

## Every Worker Knows FDR's

# LABOR DRAFT=SERFDOM!

## You Don't Talk of These Things, Mr. Dalrymple!

The big rubber manufacturers have all the angles figured out. They expect to get back their big rubber plantations in the Far East when this war is over; but, alluring as that prospect is, they need something more to uplift their patriotic morale. Not satisfied with the "normal" profit increases of a few hundred per cent, they insisted on an additional bonus to cover the alleged cost of changing from production with natural rubber to synthetic rubber.

Wartime profiteering by big business has become such a humdrum, ordinary affair that it might hardly be worth mentioning this latest scandal. But in this case there is a close connection between these new revelations and the fines levied by Dalrymple against 1,000 union members of the U. S. Rubber Co. in Detroit.

The original walkout by the tire-builders at U. S. Rubber occurred over a dispute with the company in connection with changing to and from synthetic rubber production. The company insisted on cutting corners on wages and put through an arbitrary cut in piecework rates that meant a cut in pay to all the men involved. The tire-builders, supported by most of the other production workers, walked out and were fined by Dalrymple, international president of the United Rubber Workers Union.

What was not known at that time, however, is the fact that the rubber companies had been generously rewarded by the government for all costs involved in synthetic production and in fact were reaping enormous extra profits where they claimed to be incurring extra costs. The full facts on this dirty deal have been exposed by Drew Pearson in the column.

Last April, according to Pearson the tire manufacturers demanded an increase in prices on the ground that synthetic production MIGHT lead to increased costs of production. The OPA obligingly granted this increase.

With this assistance, the profits of the companies for the first six months of last year, before taxes, were 784 per cent above their average profits for the years 1936-39.

In October, the OPA began to investigate this scandal and found no justification for the higher prices. However, when it prepared to cut prices last month, James Byrnes, War Mobilization Director, stepped in and ordered a four-month extension of the higher prices. It was necessary, he said, to aid in the effective prosecution of the war!

The following chart shows how the four biggest rubber companies, Goodrich, Goodyear, U. S. Rubber and Firestone fared under this super-considerate treatment.

Year	Total Profits	Pct. Above 1936-39 Av.
1943 (full year)	\$288,105,941	799
1944 (first six months)	149,262,970	828

Try this one on the War Labor Board. Tell them that you think that the cost of living MIGHT continue to rise and you, therefore, want an 800 per cent increase in wages above your 1936-39 average.

## The Profiteer's Dream



"Labor's friend," President Roosevelt, in calling for a National Service Act, has proposed the most coercive measure on the home front ever demanded by any Chief Executive in the history of the country.

Enactment of what Roosevelt wants would change the present dimout of labor's rights, represented by wage freezing, job freezing and the no-strike pledge, to a blackout.

It would mean that the government could tap every worker on the shoulder and say: "You stay here on this job," or "We want you to take this job, or else."

Forced labor for the private profit of employers, or else—  
Or else induction into the Army or into labor battalions indistinguishable from Hitler's!

Roosevelt, who has always been for such legislation, is trying to get it made into law under the excuse of a critical manpower shortage and the short-lived German counter-offensive in Belgium, while the people are preoccupied with the fate of their loved ones who are risking death.

But his proposal is so absurd and fraudulent it has let loose an avalanche of opposition. This opposition includes the whole of labor, Roosevelt-loving leaders of the AFL and CIO and the entire rank and file. It includes congressional representatives and the National Association of Manufacturers. This latter group, it may be noted, opposes National Service simply because they do not feel that there is anything critical in the situation at the present time which they cannot handle without government intervention and because their profiteering ends are being achieved without such an act.

But some people are for it, besides the President. Who are they? The tops of the Army and Navy, who are accustomed to think in terms of coercion, militarism and totalitarianism. The Southern senators and reactionaries in Congress, who see in such legislation the means of destroying the labor movement. The Communist Party (Political Association), a totalitarian movement allied with totalitarian Russia, would castrate the labor movement to assure complete harmony with Stalin's war aims.

And Roosevelt's proposal has opened a veritable Pandora's box of National Service bills in Congress.



PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT

The one most closely embodying his ideas is the May-Bailey bill. But even Congressman May, author of the President's bill, confronted with the tumultuous opposition, was put in the ludicrous position of having to say: "I'm not very strong on national service legislation myself. Really!"

It doesn't look like Roosevelt is going to get away with it. And he shouldn't.

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## "Bill of Rights" Aims to Split Vets and Labor

When the President placed his signature on the Service-man's Readjustment Act of 1944 (Public Law 346 of the 78th Congress) he legally accorded the right of veterans returned from the armed services to become strike-breakers or scabs.

The "GI Bill of Rights" gives, among it other meager provisions, "readjustment allowances" or unemployment compensation to veterans. The eligible veteran will receive eight weeks of allowances for each of his first three months of active service; four weeks of allowances for each month, or major fraction thereof, beyond the first three. The limit is fifty-two weeks.

The benefits average up to \$23 a week, but not over. Recall the last ten-year depression. You will see that on the basis of today's inflated price, to describe \$23 a week for a maximum of fifty-two weeks—providing the veteran has been in service long enough—as "meager," is being restrained.

But there is a "sleeper" in the legislation. If a veteran leaves suitable work voluntarily without good cause, is suspended or discharged for misconduct, participates in a labor dispute resulting in a work stoppage—he is disqualified from receiving the readjustment allowance!

The "GI Bill of Rights" makes no distinction even between a "legal" or an "illegal" dispute!

Our congressmen and our President, those spokesmen of "national unity," have created a weapon to divide the veterans and organized labor. Organized labor's reply must be: a struggle for full employment, high wages and good working conditions so that a veteran-worker may not be pitted against his fellow worker.

## Memorial Meeting Held for Carlo Tresca

NEW YORK—A memorial meeting for Carlo Tresca, Italian anti-fascist editor of Il Martello, who was the victim of political assassins two years ago in a New York dimout, took place at Webster Hall on January 11. A simultaneous meeting was held in the town of his birth, Sulmona, Italy, where the anti-fascist author, Ignazio Silone, was to speak. A principal street in this town was to be named after Tresca and a bronze head, executed by Minna Harkavy and unveiled at the New York meeting, is being sent there by Tresca's friends. The meeting, in the words of its chairman, Bertram Wolfe, was a "protest against assassination as a method of settling political discussion." A message from Norman Thomas scored the cynicism and laxness of the New York police department in failing to track down the assassins of Tresca. Thomas cited the fact that there had been no police circular posted on the \$5,000 reward offered by a responsible committee for evidence leading to the murderer or murderers and, coincidentally, the sympathy with fascism on the part of one of District Attorney Hogan's men assigned to the case. Harry Kelly, old libertarian, spoke

of the negligence of Mayor La Guardia in the case. He contrasted the Mayor's neglect of the Tresca murder with the fact that La Guardia finds time to speak publicly in praise of a member of the Liberty League as a model for young boys. Kelly, as all other speakers, is convinced that the murder was committed, not for personal motives—for Tresca had no

personal enemies—but for political motives. Tresca had political enemies in the totalitarian camps of both fascism and Stalinism. He made enemies in the totalitarian camps of both fascism and Stalinism. He made enemies of fascists due to his vigorous fight to rid the streets of New York of blackshirts, his aid to Italian anti-fascist refugees. In his struggles

against the Stalinists, he especially incurred the enmity of the CPers in his attempts to expose the case of Juliet Stuart Poyntz, an agent of the Russian secret police, the GPU, who broke with them and disappeared. Max Delson, attorney for the Workers Defense League, reiterated the theory of political motivation for the Tresca murder. Vincent Lionetti, lib-

ertarian who was once associated with Tresca on Il Martello, spoke in Italian. Attorney Morris Ernst contrasted the widespread treatment of the tawdry Charlie Chaplin case by radio, press and newsreel, and their silence on the murder of the anti-fascist, Tresca.

Roger Baldwin, director of the American Civil Liberties Union, reminisced on the early organizing days of the IWW when Carlo was in the forefront of militant struggles on the Mesabi Range, in Paterson, N. J., etc.

Movies were shown of the Independence Day, 1926, anti-fascist demonstration of Italians in New York City, with shots of Tresca on the speakers' stand.

Angelica Balabanoff also spoke and present on the speakers' platform were two widows of victims of unsolved political crimes. One was Mrs. Walter Liggett, whose publisher-husband was murdered by Twin Cities gangsters as a result of her husband's crusade against the underworld. The other was the widow of one of the Roselli brothers, Italian anti-fascists murdered by Italian fascists and French Cagoulards (fascists).

(Continued on page 2)

## Minneapolis Defendants to Speak in N. Y.

A mass meeting to greet the twelve prisoners in the Minneapolis Labor Case who will be released from Sandstone Penitentiary on January 24, will be held on Friday, February 2, at 8:15 p.m. at the Hotel Diplomat, 108 West 43rd Street, New York.

The principal speakers, representing the eighteen prisoners, are James P. Cannon, Albert Goldman, Farrell Dobbs and Felix Morrow. Other labor and liberal speakers include Henry Fruchter, United Retail, Wholesale & Department Store Employees, CIO; Benjamin F. McLaurin, Brotherhood of Sleeping Car

Porters, AFL; Benjamin A. Gebiner, assistant general secretary, Workmen's Circle; Osmond K. Fraenkel, counsel, American Civil Liberties Union; James T. Farrell, noted novelist, George Novack, secretary of the CRD Committee, is chairman.

The four released defendants were among the eighteen CIO and Socialist Workers-Party leaders who were convicted under the anti-labor Smith "Gag" Act, which has been denounced by labor and liberal spokesmen as undemocratic and a violation of the constitutional rights of the American people.

On October 6th of last year application for pardon of the eighteen labor prisoners was denied by the U. S. Pardon Attorney although the petition was supported by labor and progressive organizations representing over 4,000,000 workers.

The Minneapolis Labor Case has been correctly characterized as the most important involving civil liberties and labor's rights in World War II. The four released prisoners will discuss the meaning of their prosecution for the labor movement and for the cause of civil liberties in the United States.

## Suppress OPA Report on Steel Profits

By W. WHITE  
When the leaders of the great powers get together, they keep their real decisions secret. Everybody now knows why the Teheran decisions were concealed. It was because they provided for a division of the booty to be gained by robbing "backward" weaker nations.  
The booty (raw materials, markets, profitable investments, etc.) goes, of course, to the capitalists of the big powers and, in the case of Russia, to the Soviet bureaucrats.  
Inside each nation, too, there are similar "business secrets," by which the capitalists cover up their rob-

bery of the workers and other poor people.  
In the steel wage case, there was endless publicity about the "outrageous" demands of the workers.  
But hardly a word about the demand of the steel companies, made over a year ago, for price increases, whether or not any wage rises were granted.  
Now (in the New York Times, December 11) we are told that the OPA was willing last March to approve "some price adjustments." Things like that, you see, don't take so long to decide as wage increases.  
However, the companies "withdrew

their demand in view of the wage hearings." It would have created an unfortunate impression on the workers, no doubt, with profits already 300 per cent over pre-war levels.  
All of this went on in the dark of the night. There were, to be sure, a few little leaks.  
Next, the OPA's Research Division proceeded to a study of the whole steel industry, not just of the few products on which the companies were claiming "losses."  
The report (two inches thick, says Iron Age magazine of the steel industry) showed that the companies were rolling in profits. It was sup-

posed to be secret, but somehow the news got out, and Phil Murray tried to use it.  
Chairman Davis of the War Labor Board, ruled that, so far as the WLB was concerned, there was no such report. Chester Bowles, head of the OPA, on the demand of the steel magnates, disowned the report.  
All the capitalists were very indignant that such a secret had leaked out. They considered it immoral for a union to get hold of such information.  
The latest secret report is now apparently buried for good. The OPA has sent the earlier secret report, the

one recommending price increases on some products, to Economic Stabilizer Vinson. Without asking any unnecessary questions, he approved it.  
The companies will soon get their higher prices and bigger profits.  
How are we going to stop this secrecy? Certainly not by depending on Roosevelt or any other capitalist politicians.  
An independent political party of the working class, on its road to winning control of the government, will demand:  
1. An end to all secret treaties.  
2. Workers' committees in every plant to lay bare business "secrets."



# MASS ACTION

By David Coolidge Nat'l Labor Sec'y, Workers Party

The recent exchange of diplomatic notes between Green and Murray on the unity situation in the labor movement only serves to illustrate how far apart the AFL and the CIO are on this question of merging the two big organizations.

Green says he and the AFL want complete organic unity. Murray is for a "broad" united front on important issues. The upshot of the whole matter is that nothing happens and the two organizations go their own separate way as they have gone for the past eight years.

Aside from the fact that there are real and important differences between the CIO and AFL, it is also a fact that one of the factors operating against merger is the bureaucratic interests of the top leadership of the two organizations. These two big labor bureaucracies, with their salaries, power and prestige, are not anxious to risk even partial liquidation or loss of prestige.

To this must be added the fear in the CIO that merger between the two organizations might provide the opportunity for the return of John L. Lewis to a dominant position.

Since there is reason to believe that the UMWA will be back in the AFL, a merger between the AFL and the CIO would find Lewis right in the middle of the unified organization. With his ability and aggressiveness it would be extremely difficult to keep Lewis out of the leadership. In fact, in case of the retirement of Bill Green the miners' president would probably, in time, become the president of the united organization.

In an editorial, the UMWA District 50 News states that both the AFL and the CIO are subservient to "the Roosevelt Administration on all matters of major policy." This, of course, is true and would remain true throughout the war unless there

was some real opposition from the membership which is not in sight at present.

The News' editorial goes on to say that "it is this domination of the two labor groups by political forces outside of labor that has kept them divided." While this is partly responsible for the continuation of the split, there are other reasons. We have already mentioned one above. But there is also the continued contradiction between the craft union



WILLIAM GREEN

set-up of the AFL and the needs of the overwhelming mass of workers. These differences certainly have not been reconciled, as is clear not only from the orientation of the two organizations, but also from the many disputes which have already taken place and still take place today.

The labor movement will continue to be "dominated by political forces outside of labor" so long as labor has no working class political program and organization of its own.

The trade union movement will not and cannot be neutral in the matter of politics. Politics will not and cannot be kept out of the unions. The unions will go for capitalist politics or for labor politics. Furthermore, labor politics does not consist in the simple exercise of merely opposing the "Roosevelt Administration," as was the case with the UMWA when Lewis, the Journal and the News supported Dewey in the last election.

The labor movement will be dominated by political forces outside the labor movement until labor actually organizes politically on an independent basis and program inside and through the labor movement.



PHILIP MURRAY

## NEWS AND VIEWS FROM THE LABOR FRONT

# A Progressive Program for the Longshoremens

LOS ANGELES—Harry Bridges and his supporters are leading the unions into a blind alley. First they came out on the piece-rate pay incentive plan, then the labor draft, they scabbed on the Chicago Montgomery Ward workers and in San Pedro they even tried to get the union to join the local Chamber of Commerce. Now Bridges and the Stalinists have written a permanent "no-strike" pledge to the only logical outcome to this policy will be compulsory arbitration. This is the blind alley that the union is being led into.

At the same time the ship owners are getting ready for another attempt to smash the union. This is obvious to any longshoreman who sees what is going on up and down the coast. The ship owners are constantly chiseling on conditions. Many of the old timers, disgusted with Bridges' policy, are being bought out by bosses jobs. And it is no accident that a situation has been created in San Francisco, where there are now three thousand dock seamen government workers doing longshore work for less pay. Also the San Francisco local has nearly doubled its size until now it has over 6,000 members. The shipowners have the necessary surplus of workers to scab and break the union when San Francisco goes back to peacetime shipping. The same is true of other ports to a lesser extent.

Bridges, although he talks like a Chamber of Commerce man when he discusses peace-time prospects, must know that the union faces a fight for its life. He hopes to avert it by the permanent no-strike pledge and undoubtedly would like to sell the ship owners and the union on compulsory arbitration. But the ship owners have never understood the language of bootlickers. Only a strong union with fighting leadership, based on a sound program in unity with the rest of maritime workers, will make the ship owners talk turkey.

This is the situation that confronts the longshoremen. Far-sighted union members must see the need to form a progressive program; then proceed to throw Bridges and his reactionary Communist machine out of office. But only on the basis of a correct program will the union be in a position to meet the attack of the shipowners.

### PROPOSED PROGRAM

1. BUILD A NEW MARITIME FEDERATION. Only in unity with the rest of the maritime workers can the shipowners be licked. Bridges by his constant feuding with the Sailors Union of the Pacific has isolated the longshoremen from the sea-

men on the West Coast. This only plays into the hands of the shipowners. It was the old Maritime Federation which presented a solid front of longshorement and seamen that won the '34 and '36 strikes. The longshoremen for their own preservation should take the lead in setting up a New Maritime Federation composed of Longshoremen, Seamen, Firemen, Cooks and Stewards, Teamsters, and the other unions on the waterfront. The slogan on the waterfront should again be "An injury to one is an injury to all."

2. RESCIND THE NO-STRIKE PLEDGE. A Union going into negotiations and pledging not to strike is like a fighter going into a fight with his hands tied behind his back. Let the shipowners know the union is not afraid to put the heat on if necessary. Where do you think longshoremen would be if they had pledged not to strike in 1934. The shipowners are the same men today as they were in '34 and '36 and only understand the same language. Right now they are busy taking advantage of the union's No-Strike pledge by constant chiseling on conditions. Direct action, job action on the job is the only way to stop this chiseling. Only the refusal of the men in San Pedro to work cement unless they got the customary penalty pay got results. Many of the conditions on the waterfront were won with job action and will only be maintained by job action.

3. GET OFF THE MARITIME INDUSTRY BOARD. The MIB was set up as part of the "Bridges Plan" to speed production. It has turned out to be just another agency for the shipowners. Time after time the government representatives have gone down the line with the shipowners.

### MORE FIGHTING POINTS

4. PROTECT THE HIRING HALL. All men doing longshore work on the waterfront should be dispatched through the union hiring hall. Allowing extra men to be dispatched through the United States Employment Office is setting up a potential Fink Hall. The hiring hall is the key to union security. The Maritime Industry Board should not be allowed to make dispatching rules to the detriment of the men. Get rid of the special MIB administrator over the hiring hall.

5. ORGANIZE THE UNORGANIZED ON A MILITANT PROGRAM. For the last couple of years Bridges has been so busy being a production expert that he has allowed the government to move in thousands of Dock Seamen in San Francisco. These are unorganized workers doing longshore work for less pay. In other

ports many jobs have been taken over by the Civil Service. Now Bridges is worried about organizing them. True—but workers are going to be attracted to a union that is going ahead, not one that tail-ends the rest of the CIO, and follows the phony-reactionary Communist program.

6. A REAL EDUCATIONAL PROGRAM. At the present many new members are being taken in without



COMPANY MAN

sponsors and do not know what a union is supposed to be. An educational program is needed. Make the new members attend one meeting a month where they will be told the why and wherefore of unionism and allowed to ask questions. San Pedro has started such a program but the present phony union line of the leadership is not conducive to a good union education.

7. NO RACIAL DISCRIMINATION—NO DISCRIMINATION AGAINST NEW MEMBERS. So long as a man can perform his work there should be no discrimination on account of race. The new contract has a provision in it against racial discrimination. Unfortunately there is still quite a bit of prejudice against colored workers on the waterfront. In order to have a strong union this problem must be solved. Discrimination only plays into the hands of the shipowners. Seniority rules where they exist should be applied fairly. New members should be given seniority over any member who has left the industry and attempts to come back. Of course this does not apply to men in the service.

8. LIMIT INTERNATIONAL OFFICIALS TO THREE YEARS IN OFFICE. Many locals have a rule that

union officials can only hold a pie-card job for two years in succession or for similar periods. San Pedro, San Francisco, Seattle, etc. Amend the International Constitution so that no union official can hold a paid international job for more than three years in succession. This would make it harder for a machine to control the union the way the Commies have. It would also insure a closer relationship between the rank and file and the officials.

9. MEET PEACE TIME LAYOFFS WITH A SHORTER WORKING DAY. At present the union is asking for a 36-hour guaranteed wage week. Soon the day will come when the union should demand a four-hour day at two dollars an hour and ask for a twenty-hour guaranteed wage week. That is the correct way to take care of the membership—shorter hours at more pay—spread the work.

10. FOR AN INDEPENDENT LABOR PARTY. The main concern of a union is wages and conditions. In the past these have been won mainly by

economic action—strike,—job action,—boycott and there is no reason to expect any changes as long as the profit system exists. Any such talk as "picket lines are a thing of the past" is just pure baloney. The communist line that political action has superseded economic action is false and reactionary. But a trade union definitely has its limitations. It cannot solve the problem of unemployment, for example. It cannot hope to solve the problems and the contradictions that arise out of the chaos of the profit system.

Political action—the setting up of a workers' government—is the only solution. Then unemployment, old-age pensions, housing, discrimination, can really be solved.

The first step in that direction is the setting up of a Labor Party. No support to either of the capitalist parties—Republican or Democratic. The PAC should become the Political Action Committee for an Independent Labor Party.

## A Big Business Post War Plan

Every union and every worker knows that big business is planning for great retrenchments after the war and that all the talk about 60,000,000 jobs and the maintenance of wage levels is not really to be taken seriously. Business Week, a magazine of Wall Street, has bigger profits in mind when it proposes the widespread use of incentive pay plans in the postwar period. Here is what it says:

"Incentive-pay plans can be used as a means of cutting costs after V-E Day. Pay a little more to get substantially more production... Unions will call this speed-up (or worse). Yet government, management, and labor are committed to the principle of full employment."

Pay a little more to get substantially more production! There is nothing new in this scheme. That's what big business has done all the time. Labor's share in rising productivity has always been small, especially during the present war when its wages have been frozen while production and profits have sky-rocketed.

### INCENTIVE PAY—NEW STYLE SPEED-UP

Since everybody agrees on full employment—in words, if not in deeds—then we can use this desire, says big business, to put over a drive for speed-ups, which is what the incentive pay scheme is. You get more work out of the employee, cut his rates, jump up production, increase profits and give the worker a little teaser in the form of a few cents raise in wages. This is exactly the kind of thing that the organized labor movement has been fighting ever since it was formed.

But in recent years, the great victories over the speed-up, piece-work system were weakened when industry, the government and some unions (primarily those controlled by the Communists) put over incentive pay schemes in some factories.

In each case, the workers got the worst of it. There were many instances of strikes to get rid of the old speed-up, piece-work system now called incentive pay.

The labor movement must be on guard, for "free enterprise" in the language of the American capitalists means the right to exploit labor without any interference, to lengthen hours, intensify exploitation and to actually reduce wages!

## How U. S. Rubber Profiteers Operate

A tiny, obscure item buried away in the financial section of the New York Times of December 30 gives us a faint glimpse into the inner financial manipulations of the U. S. Rubber Co.

There were no screaming headlines, no startling cartoons, no juicy details, no indignant editorials. Only a few diplomatic hints. Naturally! The headlines, cartoons and editorials are reserved for special occasions when it is necessary to denounce some group of workers who refuse to be swindled in silence by the big corporations.

But if we are able to read between the lines, the meager information provided by the Times is worth recording.

In February, 1943, a group of stockholders of the U. S. Rubber Co. Co. brought suit against the company on three grounds:

1. That a stock purchase option granted to Francis B. Davis, Jr., president of the company, amounted in fact to a gift of \$150,000.

2. That an improper dividend of \$2,604,364 was paid out by the company in 1939.

3. That excessive bonus payments were made to the officers and directors of the company amounting to \$2,910,000 from 1935-39.

The suit was dismissed in the courts. In December, a compromise was reached after a new suit was filed by a group of stockholders who claimed that the company was dominated by the E. I. du Pont de Nemours Co. and that improper compensation had been made to certain officers of the company.

What the compromise is and what the full facts are, we do not know, but it is reported that as a result of the compromise the magnificent sum of \$50,000 per year will be kept in the treasury of the company instead of being paid out to someone for something.

Here is something on which Dalrymple can employ his talents. Instead of investigating local unions and firing their members, how about a little investigation into the full facts and figures of rubber company profits, dividends and salaries?

## Local 16 Rank & File Wins Large Vote

In a closely contested election in Local 16 of the IUMSWA, CIO, at the Federal Shipbuilding Corp., Kearny, N. J., the administration Unity slate won against the Rank and File slate by a very narrow margin. The Unity slate was backed by the Communist Party while the Rank and File slate was composed of the leading militant progressives in the two yards.

Over 12,000 votes were cast out of a total of 25,000 workers in the two yards. For top officers the vote was as follows: President—Foy (incumbent, Unity), 5,831; Murray (Rank and File), 5,361. Vice-president—Clarín, 5,789; Trachtenberg, 5,033. Executive secretary (unopposed)—O'Connor, Treasurer—Tully, 5,725; McQuillan, 5,022. Recording secretary—Flynn, 5,814; Wade, 4,973. The Unity slate also received a majority for trustee and grievance committee.

### STRUGGLE OVER PROGRAM

Both groups conducted their campaigns on the basis of programs and this no doubt was in large measure responsible for the relatively large vote brought out. The Stalinist Unity slate in its program called for "winning the war as quickly as possible," "making a living wage," "supporting our Commander-in-Chief" and full support to the no-strike pledge.

The Rank and File progressives ran on a slate calling for: complete internal democracy in the local, revocation of the no-strike pledge, smashing the Little Steel formula, a twenty-three per cent wage increase and for turning the PAC into a Labor Party.

The Rank and File progressives put out two editions of a tabloid election paper, The Rank and Filer, which was enthusiastically received by workers in the two yards.

The Rank and File progressives conducted a very spirited campaign and succeeded in bringing the ideas of progressive and militant trade unionism to the many thousands of workers in these two yards of Federal Shipbuilding Corp., which is a subsidiary of U. S. Steel Corp. The progressives and militants were better organized than ever before and this, along with the importance and timeliness of the fighting program

which they presented, unquestionably accounted for the large vote given them. It must be remembered also that the militant workers who organized and supported the Rank and File slate and program were handicapped by having to go against an entrenched Stalinist-supported administration and with no support from the international leadership.

It should hearten shipyard workers in other yards and locals to know that the workers at Kearny Local 16 have waged such an aggressive struggle for democratic, progressive and militant unionism. The Rank and File group of Local 16 can go forward now with renewed courage and understanding. They have a program which has won the support of over 5,000 workers in the local. These workers will want to know what to do next. How can they continue to vote for the program which they voted for in the elections? What can these 5,000 rank and file militants do to the end that their program become the program of Local 16? These are some of the questions which the Rank and File group has raised in its excellent program for the elections.

## So There's a Labor Shortage? Here Are a Few Facts, FDR

President Roosevelt and all his hired hands, especially "Assistant President" Byrnes, have been shouting so loud about manpower shortages that the ever-obliging newspapers have seen fit to neglect sensational stories about wasted manpower.

For example, the Senate Mead Committee (formerly the Truman Committee) recently reported how the armed forces draft and then waste skilled technicians and workers.

A sample of 112 such cases showed only fifteen where workers were fully used.

Here are some examples of waste: A metallurgical chemist, earning \$3,000 a year in a brass and copper plant, was assigned to a medical department AS A BUGLER.

A jig-builder, earning \$66 a week in an aircraft plant, was "converted" into a weather observer.

An edger and flash man, earning \$82 in a tool-and-die shop, became a "yard bird," that is, he had to do guard duty, wash windows and pick up scraps of paper.

The foreman of a machine shop repair department, earning \$90 in a large aircraft plant, was "promoted"

to the position of brig guard in the Navy.

And so on.

The committee concluded:

"By and large, there is no question that to a substantial degree the precipitous drafting of men from industry, in many cases some time before they were actually needed in the armed forces, has created temporary surpluses in the armed forces and corresponding shortages in war production."

## Tresca Meet --

(Continued from page 1)

A resolution was passed by the meeting urging all persons who have any information which might help solve the Tresca crime to present it to the sponsors of the meeting, and calling upon Hogan to relieve Assistant District Attorney Lipski of all court work so that he might devote himself to the Tresca case, and that he re-examine all clues on the Tresca case and all persons who have knowledge of the political enemies in Carlo Tresca's life.

## Labor Action Does It Again

A report from Detroit says: "A pile of L.A.'s was left in a shop by a friend. A committee-man from another department noticed them, looked through a copy and without the knowledge of our friend sold them to guys in his department (about thirty to forty). He came back with the money and the report that the men were enthusiastic about the paper and would it be possible for them to subscribe? Naturally, it was made possible. They will all be year subs." Bravo, Detroit

**CHICAGO READERS, HEAR—**

**David Coolidge**  
Nat'l Labor Secretary, Workers Party

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**"A NEW PROGRAM FOR THE TRADE UNION MOVEMENT"**

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Chapel Hall Sunday, January 28  
Garrick Bldg. Auspices:  
64 West Randolph Labor Action

**Los Angeles Harbor Area Events**

**Labor Action Forum**

**ROOSEVELT SINCE THE ELECTIONS**

Speaker: PAUL TEMPLE

FRIDAY, JANUARY 26, 8:00 P. M.

**Barn Dance (Blue Jeans and Gingham)**

SATURDAY, JANUARY 27, 8:00 P. M.

PLACE: 1039 MEYLER STREET, SAN FRANCISCO

**Chicago Readers Attention:**

**WELCOMING MASS MEETING, TO BE ADDRESSED BY**

**ALBERT GOLDMAN**  
National Chairman, Socialist Workers Party

Attorney for and one of the eighteen Minneapolis Labor Prisoners, just released after serving a sixteen-month sentence at Sandstone Federal Penitentiary under the anti-Labor Smith "Gag" Act.

**Thursday, January 25, 8:00 P. M.**

at  
**ASHLAND AUDITORIUM, Ashland and Van Buren**  
Chicago, Ill. — Admission: 25 Cents

**Auspices: Civil Rights Defense Committee**



# Editorials

## Labor Draft Means Serfdom!--

(Continued from page 1)

1—There's no shortage of materials. On the contrary, American labor has produced in abundance everything asked. All production records have been broken. The only source of trouble on the production front is that created by the planners in the War and Navy Departments, who are either way behind in technical advances or repeatedly change their plans and designs. This has been proved and admitted by Assistant Secretary of War Patterson.

2—There's no shortage of men. General Electric has laid off 8,000 workers in Schenectady. Philip Murray cited how Ford River Rouge dropped from 84,648 in July, 1943, to 60,308 in December, 1944.

The AFL director of organization,

### Some of the Forces Behind National Service

Since it is obvious that national service is not requested for the reasons given, why is it proposed?

A look at its principal proponents tells the reason why. The Army and Navy heads, the reactionary congressmen are vigorously behind it. They are the most consistent and loud-mouthed labor-haters. They are behind any measure which will curtail labor's freedom of movement and its strength and give to the authorities the power to control all of civilian life.

That is precisely what national service is designed for. It will force men to stay on a low-paying job or move from a better to a worse paid job—not quite at the point of a gun, but on the penalty of army induction, a labor battalion, a fine or imprisonment.

Even the labor leaders, despite their recent campaigning for Roosevelt, recognize this. They'd soon be out of jobs if such legislation were enacted, for it would break the back of organized labor.

As we pointed out last week: American labor is in grave danger! The bitter determination of Roosevelt, elected with labor support, to force through Congress, despite congressional, labor and business opposition to his measure, the passage of an act creating national service, is the strongest proof that it is necessary to defeat it.

Once passed, it will be doubly difficult to get it wiped off the books: It will be extended into the

Frank Fenton, has exposed the "shortage." "Look at these lists," he said, thumbing through the official lists. "Here's a plant with 10,000 workers which needs 48 more. Is that a manpower problem? Here's another with 500, which needs six more workers. Is that a manpower crisis? The fact is, there is no manpower scarcity."

What about the notorious labor-hoarding in plants with war contracts? This was done even in collusion with the War Manpower Commission. The companies profited at government (or ultimately, at the worker's expense) and the workers were kept at lower wages without work when they wanted to go elsewhere. There is, however, no talk of stringent measures against the bungling of management, which then, now and always has its eye on the main chance, profits.

post-war period. There have been enough experiences with Roosevelt to show, his protests to the contrary notwithstanding, that he has no intention of merely putting this measure on the books for pressure's sake, or for a brief period. A strong totalitarian streak runs through the President.

It is also necessary to recall that when he first proposed a National Service Act he included so-called safeguards for labor to win its support. Among those safeguards were proposals for curbing profits, guaranteeing wages, hitching wages to the rise in the cost of living and keeping down prices, etc., etc. Since none of these promises was kept, except the wage freeze on labor, Roosevelt thought it the better part of discretion to say nothing about these things now.

He is for national service, pure and simple, with no ands, ifs or buts. His whole approach to this is in keeping with its totalitarian aims. He says to Congress: the talking stage is over; you have only one job—pass the act!

He must be answered in the same direct way: No! You cannot enslave the American working class. We will not permit you to force American labor to become the instruments of exploitation by low-paying profiteering vultures who would be the chief recipients of a National Service Act. We will not permit you to lay the groundwork for the destruction of the labor movement.

# Correspondence

Dear Editor:

I am getting your paper. Find inclosed some reading matter according to my way of thinking.

I am unable to see any difference in "Pure Socialism" and "Pure Communism" and the pure brand is the only brand I care for. I can't see how any socialist or communist could differ on fundamental principles. In either instance it would be a workers' government administered in the interest of workers. I am for either one or both if you prefer.

Right now organized labor has the situation in hand, if they don't split up. William Green, John L. Lewis, Sidney Hillman, Philip Murray and other influential leaders should get together and stay together, and pilot this post-war world. Organized labor has all the power and influence needed for that purpose. If it's left to capitalism, hell will be to play, and if they get labor down it will be labor's own fault. Well if labor hasn't got sense enough to lead, they will just have to fall in behind and good-bye unions. It will be a crime for any differences to come up that can't be ironed out—for together we win, divided we fall, and this time we will fall hard. This is to be the last kick of the dying capitalist, or it may survive. It's up to labor. I for one believe every leader in the movement will get together and stick. The responsibility is great.

It might behoove us to become less interested in other countries and think more of what is the best program for this country, devise it, blueprint it and stick to it until it's accomplished. IT'S ALL UP TO LABOR. Organized labor is the only constructive force in America. Capitalism is destructive of every interest of the working man or general welfare.

J. R. W., Glen Allen, Mo.

Dear J. R. W.:

Life would be much more simple if socialists and communists agreed on fundamental principles. But it is unfortunately true that the Communist Party has abandoned socialist principles. Only a few facts are necessary to prove that.

The Communist Party supported Roosevelt in the election. It opposed us of the Workers Party and all workers who wanted to build a Labor Party with genuine labor candidates on a program for labor. Their leader in the United States, Earl Browder, has said that capitalism is workable, and the communists will support it.

At the present time they are conducting a vigorous campaign in their paper, the Daily Worker, against rescinding the no-strike pledge in the referendum vote now taking place in the United Auto Workers Union. The strike, as you imply in another letter you sent us, is a necessary weapon for labor to be effective in its struggle for better conditions against the employers and complete emancipation.

Abroad, their members have participated in the neo-fascist cabinet of Badoglio in Italy, and in the British puppet government of Papandreu in Greece (until the movement of liberation on the part of the Greek and Italian masses forced them out.)

(See the description by Reva Craine elsewhere in this issue on a factory boss in Russia. What a degrading departure from the communist principle of "workers' control of industry" which existed after the revolution in Russia! What an unmistakable departure from the democratic principles of communism!)

The explanation for this? The Stalin government in Russia took the reins away from the workers. This was possible because of the pov-

erty of Russia and the fact that ONE socialist state was surrounded by hostile capitalist states. True socialism is possible only on an international scale, with an international division of labor, an elimination of rival states competing and warring with each other. The inequality in Russia generated the policeman—the state—to keep a few in power and prosperity and to keep the impoverished masses down.

### OUR WORLD INTERESTS

This brings us to the point in your letter that "it might behoove us to become less interested in other countries and think more of what is the best program for this country."

We recognize that the primary task of the Workers Party lies in convincing the labor movement of the United States of its historical responsibility to form its own party and take over the leadership of the nation. But to achieve this goal, the workers of the United States must have an understanding of, and a solidarity with, their international class brothers.

They must have an understanding of why it is that the workers-in-uniform are facing each other on the world's battlefronts, while the capitalists of all sides are safe and secure and waxing fat on the profits of war.

Perhaps another country will create a workers' government before the workers of the United States do. Then we should expect the sympathy and solidarity of that government toward our own struggles. And if we should have a genuine labor government in the United States, do you think that the other capitalist nations would treat us any differently than they did Russia after 1917, when both German and Allied armies forgot their differences in order to send their soldiers against the new workers' state?

Just as the capitalists have an international solidarity against the workers, so must we have an international solidarity of labor. Our workers' government would call upon the workers of other countries to try to prevent their rulers from crushing us. We should tell them to form similar governments of their own in their own countries, to bring an end, all over the world, to the system that breeds poverty and war, and to usher in an era of peace and plenty for all.

We think that labor organization should be united, too. The rank and filers desire unity, but we cannot put our faith in Green, Lewis, Hillman, Murray and their like, who act as stumbling blocks, who have their posts, salaries and prestige at stake. These are the big-salaried men of labor, who have one face turned toward the bosses and the government and the other turned toward labor. Proof? In the interests of "national unity" for the war effort, i.e., national unity between the millionaire and the moneyless, Murray, Green and the others have sacrificed the independence of labor. They gave up the no-strike pledge. That leaves labor defenseless. The capitalists, on the other hand, have their industry, their farmland, their banks, their newspapers, their radio, their movies—and their war. But labor is paying the bill, enduring the speed-up, suffering the shortages, doing the fighting and dying.

As you say in your letter, "IT'S ALL UP TO LABOR." It is up to rank and file like yourself to push for unity over the heads of the labor bureaucrats and create the greatest, largest, best organized force for progress the world has even seen—thirteen million workers and their families! It is up to you, and other progressives like you, to join the ranks of the Workers Party to fight for a workers' world.

M. B.

## KERENSKY MAKES A LAWYER'S DEFENSE OF

# RUSSIA AND ATLANTIC CHARTER

By ALBERT GATES

There was a time when the Atlantic Charter was regarded by the Allied statesmen as a sacred document, presaging a new post-war world of freedom. But the disillusionment was not long in coming. In recent months, the true meaning of the Atlantic Charter has been made clear for everyone to see.

### RUSSIAN POWER POLITICS

One of the latest wrinkles in interpretation of the Charter comes from the Russians. As everyone now knows, Russia has chipped off a piece of Finland—the fruit of two wars. She seized Latvia, Lithuania and Estonia, held a plebiscite at the point of a gun in each country and "legally incorporated" them into the borders of Russia.

The big dispute over Poland is being resolved in Russia's favor with her sponsorship and recognition of the Lublin Committee. Upon the liberation of the country from Germany it will be turned into a Russian vassal state, i.e., those parts not already incorporated into Russia.

Parts of Romania have already been incorporated into Stalin's so-called socialist fatherland, where labor is enslaved. In all these instances, the will of the people means nothing—they are not consulted, nor are they permitted to decide their own national fate.

Naturally, the objections to these practices of power politics are many. They come not only from the people, but from unemployed governments in exile—which were retained by the Allies only as long as militarily advisable—and the ambassadorial representatives of these governments all over the world.

In the United States, there are a great number of these "unrecognized" ambassadors and representatives. One of these is P. Zadeikis, who continues to act as Washington Minister of a non-existent Lithuanian "government." In a letter to Alexander Kerensky, Zadeikis takes Kerensky to task for endorsing Stalin's incorporation of Lithuania into the borders of Russia. Who is Kerensky and what is this all about?

### KERENSKY'S PAST

Alexander Kerensky was head of the provincial government of Russia which was overthrown when the Russian workers and peasants, under the leadership of Lenin and Trotsky took power and set up the first workers' government in history. He was from that day on an enemy of the Rus-

sian Revolution. Of course, he was a supporter of the first revolution which overthrew the Czar and put him (Kerensky) into office at the head of a capitalist government. But the second revolution, which overthrew the power of the capitalists and landlords, he opposed most bitterly. Eventually Kerensky became an exile from Russia.

In the intervening years he remained a bitter opponent of Soviet Russia, when the workers really ruled. His opposition to Russia cooled considerably after Stalin and his bureaucracy seized power. The more nationalist Stalin became, the warmer did Kerensky feel toward Russia. And when Stalin cast off all his pretensions of being a socialist, when he destroyed the soviets, the bolshevik party, the communist international, the rights of the workers and peasants, and enslaved them, Kerensky began to find many things to admire in Stalin and Russia.

Thus, when Stalin was forced into the present war by his erstwhile partner, Hitler, Kerensky came to the defense of Mother Russia. And while he continues his holiday outbursts against Stalin's totalitarian regime, Kerensky hails the wartime achievements of the Kremlin oligarch and calls upon all Russians to give the latter complete support, especially on the destruction of the independent states of Latvia, Lithuania, Estonia, and the now threatened loss of independence to Poland.

### HOW IMPERIALISTS REASON

And when Mr. Zadeikis asks Kerensky how he squares this with the Atlantic Charter, and the whole cause for which the war is fought, what answer does he receive? A deceitful one. But one which is gaining favor in the diplomatic chambers of the Allied powers.

Kerensky supports Stalin since Hitler's attack because Stalin "had ceased all Communist Propaganda inside Russia at the time of the Hitler invasion and put forward only such slogans as were in harmony with the national sentiments of the people and the national interests of Russia." Secondly, the war with Hitler "was proclaimed a defensive war . . . and the war aims were given as defense of the motherland."

And "insofar as Russia continues to fight for these aims I continue to support them. These aims have nothing to do with the form of government existing in Russia." He doesn't go for the government, but "none of us, however, can alter the pattern of history as it has shaped itself at this moment."

But what about Lithuania? "As regards the 6,000,000 inhabitants of the Baltic states, their incorporation within the federation of Russian states likewise has nothing to do with the character of the existing political regime in Russia or with the political regime now installed in the Baltic states." Some mighty fancy jabbing and side-stepping, this answer.

But Kerensky is coming to the point, in his own round-about and ponderous way. Was this incorporation a violation of the Atlantic Charter, as Mr. Zadeikis insists? No, says Kerensky. Just listen!

"I contended it did not (violate the Charter) . . . One may consider the incorporation of the territories in question as unjust; one may try to persuade the Soviet government to revise its action, but no one can justly accuse the Soviet government of having violated the Atlantic Charter."

And why not? Well, you see, the Atlantic Charter, which bars such incorporations, was promulgated by President Roosevelt and Prime Minister Churchill on Aug. 14, 1941. The representatives of the Moscow Government signed the Charter on Jan. 1, 1942. The incorporation of the Baltic states (you see, the Czar once plundered these peoples, too—AG), Western White Russia and Bessarabia, and the incorporation of western Galicia and northern Bukovina into Russia took place during the period between the end of 1939 and the middle of 1940 (during the Hitler-Stalin Pact—AG) one year before the promulgation of the Atlantic Charter.

There it is. The Atlantic Charter is not a doctrine, after all. It is a date. If before January 1, 1942, Russia gobbled up a number of states in violation of the will of the peoples of these states why— it has nothing to do with the Atlantic Charter, because when Russia seized these territories it had not yet signed this noble document.

England and the United States, of course, will support Russia in this. After all there are India and Puerto Rico. There is, however, a name by which all this goes. It is not unknown, either. It is called "imperialism!"

Alexander Kerensky hasn't changed at all. He was a great Russian Nationalist and imperialist when he headed the Provisional Government in 1917. He remains that today. Stalin has changed. He was once a revolutionary socialist. Today he is a great Russian nationalist and imperialist.

## WORLD POLITICS

By REVA CRAINE

### A Man to Admire

A week after he wrote that he thought that "Churchill had made a case for the British attempt to maintain order in Greece provided the facts were as he stated them in his speech," Norman Thomas leader and standard-bearer of the Socialist Party, salutes Mr. Churchill on the courage which took him to Greece.



In The Call of January 1, Thomas writes:

"Sharply as I have criticized and shall continue to criticize Winston Churchill, I salute the courage, moral and physical, which took him at his age to Greece. At the least he accepts responsibility for situations which he has done so much to create as Roosevelt does not."

Everyone even vaguely connected with the labor movement should know that it was not

courage, but rather the necessity for British imperialism to try to palm off another puppet on the Greek people which compelled Winston Churchill even at his age (Thomas ought to know), to travel to Greece. The Greek workers, at any rate saluted Winston in somewhat different fashion from that of Norman Thomas.

Thomas goes on to enlighten us a little more about the Greek situation.

"And speaking of Greece, where does ELAS get all those arms? Did it capture them from the Germans? Or did the Germans leave them behind on purpose to aid the expected civil war? Or do Stalin and his Communists know something about it? Popular Greek support for ELAS may explain much. It cannot explain these arms."

In the first place, who, besides Mr. Thomas, is now asking for an explanation of those arms? It is not where the Greek people got their arms—the people always know how to get arms when they want them—but for what they used these arms, that is important. What does Thomas think of that?

Secondly, Thomas should refer to the man he so admires for an answer. Churchill himself acknowledged that the British helped arm the Greek people when they were struggling against German oppression. Now that the Greek people have shown themselves ready to struggle against even British oppression, along comes Norman Thomas, the man who stands for "socialism in our time," to raise questions about where the people got their arms, and to insinuate that they might even be working for the Germans.

When the Greek workers win their struggle, which is proving to be a hard and bloody one, despite the Stalinist leadership of ELAS, which has sold them down the river, they will, we are sure, take time out to give Norman Thomas a detailed accounting of the source of their arms. Right now, there are battles to be won.

### Social Justice in Portugal

The Lisbon radio broadcast the following announcement of government labor policy on November 8:

"The Under Secretary for Corporations has published a just and necessary order which aims at ending erroneous ideas and blatant abuses. It is laid down that, once minimum wages have been fixed under an order from the Under Secretary, employers affected are forbidden to pay any higher rates, except in special cases where maximum rates may also be fixed. Carrying out this principle should present no difficulties. It is a pity that even in these days there are still people who do not understand what is meant by social justice and the cooperation of capital and labor. There are none so blind as those who won't see."

It is obvious that carrying out the principle which forbids paying more than the minimum wage should present no difficulties to the employers especially if that is the law. Too bad, but the workers of Portugal somehow cannot see the justice in this principle. But they are not blind. On the contrary, their eyes have been opened to the extent of seeing that cooperation of capital and labor means that capital gets all and labor a fixed minimum wage which becomes the maximum.

### Belgian Coal

The coal crisis is so serious in Belgium that the Allied military authorities have begun an investigation. Major-Gen. Erskine charges that theft and dishonesty on the part of the coal industry are responsible for the situation. Coal allocated for civilian use is being pilfered from the yards and sidetracked into the black market. Military trains are held up and the coal stolen and sent to the black market.

General Erskine further charges that some of the trouble arises through the close links between the mines owned by certain industries and the industries controlled by the coal owners. They seem incapable, the General said, of forgetting their own interests and pooling coal as directed!

The mine owners and industrialists have never forgotten their own interests, not even under Nazi occupation. At that time the coal miners refused to work the mines. They went on a four-year strike. Thousands of them preferred unemployment and its attendant sufferings to any collaboration with the invaders. The Belgian mine owners, on the other hand, operated the mines with scab labor. They collaborated with the Nazis and assured the continuation of their profits.

After the "liberation" of Belgium, the coal miners, who had fought the Nazis in their own way, wanted their jobs back. The government of "liberation" replied by placing them on the relief rolls, and retaining those who had worked the mines under the Nazis on the job. The mine owners, collaborators of yesterday, naturally retained their ownership and continue their profiteering at the expense of the Belgian population. In the entire coal crisis, this little detail has been overlooked.

# One-Tenth of the Nation

By J. R. Johnson

Listen to these noble sentiments. The quotation is long, but Negroes and the labor movement should digest it and think about it.

"The cloak of racism surrounding the action of the Brotherhood in refusing membership to Negroes and in entering into and enforcing agreements discriminating against them, all under the guise of constitutional authority, still remains. No statutory interpretation can erase this ugly example of economic cruelty against colored citizens of the United States."

"Nothing can destroy the fact that the accident of birth has been used as the basis to abuse individual rights by an organization purporting to act in conformity with congressional mandate. Any attempt to interpret the act (Railway Labor Act) must take into account and must realize that the constitutionality of the statute in this respect depends upon the answer given."

"The Constitution voices its disapproval whenever economic discrimination is applied under authority of law against any race, creed or color. A sound democracy cannot allow such discrimination to go unchallenged."

"Racism is too virulent today to permit the slightest refusal, in the light of a Constitution that abhors it, to expose, and condemn it wherever it appears in the course of a statutory interpretation."

The author of these truly democratic pronouncements is Mr. Justice Frank Murphy. He is not only a Supreme Court judge. He is a notorious New Dealer and member of the Roosevelt clique. Why all this heat, all this passion, from the Jim Crow Roosevelt government?

This is not the first time. The Rail-

road brotherhoods have now been under fire from the New Deal for over a year because of their discrimination against Negro workers. First of all, the FEPC held widely publicized investigations and New Deal representatives of the government took the opportunity to throw all the blame for the discrimination upon labor. The discrimination has continued. And two Negro locomotive firemen, Tom Tunstall and Buster William Steel filed suit against the Brotherhoods in a case which has just been concluded.

They claimed that the agreement signed by the Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen & Engineers results in the sweeping of all Negro firemen from their jobs.

They claimed that the union contract covered all employees. But the union's local refused to admit Negroes to membership. Negro firemen without union membership are classified as "non-promotable." And this eventually meant loss of employment.

LABOR ACTION on previous occasions has pointed out the energetic satisfaction with which the New Deal places the blame for discriminations upon the labor movement. This is no accident. It is a matter of policy. The New Deal in particular knows very well its criminal record on Jim Crow in the armed forces, in the federal government, in its timid handling of Negroes in industry, in its capitulation to the Southern plantocracy, in every field of American life. It knows that the basic challenge to American capitalist handling of the Negro question can come only from the labor movement. It knows that within the Democratic Party, the CIO and particularly the PAC on the one side, and the Southern plantocracy on the other, are at daggers drawn on this question.

The Administration therefore is only too glad to plant the stigma of racial discrimination upon labor and

thereby escape some of the responsibility for its evasion of the Negro question.

The Railroad Brotherhoods are doing untold harm to themselves and to the cause of labor as a whole by their persistence in these practices, which fully deserve the condemnation expressed by Justice Murphy. But labor does not need this from Murphy. It must come from the labor movement itself. It is the business of labor to recognize its responsibility to the nation as a whole and to take upon itself the solution of problems which capitalism has proved itself unable to solve.

### EXAMPLE OF THE UAW

In this respect the UAW has once more given an example of the road which labor must follow toward the solution of the Negro question. President R. J. Thomas has recently announced the creation of a Fair Employment Practice Committee within the union to handle all problems of racial discrimination on the job. The chairman of the new organization is George F. Ades. That is the road.

The danger is that if the Railroad Brotherhoods continue their discriminatory practices, not only will they antagonize Negroes and progressive sections of labor, they may open the way for the government to interfere. Justice Murphy's opinion laid heavy stress on the fact that the railroads are "an organization purporting to act in conformity with congressional mandate." The Railway Brotherhoods function under the Railway Labor Act. Their own vital interests and the interests of labor should make them realize that they must set their own house in order.

### Subscribers' Note!

If the wrapper in which your paper is mailed is marked V9 No. 4, that means your subscription has expired.

Send in your renewal at once!



# Conscription Guarantees a New World War

By Mary Bell

The President's proposal for peacetime conscription, slipped into his annual message to Congress calling for a National Service Act, is a confession of failure and a further move toward totalitarianism.

What kind of confession of failure is it? We were told that we were one of the democratic, peace-loving nations, and that fascism, the brutal aggressor nations, started the war. We are supposed to be fighting to rid the world of fascism and war. If what we were told were true, the victory over fascism should mean the end of war and hence the end of the necessity for armaments, armies and soldiery. (Let us forget, for the moment, that the First World War was also a "war to end war.")

Sending our youth to army camps, drilling and training them in the arts of warfare, means to do what Hitler did with the German youth. Those who argue that peacetime conscription is the best preventive measure against war can be dismissed out of hand. Its existence in the European countries did not prevent war. Conscription merely meant that the war-makers were guaranteed trained armies to send to death on the battlefield. It meant that the Merchants of Death continued their profiteering in peacetime, too.

Listen to some of the arguments being used in behalf of peacetime conscription of young men.

## WADSWORTH AT IT AGAIN

Representative James W. Wadsworth, who headed the Senate Military Affairs Committee from 1919 to 1927, said as part of his argument that the United States "will undoubtedly take a leading part in the formation and maintenance of an international organization whose chief objective is the maintenance of world peace."

What a contradiction! The implication is that we are going to maintain peace, therefore we have to be strong militarily to guarantee that peace. If some other country, doubtless with its own trained reserves, also for the purpose of "maintaining peace," breaks the peace, then we mobilize our trained youth to fight to keep the peace. (Peace, in the minds of our capitalist rulers, is something for which you go to war every so often to maintain.)

"Our motives cannot be questioned," said Mr. Wadsworth, and added that there is "no brutal or aggressive spirit in the American people... we can lead the world along paths of decency but merely to be decent is not enough."

We agree that there is no brutal or aggressive spirit among the American people, save where it has been implanted by false propaganda of the capitalist overlords. But to omit for the present the brutality and aggressiveness of the United States in the Philippines and Cuba and Puerto Rico, let's look at its role in the present war. How was the peace-loving, unaggressive, democratic nature of our administration shown in Greece, where one of our allies, Britain, turned its guns on the Greek people who had fought against the fascists? Or, how could the Belgian people, demonstrating against their collaborationist leader, Pierlot, make a distinction between the "peace-loving" American shells that were fired on them and the "brutal, aggressive" shells of the Nazis?

## EQUALITY AND HEALTH

Another argument Mr. Wadsworth uses for compulsory military training is that "poor boy, rich boy would sweat and sympathize together, and that it would bolster the democratic spirit of this country." That is a laughable argument to a socialist. To propose a totalitarian measure to "bolster the democratic spirit!" The democratic spirit might be bolstered a bit more effectively if the system of inequality were eliminated which creates "poor boy, rich boy." If private monopoly, whose interests wars are fought to defend, were eliminated.

Wadsworth and others use the time-worn argument that military training would strengthen public health. "The cause for rejections would become known," he stated, "and medical authorities would be able to seek out the sore spots and correct them in early youth." Selective Service records revealed the appalling state of American health by the tremendous percentage of rejections for the Army. If a fraction of the money poured into war and military training were spent for public works to assure full employment and public medical service available to all, this physical condition of the American youth could be largely eliminated.

The key argument of Wadsworth is the "bitter experiences" of the first eighteen months of the present war, during which times our Allies were "holding down the trenches" while the U. S. "was in the throes of building an Army and Navy."

## PREPARING FOR ANOTHER SLAUGHTER

There it is! When the THIRD WORLD WAR comes, Mr. Wadsworth is saying, we shall not be unprepared, if we have an army of trained youth.

How bitterly, ironic! Our statesmen and public officials talk in the same breath about "international cooperation for world peace" and propose getting ready for the next world slaughter!

And the Third World War is just around the corner, unless the common people, the workers and farmers in their organizations, the vast majority of the population, assume their responsibility. Their responsibility is to take over the leadership of society in which they are the majority, through their own party, through their own government, to eliminate the root cause of war—private ownership and profiteering.

## A STUDY IN IMPERIALISM—

# Three News Items and Their Meaning

By SUSAN GREEN

Dr. Benes, head of the Czechoslovakian government in exile, has been stirred to action by a demand that Ruthenia—which is now Czechoslovakian territory—be annexed to Russian Ukraine. This "friendly" demand was conveyed to Benes by the leader of the Ruthenian Communist Party, acting unmistakably as stooge for his boss in the Kremlin.

Only a matter of weeks ago, Benes went to Moscow and a treaty of "friendship" was signed by the lion and the mouse, by which treaty the mouse was supposed to have been assured the continued possession of the bit of cheese known as Ruthenia. But what can Stalin do about it when the "people" of Ruthenia have by plebiscite—we know how free such plebiscites are—denoted their "overwhelming wish" to become the children of the Little Father in the Kremlin! Benes has sent a representative to Moscow to see if Stalin may be only fooling.

This is one of several news items of the past week shedding considerable light on the all-engrossing question of peace.

## TRIESTE AND FIUME AGAIN

Another news report concerns one of the many worries of the Italian government, such as it is. The wobbly government in Italy is afraid of what Marshal Tito may do about Trieste and Fiume, two important seaports opposite Venice on the Adriatic Sea. The port of Trieste became part of Italy by treaty in 1919. Fiume is a city to which the Italian imperialists of post-World War I vintage just helped themselves.

These three items of news, as stated above, cast an illuminating light on the prospects for permanent peace. Of course, there are such outstanding events as the slicing up of Poland, the slaughter of Greeks, the Allied domination of "liberated" Italy, all showing how the gangrene of capitalist imperialism and power politics afflicts the poor old body of Europe.

These three smaller items, however, are important because they show so clearly how far and how

Marshal Tito, taking example from his mentor in Moscow, doesn't see why Trieste and Fiume wouldn't look at least as well on Yugoslavia as they do on Italy.

## IMPERIALIST COVETOUSNESS

A third news story is by David Anderson writing from Brussels, Belgium, in the New York Times. Mr. Anderson tells us that there is something of a movement afoot to separate the French-speaking Walloons from Belgium. The main source of this propaganda is the newspaper, *Gaulois*, published in Brussels. This paper goes so far as to say that "a strip of Belgium from the Ardennes to Ostend should be lopped off and handed to France."

The Walloons number about 3,500,000. The Flemish Belgians number around 5,000,000. However, the Walloon minority has in no way indicated a desire to become annexed to France—not even by the mockery of a so-called plebiscite. Mr. Anderson says that the French government is not responsible for this annexationist campaign. Be that as it may, at any rate there ARE Frenchmen of power who are responsible.

These three items of news, as stated above, cast an illuminating light on the prospects for permanent peace. Of course, there are such outstanding events as the slicing up of Poland, the slaughter of Greeks, the Allied domination of "liberated" Italy, all showing how the gangrene of capitalist imperialism and power politics afflicts the poor old body of Europe.

These three smaller items, however, are important because they show so clearly how far and how

deep the gangrene has spread. There isn't a section of that unhappy continent free from the maneuverings of the powerful for more power. There isn't a small nation safe from the fangs of the big ones. There isn't a national minority anywhere not considered legitimate prey by the imperialist vultures.

Can any reasonable human being conceive a lasting peace founded on such a volcano—deadly competition among the larger powers and unbearable discontent among the powerless?

It is so obvious that this is a correct picture of post-war Europe that President Roosevelt no longer believes that the fiction of the Atlantic Charter can survive the ominous reality.

## TOTTERING ATLANTIC CHARTER

The first indication of Roosevelt's wavering came at his recent press conference when he sought so cynically to wipe his hands of the Atlantic Charter. The reporters present couldn't pin him down as to whether that much-discredited piece of diplomacy is or ain't anybody's baby.

But much stronger proof that Roosevelt is giving up the myth of permanent peace through the Atlantic Charter was contained in his message to Congress. In this message he said he would try "as hard as is humanly possible" to get peace on the basis of the Atlantic Charter. But in the next breath he gave warning that we must expect "disappointments."

David Lawrence, columnist for the New York Sun, was moved to admonish the President for his lack of faith. Lawrence wrote: "It might have been better if the President had

exhibited a deeper confidence in the correctness of the Atlantic Charter. The runner who enters a race with a feeling he is about to be beaten doesn't usually win the race."

## CAPITALISM AND PEACE

Mr. Lawrence doesn't have to worry about the President's "faith." The latter gentleman is a pretty slick article. He is not a runner bearing the banner of liberty and peace for all peoples. He is the wily captain of the ship of American capitalism and imperialism. Is it possible that he does not know that the Atlantic Charter is merely the idealistic phraseology forming the noble front behind which imperialist wars are fought?

Now that Churchill, Stalin and the others have frankly dropped the mask of nobility in the free-for-all of imperialist struggle for balance of power, Mr. Roosevelt senses that the false-face doesn't sit so well on him, either.

Such events as the grab by Stalin for Ruthenia, the reaching by Tito for Trieste and Fiume, the lust for part of Belgium by some French imperialists—on top of such outrages as the Polish mutilation, etc.—show that peace cannot come from the rotten body of capitalist Europe.

Peace can be built only on a new foundation. The imperialist rulers must go. In England, France, Germany, Russia, Italy, the people must become their own rulers by establishing workers' governments. Such people's governments will guarantee real self-determination to all nations and minorities. Such people's governments will unite in socialist brotherhood to attain liberty and plenty for all.

## "From Rags to Riches"

# The Russian Version of Horatio Alger

Nikolai Dmitrovich Puzirev was fifteen years old when the Russian working class overthrew the Czar, the capitalists and the landlords, to establish the first workers' republic. He was born of very poor parents and before the revolution he was a ragamuffin who earned a few kopeks running errands for the rich families of Moscow. His future, in fact, looked very dismal.

The early days of the Revolution opened up great opportunities for the young man. Together with millions of others, he was given a chance to study, to learn a trade and become a skilled worker, a chance to be a useful and productive citizen. The aim of this revolution was the creation of a future socialist society of freedom, justice, equality and plenty for all. The products created by the toil of the Russian workers and peasants were to be enjoyed by all and the system of exploitation of man by man forever banished. Thus everything possible was done for the young generation.

But many things have changed since that time. Russia is no longer ruled by the working class. Instead, a bureaucratic class has usurped the political power of the country, has destroyed the democratic rights of the workers and established itself as the political and economic overlords of the country.

The new totalitarianism and exploitation, which is known as Stalinism, provided new opportunities for a chosen few bureaucrats. Among these was Nikolai Dmitrovich Puzirev, who proved himself a loyal and diligent servant of the Kremlin.

## Hearing Denied on Negro Quotas

The Supreme Court has denied the appeal for a hearing of the Lynn case, which challenges the legality of the Negro quota system in the selection of military trainees. Wilfred Lynn, now a corporal serving in the South Pacific, based his legal argument on Section 4(a) of the Selective Training and Service Act, which states that "in the selection and training of men under this Act... there shall be no discrimination against any person on account of race or color."

The Lynn Committee to Abolish Segregation in the Armed Forces, which secured for the case the services of Arthur Garfield Hays, noted civil liberties attorney, voiced sharp protest over the Supreme Court's latest action. Wilfred Kerr, chairman of the Lynn Committee, declared:

"By refusing to hear the Lynn case to test the Negro quota system of induction, the U. S. Supreme Court has given the colored people a slap in the face for a New Year's gift. The Supreme Court knows that the Negroes consider the racial quota system humiliating and undemocratic... They will only redouble their efforts to democratize our military services; the fight will not be over until it is won."

For his loyalty to the bureaucracy and diligence in service, Puzirev was chosen director of the Kirov heavy-machinery plant in Leningrad. In a recent issue of Life magazine, John Hersey compares his rewarded life with that of a \$40,000-a-year vice-president of a large U. S. factory. A few examples:

## HARDSHIPS OF WAR

Because of the bombings, in which 700,000 people in Leningrad lost their homes, the Puzirev family, consisting of the director, his "beautiful" wife and "cultured" eighteen-year-old son, lives in a simple four-room apartment with a thirty-four-foot-long living room. Not very comfortable, of course, but this is war and Puzirev suffers like everyone else! He drives to work, or rather is driven by his chauffeur, in the equivalent of a 1940 Cadillac. For longer trips he has a

private Douglas DC transport plane. In addition, he can afford two servants. He has a yacht in which he spends pleasant Sundays on the Gulf of Finland. He has a "dacha," or country house, in the beautiful mountain country close to the border of Finland. He often goes there for weekends in spring, summer and autumn.

Director Puzirev is described as a "very gay man, even early in the morning." Neither war nor bombings, neither the deaths, misery or poverty of Russia's millions prevent him from enjoying the good things of life. He frequents the ballet, the oper, the theater. His family is always given special seats in the third, fourth or fifth row of the orchestra.

Yes, Puzirev is a very cultured man and knows how to entertain his guests. At his Russian "teas" nothing

but the best vodka is served, and that in handsome quantity. There is always plenty of food around and the beautiful Mrs. Puzirev, of whom the director is very proud, doesn't have to stand in line at state stores to get the family rations.

## BUREAUCRATIC KULTUR

Puzirev is also very proud of his eighteen-year-old son, who is also very cultured. Hersey describes "kulturn" in the following way:

"It embraces not only Pushkin, the Moscow Art Theater, Prokofieff and their likes, but also good movies, nice clo-hes, pleasant parks, streamlined automobiles, not jostling in the subway, not spitting on the floor and not going to bed with boots on." All of these attributes, and many others, the young Puzirev seems to have in great abundance. He is also a football player.

Puzirev's relations with the workers in his plant are most cordial. When they gather around Allied visitors, the "director does not order them back to their machines but spends his time nodding, bowing and shaking hands with them." A veritable democrat!

Life magazine refers to the story of Director Puzirev as a "Soviet Success Story." This is a very great error. The story of Puzirev's rise from rags to riches is the story of the degeneration and collapse of the Soviet system. It is the success story of Stalin's counter-revolution. It is the story of the rise to power of a new class which lives off the exploitation of the Russian working class and peasantry.

## Renew Effort to Free Davis

Governor Homer M. Adkins, outgoing Governor of Arkansas, has refused to free Tee Davis, Negro tenant farmer serving a ten-year sentence for defending his home against illegal entry.

In a letter to the Workers Defense League, Governor Adkins, who said: "I have received hundreds of letters and telegrams" on the case, based his refusal to free Davis on the fact that in September, 1937, Davis was convicted of assault. That conviction came because Davis fired a shotgun into the air to scare away workers who were being brought into Arkansas by truck to break the cotton workers' strike called by the Southern Tenant Farmers Union.

Davis had shot through the door of his home at Edmondson, Ark., which was being broken down at night by an unknown person who later identified himself as Deputy Sheriff Weaver.

The Workers Defense League will renew its effort to free Davis with a plea to the new Governor Ben Laney. The NAACP is cooperating with the WDL in the case.

Rev. James Myers, industrial secretary of the Federal Council of Churches, Dr. David de Sola Pool, noted Jewish clergyman of New York, H. L. Binsse, manager editor of *Commonweal*, Catholic weekly, and many other religious leaders have joined with labor and Negro groups in urging freedom for Tee Davis.

# U. S. Has Its Home-Grown Fascists

By Jessie Kaaren

The roots of a native fascist movement which may grow to large proportions in the post-war period unless it is checked are already noticeable in such organizations as the Christian American Association in the South and We, the Mothers, Inc., which has its headquarters in Detroit.

Trading on the confusion among poor farmers and unorganized workers and their bitterness over the war, these reactionary, labor-hating, anti-Semitic and anti-Negro movements will be a real menace in the coming period unless the more advanced section of the labor movement realizes the threat in time and takes counter-measures.

## "CHRISTIAN AMERICANS"

The more powerful of these two organizations is the Christian American Association, which is headed by Lee (Pappy) O'Daniel, recently elected senator from Texas. While he was campaigning by passing the biscuits and singing ditties to the tune of his banjo, his backers, who include the wealthy oil and cattle men of Texas and industrialists from the North, were pressing for laws banning union shop agreements in the South, calling for the licensing of union organizers, the repeal of the Wagner Labor Relations Act, and other anti-union measures.

The activities of the Christian Americans extend from Florida and Alabama, where they have already succeeded in adding anti-closed shop amendments to the state constitutions, to Texas, where a law sponsored by this group requiring the licensing of labor union organizers was recently declared unconstitutional by the Supreme Court. They are also busy in Arkansas, Georgia, North Carolina, Oklahoma, South Carolina and Tennessee. An influential list of newspapers in the South carry the propaganda of this organization; headed by the W. Lee O'Daniel News and including the Southern Outlook, the Southern Watchman, the Southern Weekly and the Alabama Magazine.

The Southern Conference for Human Welfare is devoting the pages of its publication, the Southern Patriot, to exposing the Christian Americans. They warn residents of the South that the Association is in league with the National Association of Manufacturers and other capitalist mouthpieces. "Southern workers, farmers and everybody else who wants to see the South hold on to what it has and forge ahead—should be on guard against these Wall Street hatched proposals to take us back to a bitter and worse depression," they write.

### Fascist "Nationalist Party"

Another fascist threat to American labor and the people as a whole is the formation of a new Nationalist Party by that notorious windbag and ignoramus, ex-Senator Robert Reynolds of South Carolina. It is reported that this cotton country demagogue has been joined by the Rev. Gerald L. K. Smith. The aims of these two rogues is the creation of a mass party of Jim Crowism, anti-Semites, anti-foreign-born people and anti-labor elements which abound in the country, with the goal of establishing a totalitarian fascist state in America.

The time to fight these scoundrels is now. Labor must not merely be on guard, but should prepare the forces of the labor movement to give this fascist scum its due when necessary.

There is no doubt that the combination of Northern industrialists and Southern cotton and oil magnates who backed O'Daniel's Texas campaign make up the leadership of the Christian American Association. They are behind a vicious campaign to smash labor's gains in the South and incite those farmers and unorganized workers who do not yet understand who their real friends are, against the penetration of unionism in the South.

Another organization dealing in fascist doctrine is We, the Mothers, Inc., an alleged "mothers' group." It specializes in anti-Semitism, insinuates that American Jews should be deported and bases its membership drive on a "bring the boys back home" letters-to-congressmen campaign. Instead of denouncing inter-imperialist greed as being responsible for the war they say: "With Russia and Britain selfishly engaged in the old game of power politics, this war means only the utter and wanton destruction of American youth. This in turn will reduce America, our country, to a second-class nation."

Among the personalities in the leadership of this organization are Mrs. Lyril Clark, Van Hynning and Mrs. Elizabeth Dilling, professional red baiters, both of whom were involved in the Nazi conspiracy trial which dragged on for many months in Washington and never came to a head.

There can't be too many warnings sounded against these demagogic appeals because there is plenty of misery abroad in the world and more in store for the future, to enable "easy cure" organizations like the Christian American Association, We, the Mothers, Inc., and the now quiescent Social Justice gang to fatten up on.

In Germany after the First World War, the unemployed, the embittered war veterans, the small shopkeepers who lost their livelihoods, the street hoodlums, all joined the Nazis to find an easy way out of the economic depression. The labor parties and the powerful trade unions of that time tended to ridicule the Nazi movement rather than to expose the fact that it was doing the shady work of capitalist politicians, and that in actuality it offered no real program for workers and farmers to follow.

In one sense we are less fortunate in this country because we have as yet no strong labor party to counterpose a genuine workers' and farmers' program against the anti-working class remedies of the fascists. But in another sense we have the lessons of the past decade to guide us against making the same mistake that they did in Germany.

Labor must organize Defense Guards to be ready for the fascist hoodlums. It must organize an independent Labor Party based on the unions to bring a genuine working class program that will guarantee economic security and world peace for the workers and farmers of America.

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