to a large part of the world is indicated by the protests demanding Gandhi's release which are pouring in on the British government.

On the 14th day of Gandhi's fast, Feb. 23, the Executive Committee of the Australian Council of Trade Unions, representing the entire labor movement of that country, cabled a demand to Churchill for the release of Gandhi.

The same day, in Chungking the *Central Daily News*, known as an official spokesman for the Chinese government, called for the immediate release of Gandhi by the British authorities. This declaration is particularly important as the first public expression of Chinese solidarity with India since the first days of the civil disobedience campaign last August.

The British then took certain punitive measures and the Chinese, dependent upon British-controlled airports in India as the bases for air-borne supplies to China, were compelled to become silent. For an official Chinese

(Continued on page 4)

Pioneer Issues Pamphlet On 'Your Standard Of Living'

A new popular pamphlet, "Your Standard Of Living" by C. Charles, will be off the press and available for distribution within the next few days. Pioneer Publishers announced this week.

The pamphlet discusses wages, prices, taxes, profits, scarcity, the black market, etc., in the same lucid manner which has won favorable comment for the author's articles on these questions in *The Militant* and *Fourth International*. It concludes with an exposition of the Socialist Workers Party pro-

Arguments On Postal Appeal Will Be Heard In Spring

Trade Unions Send Funds to CRDC to Aid in Defense of Minneapolis Militant

MINNEAPOLIS, Feb. 21. — Defense attorneys last Monday filed briefs in the appeal to the Minnesota Supreme Court of the conviction of Kelly Postal, for many years secretary-treasurer of Minneapolis Teamsters Local 544. State prosecutors now have from 60 to 90 days to file their answering brief. The final oral argument before the Minnesota State Supreme Court will probably be heard in late May or June of this year.

Union Strikes to Win Equal Pay for Women Workers

By ELOISE BLACK

Women workers took the lead in a walkout at the Phelps Dodge Copper Corporation in Elizabeth, N. J., last week.

Complaining that their demand of equal pay for equal work had not been met, 100 girl employees in the field wire stranding section walked off the job.

Production was brought to a complete standstill when 1200 of the 1400 employees in the plant joined the walkout in support of the demand of the women workers, and at the same time brought forward a series of grievances on which they declared the union had been seeking arbitration for several months.

According to the union, Local 441 of the CIO United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers, adjustment of the women workers' demand by the War Labor Board had been requested as long ago as October.

The militant action of the women, and the spirit of solidarity displayed by their fellow workers, quickly brought a promise from the Board that the grievances would be arbitrated immediately after resumption of work.

But the girls at Phelps Dodge found that it required the organized action of all of the workers in the plant to force the Board to even consider adherence to this principle.

The experience of these workers is not unusual; hundreds of unions have been given the runaround by the Board. On the other hand the Board has been all too eager to intervene against the workers when employer groups have appealed for assistance.

The Phelps Dodge fight is an encouraging sign that the women workers, who are replacing men in industry in such large numbers, can and will shoulder the responsibility of defending the interests and hard won gains of labor.

Kelly Postal was convicted last year on the trumped-up charge of "embezzlement" following the decision of the members of Local 544 to leave the AFL and join the CIO in 1941. In collaboration with anti-labor state officials in Minnesota, Daniel J. Tobin, President of the AFL Teamsters International, instigated the proceedings against Kelly Postal as part of his efforts to prevent the Minneapolis teamsters from disaffiliating from the AFL.

Postal's conviction came after he had been completely exonerated of almost identical charges in a previous trial, which differed from the first only in the amount of money involved. The judge practically directed the jury to bring in a guilty verdict in the second trial.

THE ISSUE AT STAKE

This frame-up against Kelly Postal involves the important question whether the members of a trade union have the democratic right to decide for themselves the disposition of their union funds, since Postal simply obeyed the unanimous vote of his union at a regular membership meeting. At no time has Postal been accused of misusing the union funds personally.

The Civil Rights Defense Committee, of which James T. Farrell is chairman and John Dos Passos vice-chairman, is directing the defense in the Kelly Postal case. It is now engaged in raising funds to defray the legal expenses of the appeal which will amount to about \$1,000.

The Civil Rights Defense Committee this week reported contributions to the Kelly Postal fund from such organizations as the Workers Defense League, New York; Fleetwood Local 15 of the CIO United Auto Workers, Detroit; Local 2 of the Brewers Union and Local 108 of the CIO United Retail & Wholesale Employees, both of Newark, N. J.; and the Proletarian Club of Rochester, N. Y.

All friends of labor are asked to send contributions for the Kelly Postal Appeal Fund to the national office of the Civil Rights Defense Committee at 160 Fifth Ave., N. Y.

The West Coast this month. The pamphlet—28 pages, 5 cents—which is reprinted from the Dec. 1942 issue of *Fourth International*, is an analysis of the government's Pacific Coast Maritime Industry Board and its effects on the struggles of the waterfront unions. It contains a new introduction which sums up the need for the American workers "to maintain the independence of their trade unions free from domination or control by government boards."

Both pamphlets may be obtained from Pioneer Publishers at 116 University Pl., New York City.

Soviet Gains Continue



German prisoners emerge from dugouts to surrender to Soviet soldiers who had captured a fortified position in their great offensive. These Soviet victories are good news to every class-conscious worker, but the reactionaries don't seem to enjoy such news. (Federated Picture)

McNUTT GIVES ADMIRAL LAND DRAFT WEAPON OVER SEAMEN

Maritime labor appeared this week to have lost a vital round in its almost continuous battle of self-defense against the shipowner-dominated government bureaus. On Feb. 20 the War Shipping Administration, headed by the notorious Admiral "shoot-organizers-at-sunrise" Land, won complete control over the machinery of army deferment for seamen and their union officials.

Henceforth, both union leader and rank and file militants will be able to remain at their jobs only upon the sufferance of Land.

McNUTT'S ORDER

The vital war role played by merchant shipping has always resulted in the deferment of active seamen from army draft. Previously the maritime unions were empowered to make deferment requests to the draft boards for their own members, and to appeal to Washington headquarters of Selective Service if the local boards disregarded their requests.

A Feb. 20 ukase handed down

'Absentee' Firings Set Pattern for Anti-Union Drive

BOSTON, Feb. 22. — The opening shot in what promises to become a new nation-wide campaign against organized labor, was fired this week when 150 welders employed at Bethlehem Steel's Fore River Shipyard in Quincy, Mass., were discharged for "absenteeism."

This is the first mass firing for absenteeism that has taken place in the country, but the Big Business propaganda campaign against this so-called "irresponsibility" indicates that similar moves against the workers will now develop rapidly throughout the industrial areas.

As the *Boston Herald* in its leading editorial of Feb. 17 stated: "What happens there (Fore River) may establish a precedent for the rest of the country." The *Boston Post*, also understanding the action, stated: "... employers all over the nation who are harassed by similar problems gave three cheers and prepared to do likewise." That the editors knew what they were talking about was evidenced by an immediate "work or fight" ultimatum given by the Boston Navy Yard to its civilian employees, following Bethlehem Steel's action.

The Quincy Patriotic Ledger, because its patronage is almost exclusively from shipyard workers, was forced to give a more accurate picture of absenteeism "... the basis of the whole trouble is a lack of understanding about the length of a work week for industries. In addition to the

(Continued on page 2)

Parliament Votes Down Move to Act On Beveridge Plan

Tories, Labor Heads Unite to Defeat Labor Party Motion

By MICHAEL CORT

The British House of Commons defeated on Feb. 18 a Labor Party motion demanding the immediate creation of a government bureau to implement the Beveridge Plan for unemployment insurance and post-war social security.

The Churchill government, which defeated the motion by 335 to 119, not only was critical of many sections of the entirely conservative Beveridge Plan, but refused even to explore any system of social security until some "later date."

The brief history of this plan has served as an index to the fluctuating fortunes of the British capitalist class. The plan was written by Sir William Beveridge during the darkest days of the empire, the summer and fall of 1942, when the British armies had been driven from Singapore, Hong Kong, Burma and Libya.

The existence of the Empire was threatened, and the British workers were restless and demanding to know what sort of a world they were working and dying for.

A NEW SITUATION

The Beveridge plan was meant to quiet the workers, to assure them that their sacrifices were not in vain. It talked in radical terms in order to divert them from taking the revolutionary path, to make them believe that the capitalists would voluntarily bring about a just and equitable society after the war.

But now, when the time had come to vote on the plan, the situation has changed. The British capitalists now feel sure of victory over their German rivals, and they are therefore more confident of their ability to suppress their own workers' resistance to exploitation. They cynically disregard the vague promises they made about security for the workers, and vote against consideration of the Beveridge plan.

(Continued on page 2)

Next Week's Issue

of *The Militant* will contain a detailed report from Mexico of the recent final hearings in the trial of "Frank Jackson," GPU assassin of Leon Trotsky.

USSR Menaced By Finnish 'Peace' Move, Polish Plan, Vatican Plots

Hard on the heels of the latest Soviet victories comes a new series of reports of anti-Soviet intrigues and maneuvers involving important forces in the democratic capitalist countries.

The reports this week centered around:

1. Finland, whose government is believed ready to desert the Axis in return for assurances that it will get Washington-London aid against the Soviet Union.

2. The Polish government-in-exile in London, which openly attacked the Soviet government on Feb. 21 and appealed to the capitalist "democracies" for support in its disputes with the Soviet Union on the ground that "at the Polish-Russian frontier not only the Polish problem is being decided but also the question of peace in Central and Eastern Europe, as well as the whole attitude of the Soviet toward democracy."

3. The Vatican, today the principal center where anti-Soviet elements from the Axis, the United Nations and neutral countries can meet and negotiate. American Archbishop Spellman was on his way to the Vatican, after a visit to Franco, with "U. S. support," said *Time* magazine, for a Vatican plan for a reactionary Central European coalition.

SYMPATHY FOR FINNISH GOVERNMENT

The Finnish government will soon take steps to arrange a separate peace, and intends to request the Vatican to act as go-between if it is inexpedient for either Washington or London to take the job, according to George Axelsson, newspaperman in Sweden who has contact with Helsinki (*N. Y. Times*, Feb. 22).

Washington has thus far refused to declare war on Finland, although it is being used by Hitler as a base for air attacks on U. S. ships. And although Britain is formally at war with Finland, Churchill was reported, while he was in Turkey, to have held a conference with the Finnish minister to that country.

Ever since the first rumors of a Finnish peace move, the *N. Y. Times*, organ of the American monopoly capitalists, has been clamoring for aid to the Finnish government. In an editorial on Feb. 17 it stated: "Despite her present alignment, Finland deserves our sympathy, for she is one of the small nations victimized by the power politics of her mighty neighbors." Evidently the *Times* believes the Finnish government is more to be pitied than censured for its alliance with Hitler, and holds the Soviet Union equally responsible with Germany for this alliance.

The *Times* editorial even offers the services of the American government to the Finnish ruling class, declaring that "the American Government, an ally of Russia which also maintains diplomatic relations with Finland, is in a strategic position to act as possible mediator."

REAL MEANING OF FINNISH MOVES

In sharp contrast the Moscow radio on Feb. 19 broadcast a strong denunciation of the Finnish government. While not referring to the reports of a Finnish peace move, Moscow obliquely indicated opposition to further British-American negotiations with Finland.

The Stalinist *Daily Worker*, which has been strangely quiet for the most part on all these develop-

ments, on Feb. 17 noted editorially that the Finnish government hopes "that our State Department will yet be able to save them from the consequences of a Hitler defeat" and appealed for a U. S. declaration of war on Finland.

The whole discussion around Finland is being carried on in the capitalist press as though the issue were: Will the Soviet Union take a slice of Finland to strengthen its frontiers strategically?

In reality the issues are far more deep going. Finland since 1918 has been an imperialist pawn on the borders of the Soviet Union, and not the pawn of the German ruling class alone. So long as Finland remains capitalist it will remain a base from which new imperialist attacks can be launched against the workers' state. We are for the self-determination of the Finnish people but that can come only when it is an independent Soviet Finland.

SIKORSKI SPEAKS OUT

The Polish prime minister, General Wladyslaw Sikorski, was encouraged for the first time to come out with a public criticism of the Soviet Union on Feb. 21. This can be explained only by the increasing anti-Soviet speculation and discussion under way in London and Washington at the present time.

Sikorski has been known as the leader of the Soviet-"collaborationist" wing of the Polish ruling class, and has hitherto come under heavy fire from the anti-Soviet "collaborationist" wing which is dominant in Polish-American and Polish-British capitalist circles. Up to now Sikorski has deemed it unwise to openly tell his critics what was in his mind, but he now feels a little bolder as the result of the general atmosphere in London and Washington.

In an interview with the press, Sikorski said that "there are very great difficulties with Russia" at present. He "hoped" they could be overcome and that Poland's pre-war frontiers would be restored. In other words, Sikorski wants to overcome "present difficulties" on his own terms.

What these terms are was revealed on Feb. 4 by the well-informed head of the *Chicago*

(Continued on page 2)

Next Sunday Forum To Hear 'Labor Party Prospects-1943'

Why do American workers need their own independent political organizations? How are the trade unions becoming politically conscious? What is the significance of the recent elections and the pact for joint legislative activity between the AFL, the CIO, the Railroad Brotherhoods and the National Farmers Union? What is the attitude of the Trotskyists toward an Independent Labor Party based on the trade unions?

These are some of the questions which William F. Ward will discuss in his up-to-the-minute talk on "Labor Party Prospects-1943," to be given Feb. 28, 8 P.M., at the Sunday Open Forum, Second Floor, 116 University Pl., New York City.

The lecture, which should prove especially educational to trade union militants, will be followed

by a question and discussion period, and refreshments.

The following Sunday evening, March 7, the noted labor leader, V. R. Dunne of Minneapolis, will speak on "Labor and the Four Freedoms."

Announcement of future lectures will be mailed on request by the New York School of Social Science, 116 University Pl., which is sponsoring the Forum.

A Short History of 'The Militant'

By HELEN RUSSELL

The Biddle-Post Office attack against *The Militant* is in reality directed against the entire Trotskyist movement. For through out its close to fifteen years of active life, *The Militant* has been the expression of the aim, program and organization of the Trotskyist party, presenting at once an analysis and a call to action. It is only in this light that workers can understand the full meaning of the administration's attempts to silence this paper.

The history of *The Militant* has been the history of a continual fight for the principles of international revolutionary socialism on two fronts; on one hand, against the capitalist system of exploitation, and on the other, against the betrayers of the workers' struggle for socialism.

In 1928 *The Militant* made its first appearance as a result of the increasing sharpness of the battle of the international revolutionary socialist position of the Russian left opposition led by Leon Trotsky against the bureaucratic nationalist policy of Stalin. Though the points at issue may have appeared obscure to some, in reality the programmatic struggle involved the basic issue of whether the Russian Revolution was to live, grow, and extend itself throughout the world, thereby insuring its complete victory, or whether it was to be undermined and strangled by the nationalist Krenmlin bureaucracy.

The Militant appeared after the Sixth Congress of the Communist International, when some American delegates had returned determined to defend the Trotskyist policies in the Communist Party of this country and had been either expelled or suspended from membership. Trotsky had been expelled from the Comintern, but was not yet exiled from the Soviet Union. All democratic channels within the Comintern to express his views had been illegally denied to him.

The first historic issues of *The Militant* contained documents of the Left Opposition which had been suppressed by Stalin, among which were articles by Trotsky in criticism of the Draft Program of the Comintern and Lenin's famous "Last Testament." The publication of such documents was a task of great historic importance and is one which the Trotskyist movement continues to carry on to this day in answer to Stalinist distortions of history.

At this period *The Militant* was therefore primarily a theoretical organ engaged in a programmatic battle with the Stalinist bureaucracy. Trotsky's article criticizing the Draft Program, which exploded the Stalinist theory of building socialism in one country and pointed out the criminal political mistakes—particularly in the Chinese Revolution—resulting from Stalin's policies, was later published as a book, "The Third International after Lenin." Many did not see the issues clearly then. Only the blind can fail to see them now.

The Stalinist leaders, to be sure, understood the issues even then—and their answer to the force of arguments of the Left Opposition was the argument of force. Armed bands attempted to terrorize *Militant* salesmen, many of whom were beaten and had their papers torn from their hands. Meetings called by the Left Opposition were broken up by the Stalinist hoodlums, using brass knuckles and knives.

The Militant of the early period has many such reports of the gangster tactics of the C.P. leadership. It also, however, served notice to the Stalinist hoodlums that the newly-born Trotskyist movement was prepared to defend itself from physical violence by workers' defense guards. After these defense guards were formed, the reports of such violence grew rare.

Appeals to the Communist Party rank and file to return to the internationalist position figured prominently in the paper's columns. As members throughout the world were expelled, they grouped themselves around *The Militant*, sending in letters stating their agreement with the fundamental position upheld by the paper.

Thus the nuclear membership and the initial organizational structure of the Trotskyist party took form, with *The Militant* serving as a focus for the regrouping of the American revolutionary movement. A handful of people who clearly saw what was happening to the Russian Revolution under the bureaucratic grip of Stalinism united to form the Left Opposition. *The Militant* was founded as their principal weapon in this struggle, and through many changes in form and function it continues to be the expression of the workers' fight for socialism.

(This is the first in a series of articles on the history of *The Militant*.)

A Program For Child Care

Trade Unions Should Demand Setting Up Of Nurseries Within the Factories

By IRENE JAMES

In Detroit there is a plan worked out by the CIO Council's Committee on Day Care of Children with the Office of Civilian Defense, to set up a neighborhood nursery in every mile radius where there are 25 children whose mothers work in war plants. Assuming that the nursery is centrally located, this means a half-mile trip for many of the women. Although this plan represents an advance on present conditions, I think only a working mother who has had to cope with it herself, can appreciate just what it means to take one or two small children half a mile, frequently in bad weather, before starting on a second trip to the plant.

I vividly remember one dark morning when I had to maneuver my baby carriage through an ice storm. Turning a corner, I hit a blinding north wind. I was forced to walk backwards on the slick pavement and drag the coach after me; I miscalculated, the coach spun away and landed in a snow-drift. I was trying to yank it out when a truck pulled up. The driver got down, helped me to free the coach, and looked startled when he saw my baby, just four months old.

"I'm not crazy," I said defensively. "I don't do this for fun!"

Ice storms are rare. A trip to the nursery would not seem so difficult if it were the only trip which a mother had to make. But after she brings her children to the nursery it will take her another half hour, even an hour, to get to the plant. At the end of 8 or 10 hours at the factory, a similar job of double transportation awaits her. She is then expected to shop—at night, when stores are closed or sold out—and cook the main meal of the day.

The workers found a simple answer to this problem in the

Soviet Union: Nurseries at the plant itself! A still better plan would be nurseries at housing projects for mothers in industry. Pending such projects, the next best plan is nurseries at the plant.

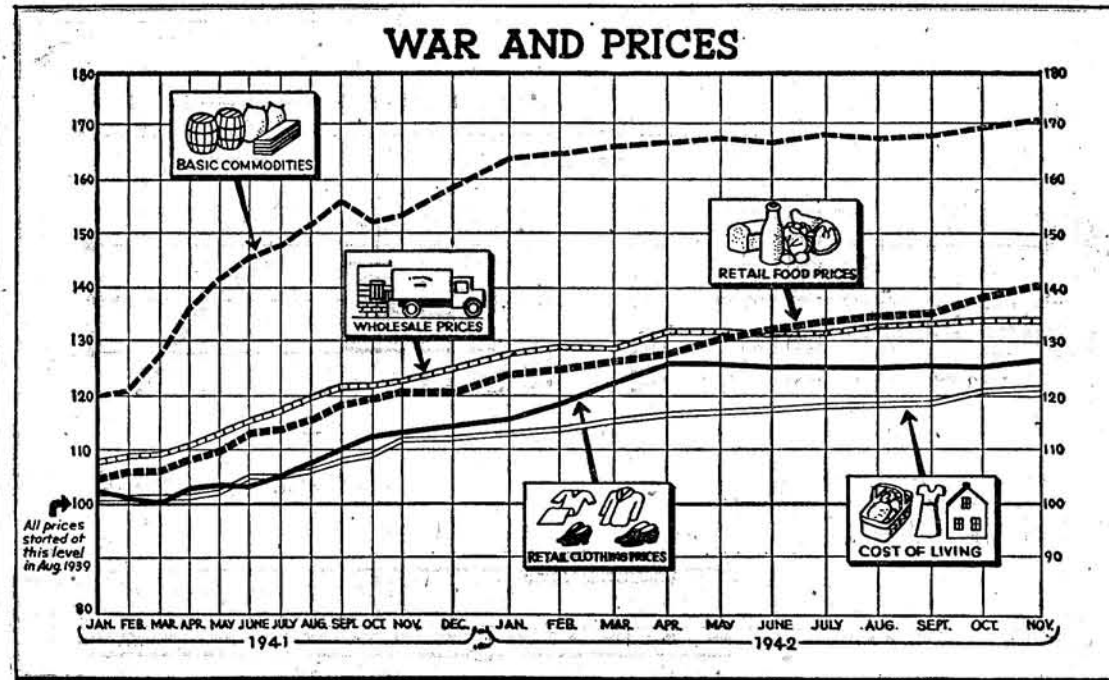
PLANT NURSERIES

In isolated instances, nurseries have been established at plants in England, and a few of this type exist in the United States. Such nurseries completely eliminate the problem of double transportation. At the same time, the hours of a plant nursery automatically adjust to the mother's working hours.

By contrast, in a neighborhood nursery which cares for as many as 60 children, one mother will work on a 7 A. M. shift, another will go to a 10 A. M. office job. One gets through at three in the afternoon, another at seven in the evening. It is impossible for the neighborhood nursery to adjust to all these schedules, and as a result the mother usually needs extra help before the nursery opens or after it closes. This problem does not exist in a plant nursery; workers on the same shift have uniform hours.

Through their unions, working mothers should demand the organization of such nurseries, and put pressure on the federal government to cooperate with the workers in plans to set up and finance them.

It might, however, take several months to organize such plans and build the nurseries. In the meantime, neglected children can receive immediate care in many nurseries that are now open half the day. The union movement should lose no time in exerting pressure on the government to lengthen the hours of these nurseries, lower the age of entry, and make them more accessible to workers.



This chart, prepared by Consumers Union, shows that the cost of living has increased almost 22% since August, 1939; retail clothing prices 27%; wholesale prices 33%; retail food prices 40%; and basic commodities 42%.

(Federated Picture)

Senate Sub-Committee OK's The 'Equal Rights' Amendment

By LARISSA REED

A Senate Judiciary subcommittee has submitted a favorable report on the "Equal Rights" amendment to the full committee, and the reactionary sponsors of this falsely-named bill were delighted "with the rapidity with which it was reported out of the subcommittee," reports the *N. Y. Times* of Feb. 17. This bill is being rushed through for adoption with the vigorous aid of a reactionary bloc in the Senate, both Democrat and Republican alike.

One Senatorial supporter declared "that the hundreds of legal discriminations against women throughout the country should be done away with for good and all by an amendment to the Constitution." It is true that many state laws discriminating against women are still in effect. It is this fact which has misled prominent liberals, like Pearl Buck, author, into coming out in support of the "Equal Rights" amendment.

What these people do not understand is that blanket legislation of this kind would cancel out the good with the bad. In fact,

the real aims of the bill are to abolish all protection for women in industry, achieved only after many years of hard struggle by the labor movement.

In the pre-war era, discriminatory laws against women were used to prevent women from entering industry, or to hire them at much lower pay. The argument then used by the bosses was that women are biologically different from men, and therefore less capable than men. But the war has brought about a change in conditions. Now labor power is in such demand that there is talk of drafting women for industry.

This need has brought a right-about-face in the attitude of the bosses and their reactionary agents, both public and private. Whereas formerly they declared that women were different from men for the purpose of discriminating against them, now they declare there is no difference whatsoever between women and men, and launch their all-out assault upon legislation safeguarding women workers.

The fact is that there is a difference between women and men; a very important difference. The

burden of pregnancy cannot be equally divided between women and men; nor the specific tasks of a mother before, during and after pregnancy. This does not prevent women from being fully as efficient and capable as men in industry or in any other field—as is being proven every day in this war period.

In the past we opposed the reactionary use made of this undeniable difference by the bosses to discriminate against women. Today we oppose their equally reactionary attempt to deny this difference in an effort to deprive women workers of necessary legislative protection.

The wealthy and pampered women who comprise the National Woman's Party, which has brought forward this bill at every Congress for the past 20 years, from protective legislation for women, limited as it is. They, themselves, do not work in the factories. And special laws interfere with the full exploitation of women workers, out of which they and their boss-bushands derive the immense profits which keep them in comfort and idleness. They regard all protective legislation for women as "discriminatory."

New Anti-Union Drive Is Seen In 'Absentee' Case

(Continued from page 1)

56 hour week, a lot of shipyard workers are working even longer hours."

CIO EXPLANATION

The opinion of most Yard workers on the mass firings was probably best expressed by James

E. Marino, representative of the CIO Industrial Union of Marine and Shipbuilding Workers, who stated that the discharges were an attempt by the company to "keep the Yard from being organized by the CIO, which has been seeking to become the bargaining agent for the Fore River Yard." Marino charged that the company was using the charge of absenteeism as a "blind" for "improper planning which caused lack of work."

The CIO also charged that two-thirds of the ways in the shipyard were idle in spite of the first priority that shipyards have on all materials. These charges appear to be well-founded, for while the company loudly announced the mass discharges of the welders, they were quietly laying off men from other departments throughout the Yard, especially in the boiler shop.

In preparation for the discharges, the company instructed the supervisory staff a few weeks ago to check all workers for absenteeism, loafing or lateness, and issued special record blanks for this purpose. The company also announced at that time that the third offense for any one of the three items was punishable by discharge and draft reclassification.

COMPANY'S REAL AIM

Aside from the first announcement of the mass firings, the company has made no further formal statements. Its viewpoint has, however, been represented by the Independent Union of Fore River Workers, the company union and inheritor of the old Employees Representative Plan, which hurried to assure everyone, in long statements, that the company was wholly justified and that the company union supported the action. The CIO, although not recognized by the company, has taken up the case of the 150 men and is calling a mass protest meeting on Feb. 28 at Faneuil Hall in Boston.

As most workers are aware, the real drive is not against so-called misfits in industry. It is obvious that such a tremendous nationwide campaign would not be necessary to get rid of a comparatively few persons. If this were the employers' goal, a few pink slips would have solved the problem. What is more logical is that this latest action is the preliminary ground work for a new and intense drive against labor militants and organized labor in general.

It is not surprising that the test case was made at an unorganized plant where resistance would naturally be less organized and less effective than in an organized plant.

The barrage of anti-union propaganda that has been laid down throughout the country can only mean there will be a follow-up with a broader attack on labor. This is the real fight. The attack on absenteeism is merely the front.

Parliament Votes Down Move to Act On Beveridge Plan

(Continued from page 1)

Actually, of course, the Beveridge plan was no real solution to the problems of low wages and unemployment which was the chronic lot of the British workers. The Beveridge plan was nothing more than a reshuffle of already existing social security laws with the benefits for the unemployed and the premiums revised slightly upwards.

But even so mild a reform as this met with a flood of abuse in the British press, and defeat in Parliament. The plan was assailed as a step "along the road to Moscow." The *London Daily Telegraph* warned against "excessive security" for the workers and the *N. Y. Times* chimed in with the charge that the plan would "reduce the incentive to work."

Chief among the opponents of the plan were the powerful British insurance companies who annually reap hundreds of millions of dollars from the sale of insurance to workers.

ROLE OF THE LABOR LIEUTENANTS

When the vote on the plan finally came, the capitalist class had succeeded in driving its labor lieutenants into line. Although the official Labor Party, meeting in caucus, decided to press for approval of the motion for immediate action on the plan, the key labor men in Churchill's government sided with the Tory majority. Labor Minister Ernest Bevin and Home Secretary Herbert Morrison took prominent part in the debate and defeat of the motion.

Bevin and Morrison expounded the Churchill theory that the time for social reform is after the enemy has been defeated.

While this defeat does not end all consideration of the Beveridge Plan (the Labor Party has indicated it will continue to campaign for it), the prospects for its adoption are extremely slim.

But adopted or not, the plan for unemployment insurance payments will have little effect upon the suffering of the workers under capitalism and will not retard for a moment the decay of the system. Capitalism is beyond patching up with reform. It must be discarded and replaced with a sound social system which will eliminate the evils of unemployment by abolishing unemployment itself.

Just Bound

the 1942 issues of the monthly magazine

FOURTH INTERNATIONAL

384 pages of Marxist analysis and reports on the international and United States labor movement

Price \$3.00

Order from Business Manager

FOURTH INTERNATIONAL

116 University Place

New York City

(See next week's issue of this paper for a review of this volume)

KEEP MARCH 13 OPEN!

A real Italian spaghetti dinner will be served on that night from 6:30 on at 116 University Place. This feast will be prepared by a nationally famous spaghetti maker from Reading, Pennsylvania.

\$1 for complete dinner Entertainment & Dancing Free

Sponsored by SWP

Proceeds for CRDC

BRING YOUR SHOPMATES AND CONTACTS

Anti-Soviet Maneuvers Reported

(Continued from page 1)

Sum's London Bureau, Frederick Kuh, who said:

WHAT THE POLISH RULERS REALLY WANT

"It is known that Gen. Wladislaw Sikorski, Polish premier, during his recent visit to Washington handed President Roosevelt a memorandum dealing with the future frontiers of Poland."

"What does Sikorski want? His government in London is thinking of creating a Greater Poland."

"Would that include East Prussia, the whole of Silesia and, in the West, a Polish frontier bounded by the River Oder? Would Czechoslovak Teschen be included in this blueprint of the future Poland? Vilna? Would there be an 'independent' Lithuania under Polish influence? And would Poland's eastern boundary revert to the 1919 Riga Treaty line embodying millions of Ukrainians and White Russians?"

"Those are definite proposals we hear from influential Poles in London nowadays."

To establish such a Greater Poland would thus be at the expense of the Soviet Union. The 1919 frontier was forced upon the young Soviet republic by world capitalist intervention.

Furthermore, Kuh writes, "two other ideas are now in the forefront of the mind of the Polish government. One is a system of federations of Europe: a federation embracing Poland, Czechoslovakia and Hungary, and another encompassing all the Balkan states."

NEW ANTI-SOVIET COALITION SOUGHT

Such a coalition would obviously not be directed primarily against Germany, which would have to be defeated before a federation could be established; its chief purpose would be to block off and isolate the Soviet Union from the rest of Europe, to function as an organized obstacle to the spread of revolution.

The other idea of the Polish government, says Kuh, is "to favor strongly the earliest possible Allied expedition into the Balkans so that American, British and Polish troops could reach Eastern or Central Europe at least

as soon as the Red Army. These tendencies are certainly heightening Russian suspicions."

A second front through the Balkans is regarded with suspicion by the Red Army because it believes that it would be aimed as much against the Soviet position in post-war Europe as it would be aimed against the Axis during the war.

THE VATICAN'S PLANS

An increasingly important role in anti-Soviet maneuvers is being assumed by the Vatican, which was named as one of the parties in the Finnish negotiations this week.

"The Church regards the spread of Communist doctrine and Russian influence as its first problem," says an article on Archbishop Spellman's trip in *Time* magazine of Feb. 22. This was demonstrated last Christmas when in his annual message Pope Pius XII condemned "the various forms of Marxian Socialism" and failed to even mention the word fascism.

"One means of opposing a Russian sphere of influence," the *Time* article continues, "would be a Catholic Federation, pivoted on a Catholic Austria-Hungary, supported by Danubian agrarian parties and possibly involving exiled Otto Habsburg, who apparently has potent friends in high places. Poland would be a northern anchor, Italy the southern anchor of such a federation. But, should restoration of the Habsburgs meet with too great resistance from socialist Freemasons on Czechs and pro-Russian Yugoslavs, an Eastern European Catholic Federation might be contrived, binding Catholic groups together in a Balkan cordon sanitaire from Poland to the Mediterranean."

"Invasion of Hitler's Europe may be aimed through the Balkans. If so, one result could be a misunderstanding with the Russians, whose armies would be in the north while Allied armies were moving in from the south. The best hope of avoiding such a misunderstanding is a complete rapprochement with Moscow. Lacking that, the plans credited to the Vatican appeared to be among the few under real consideration."

SOURCES IN WASHINGTON REPORTED THAT AT LEAST SOME U. S. SUPPORT HAD

BEEN GIVEN TO THESE PLANS.

SPELLMAN'S TRIP

The same *Time* article, also notes that "the appointment of Mussolini's son-in-law, Count Galeazzo Ciano, as Italian envoy to the Holy See placed him in Vatican circles where he could mingle with envoys of nations at war with Italy."

The Feb. 18 issue of the *N. Y. Times* carried a dispatch from Bern, Switzerland, stating that "informed observers in Rome" linked Spellman's trip "with the outbreak of a wave of rumors of peace feelers and the manifest efforts to hasten the accrediting of Count Ciano to the Holy See." This is a diplomatic way of saying that Spellman will probably meet with Ciano just as he met with Franco on his way to Rome.

"SERIOUS PROBLEMS"

Celebrations of the twenty-fifth anniversary of the Red Army's founding were held in several parts of Britain last week-end. The *N. Y. Times* of Feb. 22 reports that in Cardiff alone, more than 23,000 people, chiefly coal miners, joined in the celebration. We can be certain that the Cardiff miners were sincerely celebrating the Soviet victories; but there were important forces in Britain which were far from happy about these victories.

As Raymond Daniell reports from London in this same issue of the *Times*, the Anglo-Soviet treaty has not "completely eliminated fears, held in some quarters in the United States and Britain, that a complete Russian victory in Europe will raise serious problems for the democracies."

"These matters, and also the question of whether it is wise to intervene with the opening of a second front immediately or to wait until the Red Army is less of an irresistible force than at present, are discussed unofficially in London and in Washington."

MORE ON SIZE OF U. S. ARMY

The Militant last week reported Arthur Krock's statement in the Feb. 12 *Times* that the reason for the general staff's decision to build a U. S. Army of more than 10,000,000 men may be to coun-

The Negro Struggle

By Albert Parker

A Government Pamphlet On the Negroes

On at least a hundred occasions the administration has been requested to issue a handbook or some other form of educational material on the Negro and his rights, for distribution among the white soldiers in the U. S. Army. Although this request is always accompanied by the reasonable explanation that such educational material would help to reduce the friction between white and Negro soldiers—friction results from the prejudice circulated by certain officers, and the segregation practiced throughout the Army as a whole—the administration has never done anything about it.

Instead it has recently issued, through the Office of War Information, a handsomely printed, illustrated pamphlet on "Negroes and the War"—intended for distribution primarily among the Negro people. Its purpose is not to remove or counteract the reactionary prejudices spread among white people—its purpose is to explain to the Negro people why they should support the war.

The most important part of the pamphlet is the essay which opens it, written by Chandler Owen and bearing the same name as the pamphlet. Owen has been writing along the lines of this essay for over three years; therefore if the arguments it contains are not very strong, it is because he couldn't find any more convincing ones anywhere.

Owen's theme is what would happen to the Negro people under Hitler. Naturally it is possible to show that, had as the Negro's conditions are today, they would be worse under Hitler, for under fascism the Negro, along with the white worker, would be deprived of whatever democratic rights he now possesses.

Nevertheless I do not think that Owen's essay will prove to be very effective propaganda for the simple reason that the Negro people are already bitter opponents of fascism and everything it represents. There is no need to try to convince them that fascism is their enemy when they are suffering every day from fascist-like oppression, segregation and insult.

The weak point in Owen's propaganda (and the similar propaganda of the Communist Party) is that it has to emphasize the negative side of the argument, that it stresses what the Negro

should fight against rather than what he should fight for, that it dwells on what the Negro would lose under fascism rather than what he would gain by a United Nations victory.

The emphasis in this kind of propaganda is by no means accidental. The Negro masses in a positive sense. And since most Negroes do not believe that a defeat of Germany by the United Nations will materially improve their pre-war conditions or that it will abolish Jim Crow or unemployment or even the threat of fascism at home, this kind of propaganda is fated not to achieve its purpose, which is to make the Negroes enthusiastic supporters of the war.

How can the Negro masses be made enthusiastic about the war when they see that discrimination as-usual is practiced and "white supremacy" theories maintained? When they see the poll tax bill defeated by both capitalist parties, with Roosevelt remaining silent? When they see the railroad hearings on discrimination called off? When a Negro official in the War Department has to resign because the Air Command refuses to halt or alter its discriminatory policies?

The way to answer the propaganda of Owen and the Stalinists and government officials is by showing that it is based on a thoroughly false premise. These people pretend that the only alternative to present conditions is fascism. They say that the Negro must choose between what he has now and what he would have under a Hitler.

But this is a lie. There is another alternative, and that is the struggle for socialism. It is possible to conduct a simultaneous struggle against fascism and present-day conditions at home, and to defeat them both too. What is required to accomplish this is a program aimed at establishing a Workers' and Farmers' Government.

When the Negro people are able to find their way to this program—and their experiences inevitably drive them toward it—they will exhibit the kind of fighting enthusiasm that will amaze and overwhelm all those who are so concerned about their apathy to the war today.

International Notes

By BETTY KUEHN

That collaboration made little progress in German-occupied territories of the Soviet Union is demonstrated by an analysis of the May to October 7, 1942 issues of the Berlin Russian newspaper *Novoye Slovo*, which Solomon Schwarz publishes in the Feb. 22 *New Republic*. This is the first Nazi material on occupied territories in the USSR to reach this country.

Although the local populations have been forced, out of sheer self-preservation, to participate in the administration of sanitation, education and social welfare, they have not done so in the economic and industrial field. The large enterprises, as the Nazi-controlled Russian newspaper *Novoye Slovo* itself admits, are in almost all cases at a standstill.

An example is the manganese mines of Nikopol, occupied in August 1941. These mines constituted one of the most valuable acquisitions of the entire Russian campaign.

"At the time of the occupation of the fields by the Nazis," declares Schwarz, "technical journals had expressed the belief that the exploitation of the ore mines could begin in no more than six months."

"Nevertheless, *Novoye Slovo* for July 19, 1942 announces—almost a year after the occupation—only that 'reconstruction work is being carried on in the Manganese ore mines of Nikopol. The destroyed pits are being reinforced, a ventilation system constructed. Soon the mines of Nikopol will give their first load of manganese ore.' Yet the files of *Novoye Slovo* up to October 7, 1942 contain no mention of an actual start on the exploitation of Nikopol."

Such was the case not only with the large industries, but also in agriculture. The Nazis had hoped to win over the peasants by promising them private ownership of the land. However, they were unsuccessful. They were forced to maintain the collective farms in order to get the peasants to work at all.

In the sugar industry, even though the Nazis utilized the Soviet "sowing plan," production will in no way be comparable to pre-war levels, says Schwarz.

"The sown area for sugar beets

is reduced from 773,000 hectares in 1941 to 350,000 in 1942—a reduction of almost 55 percent." *Novoye Slovo* declares that "this reduction is due solely to the bolshevistic methods of destruction of sugar plants in the Ukraine."

And for the same reason the German Ministry of Food warns against undue enthusiasm and hopes concerning the Ukraine. *Novoye Slovo* of June 17, 1942 states:

"Many people see in the black earth zones a country of miracles where wheat and fodder grass grow without labor and care. Many people believe that the agriculture of this richest of countries will make the task of assuring adequate food supplies for the Reich easier for the German peasant. But whosoever has seen that country knows how erroneous such views are."

Thus we see how the Nazis failed to find in the nationalized economy a broad stratum of "collaborators." Likewise the scorched earth policy and the removal of great factories, possible on a large scale only in a nationalized economy, has deprived the Nazis of much they hoped to find.

There have been no Quislings and Lavalis available. Contrast this with the capitalist countries—France, Norway, Belgium, Denmark, Finland.

British and American owners of Rumanian oil wells apparently would rather have the Nazis benefit from their property than to destroy it. C. L. Sulzberger states in the Feb. 17 *N. Y. Times*:

"Many Rumanians are inclined to blame the Allies for this [the lack of Allied sabotage in Rumania] because of an alleged lack of desire to blow up wells owned by United Nations interests. . . —and the writer never received a satisfactory answer to this question from the British group of oil men who used to frequent Bucharest's Athenee Palace—it is evident that the Russians do not have any interest in abstaining from the destruction of foreign capital's Rumanian property."

UAW Dues Referendum Shows Discontent of Workers

DETROIT — Recording an overwhelming vote of no-confidence in the international leadership of the United Automobile Workers Union, CIO, the membership in a national referendum has rejected the International Executive Board's constitutional amendment for a dues increase by a vote of 2,851 to 1,478.

The results of the referendum were belatedly and inconspicuously announced in the Feb. 1, *United Automobile Worker*, six months after the UAW convention, held in Chicago last August, had voted to hold the referendum.

The vote represented the first opportunity since the last convention for the members to express their attitude toward the leadership and unquestionably expressed their discontent with the do-nothing policies of the leadership. Passive and in retreat before the bosses and the government, the leadership could scarcely justify the dues increase by claims of increased activity.

WHAT FIGURES SHOWED

The extent of the members' dissatisfaction is actually concealed by the published figures of the voting. The results in this referendum were announced on the basis of the delegated voting strength at the last convention. This concealed the fact that in most of the big locals the vote was overwhelmingly against the increase, while in the few big locals where the dues increase carried, the majorities were very narrow. Had the vote been announced according to membership, the rejection of the amendment

would be seen to be even more decisive.

Half the votes recorded in favor of the international board's dues increase measure came from but one local, the giant Ford Local 600, with 715 votes. Of the 123 locals giving a majority for the dues increase, only eight, including the Ford Local, had more than 20 votes each, and only 12 were in the 10-20 vote classification. Most of the locals voting for the dues increase were small units with one, two or three votes.

On the other hand, the chief strength of the opponents of the dues increase was in the older and larger locals, among the most experienced and best-tested union fighters. Of 212 locals voting against the increase, 35 had voting strength of over 20, and 30 were in the 10-20 vote category.

REFERENDUM BACKGROUND

In a great measure, the international board's efforts to push over the dues increase by referendum was an attempt to recapture some of the prestige it lost at the Chicago convention, when most of its organizational proposals intended to give it a tighter bureaucratic hold on the union were tossed out of the convention by an aroused body of rank and file delegates.

After the delegates, by a sweeping majority, had voted down a dues increase amendment at the convention, the international officers tried to nullify their decision by pushing over the referendum proposal on the grounds that the delegates did not truly reflect the sentiments of the membership. This insult to the most democratic and representa-

tive body of convention delegates in the labor movement has now received a fitting censure.

The defeat administered to the international board cannot be accounted for by any failure of the leadership to put the heat on the membership. On the contrary, before the vote was taken, a three months drive was put on in an attempt to obtain a favorable vote. Gloomy reports of the financial status of the international were regularly broadcast by George Addes, international secretary-treasurer. A large number of international organizers and representatives were slashed off the pay-roll in a wholesale purge, under the pretext of financial insolvency.

The entire machinery of the international was mobilized to undertake a campaign in the locals to shove the amendment over. International officers, representatives and organizers toured the locals and counter-posed their influence to that of the local leadership. Those who opposed the increase were pictured as opposed to organization of the union, as being for "two-bit" unionism, etc. But this did not fool the membership one bit.

MEANING OF VOTE

Men and women who had faced the guns and clubs of the armed forces of the employers on the picket lines, who had defied all forms of victimization in upholding unionism, who had voluntarily and enthusiastically contributed hundreds of thousands of dollars for the Ford and other UAW organizing drives, were not balking merely at the idea of pay-

ing an additional 50 cents a month dues.

The vote against the dues increase must be understood as an unquestioned rebuke to the union leadership for its general policies. Seizing on this organizational issue, the membership has recorded its dissatisfaction with the leadership's weak-kneed capitulation to the government and employers on the wage-freezing issue in the face of soaring prices. The vote on the referendum was an indirect expression of the rising resentment at the leadership's spineless handling of the mounting thousands of grievances and of the pushing around the auto workers are getting at the hands of the increasingly brazen corporations and the military production officials.

A DISTORTION

The leaders of the UAW are well-aware of this resentment, but they try to distort its significance by blaming the members for present conditions. In his column in the *United Automobile Worker*, Feb. 1, which also contains the referendum results, George Addes complains that since Pearl Harbor "there has grown up a feeling not only among the rank and file but also among the local union leadership that this old-time enthusiasm is useless. Many feel that because we voluntarily gave up our right to strike, we might just as well sit back and be satisfied with keeping things as is. Soldiers losing one type of fighting equipment switch to anything that can be used effectively and fight on. So it must be with us; we must continue to fight with the weapons we still have, or we will find ourselves being beaten back and in grave danger of having all our gains taken away by act of Congress."

Addes insults the members when he imputes to them a sentiment to keep conditions "as is." That, in reality, is what the union leaders would like them to feel. But he is correct when he states they are beginning to recognize that without the strike weapon they are helpless to change the status quo.

Addes' attempt to justify a continued no-strike policy is as full of holes as a sieve. Soldiers may advance or retreat, shift their terrain, and maneuver in accordance with the forces opposed to them and tactical considerations. But soldiers do not throw away their weapons, or worse, hand them over to the enemy, except when they are preparing to surrender.

BOSS ATTACKS

That is precisely what the union leaders did when they offered to give up the workers' most effective weapon, the strike. Naturally, this was done under the pretext that the employers, too, were going to drop their anti-labor tommy-guns, and that for the "duration" labor and the bosses were going to observe an unarmed peace.

The auto workers now see that while they, under the pressure of their leaders, have carried out this agreement in good faith, the employers, taking advantage of the helpless position of the workers, are continuing to blast away with their heavy artillery at labor, as even Addes has to admit.

The significance of the vote on the dues referendum is greater than appears on the surface. It is a warning to the UAW leadership that the auto workers are growing increasingly aware of what the real score is, and that they are seeking ways and means to even it up. They are, telling R. J. Thomas, Richard Frankenstein, Walter Reuther, Addes and the others on the international board, "Give us a fighting, militant leadership capable of defending our interests, or we are going to seek that leadership elsewhere in our ranks."

BASIC TRAINING COURSE IN MARXISM

EVERY TUESDAY NIGHT from 8:15 to 9:45 O'clock

Inquire 4th floor 116 UNIVERSITY PL., N. Y.

TWIN CITIES CLASSES

The fifth in a series of 6 lectures on

THE COLONIAL PEOPLES IN THE SECOND WORLD WAR

Saturday, March 6, at 8 P. M.

"THE AWAKENING OF CHINA"

Discussion leader: DOROTHY SCHULTZ 919 Marquette Avenue Minneapolis, Minn.

Subscription for course, 50 cents Single lecture, 10 cents Social program will follow the lecture

Auspices: Socialist Workers Party

Why The Reactionaries Are Worried About Soviet Gains

By M. Morrison

The magnificent victories achieved by the Red Army in recent months have inspired all the defenders of the Soviet Union with new hope. They have also brought misgivings to the hearts of many of its "allies." It is of course too early to conclude that the German armies are completely beaten. We must wait until the late spring or summer before we know whether the Nazi army has lost its power to attack or defend. Our hope is that it has but we can come to no conclusion on the basis of our hope. And there is too little known of the state of the morale of the German army and people and of the material resources left to Hitler to enable us to say, with any degree of certainty that the Nazi army is or is not on the verge of complete defeat.

But the Soviet victories have been extensive enough so that some of those who have been shouting for the defeat of Hitler are beginning to worry lest he actually be defeated. This is not at all unexpected to those of us who understand the basic antagonism that must necessarily exist between the Soviet Union with its nationalized property and all capitalist nations whether fascist or democratic.

From the very day when Hitler launched his attack on the Soviet Union, the prevailing sentiment in the ranks of the big capitalists was for the mutual exhaustion of the Red and Nazi armies. Whereas in the summer of 1941 and of 1942 the people who wanted the exhaustion of both armies feared that the Red Army would be destroyed and Hitler left with an army that was still powerful, the fear at present is that the Red Army will be victorious without exhausting its strength.

In the ranks of the leading capitalists and of their spokesmen and representatives there is no agreement either as to the effect of a Soviet victory or as to the best method for arriving at an understanding with Stalin in case of a Soviet victory. Lord Beaverbrook, one of the leading representatives of British imperialism, stated openly, in the House of Lords, that anyone is a fool who thinks that the British Empire is in any way endangered by a Soviet victory. He may be whistling in the dark or he may have convinced himself that no danger exists to the British Empire from a Soviet victory because it is always possible to come to some agreement with Stalin. His theory is based on the correct assumption that Stalin is indifferent if not hostile to any workers' revolution in Europe or elsewhere.

What Lord Beaverbrook does not see is that an agreement with Stalin is not at all decisive for the masses of Europe or anywhere else. While Stalin has more influence on the masses than Lord Beaverbrook, his power is not so great as to save the British Empire from the doom that history has prepared for it.

Naturally those among the capitalists who do not share Beaverbrook's confidence in Stalin cannot be as open in expressing their fears and doubts. After all the Soviet Union is still an ally, and furthermore the masses have a very favorable attitude to the Soviet Union.

The inability of the United States and England to come to some understanding with Stalin on the question of the nature of the peace has been the subject of many columns and editorials in the capitalist press. The absence of Stalin or his representative from the Casablanca conference was a dramatic indication that not all is well between Stalin on the one hand and Roosevelt and Churchill on the other. The explanations offered to make it appear that Stalin's failure to be present at the conference or to send a representative was quite natural, are altogether too weak. He was too busy with the offensive of the Red Army. But was he too busy to send a representative? He did

not want to antagonize Japan. But Japan holds conferences with Germany and Italy. Why not the Soviet Union with its allies?

Of a sudden an article appears in *Pravda* laying down the principle that the Baltic countries and Bessarabia belong to the Soviet Union and that it is just as absurd to discuss the question of the fate of these countries as it is to discuss whether the state of California should be given to the United States. In view of the fact that the Roosevelt regime did not recognize the seizure of the Baltic countries by Stalin, the emphatic statement in *Pravda* cannot but constitute a suggestion to the United States that it had better not raise the question of the status of the Baltic countries.

It is obvious that the closer the Allies come to defeating Hitler, the sharper does the basic antagonism between the Soviet Union and the capitalist countries stand out.

It is not of course any concern about the independence of the Baltic countries that makes the big capitalists fear a victory of the Soviet Union. True, Roosevelt said something in the Atlantic Charter about the right of all nations to be free. But since the Charter does not apply to India, Puerto Rico and countries similarly situated it will not be difficult to conclude that it also does not apply to the Baltic countries, although it is a characteristic of the big capitalists to want the freedom of countries not under their control.

What worries some of the big capitalists is the possibility that the Red Army will reach Berlin before the British and American armies. They behold a vision of the Soviet Union extending its influence to Germany and to all of Central Europe and they shiver when they contemplate the possibility of capitalist property suffering the same fate in Europe that it did in the Soviet Union. The Nazis have begun to play upon this fear and while the official attitude is that the Nazis will not succeed in creating a rift between the Allies, it is certain that many of the monopolists have been seized by the fears that the Nazis have or pretend to have.

The more intelligent and far-sighted of the representatives of big capitalism are not very greatly concerned with the danger of the Red Army's reaching Berlin before the American and British armies. They probably feel that, in the event of a real danger of the Red Army's penetration into German territory and reaching Berlin, the German General staff would take complete command and more or less invite the British and American generals to bring their armies to Berlin. For it is almost impossible to conceive of the Red Army's marching into Germany without a social revolution following. And to prevent a social revolution the German generals would gladly invite the American and British armies.

It is this probability of a social revolution coming as a result of a complete defeat of Hitler by the Soviet armies that is creating anxiety in the minds of the more intelligent section of the representatives of big capitalism. They are not worried that Stalin will call for a social revolution; they know Stalin better than to expect such a thing from him. They are worried that regardless of Stalin a social revolution will come as a result of a defeat of Hitler by the Soviet armies.

To these people Stalin's help to suppress a workers' revolution in Europe appears indispensable. With Stalin's prestige mounting steadily as a result of the Soviet victories, they feel that to have Stalin on their side is almost a certain guarantee that the revolution can be suppressed. They are therefore anxious to come to some agreement with Stalin and it is their inability thus far to arrive at an understanding with him that troubles them.

For the advanced workers too serious dangers appear with the possibility of a defeat of Hitler's armies by the Red Army. One is that the capitalists will come to an agreement with German capitalism for an attack on the Soviet Union. Skeptics have been hinting that a possible reason for the insistence by some American generals that an army of over ten million soldiers is necessary lies in their anxiety to prepare for a possible clash with a victorious Red Army.

The other, and greater, danger is that the capitalist powers will come to some agreement with Stalin to suppress any workers' revolution in Europe.

The working masses must be placed on their guard against these dangers.

THE MILITANT

Published in the interests of the
Working People

VOL. VII—No. 9 Saturday, Feb. 27, 1943

Published Weekly by

THE MILITANT PUBLISHING ASS'N
at 116 University Place, New York, N. Y.
Telephone: ALgonquin 4-8547

Editor:

GEORGE BREITMAN

THE MILITANT follows the policy of permitting its contributors to present their own views in signed articles. These views therefore do not necessarily represent the policies of THE MILITANT which are expressed in its editorials.

Subscriptions: \$2.00 per year; \$1.00 for 6 months. Foreign: \$3.00 per year; \$1.50 for 6 months. Bundle orders: 3 cents per copy in the United States; 4 cents per copy in all foreign countries. Single copies: 5 cents.

"Reentered as second class matter February 13, 1941 at the post office at New York, N. Y., under the Act of March 3, 1879."



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. For 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. Defend the Soviet Union against imperialist attack.

The Fight Over The \$25,000 Salary Top

Within two weeks tens of millions of workers will have to pay staggering income taxes. Faced with the upward spiraling cost of living, with frozen wages and with the highest tax rate in history, they are being forced to endure real and immediate suffering in meeting the huge war costs which have been loaded upon them.

But while the workers must carefully ration their few dollars between the grocers and the landlords, and the government, the capitalist class has opened a drive in Congress to abolish the ceiling of \$25,000 on capitalist salaries.

The House Ways and Means Committee has reported favorably on the Disney bill which calls for the outright repeal of the \$25,000 salary limit imposed by presidential decree. Democrats and Republicans voted together to end the salary top.

The same committee which voted to remove this "burden" on the capitalists is deliberating over methods to increase the tax load on the workers. Among some of the devices under consideration is a 15% wage tax, increased sales tax and higher income taxes.

Actually, the \$25,000 salary ceiling has little effect on the income of the capitalist class, for their primary source of revenue, profits and interest on investments, were not touched by the president's order of last year. But the very principle of limiting big salaries irritates one of the schools of capitalist thought on the method of financing the war.

President Roosevelt has announced that he will oppose the removal of salary limitation for corporation officials and their agents. He has gone even "further." In a letter to the House Ways and Means Committee he says that he agrees with those who wish to limit not only salaries but other forms of capitalist incomes such as interest, profits, etc. He urges that income from all sources be limited to \$25,000 a year per person or \$50,000 a year per couple.

This proposal appears more radical at first sight than it actually is. It is vaguely formulated and appears to contain wide loopholes. For instance the president advocates allowing a "single person" \$25,000 or a "married couple" \$50,000. Under this statement, the baby in the crib could be considered a "single person" and have signed over to him stocks and bonds, administered by his parents,

and be entitled to \$25,000 clear after all taxes are paid.

However, it is clear that Roosevelt belongs to a slightly different school than the majority of the House Ways and Means Committee.

Both agree that the workers will have to pay for the war out of their living standards. Roosevelt holds that it will be easier to get the workers to make drastic sacrifices if it can be asserted that the rich are sacrificing too. He thinks that if the workers have the idea that the wealthy are giving up some luxury, the workers will be reconciled to accept without resistance the assault on their living standards.

The group represented by the majority of the Ways and Means Committee, however, takes the stand that the best way to deal with the workers is by ramming the high taxes, wage cuts, working week extension and increased prices down the workers' throats and then spitting in their face by removing even the present, mainly symbolic, limitations on capitalist income.

Basically, it is a difference on how best to get the workers to accept a lowering of their living standards.

If there were a workers' representative in Congress he would stand for really drastic and far-reaching limitations on capitalist income. At the same time such a spokesman for the working class would explain the reasons behind Roosevelt's proposals, and would warn the workers not to permit themselves to be diverted by these proposals from the struggle to safeguard their living conditions.

Dispute In War Production Board

There was a shake-up in the top posts of the War Production Board last week. Chairman Donald Nelson fired his chief assistant Ferdinand Eberstadt and promoted Charles E. Wilson to Eberstadt's post.

This move has been interpreted in the press as a victory for those capitalist leaders who favor civilian control of war production over those who want the army and navy to have the final word.

It has been reported that the military was so angered over Eberstadt's dismissal that Undersecretary of Navy Forrestal and Undersecretary of War Patterson have raised the demand for Nelson's resignation.

Actually, we have no clear picture of the reasons for Eberstadt's dismissal and the subsequent attacks upon Nelson. The public is seldom told of the real issues behind the inner disputes in ruling circles. But knowing only the superficial factors of the dispute, there is one thing of which we are certain — it is a teapot tempest.

It can make no real difference to labor whether industrialist Wilson or banker Eberstadt controls the WPB. For while they may differ on administrative detail, their fundamental policies are identical.

Both are opponents of the labor movement and of letting the workers have a voice in production. Both represent the big corporations using the war to destroy all competition and to line their pockets with profits. Both are concerned above all in protecting and maintaining the capitalist system and all the contradictions and inefficiencies which are an inseparable part of the capitalist system.

Wilson and Eberstadt may have differences, but neither of them is interested in or capable of organizing production in the interests of the masses — which can be achieved only by workers' control and operation of production and the elimination of the profit system.

Against those who would raise such a working class program, all factions in Washington — Wilson and Eberstadt, Nelson and Baruch, the dollar-a-year-men and the army and navy procurement officers—would unite and fight with every weapon at their command.

Prices Still Rising

The price of milk will go up, as the prices of other foods have gone up. This became clear during the past week.

On Feb. 17, shortly after the OPA had placed a ceiling on wholesale milk, Charles F. Holman of the Dairy Farmers Lobby asserted the slaughter houses would be filled with dairy cows, if it continued to be more profitable to sell beef than milk. Holman's blackmail was clearly expressed when he said the real issue was not ceiling price, but "whether we will get food."

Congressional farm bloc leaders took up the fight by threatening to cut off OPA funds unless it lifted the ceiling on milk.

After a feeble show of resistance the OPA began rapid retreat before the farm bloc. By Feb. 20, milk price boosts had been authorized in eight sections of the country and "studies are being made on the need of upward adjustments" in seven other areas.

It is by now obvious that the Washington bureaus are incapable of preventing the capitalists from securing an almost continuous series of price rises and thus lowering the workers' standards of living while the capitalists' profits continue at their present record levels, if they do not go higher.

The only sort of price control that can be effective is that of the masses themselves in the form of mass committees representing the unions, working farmers, small retailers and housewives.

**Equal Pay for Equal
Work by Women**

The Civil War in Yugoslavia

The 'National Liberation Front' And Its Policies

By JOHN G. WRIGHT

In the Yugoslav areas where they operate the Partisans base themselves on locally-elected committees (or councils) — "National Liberation Committees." And, as we stated in last week's *Militant*, they have sought from the beginning to establish a central government based on these local bodies.

Police power is wielded in towns and villages under the Partisans by the creation of a "people's guard." Tribunals, military or semi-military in character, have also been instituted. These tribunals are evidently rigorous in their procedure. Thus "Free Yugoslavia," the Partisan radio, reported last August that 120 Ustasi bandits (Croatian fascists) were "sentenced to be shot by a guerrilla court martial." (Daily Worker, Aug. 20, 1942.)

ASSUME ALL FUNCTIONS

In the territories controlled by the Partisans, they establish control over food-distribution and the issuance of money; they conduct their own schools and publish newspapers. In short, they take over all legislative, executive and judicial functions, displacing in all these spheres the previously existing central and local state apparatus.

Another main objective of the Partisans is to bring under their direct control all guerrilla detachments in Yugoslavia. For instance, last May the General Headquarters of the Slovenian Partisan Units issued the following order:

"The Partisan authorities, on the basis of the decisions of the Narodno Osvobodilno Fronte (National Liberation Front) will shoot everyone who is proved to have attempted to form no matter what kind of armed units, aside from partisan units which are under the command of the General Headquarters of the Slovenian Partisan Units." (Official Documents of the National Liberation Front, published in "The Truth About Yugoslavia," Page 13.)

This prohibition — "to form no matter what kind of armed units" — is obviously aimed not only at Mikhailovich and the native fascist formations, but at all guerrilla detachments which try to operate independently of the Partisan Central Command.

The very need for such an order, by the way, is proof that there are such independent formations. Apart from the fact that they exist, nothing is known about them as yet; nor about their differences, if any, with the Partisan program and leadership.

WHY PARTISANS HAVE WIDEST MASS SUPPORT

In any case, it is the Partisans who have thus far enjoyed the widest mass support, especially among the peasants. The reasons for this are not hard to establish. In addition to the above-cited democratization of the Yugoslav state apparatus, the Partisans have pursued a policy of confiscating food supplies and distributing them among the population which faces starvation.

"Food from army stores captured by the guerrillas... was distributed to needy population." (Daily Worker, July 26, 1942.)

"Flour... was distributed to the starving population." (Idem.) On Oct. 7, 1942 the Daily Worker reported that the Partisans in Croatia had seized supplies of "requisitioned wheat" and had distributed "several carloads" among the local population.

"500 carloads of wheat... were distributed among the population." (Daily Worker, Nov. 21, 1942.) This distribution of food, the largest yet reported, came on the eve of the creation of the central government in Bihać.

But that is not all. By decision of the leadership of the "National Liberation Front" peasants in localities received "timber for building and for personal use without charge." (Daily Worker, July 26, 1942.)

CONFISCATIONS

Naturally, the Yugoslav landlords and merchants who own these huge supplies and timber lands are opposed to such measures. And so is Mikhailovich who represents the Yugoslav ruling classes.

Their opposition is all the more bitter because the policy of the Partisans goes far beyond partial seizures. "In Slovenia the 'Liberation Front' has recently confiscated the property of Italian spies and traitors to the people and has distributed it among the peasant victims of the fascist terror..." (Daily Worker, July 28, 1942.)

It is hardly necessary to stress that this policy of confiscation hits not only the deposed local and central authorities but all Yugoslav landlords and capitalists who pursue the policy of collaborating with the Axis, and even those who support Mikhailovich, for they also fall in the category of "traitors to the people."

It is clear that the Yugoslav peasantry, land hungry for centuries, has been seizing the opportunity to divide the landlords' estates. And it is equally self-evident that the leadership of the Partisans has tried if not to foster, then to supply a legal cover at least, for some of these land seizures.

No less drastic measures have been applied in other economic fields, particularly in the field of finance. Velimir Vlahovic has been permitted to cable from Moscow that the Partisans have confiscated "banks and their funds in liberated towns."

WHAT DOES THIS POLICY REPRESENT?

"In Usice (the first capital of the central government set up by the Partisans) they confiscated more than 10 million dinars. In large towns such as Chachak and Kraljevo, similar large sums were taken over. Large sums were also obtained by attacking Axis military and passenger trains." (Daily Worker, Feb. 2.)

The only trains still running in Yugoslavia are "Axis military and passenger trains." The only banks existing there are those owned by Yugoslav bankers, financiers and capitalists, who are likewise the only ones able to carry large sums on their persons when riding on trains.

The creation of a new state power through the assumption of executive, legislative, legal, police and military powers, the confiscation of landlords' estates, stocks of food, timber, etc. and their division among the peasants, the confiscation of banks—what are all these if not revolutionary measures? And what can they flow from if not a condition of civil war in the country?

This automatically raises the question: Under whose leadership is this struggle being conducted at present? We shall answer it in our next article.

Gandhi Fast Exposes Real Aims Of British In India

(Continued from page 1)

voice to be raised again now on behalf of India indicates that there must be broad public pressure for action on behalf of Indian independence.

WASHINGTON'S GESTURE

Pressure on Washington to intervene publicly with Churchill must also be considerable. It is indicated by the fact that Roosevelt's "personal" envoy in India, William Phillips, called in the American correspondents on Feb. 21 to state that "American authorities" are "discussing" the situation with the British.

But this was a perfunctory gesture, designed solely to mollify American public opinion. This fact was exposed by the N. Y. Times correspondent when he reported that Phillips made the announcement only to American correspondents and that it was not given to the Indian press. Washington, it is clear, has no intention of encouraging the Indian struggle for independence.

If Gandhi's fast illumines to the outside world the bestial character of British rule, that is of course even more true within India. The Feb. 24 N. Y. *Herald-Tribune* publishes a dispatch from its correspondent which states that the conflict between Gandhi and the Viceroy "makes it more clear than

ever for this writer that the end of British rule here will not be attained by negotiations or constitutional methods."

This situation is certainly a paradox, for no one more than Gandhi has stood for the method of peaceful negotiations. That flowed from his creed of non-violence, and it was eagerly accepted as a political method by the Indian bourgeoisie, which feared that mass revolutionary methods would not only free India but would also give the masses the power to put an end to the landlords and private ownership in general.

WAR ENDED ILLUSIONS

It was the war that dealt a death-blow to the doctrine of non-violence. Up to then it had a certain surface plausibility as a method of resisting the British under conditions where the British had arms and the Indians did not.

But the war posed the question in a new form: would not a free India arm itself to resist Japanese invasion and aid China?

In July 1940, after the fall of France, the Congress leadership offered to arm and defend India against Japan if Britain granted a national government. Likewise, the Congress made a similar offer.

The offers, obviously, contradicted the doctrine of non-violence. Even Gandhi then said:

"... non-violence with me is a creed. But it is never as a creed that I placed it before India... I placed it before the Congress as a political method... As a political method it can always be changed, modified, altered or even given up in preference to another... If you can get what you want, you will strike the bargain, and you may be sure that I will not shed a single tear."

Britain turned down the bargain, but those offers put an end for all time to any pretense that non-violence was the fixed method of the Indian struggle. Obviously if violence could be used against the enemy from without, it could also be used against the enemy within. The Indian masses thought so and acted so when the civil disobedience campaign began, and they did so in spite of Gandhi's declaration that the campaign must be non-violent.

Now this process of the discredit of non-violence as a political method for India is climaxed by the failure of Gandhi's fast to move the British to release him.

(This is the second of a new series of articles on India. The third will appear next week.)

Qualifications for Posts In War Production Board

Defrauding the government of thousands of dollars does not necessarily land a man in jail — not if he is an important capitalist.

For instance, on Feb. 14 executives of the General Electric Company, Okonite Company, General Cable Corporation, Phelps Dodge Copper Products Corporation and Anaconda Wire and Cable Company refused to contest indictments charging them with conspiring to fix prices on cable for the Navy and paid \$77,500 in fines to a New Jersey Federal Court.

Yet, according to I. F. Stone in the Feb. 18 PM, these same companies now dominate the copper division of the War Production Board which controls government purchases of the very products involved in the indictments.

Eight companies are represented on the new committee, and five of the posts are controlled by representatives of the indicted companies.

Moreover, three of the men on the new committee, who will help advise the WPB on wire and cable purchases, were named individually in the criminal proceedings instituted by the government.

Anaconda Wire and Cable was not only convicted of fraud in price fixing, but now faces trial in Indiana and Rhode Island on charges of knowingly selling defective cable to the armed forces. The Indiana indictment, which will go to trial in April, charges that the officers of the company knew the use of such defective wire and cable "would endanger the lives of men in the military force of the United States."

The fines so far imposed upon these companies constitute a mere slap on the wrist and make no appreciable dent in their huge war profits.

If their past record means anything, they can be depended on to use their government posts to more than compensate for the payment of these fines.

Egidio Mattina

Egidio Mattina of Easton, Pa., died in a Virginia army camp on Feb. 7. He was 26 years of age at the time of his death and had been drafted into the army one week before.

Egidio Mattina did not carry a membership card in the Socialist Workers Party when he died — but he was our comrade. He was always close to the party, following the teachings of Lenin and Trotsky, and in his quiet, shy way, participated as much as he could in the struggle against the exploiting capitalist class.

Isolated in a small town, Egidio had no opportunity to work within the great mass labor movement. Yet, deprived of this opportunity, his devotion to socialism remained steadfast. Had he lived, he would undoubtedly have played a role in the movement at a future stage.

Two weeks before his death Egidio wrote the following letter to a close friend who was active in the revolutionary movement. The type of youth he was, is revealed in his own words:

"I was drafted today as a private in the U. S. Army and must leave next Saturday for New Cumberland, N. Y. My papers were stamped 'Limited Service,' which probably means that I'll never get nearer to the front than a general does. I am not at all happy about it.

"Certainly these years will be the most important in my life. I can only look back on my past years now with anguish, and the feeling that they no longer belong to me, but have already merged with the stream that carries the lives of my father and grandfather.

"I long for peace with every fiber of my being, not for that peace which will only be a continuation of the war by other methods, but for the peace as natural as fresh white bread.

"Ah, may victory remain with those who have made war without loving it. Although Malraux had imperialist France in mind when he wrote them, no one can deny the inherent truth of these beautiful words.

"I clipped the list of places where The Militant is sold out of one of the issues. If I am stationed near any of them, perhaps I shall be able to renew my contact with my own past once in a while.

"I am afraid my ideas will have to 'go underground' for some time. I could tolerate that, but what makes it so terrible is that my heart will be forced underground with them — the two are so closely linked.

"Faithfully yours,
Egidio"

SUNDAY OPEN FORUM

This week: Sunday, Feb. 28, 8 P. M.

"LABOR PARTY
PROSPECTS — 1943"

Speaker: WILLIAM WARDE

Next week: Sunday, March 7, 8 P. M.

"Labor and the Four Freedoms"

Speaker: VINCENT R. DUNNE

Auspices:

NEW YORK SCHOOL OF SOCIAL SCIENCE
116 University Place (cor. 13th Street)
Second floor

Question-Discussion Period Refreshments

A Timely Pamphlet!

**Manifesto of the Fourth International
TO THE WORKERS AND PEASANTS
OF INDIA**

20 Pages Five Cents

Order from:

PIONEER PUBLISHERS

116 UNIVERSITY PLACE

NEW YORK, N. Y.