

DRIVE BEGUN TO SEND PRICES SKY HIGH

WLB Broadens Powers To Stifle Union Militancy

Asserts the Right To Punish Unions In New Decisions

By ELOISE BLACK

Punitive measures against striking unions in recent rulings made by the War Labor Board indicate that it is seriously engaged in a campaign to stifle the independent existence of the labor unions.

On Dec. 3, as was reported in *The Militant*, the AFL Chemical Workers Union had its maintenance-of-membership clause revoked and placed on probation by the WLB as punishment for a strike the workers conducted against wage-chiseling by the East Alton Manufacturing Company.

Since then, in its Dec. 16 ruling on the case of the CIO Auto Workers and the Pontiac Yellow Coach Plant, where a series of walkouts had been provoked, the Board has again instituted disciplinary action against the workers. Once again it placed the union on probation, and to its policy of inflicting punishment upon unions that engage in strikes, the WLB added a significant new feature.

In granting maintenance-of-membership to the workers at the Pontiac Plant, the Board placed the following conditions upon the union:

1. That the security clause will be immediately withdrawn if future work-stoppages occur.
2. That the union will be held responsible to the WLB to discipline members who cause work-stoppages.
3. That the international union shall appoint a representative to investigate the local, its leadership, and the members who are responsible for work-stoppages and report his findings to the WLB.

In other words, the WLB is not only continuing its policy of punishing unions that resort to established union methods of defending their membership; it is also attempting to enlist the assistance of the top union leaders in singling out and blacklisting worker militants.

It remains to be seen what the

Post Office Cracks Down On Third Labor Paper

Dec. 21 'Labor Action' Withheld From Mails As Protests Increase Against P. O.

"Who will be next?" was the question being asked in labor circles this week as the Post Office Department extended its interference with the mailing privileges of working class papers by withholding from the mail the Dec. 21 issue of the New York weekly, *Labor Action*. As in the case of *The Militant* and the monthly magazine, *Fourth International*, the postal authorities did not bother to give any reason for their action.

It is believed, however, that *Labor Action* is being attacked because it follows a policy critical of the administration, defends labor's rights and freedom of speech, and condemns Stalinism. The Dec. 21 issue of the paper contains, among others, an article criticizing the Post Office repression against *The Militant*.

ASKS SUPPORT OF FREE PRESS

A letter sent by *Labor Action* to its subscribers on Dec. 19 declares that the suppression of that paper "will mean another step in the campaign to undermine the rights and standards of the American labor movement. That is why we feel justified in calling upon all our readers and friends to stand by, ready to give us all the aid necessary to fight any attack on our right to free speech and free press."

Important Unions Protest Against WLB Delay On Grievances

The bogging down of cases brought before the War Labor Board by the unions, has brought forth a wave of protests from important union bodies insisting on decisions on their demands for wage increases.

A resolution issued on Dec. 18 by the CIO United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers, protests because "the backlog of unsettled disputes is mounting each week." At the New Jersey CIO Convention last week, the WLB snail's pace in dealing with workers demands was attacked, with several delegates urging a return to genuine collective bargaining by the reclamation of the right to strike.

The CIO United Auto Workers Executive Board meeting in Los Angeles also attacked the WLB for stalling wage demands, and reflected the growing dissatisfaction of the militant auto workers. The International Association of Machinists, on the West Coast, through its director, has voiced similar protests.

reaction of the organized workers will be toward the increasingly dictatorial tendency of the WLB. The workers are not entirely unaware of the union-busting effects of WLB policy. There is considerable evidence of growing dissatisfaction with the deal the unions have been getting in cases where the WLB has been called in.

In spite of the steps the Board has taken to prevent and punish work stoppages, workers have been forced to resort to job-action in many cases simply to bring attention to the accumulation of grievances against their employers. Especially within the past two weeks there has been a noticeable restlessness growing among the workers. In the Detroit area, which various government boards have used as a testing ground for anti-labor measures, more than a half-dozen strikes have broken out within the last three weeks.

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PRESENT STATUS

The status of *The Militant* is as follows:
The first three November issues were withheld from the mails, and then ordered destroyed.
The last November and the first two December issues were withheld and then delivered after delays ranging from 14 to 7 days.
The fate of last week's issue, also held up, has not yet been decided as we go to press.
The December issue of *Fourth International* has been held up for almost three weeks now.

Jurisdiction Is Extended Over All Civilian Jobs

Important War Labor Board decisions affecting N. Y. paper deliverers and Montgomery Ward workers show that the Board has in effect broadened its jurisdiction to cover workers in civilian as well as war industries.

While thus extending its powers, the WLB ruled on Dec. 16 that it had no authority over disputes involving government workers. In a case brought before the Board by Newark Local 277 of the CIO State, County and Municipal Employees Union, a board panel, selected to review the case, had recommended the reinstatement of 65 workers discharged by the city for union activities. But the Board itself decided that these workers did not come under its jurisdiction.

This ruling, dealing specifically with the Newark case, also applies to the disputes involving 82,000 CIO transportation workers in New York City, and 600 AFL gas and water workers in Omaha, Nebraska, who had asked the WLB to intervene in their disputes.

The board has refused to assume jurisdiction in these cases primarily because there is already so much pressure against government workers, who are subject to reactionary civil service regulations, that additional federal pressure to curb union militancy is not deemed necessary.

Despite the fact that national conventions of both the AFL and CIO passed resolutions demanding that the WLB take jurisdiction over cases involving government workers, both the AFL and CIO members of the board voted with the employer and "public" members in the Newark decision.

WIDER JURISDICTION

In its ruling on the Montgomery-Ward case, and in the New York Newspaper and Mail Deliverers strike, the WLB indicated that it considers its jurisdiction by no means limited to war industries.

Although many of the New York dailies had disapproved when President Roosevelt ordered Montgomery-Ward to comply with the Board ruling, and claimed that the WLB had no right to intervene in non-war industry, they all heartily applauded the WLB order that sent 3,000 newspaper deliverers back to work pending arbitration.

The WLB, from its very inception, has served to frustrate the demands of labor, to delay and bog down bargaining, and to make the union movement subject to the domination and dictation of the government. These latest decisions are further evidence of this dangerous process.

Only a determined fight to maintain the independence of the unions from government control and domination can call a halt to the more and more arbitrary anti-labor actions of the WLB.

How Food Prices Have Risen In Last Two Years

How food prices have gone steadily up in the last two years is indicated in the following figures of the conservative Agriculture Department's Bureau of Labor Statistics:

From Jan., 1941 to Jan., 1942 — a rise of 32%.
Since Jan., 1942 — a rise of another 6%.

Eating Horse Meat Too



Federated Picture

The beef shortage which has hit Seattle, like many other industrial cities, produces a scene harking back to covered wagon days as consumers line up to get a few pounds of buffalo meat. In Boston 60,000 pounds of horse meat were sold in a period of two weeks, and many another town is revising its ordinances to permit its sale.

Labor's Program To Fight Rising Prices And Shortages

AN EDITORIAL

The workers' living standards are under attack from all sides. Congress led off the attack with the passage a few weeks ago of the record anti-workers' tax bill. On the first of the year, the workers will start paying 5% taxes on their wages over \$12. In March, the huge income taxes are due.

There is a serious and growing shortage of goods that workers' families use, particularly food. In numerous parts of the United States, beef has been unobtainable for weeks.

As the food shortages develop, black markets are beginning to operate. If you are not willing or able to pay the high price demanded, you often cannot get beef, butter and other items.

In recent weeks prices have been shooting up. They will continue to rise at ever increasing speed. The head of the Office of Price Administration, Leon Henderson, has resigned — by request, it is reported. Big Business wants someone who will jump even quicker at their command than he did.

On the other hand, let us look at conditions of the capitalist class.

The recently passed tax bill favored the capitalists beyond their wildest dreams.

Of those goods in which there is a shortage, they are sure to get theirs because they are able to pay higher prices.

The ceilings on food are always higher in the "better" sections of town, and therefore more profits can be made by selling to stores in the wealthy sections. The wealthy get first call. What is left over — if any — goes to the workers.

The capitalists are demanding price rises from the government and they are getting them. They shout that their profits — their sacred profits! — are decreasing.

The profits of the capitalists are maintained and increased by charging the workers higher prices. The worker has no recourse. Since his wages are frozen, he cannot get the higher wages needed to make up for the increased cost of living.

The only way the workers can fight for the necessities of life and against the rising cost of living is with a program including the following points:

1. DEMOCRATIC RATIONING UNDER CONTROL OF COMMITTEES COMPOSED OF TRADE UNIONS, DIRT FARMERS' ORGANIZATIONS, HOUSEWIVES AND SMALL STOREKEEPERS. In this way the masses will have a chance to get their share of the goods they need, instead of letting the wealthy get an undue proportion because they have more money.
2. PLACING PRICE REGULATION AND CONTROL IN THE HANDS OF THESE COMMITTEES. Such committees would have as their only aim the improvement of the living standards of the masses and would have absolutely no interest in maintaining the profits of the capitalist class, the banks, the landlords, the railroads and the middlemen.
3. THE RISING SCALE OF WAGES. Every increase in the cost of living must be met by a proportionate increase in the workers' wages.
4. WORKERS' CONTROL OF PRODUCTION AND EXPROPRIATION OF THE WAR INDUSTRIES, WHICH NOW EMBRACE ALL LARGE-SCALE INDUSTRY INCLUDING FOOD MANUFACTURE. Capitalist ownership of industry results in placing profits first and the welfare of the masses last, in cutting wages wherever possible, in boosting prices, in hidden profits, in waste, graft and speculation. Workers' control of production and expropriation of the war industries would constitute a real step toward planned production and distribution that will raise the living standards of the masses.
5. A NATION-WIDE LABOR PARTY TO BE FORMED BY THE TRADE UNIONS. Labor is almost completely without representation in Congress. The capitalists have a free hand in Congress to carry their program of profits first and always. A labor party could fight for the workers' interests against the capitalist party politicians.

Shortages Threatened If Prices Are Not Raised

Administration Seen Yielding to Profiteers Who Are Ready to Stop Milling Flour for Bread and to Slaughter Milk Cows

By Anthony Massini

Government figures show that prices have reached the highest point in the last 20 years, but Big Business is not satisfied. A new drive is under way in Washington to raise still higher the prices of basic commodities such as bread, meat, milk, and other foods.

That the working people will not be able to depend on the administration for an effective fight against this new drive is already indicated by its recent measures to "appease" Big Business. It has pierced several price ceilings and granted increases that mean more profits for the employers and a lower living standard for the masses.

Also seen as a gesture to appease Big Business was the "resignation" of Leon Henderson as head of the Office of Price Administration last week. His probable successor will be Prentiss Brown, Michigan Democrat,

who is expected to make changes in OPA policy "tending to soften the attitude which Mr. Henderson has assumed on many questions, particularly those involving rationing programs." (N. Y. Times, Dec. 16)

"Brown believes better results can be obtained by voluntary rationing than through compulsion," according to a UP dispatch from Washington on Dec. 18. "That Henderson's resignation will be followed by both legal and illegal price increases is regarded as a foregone conclusion," says PM of Dec. 20.

REPORTED "DEAL"
It was even reported last week, in a Dec. 18 UP dispatch, that Secretary of Agriculture Claude Wickard, acting for the administration, had made a deal with those who want still higher prices. According to this report Wickard had agreed to the removal of Henderson, to "moderate" increases on farm products, and to the elimination of the farm subsidy program, which the "farm bloc" wants replaced by increases in food products all down the line.

As was to be expected, Wickard denies this story. Nevertheless, Henderson has been removed; the demand for higher food prices has grown louder in Washington; and the OPA, both before and since Henderson's announced "resignation," has been granting numerous concessions to this demand.

While the drive to end price restrictions is gaining headway in Washington, business men handling food are placing pressure throughout the country to achieve the same end without legislation. Their method, as previously reported in *The Militant*, is to withhold food commodities; to threaten, create or aggravate shortages; to sell only to higher-paying purchasers; to demand increases for manufacturers and once having got them, to demand them for wholesalers and then for retailers. Here is how they have been operating in recent weeks:

BREAD: "The country faces a bread shortage within thirty to sixty days unless the ceiling price on flour is raised, a delegation of Kansas Congressmen told Secretary Wickard. . . .
"The delegation asked Mr. Wickard to request the Price Administrator, Leon Henderson, to increase the price of flour by 58 cents a barrel because recent increases in wheat prices made it impossible for the millers to operate under flour ceilings fixed by the OPA." (N. Y. Times, Dec. 17.)

First the OPA submitted to the demands of the wheat producers and raised the price ceiling. Now the millers threaten to let a bread shortage arise unless ITS demands are granted. The people will go without bread unless they get their 58 cents increase, they are saying.

And naturally once they get what they want, the business men

who buy from them, the baking companies, etc., will also demand increases and make threats. Then the retail grocery storekeeper, when he finally gets the increase passed on to him, will also have to demand an increase which will finally be passed off onto the consumer whose wages have been frozen.

By that time the wheat producers and millers will have begun to issue new ultimatums to the OPA. And if the OPA acts in the future as it has in the past, it will grant new price increases.

MILK PRODUCTS: "The civilian population will have to cut its consumption of milk and dairy products by about 18 billion pounds, a Department of Agriculture spokesman disclosed," the N. Y. Times reported on Dec. 18. "The proposed reduction, it was estimated, means that the average individual consumer, who used about 840 pounds of dairy production, including whole milk, cheese, butter and other products, in 1942, will have to go back to 1935-1939 standards, when the average per capita consumption was about 795 to 800 pounds."

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(Continued on page 2)



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Soviet Railway System Faces Winter Strain

By JOHN G. WRIGHT

The condition of the Soviet railway system has a direct bearing on the conduct of the military struggle. At the same time, it is of equal importance in the operation of war plants behind the lines and in supplying the civilian population with vital necessities. How have the Soviet railways fared under war conditions? In a leading editorial *Pravda* itself supplies us with an answer to this all-important question:

"MISTAKES COST US DEARLY"

"Last winter was a hard one for railway transport. Many railways operated as if in a fever, working in spurts and unevenly. No small number of commanders and political workers in transportation have failed to give themselves an accounting of the difficulties that would confront them in their work and they were not able to prepare in time for the winter. They failed to prepare, train and supplement the railway personnel with new cadres. Measures were not taken in time to repair locomotives and freightcars nor to prepare the railway economy as a whole.

"Last year's mistakes cost us dearly. To repeat these mistakes at the present time is to create additional difficulties for our transport system, and to place the functioning of the railways under the threat of a breakdown." (*Pravda*, Sept. 3, 1942.)

ALARMING SITUATION

It is very seldom that one finds in the columns of *Pravda* such direct and open statements. The words are clear and unmistakable: a situation exists in the railways so alarming that it must be called to public attention. Last year, according to *Pravda* nothing at all was done! The belated revelation of last year's conditions serves only to underscore the seriousness of the danger. (It should be noted, by the way, that up to now there have been only boasts from Moscow about the way transport has been functioning). The month of September is

Pravda Sounds Alarm Many Roads Unready For Winter Traffic

rather a late date to raise the problems of preparing railways for winter work inasmuch as only a few weeks remain before the cold weather sets in. Time is pressing. *Pravda* makes it clear that this is precisely the case by asking point-blank the question: "How are the railway workers preparing for the winter of 1942-1943?"

"Reports arriving from the localities," continues the editorial, "bespeak the fact that the heads of a considerable number of railways have not as yet organized in a real way the preparation of railway economy and the working personnel for operations under winter conditions. This situation is intolerable."

KREMLIN METHODS

What renders the situation so intolerable is that in addition to difficulties which naturally flow from the difficulties of war-time economy, there is lacking in the Soviet Union, under the present regime, the indispensable levers for remedying those conditions that arise not from the objective situation but are created artificially.

If the "commanders of a considerable number of railways" had been subjected to the direct pressure and control of the personnel and the masses in general, they would never have been permitted in the first place to delay taking the necessary elementary steps toward preparing for winter conditions. But the whole point is that the Soviet rank and file is powerless in the face of arbitrary rule imposed on them from the top.

In such a vital field as that of railway transport we have another glaring instance of the conflict between Stalin's regime and the vital needs of the front and the rear. The Kremlin tries to resolve the conflict by pressure from the top. The same methods were no doubt tried last winter—but to no avail. There is no ground whatever to expect that

a repetition of the same procedure will bring any better results today. And yet, as *Pravda* points out, a repetition of what happened last winter carries with it a threat of disaster.

"DEMOCRACY NEEDED"

The arbitrary rule of the bureaucrats has cost the Soviet Union very dearly. This applies to other spheres than that of railways. *Pravda* tells the truth when it says: "This situation is intolerable."

To remedy the situation and thus promote the defense of the USSR, it is first of all necessary to place the responsibility where it really belongs. What *Pravda* omits to say, however, is that the Kremlin itself is primarily responsible for intolerable conditions under which the soldiers and civilians have had to conduct the defense of the USSR.

The real solution is to bring the self-action of the masses into play. That is why the restoration of Soviet democracy is so urgently needed. The objective situation itself demands a complete break with the methods and policies of Stalinism.

GOV'T IS STILL BUILDING PLANTS FOR THE MONOPOLIES

Chairman Jesse Jones of the Reconstruction Finance Corporation announced thru a special report to Congress on Dec. 15 that the RFC's expenditure for the war had reached the total of 18 billion dollars, an increase of 6 billions since last March.



J. JONES

While Jones failed to publish a complete breakdown showing just how the money was spent, the few figures he did release indicate that the bulk of these billions is being used to construct new plant facilities for the big monopolies — at the expense of the government. In a report of RFC activities made public last winter, the Truman Senate Committee revealed some of the details of RFC grants to the monopolies and charged that as a result: "The capital expenditures for plant improvements for defense purposes will ultimately provide the contracting corporations with some of the newest and finest ma-

chine tools and factory buildings practically free of charge."

Of the figures which Jones did make public last week, the majority was for construction of plants:

\$737,391,674 was spent for construction of 12 government-financed plants for aluminum production.

\$422,074,007 was turned over to build 16 government financed magnesium plants.

\$564,361,220 has been expended for the construction of synthetic rubber plants.

In addition to building plants, the RFC and its subsidiaries are authorized to build up stockpiles of necessary war materials. But the only part of the 18 billions Jones cited as an expenditure building up stockpiles was \$325,450,000 for the importation of 700,000 tons of rubber.

While the actual titles to these new plant facilities are held by the government, the plants are built upon properties owned by the monopolies, and the monopolies have the privilege of purchasing the plants after the war on the most favorable terms — if they want them. In the meantime they reap enormous profits from facilities in which they have no investment.

Why The 'Times' Thinks That Stalin Can Be Relied On

By A. ROLAND

There could be no better characterization of the *N. Y. Times* than that of the socialist Jean Jaures for its French counterpart. It is the American bourgeoisie embodied as newspaper. Its state of mind is thus a good index of that of the ruling class. It is sensitive to their fears, responsive to their hopes. That is why its attitude on Stalin and the post-war world has a certain weight.

The *Times* of Dec. 20 shows the place assigned to Stalin in capitalist history. Its editorial on the "Post-War World" is unusually engaging in its frankness. It pours

scorn on the very belated attempt of Laval to parrot Hitler's battle-cry against the menace of communism. Hitler came to power in Germany in a crusade against communism. The *Times* leaves it to be inferred — quite correctly — that the struggle between communism and fascism was very real at the time of Hitler's rise. But now all that is past history and Laval is barking up the wrong tree. Communism, according to the *Times*, is no more the danger it once was — thanks to Stalin and his liquidation of the Bolsheviks.

The "*Times*" feels no need whatsoever — at this moment — to camouflage the real nature of the struggle between Trotskyism and

Stalinism. Trotsky stood for the proletarian world revolution; Stalin for the turn away from that goal towards Russian nationalism. The growing sense of security that has come with the definite turn in the war towards Allied victory, makes it unnecessary in the eyes of the "*Times*," editors to use the kind of falsification of a Joseph Davies. The editorial virtually blasts into smithereens the vicious slanders of the ex-Ambassador's "Mission to Moscow."

AN ESTIMATE OF STALINISM

Says the paper: "But Laval dons the armor of the anti-Communist crusader too late. Because of the subservient and, in the result, suicidal activities of a Communist International guided by the Trotskyist ideology of the proletarian world revolution, Hitler could still raise an issue which frightened many Germans into his camp and won a following for similar crusaders elsewhere, including the United States. But with the 'liquidation' of the Trotskyists in Russia, the proletarian world revolution began to take a back seat, on which sat in the main the Communist dupes in other countries, whom the Moscow rulers despised as tools and liquidated first wherever Moscow itself took over, as in the Baltic states. The state of Stalin became more and more a nationalist state, and the Communist International became the tool of Russian power politics."

The last sentence in this paragraph gives the key to the attitude towards Stalin in relation to the war and the post-war period. "And this nationalization of the Bolshevik Revolution is now being completed and solidified in the fires of the Russo-German war." Stalin wages the war on the level completely of a national struggle. The spokesmen for capitalism reckon on this as a priceless asset.

They clearly rely on Stalin not only to lay the ghost of proletarian revolution, but to steer Russia back to national capitalism after the war. With Stalin still in power at the end of the war, Russia, the capitalist statesmen hope, will sit down at the peace table just as another of the nations. Stalin will bargain for his share in the spoils, not to spread the working class revolution, but to build a great Russian state.

THE SOVIET BUREAUCRACY

There are today conflicting tendencies at work in Soviet Russia, as for that matter in other lands. Stalin has built up a powerful bureaucracy, a parasitic caste that has usurped many of the revolution's benefits. There can be no question that the appeal to Russian nationalism, to fight for the Russian fatherland alone, makes its greatest appeal to this caste. They will fight outsiders and insiders who attempt to separate them from their privileged position.

But the *Times* assumes far too much when it attributes the heroic defense put up by the Russian workers and peasants solely to nationalist propaganda. The curve of the revolution has been steadily downwards, it is quite true, under the dictatorship of Stalin. But buried under all the bitter ashes, its embers still glow. The masses fight under Stalin, but their aims are not the aims of Stalin. Their aim is really to defeat fascism, the outright brutal dictatorship of decadent capital-

New Drive Begun To Send Prices Sky High

(Continued from page 1)

case is shown by another report made public the same day.

A preliminary report of the House Small Business Committee declares:

"The outlook for an adequate supply of dairy products . . . is dark indeed, unless the Office of Price Administration will revise its retail price ceilings so as to stop an impending wholesale slaughter of milk cows. Many dairy farmers are finding it more profitable to sell their cows for meat than try to make a profit on their milk."

How does the administration react to threats of this kind? Even before the Small Business Committee's report was made public, Wickard, who must have known about it, announced plans for a dairy products rationing program, including a provision to "revise price ceilings to increase cheese, and possibly butter and evaporated milk prices." (*N. Y. Times*, Nov. 19.)

(No worker will oppose price increases for the dirt farmers who, like the worker-consumers, are be-



CLAUDE WICKARD

ing gouged by Big Business. Such increases, however, should come out of the profits made by the big corporations, such as the dairies and processors, and not be passed on to the consumers in the form of mounting prices.)

MEAT: The same pattern can be seen in the meat situation, which has become so acute that the voluntary ration of 2½ pounds per person, which few people can get anyway, has been reduced to 2 pounds, 3 ounces, and may soon be reduced to less than 2 pounds. Packers have been sending the

bulk of the meat to cities where the price ceilings, based on the prices of last March, have been the highest. The OPA, realizing the situation was heading toward a crisis, has decided to set a ceiling on wholesale meat prices in ten different zones, so that all wholesalers in those zones would be able to get the meat at the same price.

However, the effect generally will be not to reduce prices to the lower price ceilings that have been in effect up to now, but to raise prices "slightly" in most cases.

Similarly, on Dec. 18, after Henderson's resignation was announced, wholesale ceilings were announced for lamb and mutton. The result in the areas which have been hit hardest in the meat shortage — San Francisco, Chicago, New York, Philadelphia and Boston — will again be higher prices.

OTHER FOODS: Many chain stores and other lower priced food stores have been running short of rice, dried fruit and dried beans, which are being sold primarily to higher priced stores.

The OPA's "solution" to this problem was to announce on Dec. 19 an increase in the prices charged in these stores. Result: a one cent rise on packages of these foods weighing between a pound and 15 ounces, and a two cent rise on larger packages. This, according to the OPA, will result in permitting "the affected retail outlets to stock up on the food items." It WILL result in that, but at the expense of the consumer.

"Solutions" of this kind prove that the working people cannot place the slightest reliance on the promises of the administration to curb rising living costs. If the ever-worsening problems of rising prices, growing shortages, rationing and profiteering are to be solved in the interests of the masses, the people will have to depend on their own efforts, organized strength and program.

See the editorial on Page 1 of this issue for a discussion of labor's program to combat the rising cost of living.

STALINISTS ASK GOV'T FOR 'LABOR REPRESENTATIONS'

By PHILIP BLAKE

With more and more trade unions openly protesting against the runaround their grievances are given by the employers and the War Labor Board, the Stalinists are increasing their cries for increased "labor representation" on government bodies.

The reason why the Stalinists are so concerned about getting more trade union leaders into the government apparatus is graphically illustrated in an article by William Z. Foster, entitled "A War Cabinet and Labor," printed in the Dec. 17 *Daily Worker*.

Foster says that Roosevelt is preparing to establish a War Cabinet because his present Cabinet does not meet the wartime needs of the administration, and insists on the necessity for the labor movement to demand a representative in the new Cabinet. In Great Britain, he says, labor has representatives not only in all leading boards but also in the War Cabinet.

"A JUNIOR ELEMENT"

"In the United States, however," he continues, "labor is being treated as a sort of junior element. It has been allotted no executive posts, neither in the Cabinet, nor in any of the war boards. . . ."

"In his Cabinet, and as war executives, President Roosevelt has appointed both Democrats and Republicans, but no labor men whatever. Capitalists and their agents saturate the whole war apparatus. Why is there this very obvious discrimination against the representatives of the workers?"

Why indeed? "Certainly," Foster hastens to add, "it is not a sign of hostility to the trade union movement by the President. . . . The real explanation is that the President has been too conciliatory to the general opposition of the employers to any

recognition of labor." That is what is known as a distinction without a difference.

"A contributing reason has been the failure of the leaders of the organized labor movement to demand with sufficient energy full labor representation in the whole war setup." From this "real explanation" it follows, according to Foster, that the unions should make greater demands for such representation.

WHY LABOR STOOGES ARE APPOINTED

"Otherwise," he warns—and this is the major consideration of the Stalinists in diverting the workers' dissatisfaction with the present setup into channels for getting a few more labor stooges on government boards—"the present serious situation in the industries, caused by neglect of the workers' grievances and problems, may become very much worse and lead to serious strikes."

In his own way Foster thus indicates the real reason why capitalist governments sometimes appoint leaders of the labor movement to positions in the government apparatus, even in comparatively important positions. But they make such appointments only when they are certain that labor leaders they pick will be of assistance to them in controlling the workers and keeping them from taking the path of militant struggle to solve their problems.

And once the effectiveness of such labor leaders has been used up, as was recently the case with Sidney Hillman in this country and Sir Stafford Cripps in Britain, the capitalist governments usually kick them out in a hurry.

LABOR PARTY NEEDED

Labor does need representation in the government, now more than ever. But it needs representatives who will defend the workers' real interests, and who cannot be arbitrarily dismissed because they are not useful to the employers. Labor needs representation particularly in the law-making body, Congress.

And the only way it will get such representation there is by forming a nation-wide labor party based on the trade unions and fighting to elect its candidates in opposition to the capitalist candidates.

THE WORKERS AND THE SECOND WORLD WAR

A Speech by JAMES P. CANNON

to the Tenth National Convention of the Socialist Workers Party

With the Political Resolution Adopted by the Convention

48 Pages 10 Cents

PIONEER PUBLISHERS

116 University Place New York City

Complaint By Two Housewives

By A. WILLIAMS & M. WINTERS

As two indignant housewives, we decided last week to investigate the reasons why we can't get our bacon and eggs for breakfast and lamb chops for supper these days.

After a few days of shopping around it became obvious to us that the classier the district — the more meat, butter and other essentials.

In our neighborhood we have to be satisfied with the butcher's faking up the menu for us. Of course, if the housewives in our neighborhood could afford to pay those prices, we'd get meat too.

We can now sympathize with the people down South and out West who haven't even seen meat for the past few weeks. That's because the wholesalers and distributors are just refusing to ship their meat out to places where they can't realize as much profit as they do in the East.

In Boston the situation is so bad that the only meat being sold is horsemeat. And with it all there is talk of paying more money for the meat that we aren't getting!

The *N. Y. Times* of Dec. 19 reports that the House Committee on Small Business "recommended passing on cost increases, plus reasonable operating mark-ups, to protect distributors from actual loss."

We don't get it! It seems to us that the problem is to keep prices down because certainly our husbands aren't going to get an increase in salary every time the OPA gives a present to the distributors. There is a lot of hullabaloo about protecting the distributors but not one word about protecting the consumer.

What it all boils down to is that if you have plenty of money, you can get what you want, and if you haven't, you're out of luck. Every housewife will agree that something must be done about it. As far as the OPA and other government agencies are concerned we know that we can't rely upon them for help. We must do the job ourselves. The best solution to this problem is to have our husbands propose committees in their trade unions that will work with us women as a trade union-consumer committee, with the following program:

Consumer control of price-fixing and equalized food distribution financed by government funds.

Rising scale of wages to meet the rising cost of living.

What Four Other Papers Say About Ban On 'The Militant'

New Republic

Attempts to suppress *The Militant* and *Fourth International* are "an alarming development," the liberal weekly, *New Republic*, declares in an editorial note printed in its issue of Dec. 21. The editorial follows:

"Under cover of the Espionage Act, the administration appears to be moving toward a general attack on certain organs of the extreme left which have been especially critical of the war. *The Militant* is the weekly organ of the Socialist Workers Party, followers of Leon Trotsky. Last month the Post Office Department declared an issue unmailable under the Espionage Act. No explanation was given, for Post Office rules require hearings only when second-class mailing privileges are permanently revoked. Yet all subsequent issues of *The Militant* but one have been similarly banned.

"Last week the Post Office Department notified the *Fourth International*, monthly magazine of the same group, that its December issue had been ordered withheld from the mails. Again no reason was given.

"Seeing in the bans a serious threat to one of the Four Freedoms, the American Civil Liberties Union telegraphed the Post Office Department requesting explanations and a hearing. In re-

WHY we Defend The Soviet Union

By ALBERT GOLDMAN
Pioneer Publishers
116 University Place
New York City

Midwest Young Socialist

The Midwest Area of the Young People's Socialist League, youth section of the Socialist Party, defends the right of freedom of press in an editorial, "Post Office Hitlers," printed in the December issue of its organ; *Midwest Young Socialist*. The editorial follows:

"Up until recently, the fascist trends in America had been mainly limited to the economic field. It took the form of regimentation of labor, appointment of czars over this and that, and reduction of Congress to an ornamental status.

"Now they have made the first steps toward regimenting free speech and free press and free thought. They are now starting to extend the fascist pattern to civil rights, the same rights we are supposed to be fighting for.

"The post office has arbitrarily banned from the mails the last four issues of *The Militant*, and destroyed two of them, without giving any reason. *The Militant* is a weekly paper which expounds the views of the group of Trotskyites led by James P. Cannon. We do not subscribe to many of their views, but we are unalterably opposed to arbitrary suppression of any working class paper in America.

"If the little Hitlers in the Post Office Department are allowed to get away with this, it will be but a short time till they crack down on the Socialist *Call* and other radical papers, and then the labor press in general.

"We see forebodings of this in 'confidential' releases from the Office of War Information to newspaper editors which state that their 'responsibility' is to present news of the war in such a way as to 'insure maximum support and full participation in the war effort.'"

"It goes on to say they must tell the readers their 'duty to sacrifice' and that we must not criticize any of our 'courageous allies.'"

"This may mean that no paper could demand freedom for India, or freedom of speech for workers of Russia, since this would embarrass 'our courageous allies.' It

Weekly People

An editorial, "Post Office Censorship," printed in the Dec. 19 issue of *Weekly People*, organ of the Socialist Labor Party, vigorously condemns the Post Office authorities for interfering with the mailing privileges of *The Militant*. In part the editorial declares:

"In World War I the Post Office, under the postmasterhood of the reactionary, Burleson, practiced an arbitrary and irresponsible censorship which was subsequently denounced in the courts. The device employed by Burleson was that of holding up an issue of the publication singled out for suppression, then revoking second-class mailing privileges on the grounds that an issue had been missed, uninterrupted publication being one of the stipulations under which second class mailing privileges are granted. In a suit brought against the Post Office after the war, a Federal Judge compared the action of the Postmaster General with that of a policeman who knocks a man down, then arrests him for blocking the sidewalk.

"In World War II the Post Office is apparently exercising even more arbitrariness than it did under the odious Burleson regime. *The Militant* . . . has had several issues barred from the mails. Some of these have been destroyed. Post Office authorities, who did not so much as notify the publishers that *The Militant* had been declared unmailable, now refuse to explain their action.

"All who have concern for civil liberties must view this arbitrary censorship with apprehension.

The editorial then continues with a denunciation of the Communist Party "which is thus far the only group in the country to openly endorse the repressions against *The Militant*."

The Negro Struggle

By Albert Parker

Jim Crow News of the Day

President Roosevelt has finally answered the protests made when he transferred the Fair Employment Practices Committee from the status of an independent agency under his jurisdiction to the War Manpower Commission under Paul V. McNutt.

The Allies' Attitude To China's War

Lin Yutang Charges Sabotage Of Chinese Front

By Felix Morrow

A sharp protest against U. S. government treatment of China was voiced Dec. 17 by Lin Yutang, Chinese publicist and "unofficial" spokesman for Chungking.

The protest, in the form of a signed article in the Dec. 17 issue of P. M., charged that China was not being sent the supplies promised by Washington. Lin Yutang's article was noteworthy as the first time he had directly blamed Washington for depriving China of promised supplies.

WASHINGTON CONSENT As a typical instance, Lin Yutang cited the situation of air transport from India. At the beginning of the year China was supposed to get 100 transport planes to take the place of the lost Burma Road.

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that where supplies already given cannot be adequately transported to the country of destination, no more supplies need be allocated. That is, until China finds ways and means of getting its earmarked supplies out of India into China, it will get no more supplies.

Supplies for China must "run a double blockade," says Lin Yutang, "one bureaucratic blockade in Washington, and another bureaucratic blockade in India. The diversion of the transport planes referred to above was only one instance among many.

The main cause of this situation, declared the Chinese spokesman, is that American and British officialdom still attempt to treat China as a backward country, as a mere colony. Lin Yutang says:

Lin Yutang demands a campaign to wrest Burma from Japan and thus re-open the Burma Road to provide supplies for a full-scale offensive by China. But, he says: "The dual command of the last Burma campaign must not be repeated; bitter memories still rankle in Chinese breasts.

China's great land front against Japan is the logical front for the main effort to defeat Japan. So logical, indeed, that, as Lin Yutang says: "No one pretends that the war in Guadalcanal is the correct way to begin the offensive against Japan, gradually overcoming the 21,000 islands in the Southern Pacific."

WHAT CHINESE WANT The basic difference in conception of Pacific strategy outlined by Lin Yutang was confirmed by Time magazine (Nov. 23) as follows:

"In Washington it is well known that Chiang Kai-shek and other Chinese strategists have long looked at U. S. Pacific strategy with dismay. Instead of costly naval attacks on island fingers, the Chinese have repeatedly suggested land and air attacks from the continent of Asia.

Lin Yutang now makes it plain that China has no more faith in British conduct of a new Burma campaign than it had in the previous campaign. He proposes, as a solution, "There must be a unified Allied command for a Burma campaign, and there is no question that, in view of the recent memories, sincere Chinese cooperation is only possible with an American Commander-in-Chief."

Apparently Lin Yutang is referring to the refusal of the British, last Spring, to permit large numbers of Chinese troops

to enter Burma to fight the Japanese. Lin Yutang himself told the story in a letter to the N. Y. Times on July 19. "China wanted to defend Burma at all costs, but was not permitted to do so," declared the letter, which reported that "the Chinese mechanized units"—apparently all that China had—were immobilized at Kunming during the Burma fighting while the Chinese vainly sought British agreement to let them into Burma. In the end, the British authorities refused to provide the Chinese mechanized units with oil to operate with in Burma.

Why didn't the British permit the Chinese troops into Burma? Lin Yutang does not say. We can give the answer. The British sent as many Indian troops as they could transport—why not Chinese? The reason is obvious. The Indians came as vassals of British imperialism, the Chinese would come as representatives of Free China. Every Chinese soldier would be proof to the Burmese and the Indians that there are peoples of Asia who are freeing themselves.

A victory for Chinese troops in Burma would have been understood everywhere as a victory for the colonial peoples and not for British imperialism. That is why the anti-British masses of India are wholeheartedly pro-Chinese. That is also why the British preferred to lose Burma to Japan, with the hope of winning it back later, than to let China hold Burma against Japan.

This "solution" evades the plain fact that American military strategists today appear to see eye to eye with the British in the Pacific, as is indicated by the concentration on island-hopping. Lin Yutang attempts to explain this away: "The Pacific war pattern is the result of drift and not of policy."

Apparently Lin Yutang is referring to the refusal of the British, last Spring, to permit large numbers of Chinese troops



First U. S. Army soldier to land on Liberian shores, Private N. E. Taylor, is shown talking to natives. For an examination of the reasons why the U. S. government is interested in Liberia, see article below. Federated Picture.

WHAT U. S. FORCES ARE PROTECTING IN LIBERIA

By MYRA WARD

willing to wear down and destroy Japan's land armies in Asia as soon as they are given the weapons with which to do so. Chinese bases are available for the effective bombing of Japanese war industries and shipping.

For China to place all its hopes on a change in American policy would be suicidal, for there can be no guarantee that the Willkie-Yarnell line toward China will ever become the official policy of the American government.

American troops who were recently landed in the small country of Liberia may have found it strange and unfamiliar territory, but to American capitalists it is neither strange nor unfamiliar. This little semi-colonial country of 2 million natives, located on the west coast of Africa between the British colony of Sierra Leone and the French Ivory Coast, has long been a favorite "ward" of American imperialism.

But it was after the war, in 1918, that American financiers who at that time were confronted with the British rubber monopoly, began to devise plans to utilize Liberia and its supplies of rubber and other raw materials.

INTERNATIONAL NOTES

By BETTY KUEHN

Thousands of leaflets and proclamations covered the walls and houses of Warsaw last May Day, according to a message smuggled from Poland recently. The British New Leader of Nov. 14 contains reproductions of pictures of three of them with translations of their messages:

A New Pamphlet! MANIFESTO OF THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL To the Workers and Peasants of India 20 Pages 5 Cents Order from PIONEER PUBLISHERS 116 University Place, New York, N. Y.

Darlan Says He Will Rule Till At Least End Of War

By MICHAEL CORT

Admiral Jean Darlan, Roosevelt-sponsored High Commissioner for French North and West Africa, is now receiving a buildup in the American press, and indirectly through the White House itself. It's all aimed at making the American people forget Darlan's past record as a fascist and to sell him as a stalwart defender of the "four freedoms."

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As his first gesture toward the Americans, Darlan announced that Allied prisoners in North Africa had been released and that the Vichy anti-Jewish laws are "in the process" of being lifted. These were minimum concessions he could make under the circumstances. He made no mention, however, of Spanish loyalist or working class prisoners being released from prison. It can be assumed that there is little pressure on this point from the American government which is on such good terms with Franco.

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this extension of time, Darlan will now have an opportunity to curry favor with the French (and American) capitalists.

PIONEER PUBLISHERS ANNOUNCES LEON TROTSKY'S LAST WRITINGS: IN DEFENSE OF MARXISM (Against the Petty-Bourgeois Opposition) Articles and letters written in the last year of Trotsky's life are brought together in a volume invaluable to the student of Marxism and current politics. Trotsky discusses: (1) Dialectical Materialism (2) The Class Nature of the Soviet Union (3) The Soviet Union at War (4) Democratic Centralism Included are Trotsky's articles written during one of the greatest struggles of his career in defense of Marxist principles: The USSR in the War From a Scratch—To the Danger of Gangrene Again and Once More Again on the Nature of the USSR Back to the Party! Petty-Bourgeois Moralists and the Proletarian Party A Petty-Bourgeois Opposition in the Socialist Workers Party Balance Sheet of the Finnish Events The book also contains letters written to: James P. Cannon, Max Shachtman, John G. Wright, James Burnham, Joseph Hansen, Martin Abern, Albert Goldman, Farrell Dobbs, William F. Warde and others. The appendix includes James Burnham's article, "Science and Style" as well as his letter of resignation from the Workers Party. Introduction by William F. Warde and Joseph Hansen 240 pages Paperbound \$1.50 Clothbound \$2.00 OUT NOW! SEND YOUR ORDER TO PIONEER PUBLISHERS 116 UNIVERSITY PLACE NEW YORK CITY For a Rising Standard of Wages to Rising Life

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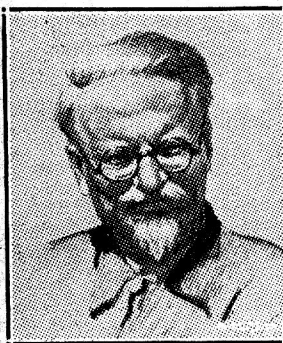
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To defend the USSR as the main fortress of the world proletariat, against all assaults of world imperialism and of internal counter-revolution, is the most important duty of every class-conscious worker.

— LEON TROTSKY

JOIN US IN FIGHTING FOR:

1. Military training of workers, financed by the government, but under control of the trade unions. Special officers' training camps, financed by the government but controlled by the trade unions, to train workers to become officers.
2. Trade union wages for all workers drafted into the army.
3. Full equality for Negroes in the armed forces and the war industries.—Down with Jim Crowism everywhere.
4. Confiscation of all war profits. Expropriation of all war industries and their operation under workers' control.
5. 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.

A New Book By Trotsky

Leon Trotsky will be remembered for generations to come not only as one of the two great leaders of the Russian Revolution, but also as the founder of the Fourth International, the party which will lead the masses in the world socialist revolution.

The greatest struggle Trotsky conducted in preparing the Fourth International for its historic mission was during the last year of his life, 1939-1940. With the signing of the Stalin-Hitler pact and the outbreak of the war, a petty-bourgeois minority in the American Socialist Workers Party, fortified by democratic capitalist pressure, began a fight to revise the party's stand in defense of the Soviet Union, which quickly led to a struggle over all the basic Marxist principles and methods.

Trotsky participated actively in the discussion and played a leading part in helping to defeat the efforts of the anti-Marxist opposition. So well did he conduct the fight that not a single section of the Fourth International upheld the position of the minority group, which then split from the organization.

Now Trotsky's writings in that discussion have been gathered together into a book, "In Defense of Marxism (Against the Petty-Bourgeois Opposition)." A note by Pioneer Publishers, which issued the book on Dec. 21, declares that it takes its place among the great classics of Marxist literature, and Pioneer is stating a fact. The book will be read, re-read and studied not only today for an answer to current political problems, but as long as a class society exists, for it reveals in the most lucid manner how Marxists approach problems, the methods they follow, the criteria they observe. It is therefore worth its weight in gold as an educational instrument and a weapon of the socialist movement.

Pioneer Publishers is to be thanked for having undertaken so important a publishing task and for having carried it out so well. The best way to thank Pioneer is by helping to give the new book by Trotsky the circulation it deserves among advanced workers, and thus enabling Pioneer to continue its unique and indispensable work it has done for more than 13 years.

Democratic Price Committees Needed

The leading articles on page one of this issue deal with the growing shortages in numerous goods and the increasing prices. They show how the government is steadily retreating before the capitalists and granting their demands for higher prices.

In this way commodity after commodity is being put out of the reach of the workers, particularly the lower-paid workers, and made available only to those who can afford to pay the increased prices.

These retreats show that the government has no serious intention of fighting to enforce its own price ceilings.

But even if the government did have an earnest desire to enforce the price ceilings and ensure democratic rationing, their methods would not work.

To carry out this work the government officials appoint bureaucratic committees and boards composed of professional politicians. The committees are tied up with the capitalists by a thousand bonds. They come from the upper classes or the middle classes, not the working class. They live close to the capitalists and hobnob with them. They are responsive to the arguments of the capitalists who place profits as the basis for all economic affairs.

The work of price control is a huge undertaking. The present government committees and boards are composed of a small inadequate number of people, far too few to cope with the gigantic problem of policing thousands upon thousands of stores and businesses.

In contrast to these ineffective committees which operate on a pro-capitalist program with overwhelmingly pro-capitalist elements, we propose the establishment of democratic committees from below.

The mass committees, composed of unions, housewives, dirt farmers organizations, and the small retailers will have a genuine interest in making sure that the masses receive their share of the goods that are scarce. They will see that democratic rationing will be carried out. They will fight against the "black market."

They will have a direct interest in seeing that prices are kept down. Coming from the great mass of the population, they will represent the interest of this mass. If they do not do so, they will be removed immediately by those who elected them.

The capitalist class will be more afraid of even the idea of such committees than the devil is of holy water. That is understandable. Such committees mean the beginning of the end for the huge profits they are making out of the war.

Civil War In Yugoslavia

In what was formerly Yugoslavia a war within a war is raging.

On the one hand there are the Axis forces of invasion. Opposing them are the forces of General Mikhailovitch and the "partisan" army.

Between the forces of Mikhailovitch and the partisans a class war is raging.

Mikhailovitch represents Yugoslav imperialism, the large land owners, the political dictatorship, and the regime of national oppression that existed in that country before the war.

The partisans represent the workers and peasants of Yugoslavia.

Mikhailovitch is fighting to reestablish things as they were before the war.

The "partisans" are fighting, according to report, for the abolition of landlordism, for improvement in the conditions of the masses. In the final analysis, they are fighting for a new social order.

The capitalists internationally are quick to line up in this war.

The heads of the Allied governments are openly in favor of Mikhailovitch. That is understandable, because they see that their class interests will be served by the victory of Mikhailovitch over the "partisans."

The Stalinist *Daily Worker* reports that Mikhailovitch is in close contact with the Italian fascists. We do not know how much truth there is to their report but it is extremely likely. But if he is not supported by the Italian fascists now, he will be later, for the ruling classes always did and always will forget their differences in the face of a rising revolt of the toilers.

All the sympathies of the workers of the world will lie with the "partisans" for they are fighting against Yugoslav capitalism. Only by a class program, such as is represented to a certain extent by the "partisans," will the workers and peasants be able to drive out their oppressors and establish a system free of fascism and war.

The capitalist press is fully aware of the issues involved in Yugoslavia and is already voicing the fear that similar "disputes" (civil war) may break out in the other occupied countries, particularly France.

Yugoslavia is a forecast of things to come.

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WORKERS' FORUM

The columns are open to the opinions of the readers of The Militant. Letters are welcome on any subject of interest to the workers, but keep them short and include your name and address. Indicate if you do not want your name printed. — Editor.

Sends Money to Fight P. O. Ban

Editor:
Enclosed is \$10 to go to the *Militant*. We intend to contribute all we can to carry on the fight against the ban on our working class publications.

N. L.
New Haven, Conn.

Reports Jim Crow Acts in Britain

Editor:
I am a Negro and was in England when General Ben Davis was there investigating the Jim Crow question. The General reported back to America that everything was OK, but I can tell you that it isn't.

I was standing on a corner in Scotland one night when two white M.P.'s walked up to a Negro soldier who was standing very quietly minding his own business. "Hey nigger, your place is on the other side of the street, so keep moving," they yelled at him. When he was a little slow in moving, the M.P.'s slapped him in the face and placed him under arrest.

There is increasing discrimination in England on the part of white officers and M.P.'s and they are trying to get the English and Scottish people to discriminate also. But they haven't been so successful at this.

White girls in Scotland continue to welcome Negro soldiers as the equal of the white soldiers, and this makes the American officers extremely mad. I had a

long talk with a white girl and she said that she had been given insulting remarks by the white American officers when she had walked down the street with several Negro soldiers. She said that the white officers told her that whites and Negroes didn't mingle in the United States and it was up to the Scottish people to observe our customs.

I'm wondering if it is going to be the same at the end of this war as it was at the end of the last war when white and black mothers were sent over to Europe to visit their sons' graves. White mothers were sent over in a very nice and clean ship, but Negro mothers were sent over in hog island ships.

The black people of America are not begging for anything, they are only demanding what belongs to them — complete equality with all other citizens.

J. D.
New York City

Liked Article On CIO Convention

Editor:
The *Militant* is to be congratulated on the excellent CIO story by Felix Morrow which appeared in the Nov. 28 issue of your paper. This is the story reporting the CIO delegates' first hand accounts of how big business sabotages production in various industries in an effort to obtain greater rates of profit.

I have shown this particular issue of the paper to several friends of mine and they were

greatly interested in that story. All this information, which was available to all reporters covering that convention, was buried by the labor press generally. It is to the benefit of labor that these facts be given circulation.

L. T.
Los Angeles, Calif.

Ignore Contract's "Escape Clause"

Editor:
A remarkable demonstration of union solidarity has just taken place at our local, No. 2194 of the United Steelworkers of America at Crucible Steel Co., Harrison, N. J. Not one member took advantage of the 15-day escape clause, which is part of the new contract giving maintenance-of-membership, to resign from the union.

Our local has a membership of over 8,000 after an organizing campaign which brought in about 6,500 new members in the past six months.

Despite the constant retreats of the international union leaders, which are reflected in the weakness of all the contracts in the steel industry, the men in the plant look upon the union as the instrument through which they can best express their demands. The sentiment of the rank and file is to build the union, make it strong and continue the struggle against the company for better conditions and the maintenance of their union.

J. R.
Harrison, N. J.

Workers' BOOKSHELF

COLOR, UNFINISHED BUSINESS OF DEMOCRACY, edited by Alain Locke. November, 1942 issue of *Survey Graphic*. 128 pages. \$5.00.

The effect of the war upon the destinies of the Negro people in the United States and the oppressed colonial masses of the world is the theme of the November issue of *Survey Graphic*, an influential social workers' magazine. The issue of the magazine is aptly entitled "Color, The Unfinished Business of Democracy." Under the guest editorship of Alain Locke, noted Negro intellectual, a group of Negro and white contributors express their views on the subject. Among the contributors are such figures as A. Philip Randolph of the March-On-Washington Movement, Walter White of the NAACP, Edward Anderson Carter, Pearl Buck, Lin Yutang and others.

The majority of the contributors fall under the heading of "liberals" who plead the case for the support of the United Nations. Yet most of the writers hasten to admit that neither the American Negro nor the colonial subject of Great Britain has gained any far-reaching or permanent gains from their "democratic" rulers.

Presents Important Facts

For instance, Lester B. Grainger in his article, "Negroes and War Production," presents material that proves the exact opposite. From this article one learns that in the third quarter of 1941, Negroes constituted only 3% of the total number of workers hired in 20 selected war industries. That six months after the issuance of President Roosevelt's executive order barring discrimination in war industries, a poll of several hundred employers revealed that out of 282,245 job openings, 51% were absolutely barred to Negroes regardless of their qualification.

Earl Brown in his article on the armed forces shows that the fundamental pattern of segregation has not been broken down. Edward Anderson Carter draws the bitter picture of segregation in civilian life. The unanimous conclusion of all the writers is that the war has sharpened and intensified the oppression of the Negro masses.

It would seem from a review of the facts that neither the Negro masses in the United States nor the colonial peoples can place any reliance upon the good intentions of the "democratic" ruling classes and their governments. Indeed through all the articles runs the plaint that the Roosevelts

and Churchills have done nothing. The idea that society has run into the blind alley of war, fascism and oppression of minorities on an unprecedented scale because capitalism continues to exist, is never mentioned. The only program these intellectuals can offer is continued reliance upon Roosevelt, and if he fails, Willkie!

There is but the faintest hint in these articles that the Negro masses must shape their own destinies through independent action, in an alliance with the working class. The only article which states such a program with any degree of consistency is the contribution of A. Philip Randolph, who presents the program of the March-On-Washington movement. It is no accident that Randolph is the only trade unionist among the contributors. But even his program of "non-violent" mass action, as he calls it, is marred by support of Roosevelt's war-program and vagueness as to methods of struggle.

How to Win Equality?

In war time the lessons of a lifetime are compressed within the scope of a few days or weeks, both for the individual and the masses. While the Negro people learn the lesson of Roosevelt's bankruptcy through such domestic incidents as the defeat of the anti-poll-tax bill, in which both capitalist parties concurred, and through international events such as the alliance with the fascist Darian in North Africa, their so-called leaders and thinkers lag behind.

The blindness of these "liberal" intellectuals is revealed in the conclusion of the article by John A. Davis, "The Negro Outlook Today," which attempts to lay out a political strategy for the Negro masses. Mr. Davis concludes his article by saying, "The outlook for the Negro in America is one of slow but steady advancement toward democracy."

Nothing could be further from the truth. Democracy is a luxury which capitalism, whether fascist or democratic, is increasingly unable to let the working class or minorities enjoy. In their struggle for democratic rights, the Negro masses will inevitably find that together with the working class they must put an end to capitalist rule and reconstruct society on a socialist basis. Only socialism can guarantee to the oppressed equality in all spheres of life.

Reviewed by A. STEIN.

How 'Courage to Order' Is Produced by Army Doctors

By GRACE CARLSON

In a recent issue of the official British medical publication, the *Journal Lancet*, appears a very significant editorial entitled "Courage to Order." There we read a frank account of many recent instances in which Medical Corps officers have drugged British soldiers in order to lessen their fears and thereby create in them an artificial courage in the face of battle.

"In war," says the editorial writer for *Journal Lancet*, "a reduction in fear, if it can be attained without too great a sacrifice of mental efficiency, is often as useful as intellectual stimulation." The drug which has been used for this purpose is the fairly well-known sedative, sodium amytal. The amount of sodium amytal given to the British soldiers was considerably larger, however, than that taken by the average sufferer from insomnia.

Intelligence tests given to the soldiers after they had been dosed with the sodium amytal showed damage to their ability to think, to the extent of an average loss of 4 points in I. Q. (Intelligence Quotient.) This is described in the report as only a "slight impairment of mental powers."

Certainly, no British soldier — understanding that to protect himself in modern warfare it is necessary to utilize every ounce of mental energy that he possesses — would look upon this decrease in his intellectual capacity as "slight" or unimportant!

Other drugs which do not impair mental efficiency have been utilized by the British Medical Corps in early tests but have subsequently been discarded, says the editorial, because they are not powerful enough or because they have other disadvantages. Alcohol, for example, although a decided stimulant, "impairs ability for prolonged physical exertion."

Caffeine, which quickly stimulates the heart and increases the flow of blood to the brain, thereby relieving feelings of fatigue and strain, is undesirable because the necessarily large doses of caffeine which soldiers would require might cause palpitation of the heart.

Benzedrine sulphate, the favorite drug of college students during examination week, has been ruled out because it is not a sufficiently powerful stimulant for soldiers in battle.

No report is made of the use of courage-inducing drugs by the Soviet troops but Marxists know that the heroic soldiers of the Red Army are spurred on by the most powerful stimulant yet discovered — the determination of workers to fight for factories and land which have been taken away from the capitalists and the landlords.

Before and After the Speech by Pearl Buck

By TWO STALINISTS

"Pearl Buck, the famous novelist, [has written] a series of beautiful, moving, and wise speeches and articles ('American Unity and Asia,' New York, 1942.) Mrs. Buck has made a contribution of historical importance to the development of United States policy, domestic and foreign, in these utterances. Hers is the sort of wisdom which could have prevented this disastrous war, and the only sort of wisdom which can now win it."

— From "Victory — and After" by Earl Browder, Page 91, October, 1942.

"To those acquainted with Pearl Buck's utterances during the past year her latest speech comes as no surprise. Her position is characterized by a number of basic misconceptions and deeply-rooted illusions with respect to the war ... [In her book 'American Unity and Asia' she permits herself] utterances which can be misinterpreted and seized upon to incite race war and disunity."

From "The Case of Pearl Buck" by J. S. Allen, *Daily Worker*, Dec. 16, 1942.

One Reason Why A Milk Shortage Is Threatened

By R. FREEMAN

There is going to be less milk for the workers and their children this coming year, and the likelihood is that what milk is available will skyrocket in price.

"The civilian population will have to cut its consumption of milk and dairy products by about 18 billion pounds, a Department of Agriculture spokesman disclosed." (N. Y. Times, Dec. 18.)

The official explanation for this is that this war is going on and war creates shortages. But this is only a half truth.

While a percentage of the milk is being diverted from the domestic market to the armed forces abroad and to lend-lease, another and more basic cause of the shortage, which is of long duration, is a lust for profits on the part of the dairy business interests.

Listen to this statement by Dr. William de Kleine, former American Red Cross Medical Director: "In a single year the amount of milk consigned to industrial uses, to animal feeding or to the drainpipe would provide as much calcium to human beings as would 3.360 billion slices of bread, 560 billion eggs or 280 million cups of carrots." (N. Y. Times, Dec. 20.) Dr. de Kleine explains that this milk is diverted from human consumption because it is skimmed milk. Skimmed milk is nutritious, of course, but it is not very profitable to handle.

Asserting that dried milk could be made available for less than five cents a quart, Dr. de Kleine pointed out that the "poor people can't buy a quart of milk a day" at present prices, and cheap dried milk is not available because the fluid milk producers control the dried milk industry.

"Here is a pint of milk a day for every man, woman and child in this country," said Dr. de Kleine, "and we are feeding it to animals or letting it go down the drain."

Not all shortages are created by the war. A good many of them are created by the capitalists' greed for profits.

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