

**The Kelly Postal Case**  
by James T. Farrell . . . . . See Page 3

**After Gandhi's Fast**  
by Felix Morrow . . . . . See Page 4

# THE MILITANT

PUBLISHED IN THE INTERESTS OF THE WORKING PEOPLE

VOL. VII—No. 11

NEW YORK, N. Y., SATURDAY, MARCH 13, 1943



FIVE (5) CENTS

## MILITANT'S 2ND CLASS RIGHTS REVOKED

### Why We Plan To Contest Walker's Order

— An Editorial —

Immediately after learning of Postmaster General Walker's order revoking the second-class mailing privileges of *The Militant*, we issued a statement to the press announcing our intention of contesting the order in the courts.

We take this step because we know that the only "crime" which our paper has committed is to tell the truth, soberly and consistently, about the great social, political and economic questions that concern the working people. There are powerful forces in the ruling circles of this country — profiteering industrialists, enemies of the labor movement and racial equality, native fascists — who consider it "seditious" to speak the truth about their activities, and there are bureaucrats in the administration who want to use the war for the purpose of stifling all criticism of their policies

and practices. Against them and all their weapons of persecution, we are prepared to fight to the very end to prevent the truth from being suppressed.

We challenged the postal authorities, and Attorney General Biddle who instigated the attack upon our paper, to prove the falsity of any of the statements which they cited as "objectionable." Their answer was given by Post Office Attorney W. C. O'Brien, who made the argument for revoking our mailing privileges at a Post Office hearing held in Washington on Jan. 21. He said: "We are not concerned here with questions of truth or falsity. It does not make any difference if everything *The Militant* said is true."

Having set the wheels of repression going against us, Attorney General Biddle retired into silence, not daring to take up our challenge. And Postmaster General Walker discreetly followed his

example, refraining, in his order revoking our second-class privileges, from even mentioning the very central question of whether the articles he regarded as cause for his order were true or false. Their silence can be interpreted only as an admission that they cannot successfully accept our challenge.

A second reason why we plan to appeal the Walker order is that we regard it as an infringement on freedom of the press. The issue in this case is whether a labor newspaper has the right to voice criticisms of the administration's domestic and foreign policies, or whether the Bill of Rights is to be violated.

If the exercise of our right to criticize can result in the cancellation of *The Militant's* second-class mailing rights — without which the average newspaper's very existence is threatened — then what is to prevent the authorities from taking the same measures against other

papers which exercise their constitutional and democratic rights?

We have not forgotten what happened in World War I, when civil liberties and democratic rights were most flagrantly violated in the name of a struggle against "sedition" by the Attorney General and Postmaster General of that time. Nor have we failed to note that *The Militant* leans heavily for its authority on the precedent of his World War I predecessors. Not to contest his order would be to leave the door open for a repetition of that same kind of red-baiting and witch-hunts.

The fight to regain *The Militant's* second-class mail privileges is a fight not only to protect its right to advocate socialist ideas, but also to prevent the spread of fascist-like suppressions of labor and minority groups. We call on all anti-fascists to support us both morally and financially in this fight.

#### Revokes Rights



FRANK C. WALKER

On Jan. 18 Postmaster General Frank C. Walker was elected chairman of the Democratic National Committee in Chicago.

After the election was over, Walker made a speech in which he declared:

"The very foundation of a democracy is the opportunity afforded its people to determine the will of the majority by an open debate, by conflict of opinion, by criticism."

On Mar. 3 Walker signed Post Office Order No. 20260, revoking the second class mailing rights of *The Militant*, whose only "crime" is that it has sought, "by an open debate, by conflict of opinion, by criticism," to win the majority of the people to its socialist ideas.

In the terms of his own speech in Chicago, Walker's Order No. 20260 is a blow against "the very foundation of a democracy."

### Decree Threatening Paper To Be Challenged In The Courts

Meanwhile Publication Will Continue and Be Sent by U. S. 3rd-and 4th-Class Mail

The attack on the mailing rights of *The Militant*, initiated last November by Attorney General Biddle and the Post Office, was climaxed this week by an administrative decree of Postmaster General Frank C. Walker, revoking the second-class mailing privileges of this paper.

Walker's ruling, listed in the records as Post Office Order No. 20260 and made public in Washington on March 7, was the administration's first definitive denial of democratic rights to an anti-fascist labor paper in World War II. The order itself plainly indicates that the Postmaster General based his decision on opinions upheld in World War I by the reactionary judges who utilized the war hysteria to suppress scores of labor papers — opinions which still stink in the nostrils of all advocates of free speech and free press.

Immediately after the Walker order was made public, *The Militant* announced to the press that it was going to challenge the order in the courts and seek to regain its second class rights, the loss of which makes it exceedingly difficult for a nationally-distributed newspaper to operate. Meanwhile

*The Militant* will continue to be published, presenting its socialist views on the problems facing the people, and will be dispatched to its subscribers through the U. S. mails as third- and fourth-class matter, which is much more expensive than second-class mail.

During the first week in January *The Militant* was notified by the Solicitor's Office of the Postmaster General in Washington to show cause why its second-class mailing privileges should not be revoked. Accompanying the show cause order were 27 excerpts from *The Militant* which were cited by the

(Continued on page 2)

## Standley Talks Designed To Force Soviet Commitments

By Felix Morrow

Admiral William H. Standley's criticisms directed against the Soviet government Monday must be understood as the latest expression of the demand of the capitalist class for new and more binding commitments from the Soviet Union.

Whether Washington did or did not know what the admiral-ambassador was going to say is immaterial. Under-Secretary of State Welles' statement that Standley had spoken without prior consultation with Washington was the least that could have been expected at this stage of U. S.-Soviet negotiations. Welles would say no more, he stated, until he had seen the text of Standley's remarks; his dissociation from Standley's remarks could hardly have been more gentle.

Meanwhile, for 15 hours prior to Welles' press conference, Standley's critical remarks about the Soviet government had gone over press wires and radio, leaving the indelible impression of sharp friction between the "democracies" and the Soviet Union. Whatever differences exist between those represented by Standley and those for whom

Welles or Roosevelt speak are merely differences of opinion concerning the best immediate tactics to be used in pressing the Soviet government to comply with Washington - London demands. Both Standley and Roosevelt agree on the fundamental objective they are seeking as against the Soviet government.

#### STANDLEY'S DOUBLE-TALK

What they and the entire capitalist class of the "democracies" want is not to be found in the actual remarks made by Standley. Those remarks are typical of the usual double-talk of capitalist diplomacy. The specific com-

plaints he voiced were in no way the real issues. They were simply the immediate pretext for making clear that friction was growing between the Anglo-American bloc and the Soviet Union.

His complaint that the Soviet press was not reporting American "aid" was refuted by Chairman Bloom of the House Foreign Affairs Committee, who cited from the Soviet press "very full reports of American military assistance," including publication of Lend-Lease Administrator Stettinius' reports, Churchill and Roosevelt speeches referring to American and British shipments to the Soviet Union, etc.

The fact is that the Soviet press, under orders from the Kremlin, says more for Anglo-American aid than is felt by the Red Army and the Soviet masses. For example, at the time of the North African invasion, Stalin hailed it saying it "radically changes the political and war situation in Europe in favor of the Anglo-American-Soviet coalition."

#### THE AMOUNT OF AID

Far sharper than any statement from the Soviet Union was Lord Beaverbrook's characterization of Anglo-American aid as "parsimonious" and his estimate that "since the Russians opened their winter offensive they had captured more tanks and aircraft from the

### UMW Attack 'Little Steel' Formula, Seek \$2 Pay Rise

By JOHN BATES

As the United Mine Workers entered negotiations with the operators this week for a \$2 per day wage boost covering 450,000 bituminous coal miners all signs pointed to a direct clash with the War Labor Board which has clearly indicated its intention of denying any pay rise which would violate its "Little Steel" formula. Since the miners have previously received the 15% rise over Jan. 1941 levels, considered permissible by the WLB formula, there seems little chance that the WLB will grant the miners' demands.

The intention of the WLB to deny workers' demands for pay increases to meet the skyrocketing cost of living, was made clear last week in the decision handed down in the eight month old case of the West Coast aircraft workers. The majority of the "public" and the employer representatives on the Board banded together to deny the wage raises asked by the workers and to grant only token boosts ranging from 4 to 7 cents per hour. Most of these increases were confined to so-called "inequality" cases and failed to rise any category of wages up to levels of income demanded by health and decency standards.

#### AIRCRAFT DECISION

The Boeing Aircraft employees in Seattle, members of the International Association of Machinists, AFL, received 4½ cents per hour, half of the southern California aircraft workers in "sub-standard" categories received 7½ cents per hour, but the great majority of the 230,000 workers involved were denied any general rise in pay.

Labor members of the WLB, who, with "public" member Wayne L. Morse wrote a minority report, charged that the decision had been dictated by Economic Stabilization Director James F. Byrnes. Byrnes had previously announced that he intended to "hold the line" against wage increases which violate the "Little Steel" yardstick.

The Boeing decision was a direct warning to the miners that the government would deny their demands for the \$2 pay boost. John L. Lewis, president of the UMW, has challenged the WLB authority on this issue and announced that the UMW would continue its fight for the increase.

Speaking on March 3 before the Tri-District convention of the UMW held in Scranton, Pa., Lewis assailed the WLB, the OPA and the economic stabilizer, James Byrnes, as constituting "a court packed against labor." He charged that the "Little Steel" formula was designed "to fatten industry and starve the worker."

#### LEWIS' SPEECH

"For every ten billion dollars spent by the government on war materials and supplies," said Lewis, "there is a billion dollars in profit for corporations."

"I challenge any one to deny that industry and finance under our government's policy are guaranteed against the high cost of production, the high cost of living, and a profit on top of that." In announcing that he intended to disregard the War Labor Board in the fight for decent wages, Lewis said, "I doubt whether the workers will want me to place

(Continued on page 3)

### C. P. Denounced For Plan to Bring Back the Speedup

Report WLB Will Soon Start Drive To Extend Speedup

By PHILIP BLAKE

The Communist Party has become such a reactionary force in the labor movement that it is now subject to justified criticism by the conservative union leaders — from the left. Several months ago, when the ever-rising cost of living resulted in increasing demands for wage increases, the Stalinists worked out a "program" designed to keep their members from coming into direct and open conflict with the workers' demands and thus being discredited and isolated. As presented by Earl Browder and later amplified by the Stalinist press, this program, termed a "wage incentive plan," boiled down to nothing more or less than the speedup, and the Stalinists within the unions have been clamoring for its universal adoption ever since.

#### ATTACK BEGAN NOV. LAST

The Post Office interference with *The Militant* began last November, after the appearance of the Nov. 7 issue and simultaneously with the U. S. invasion of North Africa.

Without any notification or explanation, the New York postal authorities took over the issues of the paper as they were deposited for delivery, and held them while officials in Washington examined their contents.

After delays ranging up to two weeks, three of the November issues and one December issue were ordered destroyed. The others were finally delivered.

In December the Post Office also interfered with the delivery of the Trotskyist monthly magazine, *Fourth International*. The December issue was destroyed; the January and February issues were

#### STATUS OF 'LABOR ACTION'

It was also learned this week that for the first time since last December the newspaper, *Labor Action*, was dispatched from New York without any delay and without first having been examined in Washington.

The publishers of *Labor Action* have been notified by the postal authorities that "for the present, future issues will likewise be dispatched."

The Civil Rights Defense Committee is conducting the drive to raise money for the legal expenses involved in the appeal to the Minnesota Supreme Court of the conviction of Kelly Postal, Secretary-Treasurer of Local 544-CIO. At the instigation of AFL Teamsters' President Daniel J. Tobin, Postal was framed up on the charge of "embezzling" union funds, although he had merely executed the wish of Local 544's membership to transfer their local funds from the AFL to the CIO.

The story of the Kelly Postal case, written by the noted author, James T. Farrell, will be found on Page 3 of this issue.

All labor organizations and friends of civil liberties are urged to send contributions for Kelly Postal's defense to the Civil Rights Defense Committee at 160 Fifth Ave., New York City.

### Unions Help in Kelly Postal Case

Three more unions have sent contributions to the Kelly Postal Defense Fund, the Civil Rights Defense Committee reported this week. The unions were:

Sacramento CIO Council, Calif. Twin Cities Joint Board of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, CIO, Minn.

Local 560, United Auto Workers, CIO, El Cerrito, Calif.

The Civil Rights Defense Committee is conducting the drive to raise money for the legal expenses involved in the appeal to the Minnesota Supreme Court of the conviction of Kelly Postal, Secretary-Treasurer of Local 544-CIO. At the instigation of AFL Teamsters' President Daniel J. Tobin, Postal was framed up on the charge of "embezzling" union funds, although he had merely executed the wish of Local 544's membership to transfer their local funds from the AFL to the CIO.

The story of the Kelly Postal case, written by the noted author, James T. Farrell, will be found on Page 3 of this issue.

All labor organizations and friends of civil liberties are urged to send contributions for Kelly Postal's defense to the Civil Rights Defense Committee at 160 Fifth Ave., New York City.

### King George Gets A Bright Idea — Now Let's Expand It

LONDON, March 3 (AP). — King George has become a part-time worker in a war factory, standing at a bench two nights a week turning out precision parts. He "clocks in" at 6 P. M., wearing overalls and leaves about 8:30 P. M. His foreman says he is "clever with his hands." His first lesson lasted one hour. Within a week he was pronounced proficient.

Hurrah for King George Windsor! He has started on a wonderful idea, which is capable of considerable expansion. Why should he work shifts of only two and a half hours? And why only two nights a week? What else is he doing that's of any use to anybody? The world can easily dispense with his signature on papers, his pinning medals on war cripples, etc.

It took George Windsor only a week to be pronounced proficient by the foreman. That's fine — lots of others can do likewise. All the coupon-clippers, front-office chairwarmers, boards of directors, labor relations "experts," time-study "engineers," Dies Committee investigators, poll-tax Congressmen, government propagandists, industrial "statesmen" and all the other parasites — put them all to work!

Of course they wouldn't like it, but they'd be doing useful work for the first time in their lives, and there are enough of them to ease up the manpower shortage.

By keeping them busy they'd be out of harm's way. No time to think up ways and means of chopping down the workers' wages. Too busy to sit on their moneybags, which could be used to pay for this war.

The night clubs of course would have to close, and cocktail parties would be at an end, and — rich wives and lady friends also being put to work — the Fifth Avenue fur and dress salons would be empty. But not a single thing of use to the people would be lost if the upper classes were put to work.

Hurrah for George Windsor! He has started something which we ought to expand until there isn't a single parasite left idle!

#### Bulletin

### Natalia Trotsky Seriously Ill

March 9. — *The Militant* is very sorry to have to report that it today received the news from Mexico that Natalia Sedov Trotsky, widow of Leon Trotsky, is gravely ill.

The telegram containing this information stated only that this heroic and life-long fighter in the revolutionary labor movement had been stricken by an infection and heart trouble, and was under the care of a specialist. Next week's issue will carry further information.

## Stalin's Murder Of Erlich And Alter

In the midst of our rejoicing at the Soviet victories comes the news that Stalin, by the murder of two anti-fascist labor leaders, has given the reactionaries new weapons against the Soviet Union. Despite our fundamental political differences with Henryk Erlich and Victor Alter, leaders of the Jewish Socialist Federation of Poland, we brand as a vicious frameup the Stalinist claim that these Polish labor leaders were agents of the Nazis.

HEAR THE TRUTH ABOUT THESE MURDERS. ATTEND THE LECTURE BY

**ALBERT GOLDMAN**

Attorney for Leon Trotsky—Noted Labor Lawyer

**SUNDAY, MARCH 14, AT 8 P. M.**

at

**116 UNIVERSITY PLACE**

corner 13th Street, N. Y. C.

QUESTIONS AND DISCUSSION

Auspices: New York School of Social Science

SUNDAY OPEN FORUM



HENRYK ERlich



VICTOR ALTER

## A Short History Of 'The Militant'

By HELEN RUSSELL

Our first article described the creation of *The Militant* in response to the needs of the newly formed Trotskyist movement. In its first stage *The Militant* was primarily a theoretical organ, devoted to publishing the documents and expounding the position of the Left Opposition against the Stalinist bureaucracy. The pressure of objective events, however, soon presented a new historic task—the fight against the rising power of fascism, above all in Germany.

*The Militant*, alone, clearly showed from the beginning what fascism was and how to fight it. It did not minimize the threat fascism was—as did the Stalinists—nor hide its head from the danger—as did the Social Democrats. *The Militant* pointed out that the world-wide depression of 1929 had plunged capitalism into a permanent crisis from which it was not able to recover. Capitalism, weak and tottering, in a desperate attempt to stabilize itself, was resorting more and more to its only remaining method—brutal force against the working class. Socialism or fascism was the question on the order of the day for the working class.

The Trotskyists, above all others too, realized that the German events would influence the fate of the workers everywhere for many years to come. In its analyses of the parliamentary election returns, *The Militant* pointed out that no mere legislative skirmishes were occurring but rather the struggle for power between the working class and the capitalist rulers was being posed with knife-edge sharpness. In numerous articles the paper warned that a victory of fascism would be a terrible blow to the workers and increase the likelihood of war against the Soviet Union.

Leon Trotsky's great works of that period were a weekly feature of *The Militant*. Later many of these articles were collected to form such books and pamphlets as "Germany—the Key to the International Question," "What Next?—Vital Questions for the German Proletariat," "The Only Road," etc., issued by Pioneer Publishers.

The task of rousing the workers to the danger of fascism and organizing them into a united front to defeat it was the tremendous job of *The Militant* of the 1930-34 years. As the tempo of the German events quickened and the crisis grew more serious, *The Militant*, responding to its revolutionary task, came out three times a week.

Not only capitalism was dying, *The Militant* pointed out, but also the parties and programs tied to capitalism. The Social Democrats for years had based themselves on the maintenance of the status quo and above all wanted peace and order while they collected the crumbs tossed to them by their imperialist masters. Their passivity and policy of class-collaboration, paralyzed the working class who had depended upon them for leadership.

Unfortunately, the only other mass party in the leadership of the working class was the Stalinist. In their "Third Period" adventurism, however, they succeeded only in isolating themselves from the German masses by denouncing every other working class organization as social-fascist. Thus they were unable to effect a united front of the German working class against fascism, which, as *The Militant* repeatedly pointed out, was the only effective means of fighting fascism. The German workers' organizations, lacking the necessary revolutionary leadership, were smashed to pieces under the blows of Hitler's gangs.

While the betrayers of the struggle for socialism may have ignored the true anti-fascist program, Hitler recognized the threat of the international revolutionary socialist message. As early as April 1929, after Trotsky had applied in vain to the Weimar Republic for a visa, Hitler's *Volkische Beobachter* declared: "In the city of Germany where this infamous fellow (Trotsky) may have the nerve to 'take the cure,' the National Socialist Labor Party (Nazis) will look after the necessary enlightenment so that this scoundrel who has made a gigantic corpse factory out of Russia, will lose both hearing and sight." (N. Y. Times, Apr. 21, 1929.)

In the same way, apparently, Biddle and his Post Office associates want us to lose our voice as well.

With the defeat of the German working class, the Third International demonstrated its final and utter bankruptcy. Realizing this, the Trotskyist movement set upon its next course of development, which we shall discuss in our next article.

(This is the second in a series of articles dealing with the history of *The Militant* since its inception in 1928. The third will be printed next week.)

# Commitment Sought From USSR

(Continued from page 1)

enemy than they had got from the U. S. and Britain in the past 20 months." (N. Y. Times, Feb. 4, 1943.)

One can safely assume that the Red Army, knowing the limited diversion of Nazi strength created by the North African invasion, did not share Stalin's fulsome praise of the American action. As for lend-lease supplies, all correspondents testify that, as one would expect, it appears as a drop in the bucket to the Soviet masses in comparison to their terrible sacrifices.

In the face of this attitude of the Soviet masses, Stalin cannot go too far in exaggerating the actual scope and value of Anglo-American shipments to the Soviet Union. Moreover, confronted by growing diplomatic pressure from the "democracies" and by no means certain that they will strike a bargain, he must attempt to rally his forces for difficult days ahead by emphasizing the extent to which the victories of the Red Army were won by its own efforts.

Even so, Admiral Standley quickly got satisfaction on his specific complaint when, a day later, the Moscow radio broadcast a full report on lend-lease aid. But that was not what Standley was really seeking. His complaint was simply his device for emphasizing the friction with the Soviet Union and for putting pressure on Washington and London to move faster in pressing Stalin for guarantees.

## FINLAND AND POLAND

The immediate guarantees sought probably concern Finland. As the principal press spokesman for American capitalism have been indicating for weeks, they want guarantees that if Finland will make peace it will receive "honorable" terms.

In plain English this means that, even though entry of the Red Army and Navy into Finland would lead to heavy blows against Nazi bases in Norway and Nazi iron ore shipments from Sweden, the Red forces should not enter Finland.

The dispute over Finland is growing sharper as the Red Army successes make ever more likely a Nazi retreat in the north which would separate the Nazi front from the Finnish front and put a Soviet invasion of Finland on the agenda.

If the immediate dispute is over Finland, the same issue arises also for what was formerly Eastern Poland, as the Red Army reaches the upper Dnieper River.

The dispute is not merely over the post-war boundaries of the Soviet Union. Much more is involved. It is a dispute between the nationalized property, product of the October revolution, on which the Soviet Union is based, and the fundamentally different system of capitalist private property of the "democracies."

As the Red Army nears Finland and Poland, the capitalists remember what happened when the Red Army was advancing in Eastern Poland in 1939 and in Bessarabia in 1940. As the Red Army approached, the workers and poor peasants arose in a revolutionary wave. No matter how cautiously, the Kremlin, in order to incorporate those territories into the USSR, was compelled to call upon the masses to form workers' committees to seize the factories, peasants' committees to seize the land, provisional

## Sunday Open Forum

## E. R. Frank Discusses Labor In World War II

An audience of 100 people heard E. R. Frank speak on "Labor and the Second World War" last Sunday evening at the Sunday Open Forum sponsored by the New York School of Social Science. Frank spoke in place of the well-known Northwest labor leader, V. R. Dunne, who was scheduled to speak but was unable to appear because of illness.

Going back to a discussion of the first World War, Frank showed how labor had enthusiastically supported the professed aims of the Wilson administration as summarized in the famous 14 points. In the period following the war, the masses became disillusioned as it became clear that the war had not been fought for democracy and freedom but, as Wilson himself put it, "for commercial supremacy."

In the present war, Frank pointed out, labor once again supports the administration, which asserts that it is fighting for the "four freedoms" and against fascism. This time, however, the workers are suspicious of the aims of the capitalists and at each new stage oppose the concrete war measures of the Roosevelt government, such as wage and job-freezing, high taxes and rising prices.

administrations to arrest the landlords, capitalists and police, etc.

Later, of course, the Kremlin proceeded to stifle the initiative of the workers and peasants and to gather all power into the hands of the Stalinist bureaucracy. But that did not change the class character of the revolutionary expropriations. The contagious effect of these expropriations was limited in 1939-40, when Europe was still dominated by the Nazis, and there were still intact bourgeois armies in Finland, Rumania, Yugoslavia, Bulgaria, Greece, etc.

But now, if the Red Army continues to advance? Stalin wants no European revolution, but the "infection" may spread against his will. Unlike Stalin and his bureaucracy, we can be sure that the Red Army soldiers and the Soviet masses would like nothing better than the extension of the October revolution.

It is this situation, one fraught with mortal danger to world capitalism, which is preoccupying Washington and London. Precisely because so much is at stake, differences of opinion over tactical questions within the bourgeois camp are likely to lead to such explosions as Admiral Standley's statement in Moscow. He is angry with his class brothers for their failure to move as rapidly and effectively as he thinks is necessary, and his statement was an attempt to force their hand.

Roosevelt, on the other hand, is seeking to secure the objectives which he has in common with Standley through an agreement with Stalin. Through Wallace's speech—made the same day as Standley's statement—Roosevelt assures Stalin that they should be able to come to an agreement.

But Wallace also warns Stalin that U. S.-Soviet "war would be inevitable if Russia should again embrace the Trotskyist idea of fomenting world-wide revolution"—that is, Stalin must come to an agreement with Washington rigidly limiting the territories to be incorporated into the Soviet Union and, if expropriations in those territories inspire the masses to revolt in the rest of Europe, Stalin must help the "democracies" crush those revolutions.

While holding out hope for an agreement, Wallace leaves the way open for a new amalgam identifying fascism and the Soviet Union, as the "democracies" did during the Hitler-Stalin pact. "This philosophy" of Marxism, he says, "in some ways is the child of Prussianism, because Marx, its high priest, was molded in his thinking by Hegel, the great philosopher of the Prussian State. Marxianism has used the Cheka, just as Prussianism has used the Gestapo."

## THE BASIC DISPUTE

The present disputes between the "democracies" and the Soviet government may be resolved for a time, Stalin may give them satisfactory guarantees on Finland and Poland in return for secondary concessions.

But the basic cause of the dispute—the fundamental antagonism between the systems of private property and nationalized property—cannot be resolved. Sooner or later one or the other—capitalism or the foundations of socialism—must prevail.

In that struggle, today as well as tomorrow, all class-conscious workers stand with the Soviet Union against the capitalist world, regardless of what Stalin does or does not do.

Frank analyzed the role of the War Labor Board in stifling the union movement and in trying to make it ineffective. He pointed out that the only way labor can find an answer to the problem of overcoming the influence of government bodies is by demanding the immediate resignation of union members from the WLB and standing on its own feet independently of government control.

During the question and discussion period, Frank took up the current role in the labor movement of the Stalinists, who occupy the extreme right wing and who are willing to give up all the workers' gains in favor of increased production based upon the piece-work system. The role of John L. Lewis today also was examined and discussed.

Finally, in answer to a question regarding the prospects for a nation-wide Independent Labor Party, Frank showed how the possibilities for such a party were becoming real and that the unions, if they wished to survive and continue to represent the progressive movement of the workers, would have to enter the political arena under their own banner.

# Stalin's Slav International

By JOHN G. WRIGHT

The Stalinist intervention in Yugoslavia is an integral part of a far broader and deep going strategy, and can be fully understood only in this light.

In close connection with the "Liberation Fronts" in Yugoslavia and other countries in Nazi-occupied Europe, the Kremlin has set up an extremely elaborate and rigidly controlled apparatus. An organization designated as "The All-Slav Rally"—or "Conference" or "Congress," as it is variously known—is the most important and imposing part of Stalin's latest bureaucratic construction, with headquarters in Moscow.

This "Rally" met for the first time on August 10 and 11, 1941, that is, at the height of the first Nazi offensive which carried to the very outskirts of Leningrad and Moscow itself. At about the same time Churchill and Roosevelt were meeting somewhere on the high seas in order to plan their own war strategy and "eight point program."

## THE RALLY'S APPEAL

The primary task of the All-Slav Rally was to organize a second front in Hitler's rear. This task was ostensibly accomplished by the adoption of an appeal "to the oppressed Slav people of Europe to rise against Hitler" presented in the name of a novelist, Alexei Tolstoy and solemnly adopted by the assembled gathering, which Moscow dispatches characterized as a "great rally of representatives of all Slavs."

The appeal and the Rally were widely publicized. Within a fortnight the official Russian press and all its agencies abroad were featuring inspired dispatches, centering round Yugoslavia, of which the following—from Istanbul, Turkey—is a model:

"The Serb and Montenegrin peoples have been stirred into action by the recent All-Slav Rally held in Moscow, it has been learned here (that is, in Istanbul, not Moscow). That rally attended by representatives of

## Militant's Second Class Mail Rights Revoked

(Continued from page 1)

authorities as "objectionable." The excerpts attacked Big Business, criticized administration policies such as Jim Crowism and the Darnall deal, and advocated a Workers' and Farmers' Government as the only solution to the problems of war, fascism, unemployment and racial discrimination.

## THE WASHINGTON HEARING

The hearing on the charges was held in Washington on Jan. 21, while President Roosevelt was in North Africa meeting with the fascist Darnall's successor, Giraud. At the hearing it was established that the proceedings against the paper had been instigated by Attorney General Biddle, who had also initiated the infamous Minneapolis frame-up trial of Trotskyist and CIO leaders.

Post Office Atty. O'Brien introduced an additional 78 excerpts from the paper as evidence and demanded the revocation of its mail rights on the ground that the effect of reading it might persuade some individual not to enlist.

Albert Goldman, attorney for *The Militant*, answered this argument by showing that it could be used to revoke the mail rights of every paper that criticized a government official, because all such criticisms might have the effect of persuading someone not to enlist. Osmond K. Fraenkel, representing the American Civil Liberties Union at the hearing, declared that the moves against this paper constituted "the gravest threat to freedom of the press that has thus far arisen in this war."

The hearing was conducted by three Post Office officials assigned to the task by the Postmaster General. On Feb. 15 these officials submitted their finding and recommendations to the Postmaster General, who was authorized to make the final decision in the case.

On March 3 the Postmaster General signed Post Office Order 20260 revoking the paper's second-class rights. The order was not made public until March 7. The Postmaster General spent the period between these two dates visiting the White House, participating in the celebration of the tenth anniversary of Democratic Party rule in Washington, and setting the publicity ball rolling for a fourth term.

## 'All Slav Rally' Created by Kremlin to Further Its Aims in Europe and America

leading Slav peoples and urging Slav unity against oppression, is known about throughout the Balkans . . .

"Within Yugoslavia itself, resistance to the Nazi army of occupation doubled and quadrupled. The Montenegrins replied to the appeal of the All-Slav Rally with militant action . . .

"A wave of meetings are sweeping throughout Slovakia . . . The speakers called for all the Slovaks to unite and together with the Russians, Ukrainians, Byelorussians, Czechs, Poles and other Slav peoples, fight for the liberty of all the Slavs." (Daily Worker, Aug. 24, 1941.)

Within two months Moscow reported:

"The guerilla warfare in Poland and Yugoslavia is increasing and the anti-German movement in Czechoslovakia is extending far and wide. A conference of leaders of guerilla detachments of Serbia, Croatia, Slovenia, Bosnia, Herzegovina, Macedonia, Vojvodina and Montenegro was held recently in Bosnia mountains." (Daily Worker, Oct. 26, 1941.) Yugoslavia presented the most fertile field of operation.

## TIES WITH THE KREMLIN

But the Rally and its appeal did not quite work these miracles alone. These swift developments can be interpreted correctly only by taking into account the workings behind the scene of Stalin's world wide and colossal machine. And this is all the more easily done since the Stalinists either have forgotten or have chosen to ignore their original claim that the All-Slav Rally actually initiated guerilla activity and in particular, brought about the unification of Partisan forces in Yugoslavia. One Albert Popovitch now writes in the current March issue of *The Communist*:

"In the middle of August, 1941, inspired by the great struggles of the Soviet people and the All-Slav Conference in Moscow, a National Partisan Conference was held in Bosnia which organized a central leadership of the armed forces of the People's United Front for the liberation of Yugoslavia from Hitler."

This is far closer to the truth. It constitutes a semi-official confirmation of the close connection between the "All-Slav Conference" (that is, the Kremlin) and the Yugoslav Partisans (that is, the Kremlin's Yugoslav agency). Moreover we get here a verification of the fact that the simultaneous formation—by the middle of

August, 1941—of these two leading bodies—one in Bosnia and the other in Moscow—represent two different organizational forms serving one and the same policy.

The very location of the All-Slav Rally in Moscow is sufficient evidence that it is carefully hand-picked and Stalinist-controlled from top to bottom. There is no lack, however, of additional proof.

## ADDITIONAL PROOF

Virtually the same individuals that were selected in August 1941 remain at its head today. Most prominent are of course the 25 members of its Central Executive Committee which bears the title of "The All-Slav Committee."

The Chairman of this executive body is a Red Army general, Alexander Gonorov. Several other representatives of the Red Army serve on the Committee, whose first Vice-Chairman is A. Korneichuk, a member of the Supreme Council of the USSR and closely connected with the General Staff of the Red Army.

Among the other vice-chairmen are such notable Stalinist stooges as Zdenko Najedlich, Professor of Prague University, and Bohidar Maslarich, Professor of Belgrade University.

Among the executive secretaries are Stalinist functionaries like Anatole Lavrentiev and Vladimir Osminkin. Another secretary, Juro Salay is a paid thug.

Still other eminent members of the Committee are literary lights from Alexei Tolstoy, the Russian novelist, and the less known Yugoslav poet, Rodolj Stijenski down to such GPU hacks as Ivan Regent, a Slovenian journalist now invested with the title "Slovenian political leader." Equally publicized are figureheads like Dmitri Vakhov, "Macedonian political leader"; Timofei Gorbunov, "Byelorussian political leader"; Ferdinand Kozovsky, "Bulgarian political leader," etc. etc.

The arena of activity of the All-Slav Rally is by no means limited to Yugoslavia and continental Europe but extends to England and beyond: Canada, Australia, South America and the USA.

## IN WESTERN HEMISPHERE

In the western hemisphere, the move to organize foreign sections was made immediately after the parent body in Moscow adjourned. In two weeks, the local Stalinists were stating flatly that "the All-America All Slav Congress will be held here during the early fall." (Daily Worker, Aug. 26, 1941.)

A month later they were already announcing the name, date and place, of the American section: "The Congress, known as the Slav Congress of America, will be held in Pittsburgh on November 21, 22 and 23." (Daily Worker, Sept. 28, 1941.)

The connection with Moscow was hardly hidden:

"Sponsors of the Congress . . . predict that the Congress will be of international significance, rivalled only by the All-Slav Conference held in Moscow last month." (Idem.)

The American section of Stalin's "Slav International" convened as scheduled. It is a matter of public record that its ties with Moscow go far beyond mere exchanges of greetings which are signed as a rule for the parent body by General Gonorov. At the last session of the All-Slav Committee in Moscow, on February 10 of this year, there were two points on the agenda, and according to dispatches passed by the Kremlin censors, the second reporter "dwelt extensively on the activity of American Slav." (Slobodna Rech, Feb. 11.)

## THE RALLY'S ORGANS

Since last June, the All-Slav Rally has been publishing in the USSR its official central organ, *Slaviane* (Slavs). In addition to this monthly publication, it issues others in the various Slavic languages, the latest of them being a Polish magazine, *Nowe Widnokregi* and a Polish weekly, *Wolna Polska* which appeared on March 1.

The Rally has a staff of its own foreign correspondents inside and outside the USSR as well as accredited "war correspondents of the All-Slav Committee" with the Red Army and with the guerillas.

In this country, over and above the established chain of Stalinist publications, the Rally is served by a Russian daily, *Russky Golos*; a Serbian bi-weekly, *Slobodna Rech*; a Polish paper *Polski Glos Ludowy*; a fourth in Ukrainian, *Dnevne Novosti*, etc. Organizations in other countries follow much the same pattern.

Next week we shall take up the auxiliary institutions of the All-Slav Rally, namely, "The Women's Anti-Fascist Committees," and "The Anti-Fascist Youth Congress."

## For a Rising Scale of Wages to Meet Rising Living Costs

# C.P. Denounced For Plan To Bring Back Speedup

(Continued from page 1)

The Stalinists favor the speedup for the following reasons:

It can be presented to workers seeking higher wages as an alternative to struggle with the employers and the War Labor Board. "All you have to do is work faster and produce more and you'll get more pay."

It will not meet any opposition from the employers or the administration, both of whom are against higher hourly wage rates. Why should it? They've always been in favor of the speedup.

Thus it will at one and the same time "increase production for the second front" and preserve the "national unity" to which the Stalinists are so devoted—the unity of exploited and exploiters, with the exploiters on top, of course.

## LEAFLETS ATTACK STALINIST CAMPAIGN

But strangely enough, the proposal for the speedup as the solution to labor's problems has not made everyone happy. The national executive board of the CIO voted down a motion to advocate an "incentive" plan at its meeting in Washington last month.

And last week the Michigan state convention of the Communist Party complained bitterly that leaflets attacking the Stalinists for sponsoring the notoriously anti-labor "Bedaux piece-work system," were being distributed to war plants in the Detroit area.

The convention even voted to send a letter to the FBI, demanding that it "discover and expose" those who were guilty of issuing this unpatriotic leaflet. Said the Stalinist state secretary, Patrick Toohy:

"The leaflet is actually an attack on the wage incentive plan issued by the War Labor Board to speed up production of war materials by providing a bonus plan for war workers without

violating the Little Steel formula establishing a maximum wage level. We want the people who are thus jeopardizing war production brought out into the open."

But before the FBI even got the letter, Paul Ste. Marie, president of Ford Local 600 of the CIO United Auto Workers, issued a statement publicly taking responsibility for issuing and circulating the leaflet.

In his statement he once again denounced the Stalinists for their efforts "to bring back the stretch-out and speedup which the UAW has eliminated from most organized plants." And he correctly branded the Stalinist attempt to reintroduce the Bedaux speed-up bonus system as "a blow at that labor has gained in the last ten years."

It is true that the War Labor Board some time ago handed down a general ruling permitting "incentive pay" for increased production. Up to now it has not paid much attention to this ruling. But now the danger is great that the Board may in the near future initiate a big campaign to boost the speedup-incentive bonus system.

On March 7 the N. Y. Times printed a story reporting a prediction by Austin M. Fisher, "labor relations consultant" to about 50 plants, that within the next 60 days the WLB will adopt "a definite policy approving incentives," which will result in "a tremendous resurgence of industrial interests in incentive systems."

## HOW "INCENTIVE SYSTEM" WOULD WORK

Fisher asserted that the adoption of "incentive systems" in all war plants would contribute to the solution of the manpower problem by increasing production "about 20%, without the addition of any workers." Fisher said that he did not know exactly what

form the declaration by the Board will take, but that it "will undoubtedly set up certain criteria for the establishment of incentive systems, whether old or new, similar or modified or re-engineered."

"1. The incentive system must not result in any increase in unit cost. If it works properly, of course, there should be a decrease in unit costs, because the overhead cost and labor cost per unit falls."

"2. The workers' increased weekly 'take-home' must follow clearly and directly from the fact of increased productive effort."

"3. The increase in weekly 'take-home' need not be in direct ratio to increased productive effort but may be less than fully equivalent to it."

## NO BENEFITS FOR WORKERS

Fisher is much franker in certain respects than the Stalinists. He does not pretend that these speedup proposals will solve the workers' efforts to meet the rising cost of living:

"The question of inflation through expanded worker income naturally arises in connection with incentive systems," Mr. Fisher pointed out. "However, it is likely that after the War Labor Board issues a clear-cut statement of policy on incentives it will leave the job of siphoning off whatever excess purchasing power develops to the Treasury Department," he said.

Thus the basis is being laid, according to this informed labor relations consultant of the boss, for a speedup of the workers from which in the end the workers will gain nothing.

It would be a dangerous mistake, this "prediction" shows, for the workers to believe they can afford to ignore this question just because the Stalinists have thus far made little headway in their speedup drive. A campaign sup-

## Women In Industry

By MARIE TAYLOR

## CIO AUXILIARY HITS "EQUAL RIGHTS" BILL

A vigorous protest against the so-called "Equal Rights" amendment was lodged with the Senate Judiciary Committee last week by the CIO Congress of Women's Auxiliaries. A statement by Eleanor Fowler, secretary of the Congress, said:

"On behalf of the Congress of Women's Auxiliaries of the CIO, I want to register the strongest possible opposition to the so-called 'equal rights' amendment which is pending before your committee. The amendment would serve as a dangerous instrument to destroy many hard-won rights of women. It is generally agreed that the effect of the 'equal rights' provision would be to abolish those laws which protect the economic, physical and social conditions of women, but do not apply equally to men."

"The amendment would destroy protective industrial legislation and would impose extreme hardships on working women. It would create similar hardships for women in other walks of life. It would undermine laws which relate to widows' pensions, the right of dependent wives and children to support of the husband and father, guardianship, and many other rights affecting family relationships."

"The CIO Auxiliaries, together with other labor organizations, have always opposed discrimination against women and have always worked to secure real equality for them. The 'equal rights' amendment is not a shortcut to equality but would create a hundred injustices for every one it abolishes."

William Green, speaking on behalf of the AFL, has also called for the defeat of the amendment. Local trade unions, CIO, AFL and Independent, should do likewise.

## FACTORY "DISCIPLINE"

Many women workers are being introduced for the first time to factory "discipline." They are finding that their entire lives must be rearranged and adjusted to fit their working conditions. Their interests, opinions, and preferences are no longer decisive; instead they become part of a large company, with company rules to obey, and a long line of superintendents, foremen, etc. to see that these rules are carried out.

Factory "discipline" teaches women in industry two important lessons. First, the women learn that their problems are not an individual matter, but affect all women, and in most cases, men workers as well. Thus they find that personal whims and preferences must be replaced by a serious consideration of what is best for the workers as a whole.

Secondly, women workers learn that the owners of industry are not in the least concerned with the problems which workers must face. They learn that capitalism, which gears production to profit, seeks to crush all individuality, all independent judgment among the workers. Thus the ruling class hopes to create a docile, obedient labor supply. But the workers also learn in the process to combat this process through their unions, and with the combined effort of the entire working class, to work toward the establishment of a society in their own interests.

ported by both the administration, the employers and the Stalinists is a real threat.

## UNION LEADERS CAN'T BE DEPENDENT ON

Furthermore, it does not follow, because the union leaders have thus far shown no enthusiasm for the speedup campaign, that they will take the same attitude tomorrow. Most of the union leaders are afraid to put up a real fight against the WLB's Little Steel formula, and Fisher shrewdly points out that they may be won over to the bonus-speedup idea "because of the constant pressure from workers for more 'take-home.'"

The union leaders are not enthusiastic today, primarily because they know what the workers think about the speedup; but if they thought it could be 'sold' to the workers or if they got a little pressure from Roosevelt, they would retreat on this question as they have on so many others since the war began.

It is therefore necessary that the workers be warned at once to speak out vigorously against all speedup plans, no matter who sponsors them; to let the War Labor Board know, even before it takes the first step in this direction, that labor will oppose all speedup plans; to put pressure on the labor leaders and inform them in no uncertain terms that the workers will not tolerate leaders who retreat on this question; and to voice still louder their demands for a rising scale of wages as the only means of combating the rising cost of living.

## The Negro Struggle

By Albert Parker

### Propaganda As a Weapon Against Jim Crow

A reader of *The Militant* has sent us the following letter:

"I have been reading your column for over a year and I want to let you know that I follow it with interest each week because it deals in such a consistently intelligent and honest manner with the problem facing the Negro people. My work requires that I read most of the important Negro weeklies, but I do not know of any other column that is worthy of regular attention, with the exception of George Schuyler and J. A. Roger in the *Pittsburgh Courier*."

"The chief purpose of this letter, however, is to ask you to comment on Mr. Schuyler's proposal for an intensive large-scale campaign of educational propaganda to be directed toward the white masses, the unions and the white workers generally. Don't you agree that such a campaign could do much to eliminate race prejudice among the Negroes' natural allies, the white workers, and that therefore it is worthy of the support of every opponent of Jim Crowism?"

Yes, we do agree that educational propaganda is needed and can do much to eradicate prejudices among the white workers. The *Militant* itself is devoted to educating white workers as to the meaning and cause of race prejudice, in the interests of forging a fighting unity of white and Negro workers against their common enemies. And naturally it welcomes and supports all efforts to facilitate this unity.

It is very important for every advocate of equality for the Negro people to understand the part which education plays in both the stimulation and the elimination of racial prejudice. Before we enter into this, however, let us say a word or two about Schuyler's proposal.

His proposal, by the way, is past the stage of discussion. After stressing the need for such a project in his *Pittsburgh Courier*, and after getting an encouraging response from many of his readers, Schuyler and some of his friends proceeded last month to organize the Association for Tolerance in America, "dedicated to the task of eliminating color prejudice through mass education in tolerance." Its temporary headquarters is 270 Convent Avenue, N. Y. C.

As explained by Schuyler, the ATA will "supplement and facilitate the work of existing organizations (fighting Jim Crowism) by preparing a book psychologically. Its job will be 'selling' the Negro American to the white masses who have hitherto been neglected by Negro propagandists who concentrated on the en-

lightened minority of whites." It plans by the use of radio, billboards, illustrated leaflets, newspaper, magazine and bus displays to try to dispel prejudice among whites against Negroes.

The first thing to be noted is that Schuyler apparently recognizes that educational propaganda is only a supplement to organization and struggle, and not a substitute for them. Organized educational efforts are necessary, but unless the Negroes join together into fighting organizations, they will not make any appreciable progress.

The most heartening thing about the ATA and Schuyler's comments on this problem is that they are based on the understanding that the white workers are the real allies of the Negro people. Schuyler has often pointed out that the faces of most Negro groups are turned toward the white, ruling and middle class elements, who have at best only a vague humanitarian interest in the Negro question, and who are generally both unwilling and unprepared to join the Negroes in actual struggle for their rights.

It is good to see Negroes beginning to realize that their fate is bound up with that of the working class. This question of education and propaganda is at the very root of the struggle for equality. Racial prejudice against the Negro would have died out long ago in this country if it weren't for the fact that all the main instruments of education and propaganda are in the hands of the capitalist class, which has an economic interest in fostering and maintaining the myth of "white supremacy." No one is born with racial prejudice—people are taught to accept it in the schools, the movies, the press, over the radio, in the churches, etc.

We Trotskyists support all efforts to counteract the vicious propaganda of the ruling class and its agents. But we always remain aware that the main problem is to take the existing means of education and propaganda out of the control of the ruling class—to set up a Workers' and Farmers' Government which will make it impossible for anyone to benefit economically from racial oppression and which will utilize all the powerful educational channels to eradicate prejudice.

Meanwhile, wherever you will find a Trotskyist—white or Negro—in a trade union or any other kind of organization, you will find a person fighting to convince his white fellow-workers that Jim Crow is harmful to the interests of the workers of all races and seeking thereby to unite Negro and white in the struggle that will forever abolish race prejudice.

# Kelly Postal's Conviction

By James T. Farrell

Noted Novelist and CRDC Chairman

The Civil Rights Defense Committee, of 160 Fifth Avenue, New York, this week released the following statement on the Kelly Postal case by James T. Farrell, noted writer and chairman of the CRDC:

Today Kelly Postal, Secretary-Treasurer of Minneapolis Teamsters Local 544-CIO, faces up to five years in prison. He is the victim of one of the most vicious frameups and campaigns of persecution in American labor history. Here is the story behind his conviction.

For ten years Kelly Postal has been a leader of the Minneapolis teamsters. He helped organize them during three severe strikes in 1934. He battled with them on dozens of picket lines. Postal was first chosen Secretary-Treasurer of Local 544 in 1938 and has been democratically re-elected each year since.

In June 1941 a long-standing conflict over questions of trade union democracy between Local 544 and Daniel J. Tobin, President of the AFL Teamsters International, came to a head. The membership of Local 544 decided in June, 1941 by a virtually unanimous vote to disaffiliate from the AFL and join the CIO. Kelly Postal was one of three delegates sent to represent Local 544 at the Teamsters International Executive Board meeting held in Washington on June 2, 1940. As one of the principal defenders of the 544 leadership against the charges presented at this hearing and as a leading figure in the subsequent struggle, Postal incurred the enmity of Tobin.

### TOBIN'S MOVES AGAINST POSTAL

Tobin made his first move against Kelly Postal personally when Postal was indicted together with 28 Socialist Workers Party leaders and 544-CIO members in the famous Minneapolis labor case of 1941. This prosecution was initiated by the Department of Justice after Tobin's explicit appeal to President Roosevelt.

Postal, however, was one of the five defendants completely cleared by the jury at the close of this trial.

Having failed to obtain a federal conviction, Tobin then pressed the Hennepin County District Attorney to bring charges of "embezzlement" against Postal. Postal was never accused of misusing these funds personally. As Secretary-Treasurer of the local union, he merely obeyed the unanimous vote of the union membership at a regular meeting to take 544's funds with them out of the AFL and into the CIO. These funds belonged to the local union, since all per-capita taxes had been paid to the International.

Postal was indicted together with Miles Dunne, President of Local 544-CIO, who had also been

acquitted in the Federal trial, and Moe Hork, one of the few 544-CIO officials who had escaped indictment in the Federal case. The bulk of the indictments, however, were heaped upon Kelly Postal. There were five counts against him, two against Miles Dunne, and one against Hork.

### POSTAL CLEARED IN FIRST TRIAL

In Postal's first trial for embezzlement in January 1942, presiding Judge Hall directed the jury to discharge the case, thus clearing Postal on the first count in the indictment against him. Judge Hall declared, after presentation of the testimony, that no criminal intent had been established by the state prosecutors.

Tobin then put pressure upon the County Attorney to bring Postal to trial for a second time on the same kind of indictment. This second indictment differed from the first only in the amount of money Postal was alleged to have embezzled. The evidence and witnesses were substantially the same. Nevertheless this time, on May 1st 1942, Postal was found "guilty."

The Civil Rights Defense Committee has undertaken Kelly Postal's defense. On February 15, 1943, our defense attorneys filed briefs appealing Postal's conviction to the Minnesota Supreme Court. The final oral argument on this appeal will probably be heard early this summer.

Unless the conviction is reversed, this honorable and militant trade union leader will go to prison because of his devotion to trade union democracy.

There is far more involved in this case, however, than the act of injustice against Kelly Postal himself. The issue involved in his case is of vital importance to the entire trade union movement. That issue is: Do the members of a trade union have the democratic right to decide for themselves the disposition of their union funds?

If Kelly Postal can be jailed for "embezzlement," then the officers of the CIO could have been convicted when they left the AFL and took their funds along with them. If Postal's conviction stands, this precedent can be used to deprive unions of their democratic right to use their funds as the membership directs.

That is why we have undertaken Kelly Postal's defense and ask every friend of civil liberties and the entire labor movement for material and moral aid in his case.

### From Judge Hall's Statement to the Jury Directing Discharge of Postal Case

"By a resolution of the majority of the Local 544 membership, he (Postal) was directed to turn over all of the monies of the union to the Union Defense Committee. That this resolution, directing him to turn over the monies was open and avowed, cannot be disputed, as it was heard, according to State witnesses, through the loud-speaker system, even by those assembled outside the building.

"The membership of the union must have believed they had a right to transfer these monies by resolution, as they attempted to do. Postal, the defendant, was the agent and steward of the membership and turned over their money at their direction."

—February, 1942.

## TOBIN THREATENS JAIL FOR UNION OPPONENTS

Daniel J. Tobin's treacherous collaboration with federal and state officials to destroy union democracy in the Minneapolis teamsters' movement in 1941 was not an isolated incident, it was revealed last week. On the contrary, Tobin is still using his influence with the administration to secure governmental repression against all those within the AFL Teamsters Union who oppose his reactionary policies and his dictatorial rule.

Writing in the latest issue of *International Teamster*, the official organ of the union, Tobin stated that he was cooperating with "certain departments of government" in expelling militants from the union, and declared:

"We have certain individuals in some large cities who are under observation and whose personal and family contacts are also under observation."

This can only mean that Tobin has again appealed for aid from the Department of Justice and the FBI, as he did in the Minneapolis case, and that he is using this aid to intimidate and eliminate his union opponents.

### EXPULSION POLICY

Tobin, of course, does not rely on the government alone to purge those who want to defend the teamsters' conditions. He is ready and willing to do a good deal of the dirty work himself, warning that:

"Local union officers will have to prefer charges against such individuals (who are under observation) and suspend them from membership. If local union officials refuse to proceed thus, the international (that is, Tobin) will be compelled to remove them from office."

Tobin directs his greatest blows at the present time against those members of the union who are forced to strike in defense of their living conditions and standards. Such workers, he declared, must be denounced as "enemies of the government" and driven from the union. He went on then to endorse the so-called British method of handling strikers—to place them in the army if they are fit for military service, to imprison them if they are not. "We may have to come to this in our country," he added.

### THE MINNEAPOLIS CASE

The lengths to which Tobin and the administration will go in preserving the Tobin dictatorship in the Teamsters International were amply illustrated in the famous Minneapolis case.

Local 544 of Minneapolis was one of the strongest and most militant unions in the International and the country. It naturally resisted when Tobin handed down orders that because of the "national emergency" the local was to desist from militant actions in defense of its contracts and wage standards. Tobin thereupon tried to purge the local's leaders, and the union voted in June, 1941 to disaffiliate from the AFL and accept a charter from the CIO.

Tobin immediately sent an appeal to the White House, asking for governmental assistance against these "subversive elements." President Roosevelt publicly announced that the administration would cooperate, and the Department of Justice and the FBI were set on the job.

A raid followed on the headquarters of the Socialist Workers Party, and the Department of Justice secured an indictment charging "seditious conspiracy" against 29 leaders of Local 544 and the Socialist Workers Party. In the trial that followed, 18 of the defendants were found guilty of violating the Smith "Gag Act." Their case is now being appealed to a higher court.

### THE POSTAL CASE

Tobin then turned to reactionary state officials and secured indictments of a number of 544 leaders changing them with "embezzlement" of the local's treasury, which the members had voted to turn over to the new CIO local. The story of the conviction on this charge of Kelly Postal, secretary-treasurer of 544, is told in a separate article in this issue on Page 3.

It is the threat of similar frame up trials and persecutions that Tobin now holds over the heads of other teamster members who refuse to accept all his anti-labor policies.

## Aircraft Workers Are Bitter Over WLB Order

By N. COLLINS

SAN DIEGO, March 7. — The War Labor Board's answer to the aircraft workers on the Pacific Coast amount to: No increases and strike if you dare!

Since July, 1942, the workers of the aircraft industry have been waiting for an answer to their plea for wage increases. Their demands were a 95 cents minimum (present minimum after 3 months is 75 cents, beginners, 60c) and wage rates in classifications comparable to rates paid in nearby shipyards for the same work.

Finally, after 8 months, the answer came. No raise at all for the huge majority of the workers. Boeing, at Seattle, did receive a 4c. raise, and it must be remembered that the Boeing local is the most militant and the best organized.

At the two meetings held this week for Consolidated and Solar and Rohr aircraft (representing approximately 45,000 workers) the workers denounced, in no uncertain terms, the companies and their profiteering, the War Labor

Board, and the anti-labor politicians. The floor was opened to members during both mass meetings, and the rank and file workers spoke out. Typical of their sentiments are the following remarks:

### WORKERS' REMARKS

"My husband used to make \$60 and \$70 per month during the depression. We paid \$12 a month for rent and got along better than now. Now both of us work, and we have to pay \$75 a month for rent — and I've got to hock my engagement ring to pay my first installment on my income taxes."

"We workers gave up our only weapon, the right to strike. What can we expect now?"

"With victory taxes, 10% bond deductions, income taxes and the cost of living rising, you know what our paychecks will soon be good for!"

The high point of the Sunday meeting was when one member got up and visibly and with emotion tore up the War Labor Board edict, to show how he felt. This was met with thunderous applause.

There was quite a deal of sen-

## Stalin And Post-War Europe

By M. Morrison

What will Stalin do, should the Nazi army be completely defeated by the Red Army? Will he march to Berlin? Will he call for a revolution in Europe? Will he take all or part of Europe under his control? These and many other questions have been posed by both friend and foe of the Soviet Union. A multiplicity of answers have been forthcoming, the nature of every answer depending upon the fears, hopes and outlook of the answerer.

Shall we participate in this interesting game of speculation? There is no harm in it provided one understands that it is merely speculation. In general it is impossible to predict concrete events. One can at best, predict only the general direction in which events are tending. One must in the first place be given a certain set of circumstances to venture a prediction as to what Stalin will do. And Stalin may choose any one of several courses under the same circumstances.

With reference to the possible conduct of Stalin it is best to lay down broad general principles and warn the workers to be on their guard for certain eventualities.

The Nazi armies are of course not yet defeated. No one knows the offensive and defensive powers that still remain in those armies. A defeat in a battle or a campaign does not necessarily seal the fate of an army. I have said before that all we can do now is hope that the German armies will be defeated. They who are not so cautious can express their hopes in the form of a definite statement.

An important factor to be taken into consideration is the extent of the damage suffered by the Soviet Union. Maurice Hindus, in a series of articles which he wrote for the *N. Y. Herald Tribune*, upon his return recently from the Soviet Union, estimates that the Red Army lost four million men in killed alone. He makes the statement that a conservative estimate of the number of civilians who died in the territory occupied by Hitler's troops is six million. Other estimates run as high as 15 million. The economic damage caused by Hitler's invasion, occupation and retreat will take years of peace to repair.

Under the circumstances the safest prediction is that Stalin is in no position to carry on an offensive war outside of Soviet territory. What he wants most of all is the expulsion of the invader from the Soviet Union and peace. This lends some plausibility to the speculation of some people that a peace between Hitler and Stalin will be arranged as soon or even before the German armies are driven from Soviet soil.

Two fundamental factors must always be taken into consideration in discussing possible courses Stalin may pursue. One is that, above all, he is interested in preserving and extending the power of the bureaucracy he represents. The other is that he rules over a degenerated workers' state.

Because of the first factor Stalin is capable of doing anything and everything that is counter-revolutionary. He will not hesitate to arrive at an agreement with any capitalist power to suppress a workers' revolution. He will not hesitate once more to enter into an agreement with Hitler, if such a step seems to him to be necessary to preserve the interests of the Soviet bureaucracy.

But because the economic base of the country which he rules consists of nationalized property, brought into existence by a workers' revolution, Stalin may, if he finds it necessary, call for, and even initiate, revolutionary measures on the part of the workers and peasants of all or parts of

time for the government to take over the plants; many workers believed that this would result in the elimination of inefficiency and profiteering through cost-plus contracts — and that they would be able to get their raises out of the savings thus effected.

Many declared they were ready to quit. However, the War Labor Commission had anticipated such a move by instituting the system of "availability certificates." This is something new for this country, although long-tried out in the fascist countries. Unless your employer gives you an "availability certificate," you won't be hired any place in the war industries of Southern California!

### BASIC TRAINING COURSE IN MARXISM

Every Tuesday and Friday nights from 8:15 to 9:45

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

Europe. If Stalin decides that it is necessary, in order to defend the interests of the bureaucracy, to invade and annex any country, he will not hesitate to set the workers and peasants of that country into revolutionary motion.

Stalin does not pursue revolutionary aims. His "theories" and tactics have no principled base. He acts solely on the basis of expediency with the aim of defending the interests of the Soviet bureaucracy and in doing so he may utilize revolutionary measures.

We have often said, and still say, that Stalin is not interested in, and is even afraid of, a workers' revolution. That does not mean that he may not call for a revolution, if the circumstances are such as to make that necessary in order to defend his bureaucratic interests. Before Hitler attacked the Soviet Union the Communist Parties of the democratic capitalist nations were almost following a Leninist line on the war. Not because they believed in Lenin's principles but because Stalin had a pact with Hitler and he wanted the capitalist democracies to end the war.

Why isn't Stalin calling for a workers' revolution in Germany? Not because he doesn't want one, but because he is allied with capitalist nations and to call for a revolution in Germany would antagonize his capitalist allies. Were he not tied up with capitalist allies he would undoubtedly call for a workers' revolution in Germany. Should events throw the Soviet Union into a conflict with the capitalist world, Stalin would become the protagonist of world revolution—even though he fears it.

A situation can arise where Stalin may assume the role of a revolutionary leader even where he is not at war with a capitalist nation. His actions in Spain have shown that in order to curry favor with the capitalist world—at that time with France and England—he would not hesitate to strangle a workers' revolution. But Spain is a comparatively small and unimportant country and it was not so difficult to suppress the revolution there. If a revolutionary upheaval in Europe should assume such vast proportions that suppression would be difficult, Stalin would undoubtedly attempt to gain control of it and turn it into bureaucratic channels.

We can confidently expect that the military defeat of Hitler will lead to revolutionary uprisings. Especially is this true if the Red Army is the main instrument of that defeat. If the Red Army should prove to be capable of continuing its offensive into Germany, then a wave of revolutions in Europe is well-nigh inevitable. Regardless of what Stalin may want, the effect of the collapse of Hitler's military power as a result of a victorious offensive of the Red Army, will be a wave of revolutions in Europe.

This is what the more far-sighted elements of the capitalists of England and the United States fear most. And this is why they are so anxious to come to an agreement with Stalin and obtain his help to suppress the revolution in Europe.

But if the revolutionary wave is too powerful to be suppressed, Stalin may deem it advisable to gain control of it. The enormous prestige which will be his as a result of a victory of the Red Army and the enormous resources at his command, may enable him to do so in the initial stages of the revolutionary period.

On a large scale he will try to do in Europe what he did in Spain and is probably now doing in Yugoslavia. The masses begin revolutionary actions and Stalin's apparatus moves in to gain control of the masses. In Spain he gained control and utilized his control to save capitalism. In Yugoslavia the war of the partisans is now under his control. While his struggle against Mikhailovitch continues, he may even call for certain revolutionary measures on the part of the partisans. If he comes to an agreement with Mikhailovitch or with some other representative of the Yugoslav government, he will utilize his control to suppress all revolutionary tendencies of the partisan groups.

It is highly questionable, however, that Stalin can gain control of a powerful revolutionary movement in Europe and do what he did in Spain, that is, save the capitalist system. He may find himself compelled to go along with extreme revolutionary measures against the capitalist order. All for the purpose of keeping his bureaucracy in power.

The advanced workers in Europe, during a revolutionary period, and even before the revolutionary period commences, will warn the masses that to assure their victory they must prevent the Stalinists from gaining control of their organizations. For with Stalin in control, the workers can have no freedom to think and to act and consequently their revolution will always be in danger.

## International Notes

By BETTY KUEHN

Hitler's main weapon today, as *The Militant* has often explained, is the German workers' fear of a second and worse Versailles treaty.

Polish workers, returning from forced labor on the Nazi fortifications of the eastern front, corroborate our statement. They say, according to the March 5 Polish labor paper, *Poland Fights*, the following about the morale of the German soldier:

"The only thing that keeps him at the front today is fear of slavery and fear of the revenge of the conquered nations."

This corroboration is especially important since it comes through a paper which is in favor of punishing the Germans with another Versailles.

A second and worse Versailles is all that the capitalist powers can offer. Only a Workers' and Farmers' Government in the United States could assure real freedom for all nationalities of the world and thus take Hitler's main weapon away from him.

Amazement at the "high cultural standards of the Russian masses" and the "internal force" of the Russian peasant woman was expressed by a member of the staff of the Berlin Russian-language paper *Novoye Slovo*.

After spending some time in Nazi-occupied Smolensk, the reporter published the story of his experience.

Quotations from his story are cited by Solomon Schwarz in the Feb. 22 *New Republic* as follows: "At first contact, you will be amazed by many a thing, and above all by the language which the simple country woman uses in talking to you. The revolution has brought into use many words that before it were the monopoly of the 'intellectual' classes unknown in the factory and in the country. . . .

"You will notice no trace of humility in the average Russian, who has acquired some kind of political inward self-consciousness of his own. . . ."

When the Japanese invaded Java nearly a year ago, the natives learned what the slogan "Greater Asia" really means—a greater Asia with the Japanese imperialists as the super-exploiter.

This brown exploiter may some day find it convenient to come to an understanding with the white imperialist exploiters whom he has ousted for the moment. That understanding would, of course, be directed against the colonial masses. Accordingly, the Japanese conqueror makes a distinction between the colonial natives and the white races:

"... the treatment of the white population was, on the whole, not brutal. Jap soldiers put on a humble, even shy manner, saluting and grinning at the whites and asking favors with a 'sorry' or a 'please'. Ruthless brutality was saved for the native Japanese."

"Natives who failed to bow properly were beaten with rifle butts. Hungry Japanese who tried to steal rice were machine-gunned or seized and dragged into the public square. Then they cut off his hands, or his head."—*Time*, March 1.

## Miners Union Demands \$2 A Day Wage Raises

(Continued from page 1)

their case before any court that has already rendered a decision. And that is the case of Mr. William H. Davis and his War Labor Board. That is the case of Prentiss Brown of OPA. . . . And it is also the case of James Byrnes, the economic stabilizer, one of our judicial vestal virgins who has stepped down from his high place to say to the workers of this nation, "You shall not pass."

Lewis concluded his talk by calling upon all organized labor to join the miners in efforts to compel the government to change its wage policy.

The convention then adjourned with a unanimous vote for the \$2 pay rise demand.

### A POSSIBLE TRICK

The government has one "ace in the hole" in its fight to keep the miners' hourly wages frozen to the January 1941 level—the extension of the work week from 40 to 48 hours. Should the work

week be extended, the miners would receive overtime for the additional 8 hours worked. Certain government officials hope this will succeed in cutting the



A New, Timely 32-page Pamphlet by C. Charles 5c per copy 3 1/2c in bundles

Order from PIONEER PUBLISHERS 116 University Place

### Real Italian Spaghetti Dinner

Saturday, March 13

At 116 University Place

\$1 Complete Dinner — Served from 6:30 P. M.

Entertainment and Dancing Free

Proceeds to the Civil Rights Defense Committee

Auspices: Socialist Workers Party

# THE MILITANT

Published in the interests of the  
Working People

VOL. VII—No. 11 Saturday, March 13, 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.



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.

## Alter-Erich Murder And The Davies Film

The newspapers reported this week that Warner Brothers, the movie producers, have finished a five-day conference on the picture, "Mission to Moscow," based on the book by ex-Ambassador Joseph E. Davies.

The conference decided to allocate toward the film what is for that company the greatest sum of money ever spent on advertising a single motion picture.

It is not surprising that the conference made this decision. Warner Brothers will NEED a record advertising campaign. For the release, on the eve of the premiere of the film, of the news concerning Stalin's murder of the two Polish labor leaders, Erlich and Alter, serves to underline the frameup character of the Moscow trials and to lessen the effectiveness of the Warner Brothers movie as a propaganda whitewash of Stalin.

As we have reported previously, the motion picture presents the Stalinist version of the Moscow trials, which were condemned by world labor opinion as frameups designed to discredit and remove Stalin's working class opponents. It was also reported this week by a Hollywood columnist, Jimmie Fiddler, that a sequence concerning Leon Trotsky has been inserted in the picture, and that it may be chopped out if the Soviet authorities disapprove of it.

Millions of workers throughout the world know that Erlich and Alter were not agents of Hitler, but anti-fascists. It will take more than all the gold in the world and more than all the advertising campaigns by the most expert publicity managers to remove the scarlet blot from the hands of Cain Stalin.

Every respecter of the truth, every opponent of the Stalin school of falsification should at once send protests against the monstrous distortions in this film to Lowell Mellett, Office of War Information Film Bureau, Washington, D. C., and to Warner Brothers, Hollywood, California.

## How To Fight The Black Market

The efforts of the administration to cope with the black market are doomed to inevitable failure. This or that black market operator or band of operators will be arrested, but the black market will continue to spread and prosper. We can say this with certainty, because the administration attempts to deal with the effects of this problem rather than with the basic causes.

As supplies of goods become smaller, the power of the black market operator who has a quantity of such goods will become greater and greater. He will be able to extort fantastic prices. The worker will be forced to pay tribute in order to get the necessities of life for himself and his family.

The cause of the black market is the shortage of supplies. Thus to fight the black market it is necessary to increase the amount of the necessities of life available, and following that, to insure that they reach the mass of the consumers at a price that will permit them to maintain their living standards. We will discuss the second point first.

To insure that the black market speculators do not get the stock with which to traffic, it is necessary that close tab be kept over each pound of food raised, processed and shipped.

To do this, the books and inventories of goods of the various companies must be thrown open for inspection to committees composed of workers, toiling farmers and housewives, established to guard the supply of food and make sure it reaches the masses of consumers. Leaks of goods into the hands of black market speculators can in this way in large measure be stopped up.

The capitalists will not like these committees, it goes without saying. They will claim their rights are being infringed. But the masses don't like to pay black market prices for the necessities of life. The masses' right to a decent standard of living deserves prior consideration.

Secondly, the workers must demand from the government adequate allotments of food and other necessities. The capitalist class and the government will say this is impossible, that there is not enough good. Under the present system of production and distribution, the capitalist argument is correct. But if the following steps were taken, the supply of goods would be quickly increased:

1. Men, machinery and land must be shifted from the production of luxury goods consumed by the tiny minority of rich into the manufacture and raising of goods and food used by the masses.
2. All war profits must be confiscated. The income of the capitalist class would be curtailed, resulting in the diversion to the workers of large amounts of food and other articles now used by the parasitic coupon-clippers. As these would be forced to go to work in useful occupations, along with their servants and other flunkies, the supply of manpower would be increased as well.
3. Production and distribution must be organized on a planned basis so that the many wastes of capitalism, such as expensive advertising and sales campaigns would be abolished.

These steps cannot be accomplished under the capitalist ownership of the large scale food plants and other industries. The government must take over these plants and operate them, under workers control, for use and not profit. In this way the worker would be assured of decent wages, and the toiling farmer of more income, as industry is freed from the stranglehold of the capitalist class, dominated by the profit motive.

Thus can the black market be fought. Thus can the supply of goods be increased.

## Hearst Press And Aircraft Worker

Last week an aircraft worker named David G. Levitt, addressing a meeting called by his union in Los Angeles to protest War Labor Board stalling on wage demands, denounced labor-baiter Rickenbacker in rather salty terms as "number 2 rat of World War 2."

Immediately a great hue and cry went up from the capitalist class which has been using Rickenbacker as a spearhead for its anti-labor offensive. Levitt was labeled a subversive alien and the press began to whip up a lynch spirit against him.

Shortly after Levitt had denounced Rickenbacker in Los Angeles, a Hearst reporter walked into the office of *The Militant* in New York City and asked if Levitt were the same David Levitt who had written an article in the March 18, 1933 issue of our paper, explaining why he was resigning from the Young Communist League and joining the Trotskyist movement.

The Hearst reporter was informed that the Levitt who had written in our paper was not the same individual who was involved in the west coast controversy over Rickenbacker.

Nevertheless, the *Los Angeles Evening Herald & Express* and the *Los Angeles Examiner*, both Hearst papers, added to the list of this aircraft worker's "crimes" the charge that he was a Trotskyist, and categorically stated that he was the author of the article in *The Militant*. The Hearst papers reprinted extensive sections of the article.

This sort of red-baiting campaign is typical of the capitalist press's treatment of news of labor's resistance to employer offensives against union wages and conditions.

All of Hearst's hysterical red-baiting, however, cannot blind the workers to the fact that the capitalists are making enormous profits out of this war, and that Rickenbacker speaks for those who would smash the unions and force the workers to pay the war's full costs.

# The Situation In India After Gandhi's Fast

By Felix Morrow

Official British circles are congratulating themselves on their successful gamble that Gandhi would live through his fast. American and British correspondents are cabling that the Congress leaders are despondent at Gandhi's failure to scare the British into releasing him. Publicly, at any rate, the general assumption appears to be that India will now quiet down. Thus for example the *N. Y. Herald-Tribune* correspondent cables (March 3 issue) that "It is fair to assume that the Congress movement has now been crushed for the war's duration, perhaps for longer."

If by Congress is meant the Indian masses in general, it is hard to believe that either

the correspondents or British officials really believe what they are saying. *Gandhi's methods* of struggle have suffered a decisive defeat, of which the fast was but the final incident. But the British overlords, far from having won a decisive victory, are now facing a situation likely to have far more serious consequences than the civil disobedience campaign which began last August.

### EXPLOSION COMING

It is clear now that the immediate causes of the explosion last August were directly political. British imperialism was in difficulties everywhere; and certain sections of the Indian masses understood that these difficulties were their own opportunity, and impelled the Congress to fight for independence. Actually the struggle last year centered in Bihar province and the United Provinces—roughly covering about a fourth of India's population—where the workers and petty-bourgeoisie of the cities initiated the battles and were followed by those peasants directly in contact with the cities.

Now, on the other hand, it is the economic situation which is likely to cause a new and far more extensive explosion. Food shortages and inflationary price increases have brought a new stage of hunger to the hundreds of millions who have always known hunger.

Rice, wheat and millet, the staple foods of India, are admittedly scarce. Formerly 2d. (about 4 cents), a pound of rice is now selling at a shilling (about 24 cents)—that is, a price rise of 600%! The worker who must pay a shilling for a pound of rice rarely earns more than 1½ shillings a day. Even his miserable pre-war diet included over a pound of rice per day per adult. Obviously he can no longer feed his family.

The Viceroy's alibi is that 1,500,000 tons of rice were previously imported annually from Burma and French Indo-China, but this loss—roughly about a week's supply under pre-war conditions—cannot explain the fantastic rise in prices.

These alleged obstacles, however, could be surmounted by a popular government which would authorize the population itself—through mass consumers' committees, etc.—to police rationing and prices. But the totalit-

Much more to the point are the following facts:

(1) The ever-growing British and American armed forces in India, whose supply services compete with the Indians in the market for the available food.

(2) British exports from India of grain to the British armed forces in Iran, the Middle East and Ceylon.

(3) No rationing system of any kind, making completely useless the perfunctory gestures of price-fixing.

The result of these factors is universal hunger. Despite the rigid British censorship, some of the facts are seeping out. Even a member of the Viceroy's Council admits that "Queues for daily necessities have become a common feature in our towns... and prices of foodstuffs have gone up so high that large masses among the middle classes and laborers are experiencing acute hardships." (*N. Y. Times*, Jan. 8.)

"Some" food riots, "especially in Bombay Province," are reported in the same *Times* cable. The Jan. 18 London *Daily Telegraph* reports that, in Nasik in Bombay Province, troops were called out to quell a "mob" which was raiding grain shops, arresting 50 men and women. Troops and police have been given orders to shoot "looters" without warning.

All this, let us remember, in a country which is 75% agrarian. A food crisis in the most predominantly agricultural country in the world!

### WHY NO RATIONING?

Why is there no rationing system? Here is the official alibi: "Government authorities generally agree that rationing of the whole country is impossible because of the millions of small producers, not to mention caste and class differences that make the feeding of India so complicated." (*N. Y. Times*, Jan. 7.)

These alleged obstacles, however, could be surmounted by a popular government which would authorize the population itself—through mass consumers' committees, etc.—to police rationing and prices. But the totalit-

arian British dictatorship would not dare permit the intervention of the masses, either in the field or any other.

The British regime neither has popular support nor can it seriously hope to seek it. Within the population its sole support comes precisely from those who are profiteering from food scarcity and selling supplies to the armed forces: the landlords, importers, food concerns, money-lenders, speculators, etc. Thus any steps to establish rationing and fixed prices, to prosecute price violators and hoarders, would be blows at those elements on which the British regime rests. Hence no rationing and price-fixing.

This fact is well understood in India. Even the Federation of Indian Chamber of Commerce has blamed the government for the food crisis. Likewise Gandhi, in one of his recent letters to the Viceroy, refers to "the privation of the poor millions, due to the India-wide scarcity which I cannot help thinking might have been largely mitigated, if not altogether prevented, had there been a bonafide government responsible to a popularly elected Assembly."

### ECONOMIC ROOTS OF COMING STRUGGLE

Thus the most compelling economic needs are dictating to the masses of India a new struggle for independence. Last Aug. the struggle was launched primarily by the cosmopolitan-minded in the cities who understood the international situation. This time the most backward layers in city and countryside are being goaded by hunger.

If the next explosion in India comes on this basis, it will have far more of a basic class character than that of last August. It will be directed not only against the British rulers but also against the native capitalists who are visibly profiting from India's hunger. Neither their political nor their economic needs, the masses are learning, can be served by any other method than the mass revolutionary struggle against British imperialism and its native agents.

# Many Timely Articles In March 'Fourth International'

The March issue of the monthly magazine, *Fourth International*, which appeared for sale last week, is one of the best in recent months. It demonstrates once again that this Marxist journal is an indispensable instrument for the education of advanced workers.

The *Class Meaning of the Soviet Victories* by Felix Morrow is an illuminating examination of the reason why the reactionaries in the United Nations are so perturbed by the recent victories of the Soviet Union. The article discusses the "peace" moves of the Finnish government, the Soviet-Polish conflict, the Vatican intrigues, the second front and the question of the Soviet frontiers.

Every working class defender of the Soviet Union will benefit by a reading of this timely article. Those who have followed the magazine in recent months will also be deeply interested by the article, *The German Revolution in the Leninist Period* by Marc Loris, an answer to the article by Walter Held in the Dec-Jan. issues. Loris analyzes the defeat of the German revolution in the post-war years, and the relation of this defeat to the Communist International to this defeat. The article is an excellent contribution to the struggle against the petty-bourgeois elements who strive to show that Bolshevism was responsible for Stalinism, and is so written that it will be readily understood by those who have not read Held's article.

(Incidentally, the issues containing Held's article are still available at 20 cents per copy.) Another timely article, in view of the current talk about a fourth term, is William F. Ward's *Ten Years of the New Deal*, an examination of the evolution and results of a decade of Democratic Party rule under Roosevelt.

The *Month in Review*, which is becoming one of the most popular sections of the magazine, deals this time with the Stalinist murder of the Polish anti-fascists, Alter and Erlich; the announcement that the CIO, AFL, Railroad Brotherhoods and National Farmers Union have decided to join forces against the anti-labor legislation in Congress; and Gandhi's fast.

The great Marxist, Leon Trotsky, is represented in this issue by an appreciation of Plekhanov and his contribution to the international revolutionary movement.

Also included is a review by John G. Wright of the most recently published book by Trotsky, "In Defense of Marxism—Against The Petty-Bourgeois Opposition," issued by Pioneer Publishers. Every reader of *The Militant* and *Fourth International* should become the owner of this book which Wright correctly designated as "a new Marxist classic."

Other articles in the March issue include:

*The Political Misadventures of the French Bourgeoisie* by Marc Loris—an analysis of the roles played by DeGaulle, Darlan, Giraud and Washington's attitude toward them.

*Some British "Friends" of India* by Ait Roy—a criticism of the centrist-pacifist methods of aiding the Indian struggle for independence.

*International Notes*—which this month contains an interesting letter from Ireland; a brief note on Australia; and a discussion of the split in the Chilean Socialist Party, by Terence Phelan, which brings up to date the recent reports on this question, written by him in *The Militant*.

Single copies of the F. I. cost 20 cents; a yearly subscription cost \$2.00. Order from Business Manager, 116 University Pl., New York City.

## The New York School of Social Science

announces

A NEW SERIES OF 6 LECTURES ON

## "THE SOVIET UNION AND THE CAPITALIST WORLD: 1917-1943"

to be given by

FELIX MORROW

editor of *Fourth International*

at 116 University Pl., New York

FOR 6 WEDNESDAY EVENINGS, AT 8 P. M.

BEGINNING MARCH 24

6 Lectures — \$1.00

25c per lecture

## Auto Workers Denounce Army Firing of Strikers

In Detroit the Army has been intimidating and firing militant workers out of the auto and aircraft factories. Colonel George E. Strong, chief of plant protection for the Army Air Forces of the Michigan area, has been conducting a vigorous campaign against "subversive elements"—which means, of course, all workers who resist the current offensive against union rights and conditions.

Colonel Strong has been engaged in thus weakening the leadership of the local unions since the first of the year, and last week the international executive board of the CIO United Automobile Workers finally got around to protesting his actions.

The executive board handled the Colonel with kid gloves, merely asking for "clarification" of the situation and proposing a four-step procedure to the War Department.

According to the March 3 issue of the *Detroit News*, the proposals were:

"1. No man be discharged as a subversive unless there are definite charges of sabotage, trafficking with the enemy or enemy agents, or disloyal conspiracy to disrupt war production.

"2. That all accused persons be granted a hearing and that the union have the right to appear at such hearings where it so desires.

"3. That where the Army has withdrawn its objections to the employment of any worker, such worker shall be forthwith restored.

"4. That the right to discharge 'subversives' shall be in no case used to punish men or women for union activities."

This was indeed a mild protest against a policy under which all local strike leaders have been automatically labeled as subversives.

During the past two months Colonel Strong has discharged 10 rank and file leaders of strikes in Buick in Flint and Bohn Aluminum in Detroit. In the strike at Eclipse Countertop Company in Detroit he barred six rank and file leaders from the plant while he "investigated their citizenship." The *Detroit News* mentions other "disciplinary action" by Strong which has received no publicity. Strong has also, according to R. J. Thomas, UAW President, requested employers to supply lists of "trouble makers" who were to be discharged on grounds of "subversive actions."

"In other cases," said Thomas, "the Army has ordered men discharged and then withdrawn the order, only to find the employer refusing to grant re-employment."

The intervention of the military into the field of labor relations, and the assumption by the officer caste of the right to fire active unionists constitutes one of the gravest threats to labor yet to come out of this war.

Union protests against these practices are necessary—loud and militant protests. But in addition to sending protests to the War Department, the unions must also demand a return to genuine collective bargaining. As long as the leadership of the unions surrender to the employers the right to strike, they are in no position to prevent brass hats from picking off militant rank and filers and thus undermining the unions.

## Workers' Protests Force Freeing of Armstrong

Bob Armstrong, leading Trotskyist in Ulster (North Ireland), who was imprisoned in January for distributing leaflets protesting the jailing of another Trotskyist, Patrick McKevitt, has since been released, according to the February issue of the *British Socialist Appeal*.

Even the police had to admit that the protest leaflets which Armstrong had been distributing were free of "sedition," but he was detained under the Special Powers Act which gives the British police practically unlimited authority to persecute militant labor leaders.

The *Socialist Appeal* credits widespread labor protests with forcing Armstrong's release. "The Release Committee in Northern Ireland," writes the *Appeal*, "was composed of representatives of the Workers International League, the IUWM and the Socialist Party of Northern Ireland. In addition Paddy Agnew, North Ireland M. P. and apparently, the Irish Transport and General Workers Union gave full support to the campaign. McGovern and the Independent Labor Party Members of Parliament exerted pressure on the Home Office. Some of the Left Labour M. P.'s also took up the question." Several unions in other parts of the British Isles gave financial and moral support.

Armstrong has been prominent in the British labor movement for over 10 years. He was a member of the Communist Party at the beginning of the Spanish Civil War and immediately joined the International Brigade. It was on the basis of his experiences in Spain that he first began to question the Stalinist line. When the C. P. denied him discussion inside the party on the Spanish question, he left the party and subsequently joined the Trotskyists.

Armstrong has charged that the Stalinists have acted as stool pigeons in Northern Ireland and aided in police frameups against militant workers and revolutionists—himself and McKevitt included.

McKevitt, a veteran union militant, has been deported to Southern Ireland by the authorities. Armstrong is now leading the fight to end the exclusion order against this working class leader.

## SUNDAY OPEN FORUM

THIS WEEK: SUNDAY, MARCH 14, 8 P. M.

### "STALIN'S MURDER OF ALTER AND ERICH"

Speaker: ALBERT GOLDMAN

NEXT WEEK: SUNDAY, MARCH 21, 8 P. M.

### "Your Standard of Living and What's Happening to It"

Speaker: C. CHARLES

Admission:

NEW YORK SCHOOL OF SOCIAL SCIENCE

116 University Place (cor. 13th Street)

Question-Discussion Period Refreshments