

DEFEND LABOR'S POLITICAL RIGHTS

AN EDITORIAL

As the day — January 7 — for the convening of the new Congress drew nearer, the press reported last week that a group of labor-baiting Congressmen had already met and had drawn up plans for a general drive against the labor movement.

This is no idle threat, as is indicated by the fact that the majority of the Democratic majority comes from the thirteen Southern states, stronghold of reaction. Undoubtedly the leaders of the "solid South" were foremost in drawing up these plans against the working class.

The reactionary caucus informally announced to newspapermen that its objectives included sharp reductions in overtime pay, elimination of the right to strike, abolition of closed-shop and maintenance-of-membership agreements in all war plants, etc.

That these assaults on the labor movement are coming is generally realized in the trade unions.

There is, however, still another assault being planned by the same reactionary caucus which is less understood in the trade unions. As these Congressmen told newspapermen, they have decided to press in the new Congress for an amendment to the Corrupt Practices Act which would prevent trade unions from making contributions to political campaigns. Every worker must understand the full implications of this reactionary move.

Most of the labor-baiters who want this new law have, of course, never received any financial contributions from the unions, for they are out-and-out enemies of labor and are known as such. One of the reasons for the amendment they plan to introduce is that they want to prevent their rival candidates in the capitalist parties, posing as friends of labor, from receiving the benefits of union contributions to campaign funds.

But there is another and far more important reason why the anti-labor Congressmen want to cripple the political activities of the labor movement. They have carefully studied the results of the November elections, and they recognize that the unprecedentedly low vote, especially in the industrial centers, is a sign that a large section of the masses see little difference between the two capitalist parties and is becoming dissatisfied with both of them.

The reactionaries in Congress fear that this growing dissatisfaction will result in the formation of a nation-wide INDEPENDENT LABOR PARTY based on the trade unions. By enacting their amendment to the Corrupt Practices Act, they hope to prevent labor's own party from coming into being. Such a law would hamstring already-existing labor political organizations like the American Labor Party which necessarily depend on trade union contributions.

Labor's fight against the coming assault in Congress must be a fight all up and down the line. Labor must defend not only its traditional economic rights but also its political rights. Today many workers, indifferent to the old capitalist parties, may think a trade union's right to donate funds to political campaigns is not important enough to fight for. Tomorrow, however, these same workers will be wholeheartedly supporting a very different kind of political campaign — that of an INDEPENDENT LABOR PARTY formed by the trade unions.

Because of that tomorrow — which is sure to come — every thinking worker must make it his special responsibility to see that his union raises hell in Washington when the reactionaries try to castrate labor of its political rights.

BAN ISSUE OF MILITANT AND DEC. FOURTH INTERNATIONAL

The Post Office, which has been holding up from the mails various issues of *The Militant* since the beginning of November, declared on December 28 that the Dec. 19 issue of *The Militant* and the December issue of the Trotskyist magazine, the *Fourth International*, are "nonmailable" and ordered them destroyed.

This is the fourth issue of *The Militant* to be declared nonmailable and destroyed by the Post Office. The *Fourth International* for December is the first issue of the magazine to be suppressed.

As in previous cases, the Post Office authorities gave no reasons for their action.

The first three November issues of *The Militant* had previously been withheld and ordered destroyed. The last November issue of the labor paper and the first two December issues were withheld and then delivered to subscribers after delays ranging from 14 to 7 days.

MANY PROTESTS

This arbitrary action by the Post Office department, in withholding and suppressing the *Militant* has been protested by many labor and liberal organizations and publications. Among those who have condemned the action are the American Civil Liberties Union, the New Republic, the Nation, the New Leader, the Reading Labor Advocate, Labor Action, the Weekly People, the Midwest Socialist, and the Call.

The only group which has openly supported the Post Office authorities in this suppression of freedom of press, has been the Communist Party. The Stalinists not only support this action against the labor press, but advocate a witch-hunt against any and all papers critical of the administration and opposed to the reactionary Stalinist policies.

TEST CASES

The suppression of *The Militant*, followed by the action

Giraud Chosen High Commission'r For French Africa

Darlan's Policies of
Colonial Suppression
Will Be Continued

By MICHAEL CORT

Gen. Henri Giraud, French rightist and bitter opponent of the Soviet Union, is now High Commissioner for the French African colonies. He was appointed to the post on Dec. 27 by the "French Imperial Council" set up by his predecessor Darlan.

Thus Darlan has been succeeded by a man who shares Darlan's hatred of the workers and all democratic institutions. Giraud will continue Darlan's policy of oppression of the colonial peoples of North Africa.

It is precisely Giraud's lack of democratic sympathies which make him the ideal man for the job in French Africa. His principal task will be to "preserve law and order." That is, he must prevent any native struggle for independence.

Giraud's anti-democratic background is so marked that even such French commentators as Pertinax felt impelled to denounce

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against the Fourth International, has become the most important test case of World War II involving the right of free press. Should this action go unchallenged, a precedent will have been set by which the administration can silence every voice of criticism especially from the labor press, by means of arbitrary bureaucratic suppression.

The *Militant* has called upon all labor and liberal groups to support its fight for a free labor press, by protesting to the Post Office department, and by sending funds to the Militant Defense Fund, 116 University Place, New York City.

Stalin's Policies Barrier to Final Soviet Victory

By Howard Hogan

According to Moscow dispatches, huge successes are being made by the Red Army in its second winter campaign. Four major counter-offensives are rolling forward "despite chilling temperatures and lack of roads." Since December 16 great amounts of matériel have been captured, 56,000 prisoners taken, and 60,000 German soldiers killed. *Red Star*, the Red Army newspaper, announced that the Stalingrad offensive had already "sealed the fate" of 22 German divisions who have been encircled.

The Middle Don offensive is within 150 miles of Kharkov and 130 miles from Rostov. On the Central Front northwest of Moscow, Soviet troops are battling near Velikiye Luki. In some areas Moscow indicates important gains have been made because of the demoralization of the Nazi troops.

RED EQUIPMENT GOOD

On top of this, Moscow communiqués report that Soviet troops are now better equipped than the German troops, both in armaments and clothing. According to Henry Shapiro (*New York Times*, Dec. 27, 1942) the Red Army has a gun called the "Katusha," and "so far the Germans have been unable to cope with it." While Ralph Parker, the *N. Y. Times* correspondent reports (Dec. 27) that the Soviet troops are more warmly clad, "Maybe," he concludes, "somewhere there is a well-equipped German army, but the Russians so far have not encountered it."

Nothing could be more heartening to the defenders of the Soviet Union and to all workers desirous of the defeat of fascism than to learn that the Red Army is now better equipped, is rolling back the German armies and that these armies have begun to disintegrate. However, in view of the empty Stalinist boasting and exaggerations in the past, not to speak of the doubt that an announcement of major offensives in the Russian winter arouses in one's mind, other explanations of the situation cannot be ruled out in advance.

REVOLUTIONARY METHOD IS MISSING

In the absence of revolutionary methods of warfare which under Lenin and Trotsky proved the most powerful weapon of the Soviet Union in meeting invading armies, it is highly doubtful that the "demoralization" of Hitler's armies has reached profound proportions.

There is also room for doubt that the Red Army is today superior in equipment. The German conquests have seriously impaired the Soviet productive system through the capture of the granaries in the Ukraine, and North'n Caucasus and the seizure of the USSR's principal iron and armament industries and her chief coal supply. No less grave have been the losses in the communication system, especially the railways which are of utmost importance above all in winter. All this has a direct bearing on the striking power of the Red Army.

Hitler's armies have likewise suffered grave losses, last winter as well as throughout 1942. It is not at all unlikely that Hitler's troubles this winter may far surpass those of last year. But even this would not of itself shift the relation of military forces decisively in favor of the Red Army. Moscow's claims in this field appear somewhat premature.

Last winter Stalin insisted that the German armies must follow the precedent set by Napoleon,

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New Regional WLB Set-Up Will Not Change Board's Anti-Labor Policy

Red Army Presses Back Nazis



Soviet troops march through the northern part of battle-scarred Stalingrad to reinforce its garrison, seeking to trap 22 German divisions in a pincers.

Manpower Commission Freezes More Workers

175,000 Workers in St. Paul-Minneapolis Now Chained to Jobs,
Proposed Clark Draft Bill Would Give Workers No Job Choice

By John Edwards

The War Manpower Commission, headed by Paul V. McNutt, followed up its order freezing Detroit workers to their jobs, with a similar order which in effect job freezes 175,000 workers in the St. Paul-Minneapolis area.

John C. Nord, WMC director in the Twin City Area, said the order was designed to "end wasteful shifting from job to job."

In reality, both orders are intended to prevent workers from seeking better jobs at better pay. The orders were given under the authority granted the WMC by President Roosevelt in his December 5 decree mak-

ing McNutt the virtual "Czar" over the destinies of the workers.

According to the WMC, the job-freezing order in the Twin Cities will probably be followed by similar action in the Des Moines, Iowa, and Omaha, Nebraska areas. These orders require workers to obtain certificates of release from their employers before leaving one job for another.

NEW BILL PREPARED

While the WMC was applying its new powers to the Detroit and Twin Cities workers, and moving toward more regimentation of the workers throughout the country, Grenville Clark, New York attorney who drew up the selective act, presented a new manpower draft bill to the WMC. This new bill is now under consideration in Washington.

The Clark manpower draft bill would place all workers in the status of conscriptees, who could be sent anywhere to do any kind of work.

According to the provisions of this proposed bill, all men between 18 and 65 years of age and women between 18 and 50 would be liable for national "service" and could be ordered to do any type of work determined by a director of national service.

Such an act, if passed by Congress, would bring every man and woman into compulsory service, with no freedom of choice as to what job he or she would take. Thus, there would be no possibility for a worker to pick a plant where wages were higher.

Senator Austin of Vermont stated on December 26, that "voluntary methods of solving manpower problems will never work" and said he would press in Congress for a national service act along the lines outlined by Clark's draft. Austin is the same labor-hating Senator who introduced the "work or fight" bill during the last session of Congress.

The dangers of such a bill to the labor movement are obvious. The whole system of job seniority would be wiped out. The union

hiring hall would be abolished. The basic rights of workers to choose their place of employment would be abrogated. A worker who left a job would be violating the law. It would create conditions under which it would be extremely difficult for the union movement to protect wage levels of the workers, and to fight for decent working conditions.

Labor must be on guard against such labor-conscription plans, which mean the further regimentation of the workers and an acceleration of the process of undermining the independence and effectiveness of the labor movement.

UNIONS ENDANGERED
The whole system of chanelizing

RATIONING PLANS LEAVE MANY LOOPHOLES FOR RICH

By C. Charles

The government has announced that 200 foods will be rationed starting in February. Almost all canned, frozen, dried and glassed fruits, vegetables and soups are involved in the ration plans.

A cut is envisaged in the supply of these goods from 46 pounds a year to 33 pounds per person.

Capitalist spokesmen and the government are hailing the rationing program as a fair method of distributing food in present conditions of shortages. Their claims are not borne out by a

close examination of the plans. The wealthy will easily find ways of making sure that their stomachs will be well filled with vitamins and proteins, come what may. There are loopholes in the rationing plans wide enough for the wealthy to drive a General Grant tank through.

For example, all frozen and candied fruits and vegetables in containers over 10 pounds are excluded from the rationing provisions. Also not to be rationed are all fruit and vegetable juices and preserves in containers over one gallon.

The rich will be able to buy all they want in these larger quantities whereas the poor will not be able to afford to do so.

The plans leave unrationed food bought in clubs, hotels and restaurants. The wealthy will be able to dine out. The food they buy in the restaurants will not count against their rations. This method of supplementing their rations cannot be widely used by the workers.

Experience in all countries in

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Unions Will Not Have Right To Appeal Region Decisions

WLB Acts to Decentralize in Reply to
Widespread Protests Against Delays

By Joseph Andrews

The War Labor Board, as a result of widespread union dissatisfaction with its delays and anti-labor policies, announced on Dec. 23 that WLB procedure was to be decentralized.

Panels made up of representatives from labor, management and the "public" will be set up in each major city to make recommendations on union demands to new regional War Labor Boards. There will be ten regional boards.

Regional directors of the WLB will be empowered by this plan to rule on cases involving no more than 100 workers.

Regional Boards will hear other cases, except those which the National WLB decides are of national significance and wishes to rule on itself.

APPEAL DIFFICULT

There is a clause in this new plan which provides for appeal of decisions of regional boards to the National WLB. But this is, in reality, a fraud. The union will not have the right to appeal regional board rulings. Only a member of the panel in the case, or the National WLB itself, can take a case from a regional board for appeal to the National WLB.

Thus, the rulings of Regional Boards will in most cases be mandatory and final.

It would be mistaken to assume that the new WLB set-up will correct the anti-labor effects of WLB policy. While the reorganization may speed up the process of settlement of union demands, it will have no basic effect on the anti-union results of WLB policy.

The widespread protests which brought forth the WLB reorganization were based not only upon the delays of grievances and demands brought before the board, but against the clearly anti-labor character of the major rulings of the WLB.

The WLB in its decisions has frozen wages to 15% above the January, 1941 level, in spite of the fact that the cost of living has risen much more than 15% since that time. Recent WLB rulings punishing unions for strike actions which were clearly provoked by the companies which have refused to settle grievances and which are conducting an anti-union offensive in the plants, have further alarmed the trade union movement.

UNIONS ENDANGERED

The whole system of chanelizing

ing every union grievance and demand through the WLB, which is dominated by pro-employer elements, has threatened to stifle the independence of the union movement, and convert them into mere appendages of the government.

The new WLB system will not correct this process. The anti-labor policy of the board will merely be put into effect by its counterpart in the regions.

In World War I the War Labor Board set-up was organized along similar lines, after widespread protests from unions against delays and stalling forced the government to take action. These regional boards during the last war served to hamstring the union movement and to prevent independent union action to achieve justified union demands. In only one out of 100 cases were appeals from the decisions of regional boards allowed.

There is no reason to believe that the new WLB set-up will differ to any extent from that of World War I.

NO POLICY CHANGE

The "Little" War Labor Boards in the regions will carry out the policy of the National WLB, which has turned down every major demand for wage increases, which has taken upon itself the right to rule over the conditions of all workers, whether they are in war industry or civilian industry.

The reorganization of the WLB will not change the situation. The WLB is still a weapon used by the employers against the union movement.

British Soldiers Forbidden News of Beveridge Plan

Ever since the British workers first had bayonets thrust in their hands and were sent charging against German workers similarly equipped, they have been deviled by the fear that they were fighting only for the benefit of their bosses' profit sheets.

It was partly to allay this fear that Sir William Beveridge published last month his modest plan for unemployment insurance. Think how this plan will inspire the soldiers in the field, reasoned Beveridge's supporters.

But they figured without Churchill. According to a United Press Dispatch from London dated Dec. 23, the British War Office has forbidden the circulation among the troops of any mention of the Beveridge plan.

A few military successes against their German rivals greatly emboldens the British bosses. They no longer feel the necessity of making concessions to their workers. Better that the soldiers never hear of the plan, than return home with wrong ideas about the post-war world.

Waste Endangers Food Supply — Pravda Warns

Kremlin Blames Local Administrators For 'Mistakes' in Huge Crop Losses

By John G. Wright

One of the most critical fronts in the Soviet Union today is the food front. An irreparable blow has already been suffered by the loss of the richest agricultural areas, especially those of Byelo-Russia, the Ukraine and the Kuban. Added to this are alarming conditions which prevail in the remaining agricultural areas.

The Stalinist-controlled Russian press refers to these conditions as "mistakes." Because of these "mistakes" a special resolution was adopted by the Council of People's Commissars and by the Central Committee of the Russian Communist Party. The keynote of this resolution is: "the impermissibility of repeating last year's mistakes." (*Pravda*, Aug. 1, 1942.)

Soviet agriculture suffered enormous and unnecessary losses last year because of failure to harvest the crops.

"Certain collective farms (kolkhozi) and state farms (sovkhozi), admits *Pravda*, 'lost a considerable part of the harvest because the getting in of the crops was not begun in time and then was dragged out too long.' This delay was one of the main reasons for last year's losses which were very large. Thus, according to the Russian press, 'certain kolkhozi and sovkhozi lost not less than 1½ to 2 hundredweights per hectare (one hectare is approximately 2½ acres.)' (*Pravda*, Aug. 1, 1942.)

And we are furthermore told that "in 1941 a whole number of counties, provinces and republics prepared poorly for the getting in of the harvest." It does not take very many "counties, provinces and republics," for such losses to run into tens and even hundreds of thousand tons.

OTHER CAUSES CITED

But while delay in harvesting is an important source of losses, it is by no means the only one. "The sources of losses are varied," states the above-quoted leading editorial in *Pravda* and continues to enumerate instances of neglect or carelessness in storing crops, transporting them, sorting them, etc. etc.

Furthermore, "large losses of grain are incurred on the field trashing-floors which are left open and unguarded." In other words, while the country is threatened with famine, grain is left to rot in the fields and to be devoured by birds and rodents.

Because of these losses the deliveries of grain by the collectives to the state naturally suffered. *Pravda* even hints that there were cases of non-delivery: "Last year a number of counties, provinces and republics lagged behind excessively in the harvesting; they violated the dates of grain-deliveries (to the state) which are set by law and worsened the quality of grain delivered at the collection points. Such mistakes cannot be repeated again." (*Pravda*, Aug. 11, 1942.) All this cut into the rations of the workers in the cities and the soldiers at the front.

THE BASIC CAUSES

What are the basic reasons for these conditions? They are of

course due in part to the war with its disruption of the agricultural labor force, machinery, equipment, etc. But, strangely enough, *Pravda* hardly mentions these circumstances at all, claiming that there is ample labor supply, equipment, and so on.

It remains to conclude, therefore that the fault lies with those in charge, the local authorities, or more correctly, the local bureaucrats. This is precisely what *Pravda* itself confesses:

"These losses are absolutely intolerable in time of war. The party and Soviet organizations, the directors and political sections of the Machine and Tractor Stations are duty-bound to achieve an especially high degree of organization in fieldwork, and not to permit the slightest laxity or inattentiveness to such a responsible matter as the getting in of the war harvest." (*Pravda*, Aug. 1, 1942.)

In superintending this year's harvest the Kremlin applies the same measures as last year: it seeks to correct "mistakes" solely by pressure from the top. But this method leaves the local bureaucrats immune to the pressure of the agricultural workers and peasants.

WORKERS' DEMOCRACY IS NEEDED

Yet the real corrective would be self-acting and democratic worker and peasant committees functioning on the spot. These committees would insure the carrying out of the necessary tasks and would immediately call to account all negligent or "forgetful" administrators.

But the method of democratic committees is precisely what the Kremlin itself seeks to prevent at all costs. For such committees would not stop at correcting merely local bureaucrats.

There is not the slightest reason, therefore, to assume that the "mistakes" of last year were not repeated and even aggravated in 1942. Soviet soldiers and civilians are paying a monstrous price for the inefficiency, mismanagement and arbitrary rule of the Stalinist bureaucracy. They will continue to pay this price until the Soviet democracy of Lenin and Trotsky is restored.

Pope Denounces Marxian Socialism In Xmas Speech

By Edith Kane

Pope Pius XII in his annual Christmas message to the peoples of the world, departed from his accustomed tone of impartiality. During the entire lengthy speech in which he touched on problems of the world today and after the war, there were two points only on which he expressed himself unmistakably — Marxian Socialism and private property.

"The Church," he said "condemns the various forms of Marxian Socialism because it is her permanent right and duty to safeguard men from currents of thought and influence that jeopardize their external salvation." The Pope admitted, however, that the Church could not ignore the conditions of labor which cause workers to turn to Socialism in an effort to better their conditions.

Throughout his message, the Pope constantly bewailed the baneful influence of materialism in the world today, but his discussion of the problems of labor was hardly spiritual. Dealing with the concrete problems of the workers, the Pope proved by Bible texts that man is entitled to the goods of the earth.

From this premise, the Pope concluded, flows the "fundamental obligation to grant private ownership of property, if possible, to all." This guarantee of the workers' right to private property as a solution to their problems is reiterated even more definitely in another section of the speech.

Although the church "does not intend to take sides for either of the particular forms in which several peoples or states try to solve the gigantic problem of domestic order" its preference was apparent. Among the fundamental points listed by the Pope as essential in society, was "the conservation and perfection of a social order which will make possible an assured private property for all classes of society."

On one subject alone the message of the Pope was consistently aloof and "impartial." To the millions of people now under the tyranny of fascist rule, or those who live in constant fear of its growth and seek a way to destroy it, the Pope had nothing to offer. They will look in vain throughout the entire speech, for even the word — Fascism.

The growth of the ideas of Marxian Socialism and the threat to all systems based on private ownership has penetrated even the walls of the Vatican. But Fascism, seemingly, does not constitute a problem equally grave to the Pope. His clear and forthright denunciation of Marxian Socialism, by name, is in striking contrast to the complete absence of the mention of Fascism, by name, anywhere in this year's Christmas message.

'The Neck of the Turkey'



The labor movement has protested vigorously because the War Production Board has appointed representatives of the big daily papers to decide how newsprint will be divided in 1943. The production of newsprint has been curtailed and the unions fear that the representatives of the big papers and magazines will try to undermine the labor press by unfair division of available newsprint.

(Federated cartoon)

Envoy Charged With Acting Against Bolivian Strikers

By Helen Marshall

The American Ambassador to Bolivia, Pierre Boal, stands accused of having intervened on behalf of the Bolivian bosses against the workers during the recent strike at the Catavi tin mines in Bolivia.

This accusation was made last week by Ernesto Galarza, chief of the Labor Division of the Pan American Union. A senatorial investigation of the Ambassador's activities has been demanded by James Patton, president of the National Farmers Union, and a series of questions on the subject was addressed to Sumner Welles, Under Secretary of State, by CIO Secretary James B. Carey. Galarza, citing this as a "clear example of how the foreign policy of the United States in Latin America is operating to prevent the raising of working standards and improving of living conditions of the masses of the people," stated in the December 23 PM:

"The workers of Bolivia have been demanding for many years the passage of a new labor code which would grant them the right of collective bargaining, freedom of organization, minimum wages, and the payment of wages at least every fifteen days. There are no provisions in the code which any American workingman would regard as extreme.

"This code was to have been approved by the Bolivian Congress on December 8.

"On the days immediately preceding that date, the Ambassador of the United States in Bolivia, Pierre Boal, communicated to the

President of Bolivia the viewpoints of the big mine operators and presented arguments and suggestions, the object of which was to delay or prevent the improvement of working conditions as set forth in the code."

When the Bolivian government tried to cover up the real reasons for the tin miners' strike by calling it a "Nazi plot," officials of the AFL and CIO protested and said that the strike was led by bona-fide labor leaders.

The 60,000 miners involved live in mass misery. Their wages are about 15 cents a day according to the CIO News. They hardly know what a dairy product is, and would find it difficult to obtain cereals and wheat even if they had the money.

While wages have remained frozen, the cost of living rose 37 per cent from January 1, 1941 to December 1941, and a further increase of 60 per cent from January 1942 to December 1942 is expected.

The owner of the Catavi mines, Simon Patino, is fabulously wealthy. He has played a waiting game with both the Axis and the United Nations. For this reason, and because of the fact that since the fall of Malaya his mines have been the main source of tin for the United Nations, the State Department is wailing him.

One way of doing this is to take the mine operators' side on the strike issue.

Thus the "Good Neighbor Policy" means being a good neighbor to Patino and not to the workers in Bolivia.

Giraud Represents The Capitalists Darlan Did

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him—prior to his appointment as High Commissioner.

In the New York Times of Dec. 11, Pertinax wrote: "General Giraud belonged to the extreme right. On his staff of the Seventh Army was Guy de Wendel who was wont to exclaim: 'Between Hitler and Stalin I don't hesitate; I am for Hitler.'"

Here is a portrait of Giraud:

1. He is a confirmed opponent of capitalist democracy, even of the Daladier type. He used to deliver fiery denunciations of democracy to his troops during the regime of Daladier.

2. He is a rabid "anti-communist," that is, a foe of the working class and trade unions.

3. He is a bitter enemy of the Soviet Union—on whose side he is now supposed to be fighting—

and preferred an Allied invasion of the workers' state to a war with Hitler.

4. He is a butcher of colonial peoples. He won his spurs "pacifying" the natives of Morocco.

On the day following Giraud's election as High Commissioner by the Imperial Council the New York Times said editorially: "The choice of General Giraud as Admiral Darlan's successor in North Africa is a fortunate development."

Fortunate for whom? Certainly not for the natives of North Africa who had no voice in the selection of their ruler, and who will continue to feel the iron heel of the French colonial exploiters. Certainly not for the Soviet workers, nor for the American workers, nor the German workers who hope for real democracy once Hitler is defeated.

New York School Ends Good Term; New Course Post'd

The Fall term of the New York School of Social Science which has its headquarters at 116 University Pl., New York City, has just concluded one of the most successful sessions in its history.

The School offered one lecture each on Wednesday and Friday evenings, with time devoted to full discussions participated in by the students.

C. Charles gave a course on "American Economy at War" in which he covered the historical background of American economy, the development of American and international cartels and monopolies, patent pools, the government and the war economy, price control, wage freezing and inflation.

The attendance at Charles' lectures averaged 55 students per lecture.

John G. Wright was the instructor of the course entitled "Colonial Peoples and the Second World War." The lectures covered the extensive historical material on the colonial question written by Lenin and Trotsky, the events of the Chinese revolution of 1925-27, and the background and prospects of the Indian Revolution. Attendance at this course averaged 45 people.

Students participated actively in the sessions of the school, and freely asked questions on problems which were not clear to them. Coffee was served after the lectures, and students new to the school were able to get better acquainted with those who had attended previous lectures.

The second term of the school will begin on Jan. 13, when William F. Warde will conduct a series of lectures on "The Ideas and Method of Materialist Dialectics." There will be six lectures on this subject, beginning with a discussion on "The Differences Between Formal Logic and Dialectical Thinking." The lecture will begin at 8:15 p. m., Wednesday, January 13. The sessions will be held at 116 University Place, on the second floor.

There will be a charge of \$1.00 for the series of 6 lectures, or 25 cents for single lectures. All workers interested are invited to attend.

A.C.L.U. Reviews Attack On Civil Liberties During 1942

The American Civil Liberties Union, in a statement issued Dec. 27 reviewing the status of civil liberties in America after one year of war, declared that "while it is clear that the general condition is far better than in World War I, the view asserted by government spokesmen that civil liberties are intact must be qualified by recognition of serious exceptions."

The chief exceptions listed by the ACLU are,

"1. removal of the entire Japanese population from the West Coast by military authority and their detention in virtual concentration camps, and the exercise of the power of removal of individual citizens from military zones without civilian review; 2. the international censorship of opinions concerning race discrimination; 3. censorship by the post office department of publications alleged to impede the war effort, without hearing or specifications in many cases, and without the application of the U. S. Supreme Court test of 'clear and present' danger in others; 4. certain federal prosecutions for utterances and publications alleged to encourage disaffection in the armed forces without a showing of 'clear

and present danger' of illegal acts."

SWP CASES

Two of the outstanding cases of governmental suppression of civil liberties are the withholding of the mailing rights of the *Militant* and the *Fourth International* without notification and without specifications as to the reasons for this action by the Post Office department, and the prosecution of the leaders of the Socialist Workers Party and Minneapolis Teamsters Local 544-CIO under the Smith "Gag" Act, which the ACLU has termed the most important civil liberties case in many years.

The suppression of the rights of the *Militant* and the *Fourth International* is continuing despite protests by the ACLU, and other labor and liberal organizations.

The December 19, 1942 issue of the *Militant* has been declared non-mailable by the Post Office department and has been ordered destroyed. The December issue of the *Fourth International* also has been ordered destroyed as non-mailable.

These acts of suppression of freedom of the press are danger signals to the whole labor movement. The suppression of the *Militant* and the *Fourth International*, followed by similar action against *Labor Action*, a working-class paper, can be used as precedents against any and all labor papers which in any way criticize the government.

The *Militant* has appealed to all labor and liberal organizations to protest the action of the Post Office department and to send funds to aid in its fight for a free labor press.

The Civil Rights Defense Committee, with offices at 160 5th Ave., New York City, is appealing the convictions of the 18 Minneapolis defendants to higher courts. The case was recently heard in the St. Louis Circuit Court of Appeals. Should the decision uphold the convictions, the case will be appealed to the United States Supreme Court.

Rich Won't Feel Pinch of Rationing

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which rationing has been used, show that the wealthy are able to evade the rationing restrictions through buying on the "black market," as well as by other methods.

Thus while the masses of Great Britain were and are hungry, the rich have found ways to eat luxuriously.

It is expected that other foods, particularly beef, will be rationed very shortly after the establishment of rationing of canned goods. Acute shortages of beef and dairy products are reported from many parts of the country.

The brunt of the shortages are being felt by the workers and their families, many of whom have not eaten beef, butter or eggs in weeks. The well-to-do generally are able to secure the scarce goods by paying higher ceiling prices.

At the same time food prices have kept right on climbing. In the week ending December 22 food prices reached the highest point in 22 years, according to Dun and Bradstreet, outstanding business statistics firm.

Rationing and pricefixing are absolutely necessary, but under the control of the government and the bosses they are frauds.

Real rationing and price fixing can be realized only under the control of democratic mass committees of unions, dirt farmers organizations, small business men and housewives.

These 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, landlords, railroads, large stores and the middlemen.

These committees will assure the workers of 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.

For a Rising Scale of Wages to Meet Rising Living Costs

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The Negro Struggle

By Albert Parker

Plant Discrimination and Army Segregation

Two Cleveland court cases, which ended just before Christmas, were among the most significant trials to be held in 1942. They revealed that employers are still practicing Jim Crow—usual hiring policies and that the Negroes cannot depend on either the courts or President Roosevelt's Executive Order 8802 to put an end to these discriminatory policies.

Suit was brought against two war plants, Warner and Swasey Co. and Thompson Products, charging them with refusing to employ Negro women workers solely because of their color, and demanding that this practice be discontinued. The court action was organized at the initiative of the Future Outlook League, a militant organization which has been combating job discrimination for many years, and the cases were heard before Common Pleas Judge Frank J. Merriek.

Several Negro women testified against the plants' management. They told how they had gone to training school, learned machine shop work and in most cases been commended by their teachers for their ability, and then applied to the two companies for machine shop work. In each case they were told that there were no jobs for them, although the companies were at that time advertising in the papers for women workers needed for machine shop work.

At the beginning of the trial the lawyers for the employers said they would prove that no discrimination existed. But during the trial itself company executives were forced to admit that it did exist; their excuse for it was that the union or individual white workers had objected to employment of Negro women, a charge which was hotly denied by the union officials involved. At the end no one disputed the contention that the employers had never even attempted to hire a single Negro woman for machine shop work.

The lawyers for the Negro women bringing suit also showed that the plants had war contracts with the government and that these contracts — as provided in Executive Order 8802 — stipulated that there must be no race discrimination in employment.

Nevertheless, the judge hearing the case refused to do anything about it and in effect denied that anything could be done about it through the courts.

Thus for the first time a court confirmed the often-made charge that Executive Order 8802 is completely toothless and ineffective.

Also confirmed by this court decision is the necessity for carrying on a militant struggle to force the adoption of really effective anti-Jim Crow legislation.

INTERNATIONAL NOTES

By BETTY KUEHN

On December 21, the National Congress party of Ceylon passed a resolution calling for "freedom from Britain after the war instead of dominion status" according to the December 22 New York Times.

This is especially significant in view of the fact that the Ceylon Congress party is considerably more to the right than its counterpart, the Indian National Congress party.

In India, where the Bolshevik-Leninist party of the Fourth International was founded as late as 1941, many revolutionists are still in the Congress party. In Ceylon, however, the revolutionary party, the Lanka Sama Samaja (Fourth International), has been functioning effectively since 1935. It has drawn the revolutionary elements into its own ranks and, indeed, became the acknowledged leader of the toiling masses. It was outlawed by the British in 1940.

Another Ceylon Congress resolution urged "the United Nations to make an immediate declaration guaranteeing freedom for Ceylon." These resolutions reflect the pressure of the Indian events of the past year on even such a conservative party as the National Congress. They also give an indication of what is going on behind the curtain of censorship in Ceylon.

The lie that all Germans are alike, that they all support Hitler, is refuted by the following item in the November 15 Bulletin of the International Federation of Trade Unions which reports from Norway:

"It is significant that the opposition movement is finding

and to guarantee the observance of such legislation.

The Office of War Information has come out with a press release designed to show that Negroes are being inducted "fairly" into the U. S. Army, according to a story in PM of Dec. 27.

To make its point, the OWI statement declares that although Negroes constitute 9.8% of the population, Negro draftees and volunteers constituted 10.1% of all persons inducted up to Oct. 31. But that isn't breaking down a door that isn't locked. The main complaint of the Negro people about their treatment by the armed forces is not that they aren't drafted in sufficient numbers, but that they are drafted on a segregated basis, and are separated from white soldiers into separate regiments as though they were inferior because their skin has a different color.

The Negro masses don't want figures showing that they are being drafted as fast as whites. They want an end to Jim Crowism wherever it exists.

Typical of the extent to which segregationist ideas permeate the leadership of the U. S. Army was the Christmas Day statement released by General Eisenhower, commander-in-chief of the Allied Forces in North Africa.

Eisenhower was praising the courage of U. S. Negro troops in North Africa who continued putting high explosive bombs ashore while under heavy fire.

"Americans of the colored race should be proud of the service of their representatives in combat," he declared.

A Negro friend with whom I discussed this brief statement said that it raises almost as many questions as the number of words it contains: "Does Eisenhower mean that non-Negro Americans have no reason to be proud of Negro troops? That non-Negro troops cannot be considered representatives of the Negro people? If that is what he means, let him say it openly. And while he's at it, I wish he'd explain why it is that the only kind of 'combat service' for which Negro troops appear to be eligible is longshoremen and laboring work. Why is it, if their behavior is such that we should be proud of them, that they are given only the most dangerous and dirty work to do?"

No one, of course, expects General Eisenhower to answer such questions. Army Jim Crow was not invented by him, and the chief responsibility for its continuation does not rest on him. But Negro and white workers certainly have the right to address such questions to Washington, and to demand answers to them. They also have the duty, as well as the right, to organize for an end to all forms of segregation.

support not only among the 'Hird' (native) storm troops, but even in the army of occupation. Dozens of German officers have been shot, and hundreds of German soldiers are in concentration camps for treasonable cooperation with the underground opposition."

When the Nazis occupied Belgium they seized the property of all trade unions and other workers' organizations and formed a "unified" organization called the Union of Manual and Intellectual Workers. But the UMIW has been a failure, according to the Belgian News Center release of December 19.

Workers are boycotting the organization and are selecting their own men to negotiate with the factory owners. They also have an underground press which produces several widely circulated newspapers.

The following item was reported from Asuncion, Paraguay in the December 28 CIO News through the Stalinist-controlled news agency ALN.

"In an attempt to disrupt growing unity between organized labor and anti-Axis groups within the army and the administration of President Higinio Morinigo, Paraguayan fascists and their accomplices in the Asuncion police force last week arrested a hundred union leaders and beat up numbers of workers on the streets of Asuncion."

Its formulation is obviously designed to make us forget the connection of the police force with the State. When this is forgotten, the real way to fight fascism is forgotten.

U. S. Moves In North Africa Strengthen French Reaction

By A. ROLAND

The Allies one and all deplore the assassination of Darlan—but they are also breathing audible sighs of relief.

There is deGaulle for example. He had worked himself into a real lather about democracy and freedom. He had bitterly denounced the regime of Vichy-toadies-to-the-Nazis, especially the collaborating desk-Admiral Darlan. De Gaulle could not suddenly reverse his course and stretch out the hand of amity to this sinister figure just because the United States had recognized Darlan as High Commissioner in North Africa.

Roosevelt had made up his mind, however, that the French ruling class must be reunited before the end of the war. The risk of civil war in post-war France was great enough without making it more likely by virtue of a deep rift in the ranks of the French bourgeoisie.

Darlan had the inside track, far more than de Gaulle, with the very tops of the French capitalists—the Comité des Forges, the coal-steel-chemical-munitions trust. Roosevelt was aiming, through Darlan, at these elements so necessary to his post-war plans for Europe. The fact that Darlan was also very anti-British and therefore far more amenable to American persuasion—as against the pro-British de Gaulle—had its points too.

Had Darlan remained alive, it was merely a question of time before a proper formula would have been worked out to reconcile the "Free French" with Darlan's Totalitarian French. His death simplifies matters in the most highly pleasing manner. De Gaulle need not eat crow. He saves "honesty and honor" in reaching out his hand, not to Darlan, but to his fellow-General, Henri Honoré Giraud, chosen with the helpful consent of Darlan's lieutenants Nogues and Boisson.

FDR'S TASK SIMPLIFIED

Roosevelt thus finds his task very much simplified. The criticism has already ceased. Nobody cares to notice that the policies remain quite the same, even if the figure of one Vichyite has been erased from the scene. The most important question of the moment has been solved—finding a figure around whom the ruling class of France and the French Empire could rally under American lead.

POLITICAL CENSORSHIP

The "military security" motive for secrecy thus may turn out to be more a political than a military motive. The military side exists, of course, since a new sharp break between the Free French and the ex-Vichyites who had previously clapped so many of the Free French in filthy jails to rot, might have led to armed conflict.

Roosevelt's indignation at the assassination did not prevent him from using calm political judgment in permitting the suppression of all information on the murder. He did not permit his indignation to becloud his political aim for one moment. The first phase of that aim is in process of achievement. The French capitalist class is beginning to close its ranks under the guidance of the leader of the New Deal for Europe.

Just as the New Deal was applied in the United States to save capitalism from disaster in the

period of the economic crisis, so it is now being applied in Europe for the purpose of saving world capitalism from revolutionary "disaster" in the post-war epoch.

Toward this aim, every event, no matter how seemingly untoward for the purpose, will be bent. Roosevelt knows that the United States will have been defeated in the war even if Hitler is crushed, if that is followed by the end of capitalism in Europe. The war aims of the United States are clearly reflected in the events in North Africa.

THE ASSASSIN

It is of course possible that the youth was a fanatic fascist. There are plenty of followers of Doriot known to be in Algeria and North Africa. The assassination might then have been in the nature of a warning by the murderous Nazis to any others thinking of turning their coats that their fate would be the same. But in that case, why do the North African authorities keep the facts hidden? There would be no understandable motive, particularly one involving "military security," to keep silent about a political assassination engineered by the Axis.

The motive would however, be quite clear if the assassin were a Free Frenchman. But revelation of that fact might have precipitated acrimony and added bitterness in the relations between the Frenchmen of London-Madagascar-Brazzaville and the Frenchmen of Dakar and North Africa—Vichy!

This would spoil everything. It was necessary first to permit everybody to save face and to get together. De Gaulle could condemn the method of assassination as a political weapon, without repudiating a Free Frenchman. The collaboration between de Gaulle and the French Nat. Committee in London with Giraud—and through him with Nogues and Boisson—having once been well begun, what if the true facts leak out later on? Events will then have made impossible any new break, and the matter would pass off harmlessly.

EARLY PLANS

The military defense of the Soviet Union as worked out by Tukhachevsky and his co-workers envisaged a series of strong points strategically placed west of the vital Moscow-Kharkov-Crimea line. Upon attack, troops west of these points would retreat carrying out delaying actions, exchanging space for time, while the country mobilized for the defense. But the Red Army generals acquainted with this plan and capable of carrying it out were shot by Stalin and replaced by bureaucrats qualified only by their servility to the Kremlin. The first great blunder, when Hitler attacked was massing great Soviet forces west of the strong points, the so-called Stalin line. They were surrounded and cut to pieces by the German armies fresh from their successes

in the Lowlands, France, etc. It was evident from the first that Stalin was deploying the Red Army according to no general strategic plan or at best misapplying the plans of Trotsky's original General Staff under Tukhachevsky.

When winter came, the Nazi armies turned from the offensive to the defensive and they applied the military strategy applicable to these regions which Trotsky and Tukhachevsky had conceived. They selected certain key points which they were determined to defend. The bulk of their armies then retired some hundreds of miles to the rear, large sections wintering in the Baltic countries and even in Germany far beyond the reach of the Red Army. The soldiers recuperated, armaments were replaced, munitions stored, armies reorganized in preparation for summer when the weather would again permit them to move forward. At the key points, strong forces were left well entrenched, supplied with food and ammunition enough for months of siege. The bitter weather thus favored their defense as it would have favored the Red Army had Tukhachevsky's plan been carried out successfully.

Facts now available show that precisely when Hitler was shouting the loudest about capturing Moscow and Rostov the German armies were actually taking their positions for retreat to winter quarters. Stalin capitalized on the retreat by making out it was due to huge counter-offensives. However, the German troops at Staraya-Russa remained cut off for 12 weeks without surrendering; none of the key points with the exception of Mzhaisk were retaken. When Spring came the German armies used them for advance bases. Even if a key point here or there had been taken—as, for example Mzhaisk, it still would not have defeated the Germans, for these key points also perform the function of advance patrols who via radio and airplane warn the main bodies of troops in ample time to prepare for action and to avoid being taken by surprise.

Last year it was the defense of Rostov and its recapture that thrilled the world and awakened expectations the German armies were faltering. When Spring came, the German armies opened the campaign they had prepared during the winter, conquered the Crimea, and rolled over Rostov toward the Soviet Union's oil lines.

This year Stalingrad was the center of attention. But the military balance sheet of its heroic defense cannot be drawn in full until next summer when we are able to see what key points the Red Army has been able to recapture and what kind of campaign it has been able to prepare during the winter months to meet the new German offensive. The Nazi armies are meanwhile seeking to repeat their tactics of last winter.

The outstanding fact, however, is that Hitler has once again failed to attain his objectives, and has to retreat. The Red Army possesses the advantage of being on the offensive. This advantage in the fourth year of the world war opens wide the possibility for dealing Hitlerism its death-blow. The German troops, extending their lines farther and farther, spending their second winter on the Soviet battlefields, are bound to be more and more susceptible to revolutionary ideas and genuine revolutionary appeals. This applies with even greater force to the German civilian population, above all the workers.

Soviet offensives can be turned from their present limited scope into a general advance. If the methods of warfare utilized by Lenin and Trotsky are turned upon the German armies, the Soviet Union can gain the greatest military victory in history. But so long as the methods of Stalin continue to weaken and undermine the defense of the first workers' state, there is the danger that German imperialism may recuperate and reinforce its war machine for another all-out offensive.

The fleet also was withdrawn from the Black Sea. The final withdrawal of the French from South Russia was mainly due to the methods the Bolsheviks used in battling against their imperialist foe. It was due, says Marty, to "the persistent work of the Bolshevik, of all the proletarians of the occupied cities, who wakened in the French soldiers and sailors class consciousness, who concretized their discontent in the aim to refuse to fight against the Russian people, and who pushed them so strongly along the revolutionary path that the government was obliged first to bring them back to France and then to demolish them rapidly, for fear of seeing insurrections in France."

Hitler's army and his rear would be disintegrated rapidly by the application of these Bolshevik methods today.

At the beginning of April the French command received orders to evacuate Russia immediately. The evacuation took place in disorder, most detachments withdrawn without officers. The soldiers marched through Odessa singing the Internationale, wearing red ribbons, shouting "Long live the Bolsheviks. An end to the war!" Many detachments left their stores and munitions for the Red Army.

REASON FOR VICTORY

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EFFECT ON FRENCH

The first French regiment to refuse to fight was the 58th. A reconnoitering party of this regiment was met by the Bolsheviks, disarmed, and made prisoner. The Bolsheviks questioned them, then freed them with the words, as described by one of the French party, "If you comrades had cap-

Behind The Dispute Over The Darlan Deal

By M. Morrison

The deal entered into by General Eisenhower (naturally under the direction of the administration) with the late Admiral Darlan has, for various reasons, aroused apprehension and criticism, both here and abroad. The English conservatives as well as the English liberals, the Stalinists and many American liberals have indicated their opposition to any arrangement with one who, only a short while ago, was denounced as an arch appeaser and a collaborator with Hitler.

It is necessary to understand the reasons motivating the different critics of the horse-trade with Darlan. On our part it is also necessary to place the greatest emphasis on those aspects of the deal which can be least beclouded by arguments dealing with military considerations.

British imperialists were not happy about the obvious willingness of Darlan to subject himself to the control of the American military leaders. It has been reported that Giraud, Darlan's successor, at one time definitely stated that he would work with (by that he meant that he would take orders from) the Americans, but not the British.

As is to be expected, the British imperialists have not been very vociferous in their criticism of the Roosevelt administration, for the simple reason that they cannot afford to antagonize the power upon whose support they depend to win the war. Their dissatisfaction takes the form mainly of a half-hearted defense of the arrangement with Darlan. That the English liberals have been more loud in their criticism of the deal with Darlan than their American brothers is a reflection of the state of mind of the British ruling class.

As far as the English conservatives are concerned, their anxiety is assuredly not caused by any concern with the fact that a deal has been made with a friend of Hitler and an enemy of democracy. They would scoff at those who proclaim the principle that a deal with a reactionary appeaser of Hitler is contrary to the democratic purposes of a peoples' war and therefore impermissible. Their concern is solely for their imperialist interests. They saw in Darlan's close tie-up with the American forces an indication that France and the French colonies have completely succumbed to American influence. In the support that the English reactionaries give to de Gaulle as against the American arrangement with Darlan we can see more evidence of the fierce rivalry raging between the English and American monopoly capitalists underneath the cloak of a joint effort to smite the common enemy.

Whatever independent role France played prior to the war is now gone. Its ruling class is divided into three groups — one depending upon and supporting German monopoly capitalism, another tied up with English capitalism and a third with American capitalism.

The criticism of the Stalinists is also modulated. Their support of the Roosevelt administration

is so whole-hearted that they are willing to be more than charitable in their judgment of anything done by the government. The Stalinists must, however, consider the outraged feelings of the sincere liberals and progressive workers who object to dealing with an avowed enemy of democracy. Their criticism is also motivated by the consideration that Darlan and those like him are bitter enemies of the Soviet Union.

Their gingerly approach to the deal with Darlan is perhaps dictated by the fact that they are not exactly in the best position to criticize deals with fascists. Not so long ago they strenuously defended a certain agreement between Stalin and Hitler which, in the words of Molotov, was "sealed in blood."

It is the attitude towards the Darlan affair taken by the sincere liberals and the workers who believe that this war is really one for democracy, that deserves the closest attention of revolutionary Marxists. Their feelings have been outraged because, believing that this is a war for democracy, they are unable to explain how it is possible that those who lead such a war can so easily come to an agreement with an open enemy of democracy. They necessarily involve themselves in an argument as to how far military considerations permit an agreement between those fighting for democracy and dyed-in-the-wool reactionaries.

While sympathizing with the sincere liberals and progressive workers we, of course, cannot accept their premise. For us the deal with Darlan was not bad because it violates the principles for which this war is ostensibly being fought. It was simply another indication that the monopoly capitalists are not fighting a war for democracy.

For critical liberals it was a question of supporting de Gaulle as against Darlan. For revolutionary Marxists it was a question of supporting the colonial people of the French colonies against both Darlan and de Gaulle. Our demand of the Roosevelt administration is not that he support de Gaulle but that he recognize and accept the right of the natives to determine their own form of government. The appointment of Darlan's successor after his assassination shows that the natives have not one word to say about the question of the form of their government. If this is a war for democracy, then it is the kind of democracy from which the people of the French colonies are excluded.

The most important aspect of the support given by the administration to Darlan and his successor is that it furnishes us with an almost certain indication as to what can be expected in Europe should the American military forces succeed in cracking Hitler's military power. The Darlan deal shows that the Roosevelt government will not hesitate to support with military force and with food, any government in Europe willing to do its bidding.

It is quite probable that Roosevelt would prefer to support a democratic capitalist regime in any country in Europe. Support of such a regime would free him from criticism from the left. But his aim and the aim of any government that will exist at the time of American occupation of Europe is not to establish capitalist democratic regimes but to establish and retain "order." The major consideration of Roosevelt and his followers in making the deal with Darlan was that the latter could deliver the goods. It is that consideration that will determine the conduct of any capitalist government in Washington.

Delivering the goods means two things: to keep order, that is, to prevent the masses from taking power into their own hands, and to do the bidding of the American government. It can be stated with the utmost certainty that any government, no matter how reactionary, that is capable and willing to do these two things will receive the support of the American government.

It is quite probable that, before Hitler's armies crack up, Hitler and his closest associates will turn the reins over to some German generals for the purpose of making the best possible peace with the Allies and to prevent an uprising of the German masses. There will be no hesitation, we can be sure, on the part of the American government in supporting any reactionary regime in Germany if it can assure "order" and obedience to Washington's commands.

Even for those liberals and workers who support the war the task is to prepare for a struggle against the attempts of any government in Washington to prevent the masses of Europe from determining their own fate. No Darlan deal should be tolerated.

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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.

No Tax On Wages!

On January 1 the new 5 per cent "Victory Tax" went into effect. This tax is a real "Victory" for the rich.

From now on every worker will be forced to pay 5 per cent on all wages over \$12 a week. This will be deducted automatically from his pay check by the employer.

By this means another chunk is taken out of wages which have been frozen despite the constantly rising prices of necessary commodities. This is in addition to the already exorbitant taxes on low incomes, and the hidden taxes on commodities and services which hit the workers harder than any other section of the population.

To make sure that the tax soaks the poor, but allows plenty of loopholes for the rich, the law provides that a wage earner cannot deduct insurance payments, donations to charity, and the like, from his taxable income. However, the businessman is generously allowed such deductions.

But the claim is that the "Victory Tax" is the most democratic of all taxation. It applies "equally," says the administration, to all citizens, rich and poor alike.

Whether you earn \$15 a week or \$1000 a week, you have the "equal" duty to pay 5 per cent over \$12 a week to the government. Thus, a man earning \$1000 a week will have to struggle along on a little over \$950 a week. . . provided he is not able to make enough "deductions" to get around the payment of the tax. The man earning \$15 a week, will have the "equal" right to get along on a little over \$14 a week.

While this tax adds another pill to the bitter medicine the workers have been forced to swallow, the administration's promises to limit the incomes of the wealthy have been proven to be nothing but frauds. The \$25,000 ceiling on incomes has been exposed as a fancy piece of demagoguery. With the bountiful aid of the government, the war profiteers are piling up unprecedented wealth, and the tax program is deliberately planned to protect their profits.

The workers, on the other hand, must not only work under speed-up conditions, deprived of many of their fundamental union rights, but must pay for the "privilege" out of their already frozen wages.

The Victory Tax is another vicious attack on the workers standard of living.

No Tax on workers wages! Abolish the Victory Tax!

The Meaning Of 1942 Election Returns

The Associated Press issued on December 24 its tabulation of final official figures on the Congressional elections. It bears out even more than earlier unofficial figures the contentions we have made concerning the significance of the election returns:

1. The total vote in the Congressional contests was only 28,111,583 — the lowest in any national election in 22 years. Allowing for population increases, it is the smallest vote in an even longer period. Only about 50 per cent of the eligibles voted. The votes were only slightly more than half of the 50 million who voted in the 1940 Presidential contest. In the last mid-term election — 1938 — the Congressional vote was 36,203,133 — that is, there were in 1938 more than six million votes than this time.

These figures, however, only begin to tell the story. All observers agree that the middle class came out in force to vote this year — certainly in greater numbers than in 1938. On the other hand, proportionately fewer workers voted than any other group, according to a survey by the Gallup poll, which has stated:

"Of four major occupational groups the Gallup institute's preliminary findings reveal that in proportion to their numbers professional and business people went in greatest numbers to the polls. Farmers came next, and then white collar workers. LABOR UNIONS TURNED OUT FEWER IN PROPORTION TO THEIR NUMBERS THAN ANY OF THE OTHER MAJOR GROUPS." (New York Times, Nov. 24, 1942.)

These facts support our original contention that a considerable proportion of the workers, especially the organized workers, found no choice between Tweedledee-Republican and Tweedledum-Democrat and voted with their feet.

The one important state and city where the workers had a chance to vote against both Republicans and Democrats and for a labor ticket — the American Labor Party in New York — the ALP candidate for governor polled 18 per cent of the city and 10 per cent of the state vote.

Add it all up and it indicates the basic trend which is developing among the workers — away from the two capitalist parties and toward their own party — an Independent Labor Party. And this trend is developing down in the ranks of the unions in spite of the fact that the top AFL and CIO leadership keep clinging to Roosevelt's coat-tails.

2. The trend toward the Labor Party is certain to be speeded up by the fact, demonstrated by the Associated Press tabulation, that control of Roosevelt's party is openly shifting to its most reactionary section, the "solid South." Of the 222 Congressmen elected by the Democrats, 118 — more than a majority — came from the thirteen Southern states! These Southern reactionaries will run the Democratic Party in the new Congress.

Even more significant of the relationship of forces in the Democratic Party is the fact that outside the solid South that party polled majorities only in eight states, and those were small or sparsely-populated: Arizona, Maryland, Montana, Nevada, New Mexico, Rhode Island, Utah and Washington. This means that the bulk of the likely electoral votes for a Democratic presidential candidate is in the bailiwick of the Southern arch-reactionaries.

The popular vote is even more indicative. As against 50.6 per cent for the Republicans, the Democrats got 47.4 per cent of the popular vote. Yet this minority of the popular vote was enough to give the Democrats a narrow majority of the House of Representatives — thanks to the fact that in the thirteen Southern states the Democrats polled 76.8 per cent of the vote (including of course the eight poll-tax states where only tiny portions of the citizens can vote.)

All these figures indicate that while starry-eyed Wallace may still be making speeches, Messrs. Bilbo, Dies and their poll-tax gang are firmly in the saddle in Roosevelt's party.

When the new Congress convenes, they will show who is running things. One bitter lesson after another during the coming year at the hands of these Democrats will teach the workers that they can expect nothing but blows from Roosevelt's party.

Foreseeing the workers' disillusionment with the Democratic Party, some of the more far-seeing Republicans are trying with might and main to refurbish their party with a pseudo-liberal coloration. Willkie is the outstanding example. Moreover it is reported that Willkie, in the event that he fails to re-upholster the Republican Party, is playing with the idea of a third party.

We are confident, however, that neither a redecorated Republican Party nor a new catch-all capitalist party will get the workers when they turn their backs on the Democratic Party. The time is ripe — indeed, rotten-ripe — for an end to company unionism in politics.

This time the workers are already beginning to sense the basic necessity, not only to turn away from Tweedledee to Tweedledum, but to step forward with their own party, an Independent Labor Party. That is the plain meaning of the fact that millions of workers, refusing to choose between the two capitalist parties, simply voted with their feet in the November elections.

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.

AYC Offers Aid to Lift 'Militant' Ban

Editor:

As the Chairman of the American Youth Committee, a group of over 500 members in 10 states, allow me to express my utmost sympathy with you in your fight to have the post office ban on The Militant lifted.

I disagree with most of your views, I am a pro-victory moderate socialist, but I believe that there is no reason to call you seditious, or to deny your constitutional civil liberties.

I will be glad to cooperate with you and the CRDC in fighting against the Post Office ban and gaining the freedom of the Minneapolis teamsters.

John Loeb, Chairman
American Youth Committee
La Crescente, Calif.

Elections Unseat CP in Local 302

Editor:

After 7 years of uninterrupted job-control, the C. P. ticket was finally defeated in an election held in the Cafeteria Employees Union, Local 302, two weeks ago.

One factor contributing to their defeat was their sponsorship of a contract providing for open shop wages and conditions. The deciding factor in the election, however, was the deep cut in the Stalinist vote in the chain stores. Many of their stalwarts have been drafted or lost to war in-

dustries and this was a big blow to the clique of Sam Kramberg and Company.

There were only 3 out of 12 candidates for paid office on the C. P. slate who survived the debacle.

The unfortunate aspect of the election was the fact that the "Victory Ticket" which opposed the Stalinists, had no real program and has not committed itself to an unrelenting fight against the bosses for decent wages and conditions.

Food Worker
New York City

Women Writers Are Praised for Work

Editor:

I have been pleased and proud of the articles which our woman comrades are writing for the paper. Please offer my congratulations to Eloise Black, Miriam Carter, Marie Taylor and Betty Kuehn. I have congratulated Larissa Reed many times myself for her fine articles.

I have heard much favorable comment on the last 4 or 5 issues of The Militant. A Negro worker, whom I met at the post office, contributed several dollars to help along with the fight against suppression. He has never been a subscriber and never has been reached by the distributors, but knows of the paper and what it stands for.

G. C.
Minneapolis, Minn.

Company Unions Beaten in Texas

Editor:

The Confederated Unions of America, organized in Chicago last October by the allegedly "independent" unions, got off to a bad start here in Houston where their main strength used to lay in the Brotherhood of Welders, Cutters and Helpers of America, Local 5, and the two company dominated locals of the Independent Metal Workers Union.

These last two locals were separated for Jim Crow reasons and were definitely labeled company union some time back. In a recent election, however, the workers in these locals voted to join the CIO's United Steel Workers. This was a body blow to the CUA in this territory.

The CUA's only remaining strength here now is the independent welders union, an outgrowth of the struggle in the AFL for craft recognition of the welders. For a period they were really going to town in the Gulf area, but are now declining.

It looks like the CIO's Industrial Union of Marine and Shipbuilding Workers will soon take over this outfit and the CUA will vanish completely from this territory.

Metal Worker
Houston, Texas

THE HOUSING CRISIS

War Workers Must Live in Shacks Under Dangerous Health Conditions While Millions Are Spent On Unnecessary Plants

By JOHN ADAMSON

DETROIT — The disgraceful condition of housing and health facilities in the Detroit area is now reaching the proportions of a national scandal.

There is such grave danger that an epidemic may break out in Wayne, Macomb and Washtenaw counties that even the public health officials are beginning to sound the alarm.

Spencer Gordon, Executive Secretary of the Willow Run Community Council has come forth with the announcement that health conditions in Western Wayne and Eastern Washtenaw counties, in the vicinity of the Willow Run plant of the Ford Motor Co. are "grave and menacing."

Appearing at a meeting of the Committee on Defense Health and Welfare, Michigan Council of Defense, he reported that despite months of discussion, housing and sanitation for workers at the war plant are growing steadily worse. He informed the committee that warning of disease, reaching epidemic proportions, had been issued by the Wayne County Medical Society, Michigan State Medical Society and officials of the U. S. Public Health Service, but all to no avail.

Plans "Came to Nothing"

"There have been innumerable plans for extending water to the area from Detroit," Gordon stated, "but thus far they came to nothing."

What is wrong? Who is responsible for this callous and criminal disregard for the health and lives of the war workers in the area that is called "arsenal of democracy?" People who do not think and venal newspaper writers have a ready answer: "bureaucracy," "inefficiency," "official bungling," "inability of county, state and federal officials to act in concert," etc., etc. These superficial explanations, however, are designed to hide the truth from the people rather than expose it.

Gordon himself revealed later on in his testimony why the innumerable plans and endless discussions have still not produced one particle of action. "It is said by the War Production Board that critical materials cannot be spared for the purpose." At last we know where the bottle neck is.

Is it true that we do not have the necessary "critical materials" to build the houses and install the necessary sanitary equipment to ensure the health and the lives of the workers in the "arsenal of democracy?" Is it true that the war

workers of the "arsenal of democracy" must be constantly exposed to the dangers of disease and epidemic?

They haven't got the "critical materials" to build homes and supply water for the workers, but apparently there is plenty of "critical materials" to construct huge, sprawling and wholly unnecessary plants which are handed over gratis, free of charge, to these same billionaire corporations. There is scarcely a large corporation in Detroit that has not built new plants or "additions" in the past two years, while the old plants are standing half idle. At the present time, the Budd Co. is building a huge new "addition" to its Detroit plant, while half of its old plant remains unused.

Plenty of Material — to Waste

The War Production Board found the critical materials to approve the building of the monster Dodge plant outside of Chicago, the "largest plant in the world," one section of which, it is stated, occupies over 50 city blocks, while whole sections of the Chrysler Corporation plants in Michigan stand idle.

Gordon revealed in his testimony that unsatisfactory housing in the trailer camps and shack settlements about the Willow Run plant, as well as lack of restaurants and facilities for recreation had caused a turnover of nearly 100% of the working force at the Bomber plant.

"The women were compelled to walk a mile and one half to the nearest restaurants or hot dog stands. There was no recreation of any type available. Most of them wearied of the life and quit their jobs to drift elsewhere."

(Of course, the officials of the Ford Motor Co. do not have to worry about this problem any longer. Victor Reuther and Gus Scholle of the CIO have generously consented to "freeze" the workers to the job.)

Upon receiving the foregoing alarming report, the Defense Council committee got into immediate and decisive action: they authorized their chairman, John D. O'Connell, who is also director of the Michigan Department of Social Welfare, to petition the Commanders of the Wayne and Washtenaw County Citizens Defense Corps to appoint a committee to study and report on problems of health in the Willow Run neighborhood.

And they call it "Detroit the dynamic!"

The Four Freedoms Have A Double Anniversary

By JOHN BATES

January 6 is a double anniversary for President Roosevelt. Two years ago on that date he first formulated his "Four Freedoms." The first of those freedoms was freedom of speech which, according to FDR, was to apply "everywhere in the world."

January 6 also marks two months to the day that the Roosevelt administration moved against a working class paper. It was on November 6, 1942 that his Post Office officials suppressed The Militant by refusing to send it through the mails.

In the brief two years since the first appearance of the four-freedoms slogan, the colonial peoples living under the British, French and Dutch empires have been officially excluded from these rights. Roosevelt pleads "military expediency" for the betrayal of these democratic slogans abroad. He can offer no such alibi for his suppression of working class opinion at home.

WLB Decisions Reveal Infamy of Labor Leaders

By EDWARD HILL

In recent weeks both AFL and CIO International union leaders have attacked the delays and red tape of the War Labor Board. But the most significant fact in the mounting anti-labor record of the WLB is never mentioned by the top union officialdom. That important fact is that the labor representatives on the board have been cravenly casting their votes along with the employer and "public" members in several anti-labor decisions.

The most flagrant recent case of the betrayal of workers' interests by the labor representatives on the WLB was the unanimous decision rejecting the demands of 32,000 transport workers of New York City, and ruling against the WLB taking jurisdiction in cases involving government workers.

Two CIO unions and one AFL union had united to demand that the WLB take jurisdiction in the case of the New York transport workers, and the Newark, New Jersey municipal workers.

The AFL and CIO conventions held recently both passed resolutions demanding that the WLB take jurisdiction in the cases of government workers. The CIO convention specifically demanded that the WLB grant the wage demands of the New York transport workers.

Van D. Bittner and Delmond Garst were the CIO members on the WLB on this case. George Meany and Matthew Woll were the AFL representatives.

Despite the mandate of the AFL and CIO conventions these labor "leaders" voted with the employers against labor in this case. Not one of them so much as opened his mouth publicly against this anti-labor WLB decision.

When Meany and Woll in December 1941, voted with the employers against the United Mine Workers in the captive mine dispute, CIO President Philip Murray correctly called their action "arch treachery and treason to labor."

Meany and Woll were arch traitors in December 1941, and they are still guilty of treason against labor in December, 1942. To their ranks are added Bittner and Garst.

Suicides Declining As Mass Murder Increases

By GRACE CARLSON

One more glaring example of the utter inability of the U. S. ruling class to provide peace, freedom and plenty for the American working masses is shown in a recent Statistical Bulletin of the Metropolitan Life Insurance Company.

Listed as a "beneficial by-product of war" is the fact that the suicide rate in the United States has dropped sharply since this country entered the war.

A similar fall in the suicide rate was also observed in World War I when there was a 50% drop in the U. S. rate of suicides from 1915 to 1920.

How can war, with its awful weight of suffering and sorrow, stay the hands of thousands of individuals bent on self-destruction? Because, says the agent of the Metropolitan Life Insurance Company, "The demands of the military forces for material cause a sudden spurt in production and money incomes," which, in turn, creates a "more favorable mental outlook."

In its times of peace—rather, in the periods between its wars—the dying capitalist system is wracked by financial crises, depressions and colossal unemployment problems. As a result thousands of sick, cold, hungry workers are driven to suicide each year.

Now the Metropolitan Insurance Company finds cause for gratification in the fact that workers have stopped killing themselves by the thousands to take part in the war program, in which they kill each other by the millions!

Although the number of annual suicides has dropped to almost one-half of what it was in the depths of the depression ten years ago, there are still 18,000 suicide deaths in this country. It is estimated that an additional 100,000 unsuccessful attempts at self-destruction occur annually.

"It is a melancholy thought that considerably more than 100,000 people in this country, each year, find life so hopeless and cheerless that death seems preferable," says the statistician of the insurance company who is distressed because the premature deaths of so many workers means a loss in profits to his company.

Socialists, who are genuinely grieved by the "hopeless and cheerless" outlook that leads to so many suicides, are organizing to end the capitalist system, which is primarily responsible for the wastage in human life represented by suicide deaths, as well as for the far, far greater loss of life in capitalist wars.

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