

DRAFT CAPITAL--NOT LABOR!

What Causes the WLB to Act Fast

On February 20, the War Labor Board released its decision in the case of the textile workers, a case well over a year old by that time.

On February 20, the executive board of the Textile Workers Union, CIO, was meeting to rescind its no-strike pledge.

Neat timing, wasn't it?

The union's executive board didn't bite, however. It rescinded the pledge anyway.

The decision didn't mean a thing. It had, in fact, been made several months before, but Economic Stabilizer Vinson had ordered the board not to issue it, since he objected to granting even "fringe demands" to the workers.

But the TWU executive board was meeting—and for a clear purpose. So the WLB issued the decision, with a "stay" on it. That is, it couldn't take effect until Vinson made up his mind on fringe demands.

On March 8, before departing for his new and higher position as chairman of the Reconstruction Finance Corporation, Vinson decided that it would be wise to yield a little (rather, Roosevelt probably decided this) and so issued an order allowing some increases for vacation pay, shift differentials and reclassifications. On the second and especially on the last of these he trimmed down WLB's standard allowances, which were already small.

HE'S NOT LYING (see col. 6, p. 1)

In his testimony before the Senate Committee on Banking and Currency, James F. Brownlee, deputy administrator for price in the OPA, declared:

"OPA never reduces prices merely because it considers profits are large. Its orders from Congress are to control prices, not profits."

And he added that the Economic Stabilization Director must approve even these smaller concessions, if employers demanded (and OPA agreed to the need for) price boosts.

On March 11, thousands of Northern textile workers voted, practically unanimously that their leaders should file a strike notice under the Smith-Connally act. Many didn't want to wait the thirty days required by that law but to strike at once.

On March 18, more thousands of Southern textile workers were scheduled to vote on this same question, and the outcome of their vote was beyond question.

So, on March 17 the WLB lifted its "stay" on the February 20 order.

Neat timing, wasn't it?

Does the order take immediate effect now? Not so fast. The OPA, remember, must decide that no price increases are needed. Or, if they are, Economic Stabilizer Davis (formerly WLB chairman) must approve them.

Not only that. The reclassification section of the order is still "stayed." Vinson was willing to allow an average of only one cent (yes, one cent) an hour or one per cent of the payroll for reclassifications for all employees in plants covered by any WLB order.

So this part of the order will have to stay "stayed" until Davis changes Vinson's order of the WLB changes its own order.

But at least we know that the WLB has some skill not only in stalling but also in timing. And this skill seems to have some connection with strike votes!

Missouri Farm Laborers Act to Fight Eviction

The farm laborers of Southeast Missouri, faced with eviction because the Farm Security Administration is ready to put up for sale ten community housing centers, are organizing and preparing for strike action. They will call a highway demonstration in protest against congressional action which will deprive them of their homes and force them back into the plantation shacks from which they were once evicted by the landlords.

David S. Burgess announced that the Southern Tenant Farmers Union is conducting a campaign to prevent the sale of the houses. If they are sold out now, he stated, the larger plantation owners will buy them, move the houses out on the plantation or tear them down and use the material to build barns and out-buildings.

The fight of the Missouri farm workers is a fight for the right to live in decent housing and to be free of the share-cropping system which enslaves them. It needs the support of all trade unionists and the entire labor movement.

Because of a congressional edict, over 1,500 farm laborers and their families face eviction from their homes in Southeast Missouri. As a result of the heroic "roadside" demonstration staged by the sharecroppers and tenant farmers of that area in the winter of 1939, the federal government established ten housing projects, into which many of these families moved.

The Missouri workers had been forced out of their homes by the landlords when they refused to work under the conditions imposed upon them. By moving out onto the highway and staying there despite all the pressure that they accept the near-slavery conditions imposed by the landowners, the Missouri sharecroppers brought their story before the public.

GOVERNMENT VERSUS LABOR

The government housing projects were undertaken under the auspices of the Farm Security Administration and were operated as labor centers where farm labor could be obtained to work the cotton fields. The projects have been under constant attack by friends of the big farmers, the American Farm Bureau Federation, and others because:

1. They did not want the farm workers to work as day laborers since they were then in a position to organize into unions and to fight for higher wages. Just this was done a couple of years ago during the Southeast

Yalta Divided Up the Planet

By ALBERT GATES

Most of the chips were put down at Crimea in the game of power politics between the Big Three, with their agents and hired hands, politicians, journalists, commentators and opinion-makers. The stakes they played for were empires and spheres of influence. They told the people, however, that they were attempting to assure peace and world organization.

No matter where you turn, you are confronted with the query: Are you for or against Crimea? By that is

FDR's Open Door Policy Key to World Imperialism



meant, do you accept or reject the decisions adopted by Roosevelt, Stalin and Churchill. The most vociferous people are, of course, the Communist Parties of the world, agents of Stalin, whose policies are always easy to foretell: whatever the Stalin régime in Russia does, they are for.

Thus the world is being divided between those who accept the decisions of Crimea and those who are critical of them or reject them out of hand.

What does it mean to accept the decisions of the Yalta conference and what does it mean to reject them?

TEHERAN

To understand Yalta it is necessary to go back to the Teheran conference of a year ago. At that conference the aim of the Big Three was to cement their internal relations and to establish the military course in the prosecution of the war and to reach a preliminary agreement on the political questions arising out of an end to the war, namely, how to partition Europe.

There is no doubt now that Russia's demands on Poland were presented to Roosevelt and Churchill at Teheran and that a general agreement was reached. Eastern Europe was accepted as a Russian sphere of influence. At the same time, and in re-

turn for this agreement, England's pre-eminence in the Mediterranean area was established; that is, she was to have a dominating role in Greece, Italy and the islands which dot that great sea. America was to obtain an open door to Western Europe. Germany was to be handled as a joint problem. While it was not fully decided what to do, the main policy undoubtedly was discussed and adopted.

The pace of the war quickened after the Teheran conference. Political explosions occurred in Greece, Poland, Italy, France. The course of Allied liberation did not run smoothly. The area of agreement between the Big Three seemed to narrow and another meeting between its statesmen was indicated. How were these problems resolved?

HORSE-TRADING AT YALTA

At Yalta, Roosevelt, Stalin and Churchill settled down to some old-time horse-trading. What united the three countries, all striving to dominate the world and therefore mutually antagonistic, was the common war against Germany. What determined the concrete decisions made was the power of arms.

The United States and Russia were the big powers. Both had tremendous military forces and arms. The Russian army had already swept over a good part of Eastern Europe. The

Stalin, who seized other territories in Eastern Europe, also obtained the "right" to dominate Romania, Yugoslavia, Bulgaria, Hungary and possibly Austria.

In all of these deals the people of the countries involved had nothing to say. Three men, representing their respective classes and their respective national interests, decided the fate of millions and millions of people.

2. GERMANY. The country will be dismembered. Its people will be enslaved. The advocates of a "hard peace" are now busy at work to justify their plans by depicting all Germans as beasts, sensualists, criminals, murderers and warriors.

If all the Germans are these things, then it becomes right to enslave millions of German workers (Stalin's demand). In all the threats to punish the Nazi "war criminals" not a word was said about the German industrial and financial ruling class, the capitalists who paid for Hitler, put him into power, and really laid the plans for this war for profit.

Germany will be occupied by the three great powers, with France invited to occupy the Rhineland. The country will be divided into three zones, occupied by American, Russian and British troops, with a representative ruling commission to reside in Berlin. A reparations commission will sit in Moscow!

3. UNILATERALISM. The Big Three also decided that from Yalta on there should be no more unilateral actions. Since this means none of the Big Three shall act independently, the U. S. will intervene in decisions affecting other countries.

4. JAPAN. For the concessions made to Stalin in Eastern Europe, Stalin agreed to give assistance to the war against Japan. Exactly what this

(Continued on page 4)

"No Wage Increases Granted Here"

By M. HOWARD

Pressure in wage-freeze circles has been reaching an all-time high lately, and the National War Labor Board is finding itself caught in the resulting squeeze.

On one side it is met with the demand of its labor members for a ten per cent general wage increase, a demand of no small consequence to the board. On the other it is caught short by the resignation of Fred Vinson from his post as Economic Stabilization Director and the appointment of William H. Davis, former WLB chairman, in his place.

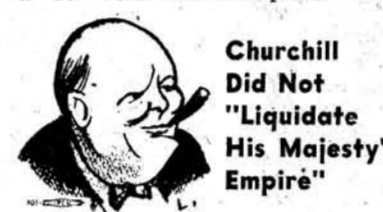
Before leaving his post, Vinson issued a directive to the WLB which tied that agency more firmly than ever to its "no wage increases granted here" policy. He authorized them to issue orders in their own right on four "fringe" adjustments (vacations, shift differentials in non-continuous operations, merit increases and reclassifications). But, at the same time, he threw such tight restrictions around the "fringe" adjustments that the Board can give even less now than the piddling amounts they used to recommend to Vinson.

PASSING THE BUCK

In other words, Vinson gave the WLB powers with one hand that he took away with the other, and the WLB is squirming. They're asking their new boss, Davis, to ease the directive on the ground that they've "never granted increases that have destabilized wages or the nation's economy." Davis, who should know the board's record as well as anyone, might possibly give in to their request, providing the going gets hot enough.

The Stalin creation, the Lublin Committee, is to rule the country with a few additions from abroad.

A "democratic" election is to follow to select a new government. But in the meantime, the Stalinist-Lublin government has practically completed a purge of all socialists, trade unionists, democrats, peasants, etc., who were against Lublin and against Russian domination of Poland. When the election is held the opposition will have already been destroyed and a "Ja" vote will take place.



Churchill Did Not "Liquidate His Majesty's Empire"

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LABOR ACTION considers one of its foremost tasks the frequent reporting of the profits of business. The big daily papers never play them up the way we do. They bury them on the financial pages, often refer to them as "earnings." It is truly astonishing what these heartless, soulless corporations can "earn"—by the sweat of the workers.

These enormous, war-made profits, summarized in the accompanying table, are the law-given fruits of "free enterprise." They are blessed by Roosevelt and subject to no Little Steel formula.

The figures in the table, contained in a confidential report of the OPA and secured by "Labor," official organ of the railway unions, are a shining contrast to President Roosevelt's promise that he would carry out a program of "equality of sacrifice" which would bar "new war millionaires" and "excessive war profits."

The only point in Roosevelt's original seven-point program of "equality of sacrifice" which has been made into a law was the wage freeze.

In the meantime, the cost of living has skyrocketed. Even the WLB has admitted that it has jumped over ten per cent above any increase in basic wage rates. Labor has adduced evidence that the cost of living has actually risen by thirty per cent. Despite these facts, the WLB, acting under Roosevelt's edicts, has steadfastly refused to grant basic wage increases to workers and its report to the President recommended no change in the Little Steel formula.

Here Are the Winners in the War

Category	War Profits Increase
Motor vehicles and parts	896%
Iron and steel products	251%
Lumber and timber	1,064%
Electrical machinery	433%
Non-electrical machinery	360%
Aircraft and parts	1,686%
Railroad equipment	317%
Clothing	279%
Printing and publishing	389%
Rubber products	697%
Textile mill products	522%

(These figures are before taxes; but even after taxes the average profits are still 200 to 300 per cent above pre-war levels.)

BUSINESS GOLD RUSH

This dissatisfaction will continue to grow as labor sees the full fruits of Roosevelt's war economy program. In the current report of the OPA, 1,120 leading industrial corporations are examined. The report shows that nearly every industry in the country has increased its earnings by several hundred per cent when compared with the pre-war years of 1936-39.

The most sensational rise in profits is recorded by the tanned and finished leather industry, which enjoyed an increase of 5,403 per cent.

Even though the figures cited are before taxes, it should be remembered that after taxes, profits remained 200 to 300 per cent above pre-war levels.

In determining wages of the workers, however, government and business statisticians never deduct their

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vis, its former chairman, knows it best of all.

He probably knows too that he would be perfectly safe in giving back to them what small power Vinson just took away, because giving it back wouldn't mean any loosening of the wage-freeze policy. Every penny increase the board grants means money out of the pockets of the wartime profiteers they represent. They are tied so tightly to the "bosses" side of things that restoring their power to grant "fringe" increases couldn't possibly mean one penny more to organized labor. All it would mean is a shift of pressure from the Economic Stabilization Director's nervous shoulders to those of the WLB.

U. S. Rubber Workers Strike Over Discharge of Committeeman

DETROIT—More than one thousand striking workers of the U. S. Rubber Co. packed the auditorium of the Cass Technical High School at a mass meeting called by their union, Local 101 of the United Rubber Workers (CIO). Shouting their demands for the immediate reinstatement of John Cummins, chairman-committeeman, whose discharge on Thursday precipitated the strike, they booed and jeered an order by the War Labor Board summoning them to return to work by Monday and hooted down the leaders of the international union who sought to call off the stoppage.

The WLB is also experiencing a little "pressure" from the other side. Even before the Vinson directive came, the public members on the WLB had proved that their purpose was not to grant "inflationary increases" by recommending to President Roosevelt that there be no change whatever in the infamous Little Steel formula.

Both labor and industry reactions to this recommendation were very positive. Industry, upholding its time-worn position that any starvation wages that labor might be getting are more than enough and should not, under any circumstances, be revised, protested that even slight leniency on "fringe" issues threatens what they call "the flanks" of the Little Steel formula and must not be permitted.

LABOR'S CONDUCT WEAK

Labor members on the board reply in a very conservative estimate, that scheduled wage rates have advanced far less than twenty per cent and therefore lag ten per cent behind the rise in the cost of living. More than this they point out that change-overs and cut-backs, which have already begun, will in the very near future bring a stop to overtime pay. But the basis of the WLB's argument that wages have kept step with prices is the overtime rates. When the cut-backs occur the real differential between wages and soaring prices will become even clearer and labor will find itself in the ridiculous position of having sat out the whole war holding the proverbial bag—and in this case an empty one. On the basis of this dark outlook, CIO and AFL members on the board

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By David Coolidge

MASS ACTION!

REPLY TO A LETTER ON RUSSIA FROM A READER

LABOR ACTION has received a letter from a new subscriber in Detroit commenting on democracy and workers' rights as experienced in the land of Stalin by two of his brothers who went there in 1936. Our new subscriber writes that his brothers found "state slavery" in Russia, for over eighty per cent of the people are owned by the state.

As our correspondent puts it: "The Russian producing class did not have the opportunity to enjoy the wealth of Russia when my brothers were there. Only high-ranking politicians or a lousy police officer... were entitled to enjoy the wealth such as better housing or to own an automobile."

NO SOCIALISM IN RUSSIA

All of this has been said before many times and in various ways by LABOR ACTION and the Workers Party. A large part of the writings of Leon Trotsky was concerned with this aspect of the "victory of socialism" under Stalin, his GPU and his whole bureaucratic clique.

Reduced to their simplest terms, however, all these articles and books on this subject mean exactly what these two workers discovered out of their own experience and the simple description of these experiences by their brother. They did not experience the practice of democracy of, for and by the working class. If this is not present, then certainly there is no socialism.

The writer of the letter emphasizes, with some penetration, that this condition existed even in peacetime. That is, there was no workers' democracy even in a period when Russia was not confronted by attack from external imperialist enemies. It is necessary to mention that this was the period during which Stalin and his GPU instituted the monstrous frame-up trials of the Old Bolsheviks, organized the betrayal of the Spanish Revolution and initiated the hunt which ended in the murder of Trotsky by one of Stalin's GPU agents.

Furthermore, the writer points out that it is a queer sort of socialism under which a new class develops and consumes the wealth by virtue of its bureaucratic position, while the working class is virtually enslaved.

The writer of the letter also contrasts the political status of the masses in Russia with that of the working class in the United States. He says:

"For instance, we here in the United States still are having a form of government... which is called for the people and by the people. But in Russia, since the year of 1934, it is just the opposite way."

A LONG HISTORY

This tendency, which the writer of the letter speaks of, began long before 1934. It began before the expulsion of Trotsky and the "Trotskyites" from the Communist Party in 1928. By 1934, Stalin had betrayed and wrecked the Chinese Revolution and made the deal with Chiang Kai-shek which resulted in the butchery of countless thousands of the best revolutionary workers in China.

Before 1934 Stalin had led and dragged the Communist parties of the world through all the twists and turns which landed these parties where they are today: to the most brazen support of the ruling class and imperialist war; to sapping the energies and the fighting spirit of the trades unions; and acting in every way to dampen the class struggle and deliver the working class bound hand and foot to the capitalist ruling class.

What the writer of the letter is saying in the above quotation is that the political structure in Russia, being totalitarian, is more reactionary than the political structure in the U. S., which is the political organization of capitalist democracy. Capitalist democracy, of course, is also reactionary in relation to workers' democracy or socialism. The political régime of the Stalinist bureaucracy in Russia is politically of the same stripe as the Hitlerite Nazi régime in Germany. Both are totalitarian, oppressive, destructive to the organizations of the working class and the complete negation of freedom.

The chief symbol of both régimes is the secret police, the Gestapo and the GPU. In both countries the role of the secret police is to protect the reactionary, anti-working class bureaucracy. Every worker understands this in the case of the Gestapo, but is likely to become muddled when he thinks about the GPU. The GPU, as it history under Stalin demonstrates, is just as reactionary and anti-working class as the Gestapo.

In Germany the Nazi bureaucracy rests on capitalism and its function was and is to prolong the life of German capitalism. In Russia the

Stalinist bureaucracy is a new class which has arisen on the collectivized property, which of course is not capitalist property. The Workers Party characterizes Russia as bureaucratic collectivist state. It is not a capitalist nor a fascist state. The Stalin régime is a new class basing itself on the collectivized property. The complete position of the Workers Party is contained in The New International during the year 1941.

CAPITALIST "DEMOCRACY"

The claim made by the ruling class and its defenders that the government of the U. S. is of, and for the people is as much of a myth as the claim of Stalin and his defenders that there is socialism in Russia. The government of the U. S. is a government of the capitalist ruling class. This class rules because it has social power.

Its social power results from its ownership of the materials of production: land, natural resources, raw materials, tools, machines, transport, communications and money capital. This makes the ruling class a dictatorship. Its dictatorship is masked by the political parliamentary structure, which gives the impression that because of universal suffrage (millionaire and pauper alike have one vote) all the people are equal, and that the government is a non-class government.

We do have our trade unions and political parties; they have not been suppressed yet. In Germany there are no trade unions. In their place are the slave labor front and the concentration camp. In Russia there are no trade unions. There are organizations composed of workers which go by the name of trade unions. But they are in fact a labor front. Also the labor camps of Russia are no different from the concentration camps of Hitler.

While we in the United States are still free to have our trade unions and political parties, it would be foolish to maintain that this must always be so. There is nothing peculiar about the U. S. which guarantees continued "prosperity" for capitalist society. Workers who rest serene in such beliefs may wake up some morning in a native American concentration camp. The time to do something about concentration camps is now, while the workers' organizations are alive, powerful and active.

NEWS AND VIEWS FROM THE LABOR FRONT

Rank and Filers Win Ford Election

DETROIT—The Rank and File Caucus at the Ford Bomber Plant at Willow Run scored an initial victory in the Local 50 (UAW-CIO) elections, with the election of its candidate for president, Brendon Sexton.

In addition to Sexton, the Rank and File group elected its candidates for financial secretary and Unit Three chairman in the most vicious and bitter election Local 50 has seen. The administration slate, headed by Wally Quillico, succeeded in electing the guide, plant-wide committeeman and Unit One chairman. The remaining offices will be decided in a runoff election to be held soon, with an excellent chance for a clean sweep by the Rank and File.

INCUMBENTS USE SLANDER

The Quillico caucus, calling itself the United Bomber Workers' Committee, resorted to the most vicious slander tactics during the campaign. Supported by Communists, opportunists and an assortment of reactionaries, they did not hesitate to issue freely lies and slanders about the Rank and File group and its candidates. In addition, they distributed 1,200 copies of the latest Communist

slander document, "The Trotskyite Fifth Column," hoping to confuse the election by red-baiting.

What the Quillico Communist gang stand for is indicated by their program. The heart of this program was buried near the bottom: "Active support of UAW-CIO policy." This one plank reduces the rest of their so-called program to bombast and loud talk. Just two examples will demonstrate this.

Plank No. 1 in the Quillico program calls for planned post-war employment. There is no indication as to how this is to come about. The only hope for the achievement of such a plan is in the hands of those who want to plan for full employment; that is, the labor movement.

Even Secretary of Commerce Wal-

lace, the most liberal member of the present Administration, has demonstrated in his testimony before a Senate committee that no matter how much he may like the idea of full employment, he has no method or plan of getting it. This is typical of the capitalist class and both capitalist political parties, Republican and Democratic.

Post-war planning will be possible only if the labor movement enters the field of independent politics and achieves control of the planning machinery, namely, the government. That is possible only through a Labor Party. But the Quillico gang supports "UAW-CIO policy," which is opposed to a Labor Party. So their plank becomes a meaningless gesture.

The same is true of their "demand" to break the Little Steel formula. The CIO leadership thinks it can break

the wage freeze by appeasement of management and Roosevelt. Their policy, which the Quillico-CP faction supports, is a policy of begging. The workers have had ample time to learn that begging never "broke" anything, least of all the Little Steel formula.

RANK AND FILE SLATE

Quillico's record during his term as president of Local 50 showed what this appeasement policy means in practice. The best committeemen and rank and filers are fired right and left by the Ford company. The company has been able to institute a reign of terror in the Willow Run plant without having to fear an aggressive counter-offensive by the local union.

The Rank and File group ran on a program of militant fighting unionism. They adopted the program of the National Rank and File Committee of the UAW, including breaking the Little Steel formula, getting the labor members off the War Labor Board and building a Labor Party, and they asked for support on the basis of this program. The following are their leading candidates in the runoff election:

- Vice-president: Bill Hughes.
- Recording secretary: Louise Staebler.
- Plant chairman: Johnny Zupan.
- Trustee: Red Cole.

ENGELS WAS RIGHT!

"Wealth [in the democratic republic] employs its power indirectly, but all the more surely. It does this in two ways: by plain corruption, of which America is the classic example, and by an alliance between the government and the stock exchange."—From "The Origin of the Family," by Frederick Engels.

"State Senator Carl F. DeLano, veteran Kalamazoo Republican, and Mikhail Sherman, Farmington chiropractor, were convicted Thursday of bribe conspiracy."—From the Detroit Free Press, March 16.

Detroit U. S. Rubber Strike--

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and said curtly: "File a grievance." But everyone knew that by the time a grievance was settled the tires would be completed and even if not already shipped out the defective raw stock would be concealed in the finished tire and impossible to expose without destruction of the tires.

BEAT COMMITTEEMAN

In the course of argument the foreman struck and kicked Cummins. Cummins did not strike back. Instead he appealed to the plant superintendent and ORDERED CUMMINS FIRED FOR "INSUBORDINATION." When, after nearly seven hours, the company refused to reinstate Cummins, the department walked out and by Friday both Detroit plants, employ-

ing some 6,000 men, were shut down.

The firing of Cummins climaxes a series of provocative anti-union actions by the company, whose arrogance has been bolstered by the sell-out policies of the international union leaders and the local union president, John Marmon.

Last month, the women employees in the pocket building department struck for six days in protest against months of stalling on their grievances. In October the tirebuilders walked out to prevent piecework rate cuts and were fined by International President Dalrymple. Upon order of the War Labor Board, \$18.50 was deducted from their pay checks.

Some months before, a group of men were discharged in the plasticator department for protesting a cut in piecework rates and were rein-

stated only after a stoppage in the mill room.

A hot and tense mood prevailed at the Saturday mass meeting. Speakers from the War Labor Board and from the international union took the speakers stand and with the obvious purpose of ordering or convincing the men to return to work without waiting for the reinstatement of Cummins. But as each took the floor and tried in his own subtle manner to lead up to the point which all knew to be his objective, he was greeted with a chorus of shouted interruptions:

"RANK AND FILE ANGRY"

"Wave heard all that before. Get to the point!"

"When does Johnny go back?"

"We'll go back when Johnny goes back and not before!"

The order of the War Labor Board was greeted with an especially loud boo. L. S. Buckmaster, international vice-president of the URW, who had made a special trip from Akron to appear at the meeting and send the men back to work, tried in vain to get the floor. For nearly twenty minutes he stood beside the microphone attempting to talk down the angry men. At last he gave up in despair. It was with difficulty that a group of men was restrained from throwing him out of the hall. The chairman hurriedly adjourned the meeting and all the officials rushed home, glad to get out of the hornet's nest.

Draft Capital, Not Labor--

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taxes in fabricating wages. Says "Labor": "The workers are charged up with every cent they receive."

The same paper aptly summarized its comment on the OPA report, saying:

"These prices (of goods) have been so skyhigh that even after steep federal taxes industry has been able to make a joke of the Administration's promise to 'take the crop out of war' and to 'limit the 'crop' of millionaires."

In contrast, labor is faced with a

National Service Act demanded by the President and passed by the House of Representatives. While the politicians in Washington are still debating what kind of labor draft bill to pass, Roosevelt issues statement after statement for a complete slave labor bill. Actually, drafting of labor is taking place without a law (see article on New Bedford situation).

FOR A NEW ORDER

The Administration, the War and Navy Departments and other spokesmen for Roosevelt invented stories of a false manpower and material

shortage. They hoped in this way to obtain quick passage of a national service bill and to ward off labor's demands for a drastic change in the wage situation. But the evidence of labor quickly punctured the position of the Administration and showed the essentially totalitarian character of the President's demand.

The propertyless workers are the source of all the wealth of society. It is they who produced these enormous wartime profits. It is they who should control them.

Instead of enslaving the workers

through a labor draft, capital, which would not turn a wheel until its profits were guaranteed, should be drafted.

Labor, the source of all wealth, should command that wealth. Nationalized property under workers' control would lay the groundwork for eliminating cut-throat competition, profiteering and war.

Let's abolish the profit system, which fattens a few at the top, and build a society of plenty for all!



Out of the Past

Mother Jones—Crusader for Labor

By RUTH PHILLIPS

Mother Jones was a leader of working men at a time when women had not yet won the right to vote. She was a union organizer in the days when America's rising industrial barons hired gunmen to shoot down union men in cold blood—and got away with it. She carried on a one-woman campaign against child labor when that terrible evil, which drove little children of six into the factory, was a national institution, sanctified by press and pulpit.

In her long bustling dress, her white hair showing under a Victorian bonnet, spectacles on her nose, she looked like somebody's sweet, harmless grandmother—the very opposite of a "dangerous agitator." It was the mine owners of the eastern mining states who considered her "dangerous."

ORGANIZER OF MINERS

With an almost evangelical zeal, she went from one mining town to another, organizing for the United Mine Workers. She lived among the miners, eating the same poor food, helping with the children, talking unionism. She was one of the pioneers who laid the foundation for the powerful United Mine Workers of today.

This unique woman was born in Cork, Ireland, in 1830, the daughter of a long line of fighters for Irish freedom. She came to America when a little child.

In 1861, in Memphis, Tenn., she married an iron moulder, "a staunch member of the Iron Molders Union." Six years later her four little children and her husband died, victims of a yellow fever epidemic.

She went to live in Chicago. There she heard speakers from the Knights of Labor describe the struggles of the workingmen for a better life. She wrote about that time: "Those were the days... when there were no high salaried officers, no feasting with the enemies of labor... the days of the martyrs and the saints."

In Chicago she witnessed the Haymarket tragedy and marched in the funeral procession of the martyred anarchists.

Mother Jones became an organizer for the UMW in the unorganized coal fields of Pennsylvania. She not only organized the men into the union, but enlisted their wives in the struggle, too. During a strike in 1899 at Arnot, Pa., when the company tried to bring in scabs, Mother Jones told the men to stay home with the children "for a change." She organized the women into an army—an army equipped with mops, brooms and

pails of water. The army went forth to meet the scabs, routed them and kept vigil at the mines until the strike was won.

Inside the growing UMW, Mother Jones came into conflict with President John Mitchell. In 1902, 150,000 anthracite miners went out on strike for better conditions and union recognition. Although the miners were



MOTHER JONES

in a position to win every demand, Mitchell allowed the strike to be arbitrated at the request of President Theodore Roosevelt. After a delay of six months, Roosevelt's arbitration commission granted the demands, except union recognition. Mother Jones tried to dissuade Mitchell from arbitrating. She wrote about the settlement: "Labor walked into the House of Victory through the back door."

She was to come into conflict with Mitchell again. In 1903, she went to Cripple Creek, Colo., during the metal miners' strike led by the Western Federation of Miners. The coal miners voted to go out on strike at the same time. When the coal operators were ready to settle with the UMW, Mitchell was for going back to work before the Western strike was settled. At a convention of the Eastern miners, Mother Jones urged them to stay out in support of their Western brothers. The men voted for her proposals, but Mitchell later managed to call off the coal strike. Mother Jones believed that Mitchell, by breaking the solidarity of the miners, had helped defeat the metal miners' strike.

During a strike of textile workers, of whom thousands were children, Mother Jones asked the reporters

why they did not make public the facts about child labor in Pennsylvania. They answered that the mill owners had stock in their papers.

"Well," said Mother Jones, "I've got stock in these little children, and I'll arrange a little publicity." She organized an "army" of children carrying banners reading "We Want Time to Play" and took them on a speaking tour of Eastern states. The tour started with a mass meeting in Philadelphia.

From there the little band went on to Princeton, N. J. Mother Jones announced that she would speak on "higher education." She assembled her little group opposite the campus of Princeton University. Addressing the audience of college professors and townspeople, she pointed to one of her "army," a ten-year-old boy, and said: "Here is a textbook on economics. He gets three dollars a week... in a carpet factory... where he works ten hours a day while the children of the rich are getting their higher education."

The tour of the child labor "army" attracted attention. The newspapers reported it. The Pennsylvania Legislature was forced to recognize the evil of child labor. Some time later, it passed a bill prohibiting the labor of children under fourteen. Mother Jones' "army" had won a battle in the fight against child labor.

During a strike in Colorado against the Rockefeller interests she was kept in a cellar for twenty-six days. In that black hole she had to fight off sewer rats. Later she wrote about it: "If I were 'out of this dungeon,' thought I, 'I would be fighting human sewer rats, anyway.'"

In 1919 Mother Jones took part in the great steel strike. She was eighty-nine years old. In 1923 she was back in West Virginia during the strike of the Logan County miners. Just before she died, in 1925, she wrote her autobiography. In the last pages of that book she speaks out against those labor leaders who sell out the cause of labor and hobnob with "top capitalists," such as the Civic Federation. "For Mother Jones looked upon the labor movement as a great cause in which labor leaders should sacrifice and serve."

Mother Jones did not view labor's trade union struggles as part of the greater fight for a socialist society. Although an admirer of Eugene Debs, she was not a socialist. But, through her practical experience in the union movement she came to understand the socialist doctrine that the interests of capital and labor are fundamentally opposed.

An Analysis of the Detroit Rubber Strike

An Editorial

(Continued from page 1)

The strike at U. S. Rubber in Detroit is a leaderless rank and file explosion. Neither the small-time local union politicians nor the midsize Mechanics Education Society, which is trying to split the local away from the CIO, nor any recognized local leader called the walkout or gave it any direction.

The international union officials, of course, do all in their power to end the stoppage. Far from aiding the men in their fight, they aid the employer to get them back to work.

The Communist Party-led group headed by John Marmon, which has controlled the local on and off for several years, is beaten to the ground by the rank and file and is on its way out. Marmon, elected in a fake election in which only some two hundred members participated, has no alternative but to resign.

The opposition to Marmon has no program and no perspective. After defeating Marmon in the election over a year ago, the candidate of the opposition "American Party" resigned after a few months in office. Marmon was re-elected in a special election. In the last election Marmon won control of the executive board again.

Part of the anti-Marmon opposition has gone over to the MESA. The MESA, despite its unquestioned large membership in the plant, has given no leadership to the men in any of their recent struggles with management. Outside the CIO and with no strength among rubber workers, the

L. A. Business Manager's PRESS ACTION

By Sol Rayo

Say you are a shop steward, a committeeman or just a good union man and you think LABOR ACTION is good stuff. You would like to see more people thinking along the lines of LABOR ACTION, more people reading the paper and perhaps you would like to organize a group of fellow workers in the shop to fight in the union for the ideas of LABOR ACTION.

For the next two months we are offering to send twenty-five copies of LABOR ACTION to any subscriber or reader for purposes of distribution among friends and shopmates. This involves no charge or expense to the distributor. Just send your name and address in with the request for twenty-five papers.

We think that such an offer deserves a try on your part. Don't remain a lonely reader of LABOR ACTION. Get it into the hands of your friends.

Two weeks ago Detroit went all-out in the distribution of the Detroit strike issue. Ten thousand extra copies of LABOR ACTION were ordered. Many small bundles were sent to union men involved in the strike.

Flash! We have just gotten a request from a reader in the heart of the Missouri industrial area to send a bundle of 100 or 200 papers. We want more such requests. Others are doing it. Pitch in yourself and take a crack at it.

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MARY BELL, Ass't Editor

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From the PROGRAM of the WORKERS PARTY

For the defense of all democratic rights! Against wartime dictatorship measures! Abolish wage-freezing and job-freezing!

Restore full and unrestricted collective bargaining rights of the unions! Rescind the no-strike pledge! Repeal the Smith-Connally anti-strike law!

Expropriate the "Sixty Families"—the plutocratic three per cent of the population who own ninety-six per cent of the national wealth!

A one hundred per cent tax on all war profits above a five per cent maximum on invested capital! Immediate renegotiation of all war contracts to cut the fabulous profits to this level!

Government planning to guarantee the highest national production and income, a year-around job and a minimum annual wage to all, and a rising standard of living!

Conscript all war industries! Nationalize the banks, big industrial monopolies and transportation systems. No handing over of government-built and owned plants and facilities to private ownership!

For a two hundred and fifty billion dollar five year program to provide decent housing for all, extensive public works, rural electrification and modernization!

For a guaranteed \$5,000 annual income to all workers' families, made possible by a planned rise in the total national income and a thirty-hour maximum work-week.

All discrimination against Negroes, Jews or other minorities in the armed forces or by employers in industry must be made a criminal offense!

Architects of the New World



FRIEDRICH ENGELS'

KARL MARX COMMEMORATION

On March 17, we commemorated the death of Karl Marx. This event is truly of great importance to the American workers, for Karl Marx, the founder of the doctrines of scientific socialism, laid the groundwork for the modern labor movement.

That Marx is so little known in the United States, except by the abuse showered on him by the reactionaries, is due to the conspiracy of the ruling class and its henchmen, the educators and the publicists. Marx is described as the inventor of alien theories. But he was a great internationalist whose main aim in life was to end the exploitation of man by man, to abolish the profit system and replace it with a social order where production for use prevails.

The prophecy of Engels, Marx's collaborator and closest friend, that "his name will live on through the centuries," is true. It is now almost a hundred years since Marx began to propound his socialist theories. And millions the world over gain strength and inspiration from them in their fight for peace, freedom and security.—Editor.

On Saturday, March 17, Karl Marx was laid to rest in Highgate Cemetery, beside the remains of his wife, who had been buried there fifteen months earlier. At the graveside, Comrade Lemke placed on the coffin two wreaths looped with red ribbon, one in the name of the staff of the "Sozialdemokrat" of Zurich and the other in that of the Communist Workers Educational Society of London.

Then Comrade Engels spoke as follows:

On March 14th, at a quarter to three in the afternoon, the greatest of living thinkers ceased to think. He had been left alone for barely two minutes; but when we entered his room we found that, seated in his chair, he had quietly gone to sleep—forever.

The loss which his death has inflicted upon the fighting proletariat in Europe and America, and upon the science of history, is immeasurable. The gaps that will be made by the death of this titan will soon be felt.

WHAT MARX CONTRIBUTED

Just as Darwin discovered the law of evolution in organic nature, so Marx discovered the law of evolution in human history. He discovered the simple fact (heretofore hidden beneath ideological

excrescences) that human beings must have food and drink, clothing and shelter, first of all, before they can interest themselves in politics, science, art, religion and the like.

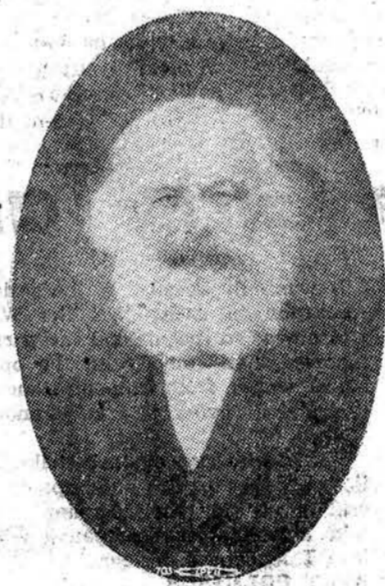
This implies that the production of the immediately requisite material means of subsistence, and therewith the extant economic developmental phase of a nation or an epoch, constitute the foundation upon which the state institutions, the legal outlooks, the artistic and even the religious ideas of those concerned have been built up. It implies that these latter must be explained out of the former, whereas usually the former have been explained as issuing from the latter.

But, above all else, Marx was a revolutionist. To collaborate in one way or another in the overthrow of capitalist society and of the state institutions created by that society; to collaborate in the freeing of the modern proletariat, which he was the first to inspire with a consciousness of its needs, with a knowledge of the conditions requisite for its emancipation—this was his true mission in life. Fighting was his natural element. Few men ever fought with so much passion, tenacity and success. His work on the Rheinische Zeitung in 1843, on the Parisian Vorwaerter in 1844, on the Deutsche Brüssler Zeitung in 1847, on the Neue Rheinische Zeitung in 1848 and 1849, on the New York Tribune from 1852 to 1861; a great number of pamphlets; multifarious activities in Paris, Brussels and London; finally, as crown of his labours, the foundation of the International Workingmen's Association: there you have his record. Had Marx done nothing but found the International, that was an achievement of which he might well have been proud.

Because he was an active revolutionist, Marx was the best hated and most calumniated man of his time. He was shown the door by various governments, republican as well as absolute. Bourgeois, ultra-democrat, as well as conservative, vied with one another in spreading libels about him. He brushed these aside like cobwebs, ignored them, only troubled to answer them when he positively had to.

Yet he has gone down to his death honoured, loved and mourned by millions of revolutionary workers all over the world, in Europe and Asia as far eastward as the Siberian mines, and in America as far westward as California. I can boldly assert that, while he may still have many adversaries, he has now hardly one personal enemy.

His name and work will live on through the centuries.



KARL MARX

Nor was this all. Marx likewise discovered the special law of motion proper to the contemporary capitalist method of production and to the bourgeois society which that method of production has brought into being. The discovery of the surplus value suddenly threw light here, whereas all previous investigators (socialist critics no less than bourgeois economists) had been groping in the dark.

Two such discoveries might suffice for one man's lifetime. Fortunately is he who is privileged to make even one discovery so outstanding. But in every field he studied (the fields were many and the studies were exhaustive), Marx made independent discoveries—even in mathematics.

I have pictured the man of science. But the man of science was still only half the man. For Marx, science was a motive-force of his-

WORLD POLITICS

By REVA CRAINE

Big Three Domination

In typically blunt and cynical fashion, Prime Minister Churchill told the House of Commons that Yalta had indeed made a distinction between the rights of the small and big nations, and that there was nothing in the Yalta plan which would prevent a conflict among the leading powers. The editors of the New York Times enlighten us with the following:

"First, while it is true that there is nothing in the Yalta plan to prevent aggression by any of the five great powers—Britain, Russia, France, China and the United States—this omission is more important in theory than in practice. Surely the reality of the situation is that if a point is ever reached when one of the five great powers must be coerced by force, then peace will have been lost anyway, beyond the possibility of salvage by any voting procedure that can possibly be devised, and a new world war will be in the making. The Yalta plan provides a method of preventing smaller wars which could easily grow into larger ones."

One of the ways of "preventing smaller wars," that is, wars over issues not fully recognized as necessitating an immediate world conflict, is by eliminating the "danger zones" from the San Francisco conference. If in this manner several of the "smaller countries" lose representation at San Francisco, so much the worse for them.

India Again

With a population of nearly 400 million, this by no means small or insignificant country will be represented at San Francisco by three titled gentlemen chosen by the British Governor-General. Not one of them represents the Indian masses or their aspirations for national freedom. A spokesman for the India League justly declared: "These three titled collaborationists have no following whatsoever anywhere in India. At San Francisco they can accept no obligations for the people of India."

The bothersome and disagreeable problem of Indian independence, at any rate, won't disturb the peaceful proceedings at Frisco.

Lebanon and Syria

Another embarrassing (for the Big Three) problem is eliminated by the exclusion from the confab of Syria and Lebanon. Following the Yalta conference they were invited to join the United Nations by declaring war against the Axis, which they promptly did. Now they are busy fighting their "friends" for recognition and representation at the United Nations Conference.

Syria and Lebanon have been trying to throw off the yoke of the French mandate, and in this they had been encouraged by England. Recently, however, a change has crept into the British policy toward the matter of independence for these two countries. In February of this year, it was rumored, the London government upheld the French in their decision to retain troops in the two Near Eastern countries. This is undoubtedly part payment for French friendship in Europe.

Best way to avoid the awkwardness of confronting two small nations betrayed by Perfidious Albion is to keep them away. Hence no tickets to San Francisco.

Polish Struggle

The arrangements made at Yalta with regard to "broadening" the Russian-controlled Lublin government have hit a snag. The three-power commission sitting in Moscow has not yet been able to agree on how to "broaden" and "have thus far failed to get Mikolajczyk, former Premier in London and Peasant Party leader, who was slated to act as window-dressing for the Lublin set-up, to go to Moscow.

Since there is no Polish government, the Polish people will not be represented at San Francisco. A simple solution to a harassing problem.

Big Three Conflict

Not all the conflicting interests of the Big Three can be wiped out by exclusion from the April meeting. The Yalta decision that problems arising in the "liberated areas" be settled by the cooperative efforts of the Big Three, is beginning to crack. Each of the powers tries to act independently of the others in order to get into the strongest possible position. Thus we have England going ahead in Greece, Russia in Romania, and the U.S. in Latin and South America.

The Pot and the Kettle

The Russian-engineered change of government in Romania has evoked protest from the United States and England. A three-power commission is now supposed to be investigating the events which led to the establishment of the Groza government and the swift return of Transylvania by Russian agreement.

England expressed her disapproval by granting refuge to the ousted Radescu in the British legation. In retaliation, Russia broke her silence on Greece (which was maintained during the entire period of fighting between ELAS and British troops) by declaring in Pravda that the régime of Plastiras "reminds every Greek of all the horrors of the Metaxas dictatorship and of the German occupation."

Says England to Russia: According to Yalta, you must consult with us if you want to make any changes in Romania.

Says Russia to England: If you don't keep your nose out of my sphere of influence, I'll rake up all the dirt about your fair-haired boy in Greece, and maybe even encourage a little more trouble.

"Free Elections"?

Finland is the first of the "liberated areas" to hold elections. These are supposed to be the free expression of the people, uninfluenced and unhampered by foreign powers. Stalin's party paper, Pravda, has thrown an ominous hint to Finland about what he considers the proper outcome should be. "The present elections are not to be considered an internal affair of the Finns," the Russian paper wrote, and concluded with the warning that "some leaders must understand that friendship with the Soviet Union is the main guarantee of Finnish independence."

The results of the election have not yet been announced, but early reports seem to indicate that the pro-Russian Popular Democrats, a sort of popular front composed of dissident Social Democrats, Communists and pro-Russian politicians, did not make out too well.

If this is true, what will be the concrete consequences of Pravda's threat?

Editorials

Danger Signal in Romania

Soon after the Crimea conference, which presumably decided that there would be no more unilateral actions taken in any country by any one of the Big Three, Russia stepped into the Romanian situation, overthrew the government and set up a new régime more favorable to Moscow.

The United States and England have sent representations to Moscow asking for an explanation of the Russian intervention. The affair rests at that point for the moment.

In the meantime, an extremely interesting and symptomatic decision was taken by the new government. The New York Times of March 20 reported:

SAVE THE PROFITEERS

"Industrialists, business men and bankers will escape punishment as war criminals, under a law being drawn up by Lucretiu Patrascanu, Minister of Justice, and Communist members of the government, it was learned today.

"M. Patrascanu said the new law would place responsibility for Romania's part in the war upon officials who negotiated economic agreements with Germany and welded Romania's economy into the Nazi order.

"Romania could not afford to lose the services of merchants and industrialists, M. Patrascanu said. He expressed the opinion that the country would pursue a more liberal policy toward this class than the French have."

The new Romanian government, which is working closely with the Russian, is preparing to punish the political agents of Romania's capitalist ruling class, while leaving the real culprits go free. While it is true that the former government "negotiated" and "signed" trade pacts, it is also clear that in doing this they acted in the interests of the Romanian bankers, merchants and capitalists. It was the lat-

ter who profited from these arrangements. In Romania, as in every other capitalist country, the government acted in the interests of the industrialists, merchants and bankers. That class profited under the Nazi pacts; now they are profiteering under pacts with Russia and the other Allies.

The reference to the "liberal" policy in France would seem to indicate an opposite policy pursued by de Gaulle. That, of course, is not true. De Gaulle made a gesture about nationalizing a bankrupt coal industry. He did nationalize a few plants like those of Renault, who was an open Nazi collaborator and fled with the Nazis. But French banking, industry and commerce remain in the hands of the French capitalist class. There has been no solid change.

IT IS AN ALLIED POLICY

The Romanian policy is really in harmony with the Allied policy for all Europe. The Allied capitalist powers absolve the capitalist rulers of the Axis nations from all blame for the war. If they did otherwise they would be indicting their blood brothers, partners of Standard Oil, General Electric, Imperial Chemicals, etc. It is easy to understand then why the decisions of Yalta on Germany said nothing about the German industrial and financial capitalists who financed Hitler and put him into power to fight their war.

The Big Three are afraid of the people. They are afraid of the European revolution which would take its revenge on the ruling classes in all countries who are responsible for the war, the starvation and the mass misery of millions of workers and peasants on the continent.

That doesn't stop the Big Three from holding the enslaved German working class responsible for their fascist enslavers, put into power by the German capitalists aided by the ruling classes of England and America.

The Crime Against Pvt. Weber

Private Henry Weber, the conscientious objector who came close to being hung by the judgment of an Army court martial, is now in Leavenworth Prison serving out a five-year sentence because of his refusal to "learn to hate and kill."

The Army was forced by pressure of public opinion to admit its error in the case of Private Weber. He was not informed by his draft board concerning proper procedure when he informed them of his conscientious objection. He was discriminated against and segregated when he was placed in the Army. He was not assigned to non-combat service, as he requested. He did not receive a fair trial because the court failed in its duty to instruct him concerning his rights. After his sentence had been remanded to life imprisonment and then to a five-year term, the Army has refused to air the facts on the court martial or to answer the charges against it.

Weber is a member of the Socialist Labor Party, some of whose members plead

conscientious objection because of their belief that the war is imperialist. It is beyond a doubt that Weber's socialist views influenced the Army's severe penalty on him, since the treatment of other CO cases does not correspond to his.

Even an anonymous Army officer was constrained to write to the St. Louis Post-Dispatch:

"The convicted soldier wants the world to realize that the war makes multi-millionaires of some, while it makes corpses and cripples of others. He thought it unfair that young men's lives should be subject to conscription, while the nation's economic facilities produce unprecedented private profits for their owners. What honest believer in freedom and democracy can disagree?"

As honest believers in freedom and democracy as consistent with—nay, necessary to—socialism, we join with those who fight for the dismissal of the charges.

Efforts Persist to Track Down Tresca Killer

NEW YORK CITY—Efforts to find the slayers of Carlo Tresca, crusading editor of the Italian-language journal, Il Marello (The Hammer), have been extended to other continents by the Tresca Reward Committee. It appealed to sympathetic newspapers and liberal organizations in many foreign and American cities to help publicize its recent \$5,000 reward offer.

"We do not assume to lay the blame of that murder at the door of any specific group or government," said Morris L. Ernst, head of the reward committee. "But we do know that Carlo Tresca made bitter enemies because of his outspoken attacks upon and opposition to both fascists and communists. And among those he fought were elements that had their own plans for shaping Italy's political and economic future and for controlling public opinion with regard to the whole Italian situation."

The \$5,000 is offered for information leading to apprehension and conviction of those responsible for Tresca's death. Anyone furnishing such information is guaranteed "full protection." Officially issued by the New York City police department, which sent out 14,000 to police across the land, the leaflets state that "his or her identity will not be disclosed and information given will be received in absolute confidence." The offer is to expire on January 11, 1947.

New Bedford: "Voluntary" Enslavement

By Walter Weiss

If you want to know how voluntary the "voluntary" manpower bill passed by the Senate (a description of the bill appeared last week in L. A.) would be, take a look at New Bedford, Mass.

There the War Manpower Commission, acting by executive (presidential) order, has been trying for over three weeks to draft workers. The Senate bill seeks to put the power of congressional approval behind the presidential order.

(In LABOR ACTION of February 5, we described similar WMC activity in Allentown, Pa.)

New Bedford, a textile city of slightly over 100,000 persons, has protested almost as a unit (the Mayor, other politicians and business leaders joining with the unions) against the labor draft. Yet the armed forces, the WMC and the whole Roosevelt Administration have disregarded all pressure.

The daily newspapers have cooperated with the government by printing very little about this extremely important case. They do not want the workers of the nation to know what is going on. Associated Press dispatches on the situation are available to all the papers, but they are printed only occasionally in even so "reliable" a paper as the New York Times. To read them regularly, it is necessary to go to a business daily like the Journal of Commerce.

EFFECTS OF THE PLAN

The WMC plan is to transfer five hundred textile workers, men and women, to the Fisk and Firestone tire factories. (More recent reports say only 250.) Textile mills are ordered to release workers, who are then told they must go to the tire plants or remain jobless.

The local director of the Textile Workers Union, CIO, has charged that many workers would receive lower pay and that others would lose seniority rights or be forced to work on the night shift. Of the women called in the first installment of the draft many stated that they had large families to care for and that they couldn't possibly work a night shift.

The biggest complaint of all is the speed-up existing in the tire plants. A CIO leader states that the work load is "much, much higher than in the textile mills." Another union leader describes Fisk and Firestone as the most anti-union mills in the town and the ones with the worst conditions.

On February 25, the Associated Press reported that workers in the Fisk plant had sent a letter to War Manpower Commissioner McNutt, stating that the company could not possibly secure additional help unless steps were taken to improve working conditions.

Recent reports say that, of eighty-one workers called in the first stage of the draft, sixty-six failed to report for interviews and eight refused referrals. Finally, only five accepted the "voluntary" transfers. Of these, three were hired. One of the three was later rejected and another failed to report. Net result: one worker "voluntarily" shifted.

Most of the workers have appealed to McNutt himself against the action of McNutt's WMC officials. They still await his decision at this writing, but, as hard-boiled Business Week magazine says, it is clear what his decision will be.

In fact, the WMC started to process a second group of draftees on March 2 despite pleas from the Mayor and New Bedford manufacturers (among others) for a "little common sense" (Journal of Commerce, March 3). Of the second ninety called, the total agreeing to the "transfer" was again only one (New York Times, March 9).

The Mayor has warned of a general strike in all New Bedford plants, unless the WMC withdraws its order or suspends it for ninety days.

No concessions at all have been forthcoming as yet from Administration leaders. The War Labor Board has decided, we hear, on a seven-cent bonus for the third shift at Fisk (but not at Firestone). The company, however, may demand a price rise, so under the "stabilization" set-up the WLB order must be delayed.

WHAT IS LABOR GOING TO DO?

Top officials of the War and Navy Departments, of the WMC and of the War Production Board say that tire cord is urgently needed and call on the workers to help General Eisenhower and his men. That is their solution in this case and in all cases.

A U. S. court at Boston has refused to interfere, dismissing a suit by the CIO on the ground that WMC orders are merely "advisory" and therefore not subject to court review.

Meanwhile, the tire companies coin the richest profits in their history. So, for that matter, do the textile mills.

Meanwhile, textile workers all over New England and the South are voting for a strike, in an attempt to get the War Labor Board's recent and miserable fifty-five cent minimum wage put into effect.

Meanwhile, the national executive boards of the AFL and the CIO (with the notable exceptions of textile leaders Rieve and Baldanzi) have reaffirmed their no-strike pledge again.

What is THEIR plan for meeting the labor crisis? Why, to send committees to call on President Roosevelt once more—something that they have already done again and again. What has he given them? Compliments, a patent hearing, plenty of his famous smiles—but "no commitments."

Division of the World at Yalta--

(Continued from page 1)

assistance is to be remains to be seen. 5. WORLD SECURITY. The conferees then sat themselves down to resolve their differences on Dumbarton Oaks. The stumbling block to the Dumbarton Oaks decision to set up a new world organization was the manner of voting by the chief council.

At Yalta the "architects of a new world" gave in to the Russian demand that any one of the five leading powers making up the main council of the new world organization would have the right to veto any military action for which the security council might vote against an aggressor who sits on the council.

In other words, if Russia were deemed an aggressor and the council should vote to take military action against her, she could veto this action by her vote. Thus the whole farce of voting on war is completely revealed. Besides, war was never halted by a vote. When imperialist powers are ready to go to war, nothing but the united strength and opposition of the masses of people can stop them. The great discussion on the voting of the Dumbarton powers is merely wool pulled over the eyes of the people to disguise the fact that no serious steps have been taken to halt another war!

6. FOREIGN MINISTERS. The Crimean conference also decided that the Foreign Ministers of the United States, Russia and England shall meet regularly. The purpose in this is to

prevent "misunderstandings" which arise from the unilateral actions taken by each of them, no matter what their agreements may be.

7. SAN FRANCISCO. Crimea also decided to convene a United Nations conference in San Francisco to endorse the agreements of the Big Three. Since the other United Nations have only an advisory role, they can in no way seriously interfere with the decisions of Roosevelt, Stalin and Churchill. Churchill has already made it clear that in the present world one must accept the fact that big powers rule, little powers obey!

The San Francisco gathering is itself the sharpest condemnation of Crimea and its decisions. Three powers have decided in a completely dictatorial way the kind of world organization there should be. These three powers select two additional members (France and China) to sit on the permanent council. The same Big Three, or Big Five, select the lesser nations to sit on the non-permanent six-nation council.

Before any of these nations can come to San Francisco, they are being forced to declare war on the Axis. Otherwise they will get no favors from the Big Three! But after they come to San Francisco they will have no real rights or powers, since all rights and powers are concentrated in the hands of the Permanent Council of Five!

8. THE ATLANTIC CHARTER AGAIN. Having settled the fate of so many peoples in Europe and the sovereignty of nations, without their consultation, the Big Three, with a fitting hypocrisy, reindorsed the Atlantic Charter.

Before Crimea, Churchill had misrepresented the Charter and then declared it has no other significance than that of a hope, or a guide. Roosevelt joked about the Charter, didn't even know where it was, described it as a piece of paper having no official standing. Stalin signed the Charter too, but that didn't stop him from incorporating countries into the borders of Russia without consulting their peoples. But now, they have all re-indorsed it after having torn it to shreds and violated every one of its principles!

This was Yalta! A meeting of three powers which decided the fate of Europe and the world and laid the seeds for the Third World War!

Behind their actions is a determination to prevent the European peoples from deciding for themselves what kind of governments they want, what kind of economic, political and social systems they want.

Behind their actions is a determination to destroy the German nation and to wreak revenge on the German people.

Behind their actions is the determination to keep in existence a rotten and decaying capitalist system, to retain the profit social order at the

expense of hundreds of millions of people.

Behind their actions is a plan to split Europe between the Big Three to guarantee the régimes of the big powers and to split the booty of the world between them.

The decisions of Yalta, arrived at in a completely autocratic, big-power fashion, have nothing in common with democracy or a democratic peace which can come only from the people of the world.

The decisions of Yalta laid the basis for a new occupation of Europe, a new race of arms, a new subjugation of the peoples of the continent.

The decisions of Yalta bar the way to emancipate the millions and hundreds of millions of colonial peoples now living under the heel of Allied imperialism.

But the decisions of Yalta are not everlasting. They will not last for the several generations hoped for by Roosevelt. They will last only as long as the present relationship of forces, the strength of arms of the contending powers will last—and no longer.

The way to peace and the way out for Europe, as for the rest of the world, lies with the peoples of the world, with their efforts to establish a new society of genuine freedom, peace and security. That kind of society can only be a socialist society, free of exploiters and profiteers who feed on national antagonism, race hatred, war and imperialism.

A Scottsboro Case in Reverse

By JESSIE KAAREN

A Scottsboro case in reverse is being enacted in Abbeville, Ala., where a grand jury of white Southerners has twice refused to bring indictments against six white youths accused of criminally attacking a Negro woman, Mrs. Reyl Taylor.

The evidence in the case is so overwhelming that the Governor's office, responding to public pressure, has had to order a special investigation, superseding the local authorities. On recommendation of these investigators, the young men were retried and again a local grand jury refused to indict them, although one of the accused has admitted to the rape and two others acknowledge it took place, but claim in extenuation that they gave Mrs. Taylor money.

Mrs. Taylor was leaving church last September when she was accosted by six white men who said that they were from the sheriff's office and that they were placing her under arrest. They drove her to a secluded spot and at gunpoint attacked her.

By December, the number of protests against the local court for dismissing the accused, despite the seriousness of the crime, became so numerous that the Governor's office had to order the special investigation. The Attorney-General's statement says in part: "After further investigation was made by two investigators assigned by the Governor and Assistant Attorney-General working out of the Attorney-General's office, it was determined from their findings that the case should again be presented to the grand jury. All of the findings

were in detail placed before the grand jury. The grand jury did not see fit to return an indictment."

We can imagine how conclusive the evidence must have been before an Alabama Attorney-General would recommend a retrial. We can safely assume that the publicity organized by a national committee to safeguard civil rights in this case must have had a great deal to do with its being reopened.

The action of a white grand jury in dismissing the case so lightly has dangerous implications for the future of Negro-white relations. Such occurrences become firewood for race riots, which are bad for Negroes because they tend to dissipate their militancy instead of directing it along effective paths, and antagonize white workers who are otherwise sympathetic to the struggle for equal rights when approached with a correct program.

Contrast Mrs. Taylor's case with the Scottsboro case, where nine Negro boys were accused of raping two white women, Ruby Bates and Victoria Price. The boys were sentenced to death, although there was practically no evidence to sustain the allegations. Ruby Bates soon repudiated her first testimony and said the whole case was a frame-up from start to finish. The doctor who examined Victoria Price within twenty-four hours after the alleged attack, said there was no physical evidence of rape.

Those Negro boys would have been legally murdered by the state except for the fact that workers' groups joined with Negro organizations and with civil rights committees in such a clam-

orous protest that it became impossible for the Southern courts to carry out the dictates of their bourbon masters.

From 1931 to 1937, the defense committee organized mass demonstrations all over the world. It provided the funds and lawyers for the boys. At present the score in that case is as follows: five boys had their sentences suspended after six years in jail, two were paroled later and two boys are still in jail.

This is not a very good record for the American courts. But on the credit side is the fact that the boys were saved from the gallows and a precedent for Negro-white solidarity set up which can never be wiped out.

In asking for the conviction of one of the Scottsboro boys, the Attorney-General thundered: "Send that black thing to his death. Alabama Justice cannot be bought with Jew money from New York" (emphasis ours).

He was cheated of his victim. The Scottsboro defense committee, which is functioning to this very day, fought bitterly and tenaciously a battle in which all the reactionary forces that the Southern bourbons could muster were lined up against them, and they successfully challenged their power. While on the one hand the Scottsboro case is still another example of the type of "frame-up justice" that is reserved for Negroes, on the other hand it proves that white workers can be mobilized to fight for equal rights for Negroes and that the combined strength of both groups of workers is the most powerful force on earth.

Telephone Girls Take Strike Vote

By MARY BELL

Two independent unions of New York telephone operators have filed their intention to strike on behalf of 17,800 switchboard operators.

The issue? After a War Labor Board panel recommended a \$5.00 increase to operators working for \$21 a week (the wage of \$32 a week, which is an exception in this industry, makes a telephone operator an aristocrat of labor), the companies offered \$4.00; the WLB came across with \$3.00; the company failed to back up its \$4.00 original offer. This promise of \$4.00 by the American Telephone & Telegraph Co. came in answer to a strike threat last January.

At the time of this threatened strike, liberals, communists and labor leaders shed crocodile tears for the poor exploited operators and shouted in union:

"No! No! You mustn't strike—our men in uniform—the war for democracy, etc."

Some of the girls had an answer that almost stopped this anti-labor chorus. Their sons and husbands in uniform who knew of their plight supported their intention to strike.

It was only because of the serious resolution to strike that the WLB was moved to recommend the partial increase that would raise the operators' wages from sub-sub-standard to plain, everyday sub-standard wages.

Those who are against strike action by the terribly underpaid operators are for the company. Let's take a look at the company, American Telephone & Telegraph.

AT&T COLUSSUS AT&T is part of the golden J. P. Morgan dynasty. Its gross assets of over five billion dollars are estimated by Berle & Means to exceed in value the wealth of twenty-one of the forty-eight states taken together. It is controlled by a few of the Sixty Families who own and control most of the resources of the country.

Its annual gross income of more than one billion dollars is larger than that of most of the governments of the world. It is the largest private employer of labor in the U. S. Over 300,000 people work for this industrial kingdom.

We reprint from LABOR ACTION of December 4, 1944: "AT&T Income and Salaries (1937 pre-boom figures):

Net Income	\$179,834,815
Dividends	\$168,180,906
Surplus	\$11,652,909

Total Income	\$700,000,000
Taxes Paid	\$400,000,000
Net Income	\$300,000,000
Dividends Paid	\$81,000,000

Income after taxes and dividends, \$219,000,000.

Salaries of executives in pre-boom year 1938:

President Gifford	\$209,350
Vice-President Cooper	102,699
General Counsel	75,000
Vice-President Page	67,500
Vice-President Jewett	65,000

And this corporation is unwilling to have its operators earn more than \$21 a week!

The advertising ballyhoo of AT&T boasts that no individual owns so much as one per cent of its stock—therefore it is publicly owned and its policies are publicly determined. This is a farce. The wide dispersal of ownership only makes that much more possible the control by a few large, wealthy owners, who act in concert, or by holding shares nominally, while brokers manage their holdings.

The twenty largest owners of stock held only 4.6 per cent of the total,

but that was enough to establish control—simply because the rest of the shares were spread so widely.

CONTRAST WITH WORKERS

Men who are wealthier than princes of the Indies, who inherited their wealth, married into it or got their start in piracy, plunder or pure and simple exploitation such as the telephone girls are being subjected to—these private owners of AT&T are the ones who determined the wage policy of the operators.

What the corporation refuses to pay the operators furnishes the wives and these men with \$500,000 necklaces, \$75,000 sables, hand-painted swimming pools, Carrara marble floors, yachts, palaces, etc.

"No! No! Don't strike, girls. The boys in the foxholes, the war for democracy—"

Present the truth to the boys in the foxholes. Tell them "both sides" of the story—that of the profiteering corporation and that of the underpaid working women. Then we'll take our chances as to which side they'll support, the empire of AT&T or the right of these operators to a decent standard of living.

Middle East: Meaning of Pan-Arabia

By William Gorman

This has been an eventful month in the Middle East. Roosevelt conferred with King Ibn Saud of Arabia. After reading a declaration of war against Germany and Japan, the new Egyptian Premier was assassinated. Finally, delegates of seven Arab countries meeting in Cairo agreed to organize an "Arab Federation." These three events are closely inter-related.

BRITAIN'S LIFELINE THREATENED

From Egypt to India, almost all the Middle Eastern countries are under British domination. To maintain her sea and land lanes to India, Britain has brutally repressed successive Arab revolts. In addition, the backward physical existence and feudal economy in these areas are direct or indirect results of British imperialist policy. The political specialty of the British Colonial Office is to prop up and be supported in turn by all those who enslave the Arab masses and keep them in ignorance—the capitalists, landlords, kings and priests.

Today the dangers to Britain's control of the Middle East are growing ever greater. In Iran (Persia) the supposed joint British-Russian occupation of that country is turning into a Russian side-show. The Stalinist bureaucracy has made no pretensions about restraining its appetite for Persian oil.

In Arabia, American oil companies have an initial investment of a hundred million dollars in the potentially richest oil fields in the world. Obligingly, the American government is now coining Arabian money and training Ibn Saud's army. American "intervention" in Arabia would be facilitated by the fact that Arabia has been relatively free from British control since Ibn Saud badly routed the army of pro-British King Faisal after the last war. Thus Roosevelt's conference with Ibn Saud, and with no other Arab ruler, America is siphoning off Arabian oil and Ibn Saud is fattening the royal family on American revenue.

Confronted with two larger powers, America and Russia, both trying to get a toehold in traditionally British colonial territory, the British are frantically trying to strengthen their political position. Thus a conference of British Quislings was called together in Cairo to mouth in Arabic what Churchill and Eden are somewhat reluctant to say in English. After some tom-foolery about an Arab Federation, the conference demanded an end to French rule in Syria and prevention of the growth of the Jewish community in Palestine. There was no reference to British imperialism since Britain sponsored the conference. No critical comment about America and Russia, since these two large powers would not take kindly to criticism from thinly-veiled British sources.

"FEDERATIONS" AND FEDERATIONS

All this was done under the guise of organizing a federation of Arab countries. There can be no doubt that a real economic and political federation of the peoples in the Middle East would be desirable. But this is not the British intention. The British imperialists, for their own reasons, maintain the most artificial barriers and boundaries between Arab countries. Transjordan was forcibly torn off from Palestine after the last war and Britain has bitterly fought any unity of Anglo-Egyptian Sudan with Egypt.

It becomes clear that the Pan-Arab hoax was arranged for the British to stack their political chips in preparation for the sharp bargaining at the coming peace conference. The United States has the same purpose in organizing the Latin American conference in Mexico.

This brings us to the recent assassination of Premier Ahmed Maher Pasha of Egypt. The Egyptian people have some bloody memories of British rule and showed no enthusiasm for joining the war even when it was being fought on Egyptian soil. King Farouk, a parasitic, feudal reactionary was always in conflict with the anti-British Wafd Party and the former Premier, Mustapha Nahas Pasha.

Writing in The Nation of March 12, Henry Eulau says: "Nahas Pasha was fired because he opposed British control of the Pan-Arab League." Farouk, himself a Charlie McCarthy for the British, picked a new Premier more willing to be a pliable tool for the British rulers of Egypt. The new Premier was promptly shot by a nationalist once imprisoned in a British concentration camp in the malarial Sudan.

The Arab masses are simply tired of imperialist plunder, repression and deceit. It is probably true that they don't recognize fully the danger of Russian and American imperialism. The present jockeying for position in the Middle East is only preparatory motion toward a future war. But before the imperialist powers come to blows in the Middle East, they may all be toppled by the powerful wave of mass insurrections which are surely coming.

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No Wage Increases Granted Here--

(Continued from page 1)

insist that the Little Steel formula must be revised upward ten per cent immediately to meet the cost of living.

There's only one thing wrong with this demand, and that is that it is not strong enough. Labor members on the board and labor bigshots in general have long been asking for a revision of the Little Steel formula, and so far, their begging has gotten labor exactly nothing.

TEXTILE GIVES LEAD

Any American worker knows that getting a real answer to labor's demands has been a long and bloody struggle from the first days of trade union history. Big industry never has given and never will give out wage increases or anything else merely because labor begs for them. They WILL give out wage increases ONLY

when labor fights and shows its real strength. The textile workers have recog-

nized this and have untied their hands by rescinding the no-strike pledge for most of their members.

WAR IS HELL!

Last year Senator John H. Bankhead (D., Ala.) sponsored an amendment to the Price Control Act which gave the textile milling industry a cool ADDITIONAL \$100,000,000 profits.

Now, the textile barons are howling about a move to force them to manufacture low-priced clothing rather than the \$25, \$50 and \$100 dresses that some few seem to have the money to buy.

Representative Chet Holifield (D., Cal.) said in reply to the mountain of protests from the National Association of Housedress Manufacturers, Inc.:

"War is hell."

(But it's heaven on earth for some!)

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