

## Curtain-Raiser to San Francisco Parley-

# BIG 3 CLASH FOR POWER!

### Cat Out of Bag on Labor Draft

The rejection by the Senate, 46-29, of the compromise manpower control bill came six days after President Roosevelt made his fourth direct appeal for enactment of such legislation, declaring that its defeat would make "the successful conduct of the war even more difficult."

It was generally agreed that the coup de grace was rendered by the report to the President given by Director of Economic Stabilization James Byrnes just prior to his resignation. Therein was revealed by an Administration spokesman what LABOR ACTION maintained from the beginning:

The President's demand for a labor draft—his own ideas being embodied in the May-Bailey bill containing the severest penalties—was designed not for the "successful conduct of the war" but for the reconversion and post-war period. "I believe," said Byrnes in his report, "that this legislation will expedite full-scale reconversion."

This should cause some embarrassment—we don't expect them to conclude that independent labor politics is necessary—to the labor leaders who backed the same capitalist politicians who wanted to enslave American labor with this Hitlerite legislation.



JAMES F. BYRNES

(Continued on page 2)

### Miners Fight On

By MIKE STEVENS

The decision of the leaders of the United Mine Workers of America to extend the union agreement for the soft coal mines for one full month after the April 1st expiration date was greeted with the shut-down of many soft coal mines throughout the country because 80,000 to 100,000 miners stayed away from the mines. Even if the miners dribble back during the week, they will have convinced many mine owners and government officials that a union agreement had better be signed by the end of the month, when the extension period ends.

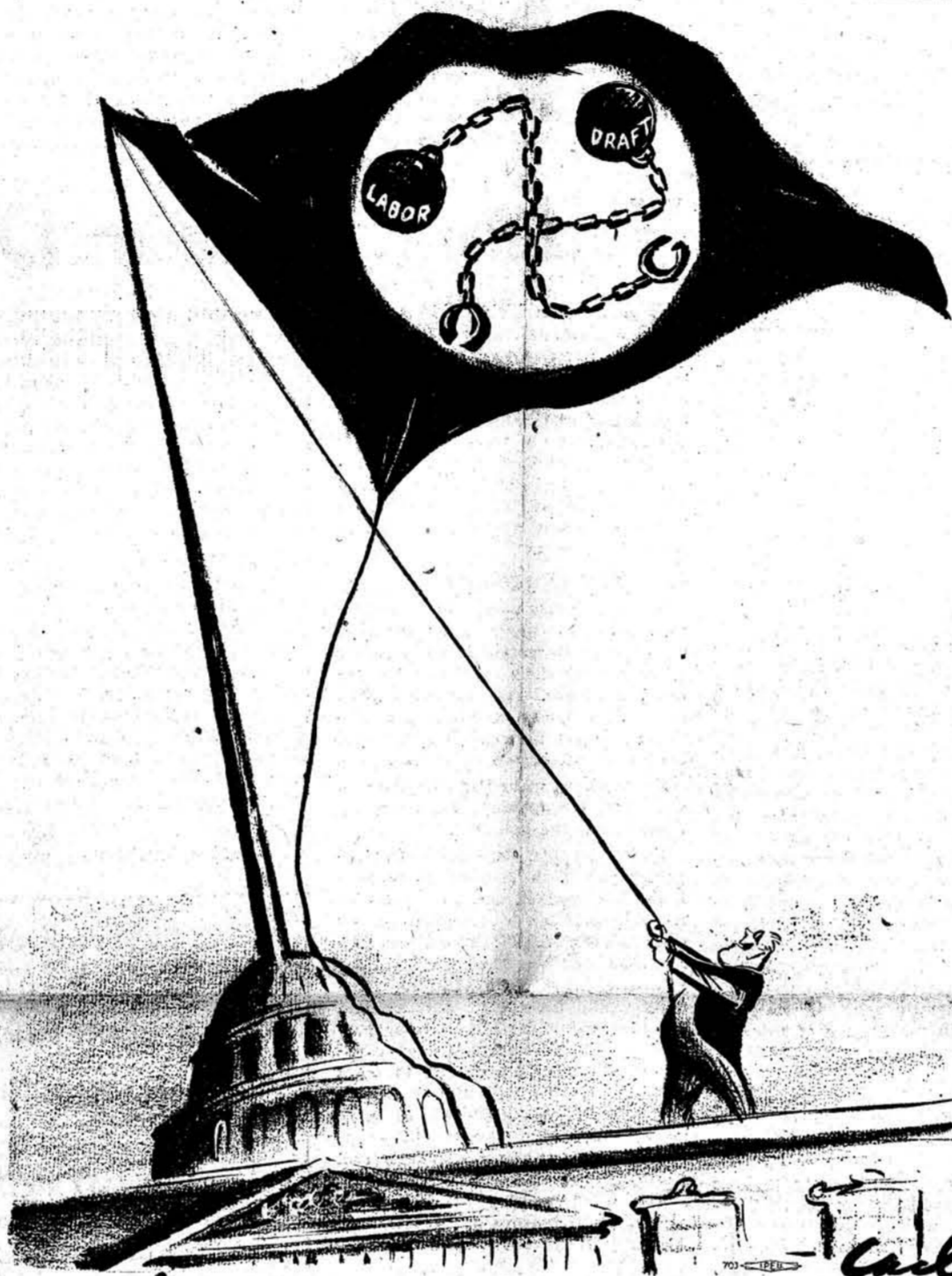
The decision by the UMWA to extend the old agreement until May 1st came after a series of week-end moves Extends Truce by the government, the owners and



the union. The government, seeing the huge figure of 208,797 "Yes" votes to strike and only 25,158 "Noes" in the NLRB poll decided to send Secretary of Labor Frances Perkins to the negotiations to present a compromise of some kind—because it was obvious from the vote that the miners were not going to take it lying down. On March 28, Miss Perkins made a series of proposals for a new agreement. The union accepted these proposals, but the owners rejected them. The proposals suggested by Secretary Perkins were:

1. A basic seven-hour day with time and a half for all overtime.
2. Full portal-to-portal pay.
3. Vacation pay of \$75 a year.
4. Premium pay of four cents an hour for the second shift and seven or eight cents for the third shift.
5. Supplying of detonators, caps,

(Continued on page 2)



## Industry-Labor "Atlantic Charter"

By W. WHITE

On March 28, with the newsreel cameras grinning, a New Charter for Labor and Management was announced by Eric Johnston, president of the Chamber of Commerce of the

United States, Philip Murray, president of the CIO, and William Green, president of the AFL. Ira Mosher, president of the National Association of Manufacturers, had refused to sign, stating that the code was not quite clear and definite enough.

This New Charter, like the Atlantic Charter in being secretly drawn up as well as in other respects, will now be submitted to the executive committees of the three organizations for approval. The people whom it most concerns, the rank and file of labor—are evidently to have the privilege of accepting it and of waiting to see what its real meaning may be. This undemocratic procedure is compensated for by some lovely language about democracy in the document. Let's examine and analyze briefly the contents of the New Charter:

#### THE INTRODUCTION

Peace will bring a new era of economic progress and "unlimited opportunities for every American." But the new era can be attained only by the same kind of management-labor unity as has existed during the war. These are unbelievable words, aren't they? Workers are promised

"unlimited opportunities" at a time when they can't even get a raise of a few cents an hour, at a time when unemployment stares them in the face. The very labor leaders who have put their signatures to this stuff have said time and again in the last few months that wage increases are needed now, that it is nothing less than "madness" to talk about improvements when the demand for labor drops.

It is true that the factories have turned out in the war, and are equipped to turn out at any time, goods in abundance. But during the war this was certainly not accomplished by management-labor unity (can these fellows be joking?) but by huge government war purchases, by exorbitant and guaranteed profits for the corporations who wouldn't even convert to war production until their terms were met, and by a reduction in labor's standards (frozen wages, rising prices, unheard-of taxes, speed-up on the job, breakdown of grievance procedure, etc.)

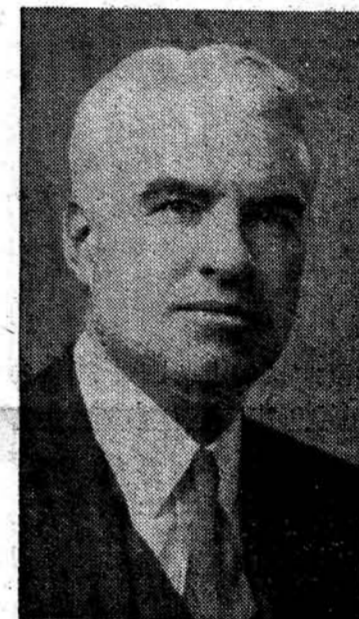
#### THE SEVEN POINTS:

The first three points. These glorify private property, free competitive capitalism, and free labor.

Power politics and secret diplomacy met at Yalta, Crimea, to decide the fate of the nations of the world. If there is doubt about this fact still current, if many believe that perhaps this time the world is being set on the road to peace by the three imperialist powers—the United States, Great Britain and Stalin's Russia—these doubt and beliefs were given a jolt by the events of the past week.

A report contained in the New York Herald Tribune disclosed that the Big Three had made a secret agreement at Yalta on the voting power of their delegates at the San Francisco Conference. Great Britain and her autonomous dominions had already been accorded six votes by the provisions of the Dumbarton Oaks Agreement. At Yalta, Russia demanded three votes. Churchill and Roosevelt agreed to this demand and Roosevelt added that if Russia were granted this request at San Francisco, the United States would ask for three votes too. Churchill and Stalin agreed.

Great Britain was given votes because of the autonomous dominions, each having separate ambassadors and foreign offices and considerably independent of the Empire. Some of the dominions have, as a matter of record, moved closer to the United States. On what basis, then, would Russia be entitled to three votes? Here the diplomats at Yalta concurred in Stalin's skullduggery by accepting White Russia and Ukraine as separate states, according them one vote each. What about the American votes? This was also settled in a blunt way. The United States would just be given three votes.



STETTINIUS—TRIED TO RECOVER ROOSEVELT'S FUMBLE

"In view of the importance which the Soviet (!) Government attached to this proposal, the American representatives at Yalta, having the utmost respect for the heroic part played by the people of these republics in their unyielding resistance to the common enemy and the fortitude with which they have borne great suffering in the prosecution of the war, agreed that the Government of the United States would support such a Soviet proposal at San Francisco, if made."

#### DUMBARTON OAKS VIOLATION

The action, of course, was strictly hypocritical. It was such an open violation of the Dumbarton Oaks Security Plan which said that the international organization planned by the United Nations "should be open to all peace loving states," and "each member of the organization shall have one vote in the general assembly (San Francisco)," that the master diplomats who concocted the scheme kept it secret until it was exposed by a newspaper.

The reason given by the State Department for this "concession" to Stalin is indeed a specious one. Said Mr. Stettinius:

"The sharp reaction of the country to the disclosure of the secret diplomacy of the Big Three caused President Roosevelt to withdraw the American decision to ask for three votes. But the Secretary of State hastened to add that the United States would continue to support the demand of Russia, if the latter would still make the request at the conference itself."

Why is so much emphasis placed on the matter of voting? Actually, the voting at the San Francisco Conference (Continued on page 4)

## Guaranteed Annual Wage

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. 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.

By Walter Weiss

These are two planks in the platform of the Workers Party. LABOR ACTION endorses them fully. We urge workers who are ready to fight and sacrifice for the annual wage and the security it will bring to all of us to JOIN THE WORKERS PARTY.

But, you may say, President Roosevelt is also for full employment and a guaranteed annual wage. Didn't he appoint a committee within the last two weeks to study this subject? Hasn't he, to quote him, been thinking about the advisability of a guaranteed wage for ten years already?

Philip Murray, CIO president, has also been promoting the annual wage idea, for well over a year now, as one of the main demands of his Steelworkers and of other CIO unions. The farmers, as Murray argued in the steel wage case, are guaranteed good prices for at least two years after the war. Industry is guaranteed tax refunds for a similar period. Big companies guarantee their top executives lifetime salaries and pensions.

#### A REVOLUTIONARY DEMAND?

"But," he added, "when we ask that the companies give us the same kind of treatment, we're told our request is crazy, socialistic or revolutionary."

The Communist Political Association, Stalin's American agent and certainly no friend of the Workers Party, also claims to be strong for the guaranteed wage.

And even Eric Johnston, president of the Chamber of Commerce of the United States, is described by the New York Times as an "ardent advocate" of the plan.

The War Labor Board, too, that graveyard of labor's hopes, has stated that the guaranteed wage is "perhaps the most vital economic and social objective of our times."

If all these famous people and organizations are for

the plan, why not join up with them instead of with the Workers Party?

Let's see. First, go back to that quotation from Philip Murray above. Is the demand "crazy, socialistic, or revolutionary"?

Crazy it clearly is not. We won't even argue that point. A country which can produce a national income of almost two hundred billion dollars, with eleven million of its best workers absent in the armed forces, can easily provide every family with \$5,000 a year, every individual worker with a guaranteed minimum wage of \$2500.

Yet who expects that this will really happen? Who doesn't fear unemployment and wage cuts? That's the crazy thing about our situation. Plenty is here for the taking—and we fear want.

Socialistic or revolutionary? Yes, if you are serious about the demand, it is socialistic and revolutionary. That's why any endorsement by Murray or Browder, Roosevelt or Johnston is nothing but words. They are not revolutionary socialists. They will not take the steps necessary to make the guaranteed and decent annual wage a reality.

#### CAPITALISTS OPPOSED

Every one of them supports the capitalist system, a system which will produce nothing unless profits are in sight. That's all that the capitalists want to be guaranteed.

In the steel case the War Labor Board decided that a guaranteed wage, even for the duration of a two-year contract, would cause the companies "such serious financial risks—as to be unworkable." This in spite of wartime super-profits and government guarantees of huge tax refunds.

(Continued on page 4)

## A Labor Action-Workers Party Anniversary

May Day and the fifth anniversary of LABOR ACTION and the Workers Party come out on the same day. In conformity with our consistent and militant struggle for the welfare of the working class, we raise the banner of the Workers Party and LABOR ACTION on May Day with the feeling of pride in our devotion to the interests of labor. We celebrate May Day for two reasons: May Day, the international holiday of the working class, and May Day, 1945, the fifth year of the Workers Party and LABOR ACTION.

The editors of LABOR ACTION have planned an eight-page issue filled with many extra features. First is the, May Day, manifesto of the Workers Party that will review the course of Labor's battles through the

past year and point out the tasks of the future for the workers. There will be articles from all sections of the party on the activities and results of their work through the country. The May Day issue will contain reports of militants from various unions plus the regular coverage of labor and political news by the LABOR ACTION staff.

This is the issue that every sympathizer and supporter of LABOR ACTION should get into the hands of workers who have never seen a copy of the paper. Subscribers can order a few extra copies and whatever they can contribute will be welcome. All people who regularly order bundles and no doubt will want to increase their orders should notify the business office of LABOR ACTION no later than April 15. Co-operate with us and send in your requests as soon as possible.

Traditionally and in the holiday spirit of May Day we print greetings from well-wishers. It is the Christmas spirit in May with LABOR ACTION on the receiving end. Every friend of LABOR ACTION who wants to see our ideas spread as widely as possible and feels some appreciation of the job of education being done by LABOR ACTION will want to send us a greeting for himself and his friends to be published in the May Day issue of LABOR ACTION.

All Workers Party branches throughout the country should solicit greetings from sympathizers. These greetings can be sent in individually or collectively. Groups may send in a large greeting with a list of names appended. Deadline for these greetings is April 23. Don't delay! Get those greetings now and send them in.

OFF THE PRESS ON APRIL 27!! LABOR ACTION GREETINGS AND ADS For the Fifth Anniversary Issue and MAY DAY

We send you the following greetings:

Name Greeting:	50c
1/2 inch ad:	\$1.00
1 inch ad:	2.00
2 inch ad:	4.00
3 inch ad:	6.00
4 inch ad:	8.00

(Signed)

By David Coolidge

# MASS ACTION:

RELIEF OF HUNGRY  
A POLITICAL QUESTION

Mr. Roosevelt wants us to tighten our belts so that more food can go to the hungry people of Europe. At least that's the reason he gave for the belt-tightening. He says that we just can't let the people of Europe starve.



The working class in the U. S. should certainly be concerned over the plight of the European and Asiatic workers. But before we pull up our belts to another hole we ought to have sense enough to investigate the food situation to discover whether or not it is necessary for us to reduce our food consumption in order to feed the workers of Europe and Asia.

Labor doesn't know how much food is being produced, how much goes to the military establishment, how much is being sent to countries overseas, how much is packed away

in storage, how much finds its way into what the capitalists call "the black market," nor how much is rotting on farms, in warehouses, in cold storage and in produce yards.

"We don't know how much the Army and Navy are wasting, nor just exactly what the meat packers, the butter people and the cannery are doing with their commodities in order to force their government to grant them permission to boost prices.

All we know is that the bureaucracy in Washington issues orders which we are forced to obey. We are forced to obey because we are just little people who have done the work from Pharaoh's pyramids to the last tank off the Chrysler production line.

Furthermore, we don't know where the food goes that is sent to "feed Europe." We want to feed the workers of Europe, Asia and Africa. We don't want our sacrifices used to stiffle the workers of the world. We don't want our sacrifices to go to re-

establish the runaway monarchical cowards on their thrones again.

As the United Nations armies proceed with their conquest of Europe, the kings, queens, and president who ran off and left their "subjects" to face the lash of the Gestapo, are returning from their hideouts in London, Washington and Long Island. They bring up the rear of the conquering armies of the Big Three like so many scavengers.

The food inquiry now being pursued by Congress is, to be sure, a political move by anti-Roosevelt hatchet men. But that's all right. The working class must take advantage of every rift, every dispute in the ranks of the ruling class and use it to our advantage. We can be sure that if the truth were known, Roosevelt's belt-tightening quip has some connection with bureaucratic skullduggery and collaboration in Washington between the food monopolists and the government at Washington.

## NEWS AND VIEWS FROM THE LABOR FRONT

# Progressives Win GAC Election

By TOM HARDY

AKRON—Leo Lamotte, personal representative for R. J. Thomas, president of the UAW-CIO, failed in his mission to Akron. Lamotte, castoff regional director from Region 1A at the 1944 UAW convention, was sent to Akron as administrator of Local 856 of Goodyear Aircraft to do a hatchet job on the progressives.

Finally forced by opposition pressure into an election, Lamotte's hand-picked candidates were decisively defeated by the same group that he had tried to break. Lamotte's entire repertoire of underhanded political shenanigans was thrown at the faction interested in building a progressive, fighting local.

The progressives' political battle was fought on promises of good, clean trade unionism; proper handling of treasury funds and sponsoring candidates for their ability to handle trade union offices. This slate was successful but could have been much

more so if a militant fighting program had been presented. The members of Local 856 turned out to vote this time on a personal plea. But if the officers elected do not advance the program that will make gains for their members they will find their constituents reluctant to re-elect them.

### LAMOTTE'S DAMAGE

The struggle in the local has resulted in real losses for the workers of GAC. By Lamotte's signing the contract during his administration, the members' seniority rights have been put into a classification system which practically nullifies the purpose of seniority. Group stewards' seniority rights also have been curtailed. Collaboration on Lamotte's part in enforcing disciplinary rules set up by management has tended to discourage employees' interest in the union. And Lamotte's acceptance of the miserly .71 of one per cent retroactive pay under a WLB directive are all diffi-

cult obstacles that Phillips, president-elect, and his new group of officers will have to offset by real gains of their own.

Lessons can be drawn by the union members and the newly elected officers from the campaign Lamotte, McCoy and Ralph conducted. These men fought a good fight for the Stalinist Communist Party, using red-baiting, smearing, lying and the usual methods of the CPers. Lamotte in his first week here was misquoted by the local papers as saying that he intended to drive the Communists from the union. He apologized at a general meeting for this misquotation and added that the Communists were good people.

McCoy, ex-president, was an ideal stooge for Lamotte. Ralph, the ideal Stalinist, a verbatim quoter of Daily Worker lies, has been booted from the floor of union meetings many times. These are the type of men R. J. Thomas backs and wants to con-

trol local unions, for he can perpetuate himself in office through their votes at the annual convention.

### TROTSKYITE SCARE

In the final stages of the election battle, Ralph of Plant D was caught passing out a leaflet attacking the "White Slate" or Progressive group. Within this leaflet was enclosed the scurrilous handbook of Stalinist trade unionism, "Trotskyite Fifth Column" by George Morris. The leaflet was signed by the Communist Political Association. It was obviously to the best interest of the Communist Party that McCoy be re-elected president.

Lamotte's good intentions to build up Local 856 are well illustrated in his backing McCoy again for president. Lamotte himself was sent to Local 856 because of McCoy's flop as president. The members jumped from the frying pan into the fire in a vain attempt to replace McCoy with a leader like Lamotte. That's over, now.



## Out of the Past

John Reed, an American Revolutionist

By RUTH PHILLIPS

John Reed was born into the ruling class. His father was a successful business man; his mother was a member of the moneyed aristocracy of Portland, Ore., the town of his birth in 1887. At the height of a brilliant career as war correspondent, writer and poet, he made a decisive break with the capitalist class. He placed his talents at the service of the working class, the class which represents progress in modern society.

John Reed, the liberal, became a revolutionary socialist; John Reed, the poet, became a propagandist and organizer for the cause of the working people.

Even when he was at Harvard and although his ideals were the conventional ones: fame, money, success, somehow John Reed didn't feel comfortable with the sons of bankers and brokers.

### BAPTISM IN CLASS STRUGGLE

From Harvard, Reed went to New York. In literary circles his friends were the liberals and socialists who published the "Masses," a magazine devoted to new trends in literature and socialistic ideas in politics.

His meeting with Bill Haywood, the IWW leader, was to bring him closer to the firing line. Haywood was then engaged in a strike of silk workers in Paterson, N. J. Reed decided to go and see the strike for himself. When he got to Paterson, the police, who were arresting everybody in sight, pulled him in, too.

Up before a judge, he was asked his occupation. "Poet," said Reed. "Twenty days," said the judge. In jail he talked to the strikers and was impressed with the justice of their fight and with their courage. He left jail to speak at meetings for the strikers and to organize a huge pageant at Madison Square Garden for the strike fund.

In Mexico, Pancho Villa had organized the peons against the big landowners for a democratic Mexico. Reed went to report Villa's revolution. Villa was called a bandit by the American press because his democratic revolution threatened the interests of Wall Street in Mexico. Reed's colorful, sympathetic dis-

patches to the American press aided Villa's cause, and established Reed as a first-rate newspaperman.

1914. War in Europe. John Reed went to cover the war for Metropolitan magazine. He found nothing to sympathize with in the aims of either side in the war. He had sympathy only with the victims of the grim, horrible business of war. As a neutral, he was able to go into Germany. There he interviewed Karl Liebknecht, the socialist, who told him



that the war was not our war—that on both sides it was a war for imperialist profits.

John Reed came back to America, bringing Liebknecht's message, "this is not our war."

When Wilson ran for re-election in 1916, John Reed supported him because he promised to keep us out of war. Reed, like millions of Americans, had been duped by Wilson's promises. But unlike the Wilsonian liberals, Reed's opposition to the war continued after America's entry.

Reed, twenty-nine years old, wrote: "I have seen and reported many strikes, most of them desperate struggles for the bare necessities of life; and all I have witnessed only con-

firms my first idea of the class struggle and its inevitability. . . . As for me, I don't know what I can do to help—I don't know yet. All I know is that my happiness is built on the misery of other people, that I eat because others go hungry, that I am clothed when other people go almost naked through frozen cities in winter."

### "TEN DAYS THAT SHOOK THE WORLD"

He was to learn what he could do in revolutionary Russia. Only a few years before, he could have gotten an assignment from any paper to go anywhere at his own price. Now, no newspaper wanted Reed, the anti-war socialist, to represent it in Russia. He went there as correspondent for the socialist Call and The Masses.

In Russia he saw the soviets of workers and soldiers, under the leadership of the Bolsheviks, take state power. He talked to Lenin and Trotsky, to capitalists, intellectuals and workers. In Russia, John Reed made the complete transition from liberal onlooker to direct participant in the class struggle. He went to work for the soviets in the Bureau of International Revolutionary Propaganda.

John Reed, Bolshevik, returned to America to tell the truth about Russia to the American workers and to engage actively in revolutionary politics. He became a leader in the left wing of the Socialist Party and an editor of Revolutionary Age, its organ. In his speaking tours across the country he was harassed by detectives. He was under indictment as an editor of The Masses and for making "seditious remarks" in his speeches.

He found time to write "Ten Days That Shook the World." Damned by most reviewers when it appeared, it lives today as a classic of reporting, a stirring account of the Russian Revolution. It is John Reed's enduring contribution to the fight for socialism.

John Reed died in Russia in 1920 of typhus fever. He had returned to that country as a delegate of the American Communists to the Communist International. Before his death he participated in the Second Congress of the Communist International.

# Hudson Strike in Defense of Union

DETROIT—On Friday, March 30, 13,000 workers left their jobs in protest in a dispute over the firing of a steward at the main plant of Hudson Motor Car Co. The strike came after a period of weeks, during which time the rank and file workers were the victims of contract violations, production speed-ups and sniping by supervisors. All of this was part of an obvious attempt by the company to break the union.

### COMPANY PROVOCATION

In the past few weeks, the company attempted to move drill grinders from one department to another while cutting their rates twenty-nine cents an hour. This was the final straw in a series of minor provocations. The cut in wages was averted by the threat of the union to strike.

All workers waited in readiness to walk out the moment the company tried to cut the grinders.

Following this, the engineering department, which is part of Hudson Local 154, walked out in protest of an accumulation of grievances for over TWO YEARS. These workers had had many settlements on their grievances, but each time the company would reverse its decision and the men would be left in their previous position. The production workers in the plants prepared to walk out in sympathy with the engineers, but here again, under threat of a plant-wide strike, the company acceded to the union's demands and the strike was averted.

The workers have all been provoked by numerous little incidents. Recently, a worker was docked for

walking away from the job. The next day, benches were moved, thereby leaving workers no place to sit while eating their lunches. Foremen write as many as twenty-five disciplinary reports for mere trifles. All of this, in addition to the wage injustices of the Little Steel formula, the continual cutbacks and layoffs has aroused the workers to such an extent that any incident is enough to provoke a plant-wide strike.

Things finally came to a head when a steward was fired by the company. This steward was a habit of saying "Take it easy" as a greeting, just as one would say "Hello." He has been saying this for years. The company has had it in for him for quite some time, so when a foreman overheard him saying to two of his fellow-inspectors, "Take it easy," he was fired for "attempting to restrict production."

The union immediately proceeded

to negotiations and after some time the company agreed to rehire him. The following day, after the men returned to work, the company reversed its decision and the man was fired again. After waiting for some time, the inspection department, over which this man was steward, began to leave the plant. As they left, other workers followed until half the plant was empty. The following day, after negotiations had failed to accomplish anything, all three plants operated by the company shut down as all of the workers walked out.

George Ades, secretary-treasurer of the UAW-CIO, managed to beat even the War Labor Board in ordering the workers to return to work. His telegram to the officials of the local called the strike a "violation of the no-strike pledge" and added: "To impair production of implements may result in the loss of thousands of additional lives."

The War Labor Board also was

shocked to hear that production had ceased on such essential contracts as for B-29 and P-38 parts. What Ades and the War Labor Board pretend not to know or at least to ignore is just two weeks ago a large part of the B-29 contract was cut back, resulting in the curtailment of a number of workers and the cutting of working hours from nine to eight. But not a word was said about the company "impairing production."

### BACK TO WORK

Appearing before the War Labor Board on Friday, the local union officials were promised that as soon as the men returned to work a panel would be set up by the board to begin hearings on the case of the fired steward. Completely ignoring all other grievances, the local union leadership led by Claude Bland, president of Local 154, accepted the fake promises of the board and immediately called a meeting to try to get the workers back to work.

Ignoring the rank and file membership of the local, Bland invited only members of the executive board and the chief stewards to the meeting, hoping to be able to cram the back-to-work movement down their throats a lot easier than down those of a recalcitrant rank and file.

The meeting was attended by many rank and filers, nevertheless, but the dispiriting report of the leadership and their obvious lack of aggression in fighting the company and the board resulted in a motion authorizing the president to call the workers to return to work.

U. S. Rubber Profits and Sales, 1943-1944			
(Fifty-third annual report to stockholders)			
	1943	1944	
Net income (after taxes)	\$14,163,554	\$15,832,613	
Taxes	59,193,095	57,584,271	
Additions to plant and property		15,089,284	
Net sales	422,271,343	443,077,453	
Dividend payments per share	\$5.09	\$6.04	

WHAT? NO LITTLE STEEL FORMULA!  
WHERE IS THE WLB? WHERE IS THE OPA?

# Cat Out of Bag on Labor Draft --

(Continued from page 1)

The struggle against the manpower draft is not yet over. Congress can still pass some kind of middling bill which will tighten the present strict controls which have resulted in many cases of induction into the Army.

To summarize the remainder of Byrnes' report is to indicate the job labor has on its hands in the coming period.

"Delay of Wage Increases Held Key to Post-V-E Day Stabilization Plans." This is the glowing headline of the Journal of Commerce, reflecting the business point of view on Byrnes' report.

Although Administration spokesmen have previously advocated wage boosts after victory in Europe to offset loss of overtime pay, it now seems agreed between Byrnes, the WLB and the OPA that wage raises must wait

for the end of the war in the Pacific.

Byrnes himself says: "I feel sure that ultimately after the war total take-home pay in the U. S. will reach the present level."

He admits a great rise in productivity in war industries but demands that any pay increases await proof that this productivity will carry over into peacetime.

He promises a study of those few industries where wage rates haven't kept pace with prices. But the WLB's recent Little Steel report, "proving" that wages have outrun prices, makes this promise a joke.

### EASY ON BUSINESS

He is for retaining present tax rates and war bond purchases to help keep prices and consumer buying power under control.

Even corporation taxes must stay up—but Congress should hurry to make tax refunds available to business and to end compulsory saving (ten per cent of excess profits taxes, under present law). Why? So that the poorer companies will have ready

funds for reconversion.

There must be no large-scale public works programs in spite of all temptations that may arise in areas of "temporary" and "local" unemployment. These might interfere with war production and rapid reconversion—not to speak of low wage rates in industry which a labor reserve makes possible. Says Byrnes: "We must not be stampeded into large public works programs."

There's the report:

"Wages to stay frozen. Overtime and other benefits to vanish."

Workers to stay frozen to their jobs and to be shifted at the will of the WMC.

Taxes to stay up—for workers. To be relaxed for corporations.

Prices, as we have been seeing, to keep going up.

Unemployment not to be eased by public works.

Profits? The very conservative editor of the Journal of Commerce says that they should fall only moderately—and mostly at the expense of corporate taxes.

# Miners Fight--

(Continued from page 1)

shoes and goggles by the mine owners.

6. Increase in the wage rates of crewmen.

Acceptance of this compromise would have increased the average miner's wages about \$1.75 a day.

### MINERS MEAN BUSINESS

The War Labor Board on March 31 ordered the UMWA and the owners to extend the old agreement for an indefinite period. The UMWA agreed to extend the agreement until May 1st "with the understanding that any increases in the wage rates or other considerations will be computed retroactively from April 1, 1945."

The traditional holiday of the coal fields, John Mitchell Day, was observed on Monday, April 2. The miners remained away from the mines, although many of the mines, especially those owned by the steel companies, had opened up to wait for the miners—who did not come. On the following day, despite telegrams from John L. Lewis and despite radio and newspaper announcements two days running about the one-month extension of the old union agreement, soft coal miners in West-Virginia, Ohio, Kentucky, Pennsylvania and Alabama stayed away from the mines.

In some of the UMWA locals a formal vote was taken to stay away from the mines, but in most of the mines the workers didn't need to hold any meetings. They just didn't like exten-

sions of this type and they protested in the most effective way—by staying away from the mines. The miners' reactions to the Perkins proposals, accepted by John L. Lewis, are difficult to gauge. But the fact that the operators refused even these compromise proposals has certainly convinced the miners that they will have to conduct a vigorous struggle against the owners. If the owners rejected even these weak proposals at a time that they are piling profits sky-high, then why continue negotiating with them? This was the reaction of the miners.

### HARD COAL STRIKE VOTE

The miners are also not satisfied with the way the retroactive pay question is being tossed around. Although John L. Lewis and the WLB agreed that any increases made in the new agreement will be retroactive to April 1st, no real definite provisions have really been made. The miners remember the run-around they got after the last agreement was signed on just this question and when it was all over they did not receive their full retroactive pay.

Negotiations between the UMWA and the hard coal mine owners opened April 4th. The union demands are expected to be similar to those made of the soft coal owners. A strike vote will be taken on April 26 in the hard coal mines, and here too, there is no doubt that the vote will be overwhelmingly in favor of going on strike if the union demands are not met.

for the end of the war in the Pacific.

Byrnes himself says: "I feel sure that ultimately after the war total take-home pay in the U. S. will reach the present level."

He admits a great rise in productivity in war industries but demands that any pay increases await proof that this productivity will carry over into peacetime.

He promises a study of those few industries where wage rates haven't kept pace with prices. But the WLB's recent Little Steel report, "proving" that wages have outrun prices, makes this promise a joke.

### EASY ON BUSINESS

He is for retaining present tax rates and war bond purchases to help keep prices and consumer buying power under control.

Even corporation taxes must stay up—but Congress should hurry to make tax refunds available to business and to end compulsory saving (ten per cent of excess profits taxes, under present law). Why? So that the poorer companies will have ready

funds for reconversion.

There must be no large-scale public works programs in spite of all temptations that may arise in areas of "temporary" and "local" unemployment. These might interfere with war production and rapid reconversion—not to speak of low wage rates in industry which a labor reserve makes possible. Says Byrnes: "We must not be stampeded into large public works programs."

There's the report:

"Wages to stay frozen. Overtime and other benefits to vanish."

Workers to stay frozen to their jobs and to be shifted at the will of the WMC.

Taxes to stay up—for workers. To be relaxed for corporations.

Prices, as we have been seeing, to keep going up.

Unemployment not to be eased by public works.

Profits? The very conservative editor of the Journal of Commerce says that they should fall only moderately—and mostly at the expense of corporate taxes.

Los Angeles Harbor Area  
CALENDAR OF EVENTS  
SUNDAY—APRIL 15, 8:00 P. M.  
FORUM  
"CHINA AND THE WAR IN THE PACIFIC"  
SATURDAY, APRIL 28  
MAY DAY  
BUFFET SUPPER  
SUNDAY, MAY 13, 8:00 P. M.  
FORUM  
(Topic to Be Announced Later)  
At 1039 So. Meyler San Pedro

NEW YORK MAY DAY CELEBRATION  
5th of Workers Party and Labor Action Anniversary  
BUFFET DINNER... SPEAKERS... DANCING  
CARAVAN HALL  
110 EAST 59th STREET  
NEW YORK CITY  
SUNDAY, APRIL 29th  
ADMISSION:  
DINNER . . . \$1.00  
GENERAL . . . .25  
MAKE DINNER RESERVATIONS EARLY  
SEND BLANK FOR TICKETS BY MAIL  
DINNER AND PROGRAM  
6:00 TO 9:00 P. M.  
DANCING TO 12:00  
Fifth Anniversary Celebration Committee  
Workers Party, Local New York  
114 West 14th Street  
New York 11, N. Y.  
Enclosed please find \$\_\_\_\_\_ for \_\_\_\_\_ reservations for the Fifth Anniversary Dinner.  
Name \_\_\_\_\_ Address \_\_\_\_\_  
City \_\_\_\_\_ Zone \_\_\_\_\_

**A PAPER IN THE INTEREST OF LABOR**

Published Weekly by the  
**Labor Action Publishing Ass'n**  
 114 West 14th Street, New York 11, N. Y.  
 CH. 2-9681 (Third Floor)

Vol. 9, No. 15

April 9, 1945

**ALBERT GATES, Editor**  
**MARY BELL, Ass't Editor**

Subscription Rate: 60c a Year; 35c. 6 Mos. (75c & 40c for Canada, Foreign, New York City, Bronx)  
 Re-entered as Second-Class Matter, May 24, 1940, at the Post Office at New York, N. Y.  
 Under the Act of March 2, 1879

# Bretton Woods and Labor

By JOHN STEWART

Amid the complexities that attend any discussion of monetary affairs, the opposition of the American Bankers Association and the support of the tops of organized labor, the proposals coming out of the United Nations Monetary and Financial Conference held at Bretton Woods are presented by their advocates as "Something that's good for every citizen" (Morgenthau) like sunshine and fresh air.

The International Bank and International Stabilization Fund now before Congress are companion pieces to the Dumbarton Oaks proposal for the World Security Council now being arranged for in San Francisco. As such, they are being argued for in the same manner as the United Nations Council. Every enlightened citizen must be for them. You can't criticize, offer amendments, tamper with the proposals in any way, let alone indict their purpose. As in the case of the Security Council, the advocates want quick, complete, unquestioning acceptance for fear world organization plans will be destroyed in the egg.

As LABOR ACTION pointed out the time of the Bretton Woods Conference, labor is being bribed to support the world monetary organization by the promise of 5,000,000 jobs. The most superficial and demagogic arguments we have yet seen are contained in the recently issued CIO pamphlet, "5,000,000 Jobs—The Promise of Bretton Woods."

The pamphlet reads as though it were written by a Daily Worker scribbler. It is taken for granted that the Bank and Fund will:

1. Guarantee jobs and prosperity for all countries through free international trade.
2. Prevent financial and economic aggression of the kind that helped Germany and Japan prepare for this war.
3. Make it impossible for financial interests in this and other countries to help foreign aggressors, the way Germany and Japan were helped before this war.
4. Raise the standard of living in "backward" countries to the point where they can buy the things we make.

After analyzing in the most superficial way how these high-sounding purposes will be realized, the pamphlet "clinches" its arguments for the plan by pointing out who are its opponents—"die-hard Republicans, led by Senator Taft," the ABA, etc.

**WHAT THE POWERS WANT**

The Stabilization Fund is in reality merely a sort of international Office of Price Administration covering currency. It aims to eliminate currency depreciation, blocked currencies and the cut-throat monetary manipulations that characterized the depression and pre-war era. The bank aims to make credit available and guarantee loans of private bankers. But—

The plan is more than that. Just as Dumbarton Oaks represents **POWER POLITICS**, Bretton Woods represents **POWER ECONOMICS**. Votes

are apportioned according to the money of the investing powers. The U. S. is naturally most powerful, being the wealthiest. France fared the same in the Bretton Woods agreement as she did at Yalta, being pushed below China in order of rank and vote. The small nations count for less here than they do in San Francisco. Bretton Woods was a Big Three show, too.

Bretton Woods, whether or not its plan is adopted, represents the efforts of the state, i.e., the government, to regulate international finance as it increasingly regulates every sphere of life. Hence the opposition of the American Bankers Association, which prefers its carefree, unfettered, cut-throat competitive methods of yesterday.

The governments of the Big Three, however, are more far-sighted and have a "long view" of the interests of big money. They want to assure loans to rebuild a semblance of industry from the ashes of Europe; Russia wishes to assure replacement of her devastation; Britain must have the wherewithal to save herself from bankruptcy. The United States aims for the economic domination of the whole world.

Rather than permit the old anarchic, individualistic trading of capitalism to continue, the state wishes to organize the chaos, "stretch out" the waning days of capitalism.

**NEW ECONOMIC WARS**

But Bretton Woods was an exposure of the limits of capitalism to plan. It was pointed out by the economist, Leo Cherne, in a radio debate, that the plan will eliminate currency competition, but will leave some forms of competition untouched. Those untouched will be non-monetary and cartel competition. (That's all!)

All capitalist countries, because of their continuous drive for profits, are naturally competitive. The industrialized countries compete by producing the same commodities and trying to sell in the same market. Once Europe gets under way again, through these international loans, it, too, competes. Then rivalry ensues in the non-industrialized areas of the world. Since these are colonial wars for the control of these markets are inevitable. Roosevelt could have meant no less when he spoke of "the economic warfare" that led to the present holocaust.

Thus the proposed monetary reforms only act like a finger in the weakening dike of capitalism. Economic competition is left untouched. And so it will remain until the workers of the world lay hands on the private profit system and organize production for social use, not for profits. Only then can war really be eliminated. Only then can the backward, exploited agricultural hinterland of the world be raised to a high level of industrialization.

To this end, independent action by the ranks of workers is necessary. The leaders of their "unions act like petty stockholders in an imperialist enterprise" (Trotsky), and such they are. The workers have nothing in common with imperialism. They fight its wars, produce its goods, suffer its periodic unemployment.

The promise of Bretton Woods is not five million jobs to be obtained in world trade. The threat of Bretton Woods is world insecurity, world depression and World War III.

By **FREDERICK ENGELS:**

# WHAT IS A FAIR DAY'S WAGE?

The following article was written by Frederick Engels, the life-long friend and collaborator of Karl Marx in founding the system of scientific socialism. It was written on May 7, 1881, for the British workers' paper, the Labor Standard, edited by George Ship-ton, secretary of the London Trades Council.

Engels takes one of the common arguments of the capitalists for keeping wages down and shows it to be nothing but a device to exploit labor. The fact that it was written more than fifty years ago for English workers in no way detracts from its timeliness nor its application to American workers, for Engels was writing about capitalism in general, not only the English profit system. What he wrote has universal meaning for the workers of all countries.

Only one additional point needs to be made: Engels was a socialist internationalist interested in emancipating the exploited peoples of the whole world. Workers should bear that in mind when his great teachings are misrepresented by the Stalinist-Communists, who have become anti-socialist Russian nationalists and the supporters of monopoly capitalists in all countries.—Editor.

**A FAIR DAY'S WAGE FOR A FAIR DAY'S WORK**

This has now been the motto of the English working class movement for the last fifty years. It did good service in the time of the rising trade unions after the repeal of the infamous Combination Laws in 1824; it did still better service in the time of the glorious Chartist movement, when the English workmen marched at the head of the European working class.

But times are moving on, and a good many things which were desirable and necessary fifty, and even thirty years ago, are now antiquated and would be completely out of place. Does the old, time-honored watchword too belong to them?

A fair day's wage for a fair day's work? But what is a fair day's wage, and what is a fair day's work? How are they determined by the laws under which modern society exists and develops itself? For an answer to this we must not apply to the science of morals or of law and equity, nor to any sentimental feeling of humanity, justice, or even charity. What is morally fair, what is even fair in law, may be far from being socially fair. Social fairness or unfairness is decided by one science alone—the science which deals with the material facts of production and exchange, the science of political economy.

Now what does political economy call a fair day's wage and a

fair day's work? Simply the rate of wages and the length and intensity of a day's work which are determined by competition of employer and employed in the open market. And what are they, when thus determined?

**A FAIR DAY'S WORK?**

A fair day's wage, under normal conditions, is the sum required to procure to the laborer the means of existence necessary, according to the standard of life of his station and country, to keep himself in working order and to propagate his race. The actual rate of wages, with the fluctuations of trade, may be sometimes above, sometimes below this rate; but, under fair conditions, that rate ought to be the average of all oscillations.

A fair day's work is that length of working day and that intensity of actual work which expends one day's full working power of the workman without encroaching upon his capacity for the same amount of work for the next and following days.

The transaction, then, may be thus described—the workman gives to the capitalist his full day's working power; that is, so much of it as he can give without rendering impossible the continuous repetition of the transaction. In exchange he receives just as much, and no more, of the necessities of life as is required to keep up the repetition of the same bargain every day. The workman gives as much, the capitalist gives as little, as the nature of the bargain will admit. This is a very peculiar sort of fairness.

But let us look a little deeper into the matter. As, according to political economists, wages and working days are fixed by competition, fairness seems to require that both sides should have the same fair start on equal terms. But that is not the case. The capitalist, if he cannot agree with the laborer, can afford to wait, and live upon his capital. The workman cannot. He has but wages to live upon, and must therefore take work when, where and at what terms he can get it. The workman has no fair start. He is fearfully handicapped by hunger. Yet, according to the political economy of the capitalist class, that is the very pink of fairness.

But this is a mere trifle. The application of mechanical power and machinery to new trades, and the extension and improvement of machinery in trades already subjected to it, keep turning out of work more and more "hands"; and they do so at a far quicker rate than that at which these superseded "hands" can be absorbed by, and find employment in, the manufactures of the country. These superseded "hands" form a real industrial army of reserve

for the use of capital. If trade is bad they may starve, beg, steal, or go to the workhouse; if trade is good they are ready at hand to expand production; and until the very last man, woman or child of this army of reserve shall have found work—which happens in times of frantic over-production alone—until then will its competition keep down wages, and by its existence alone strengthen the power of capital in its struggle with labor. In the race with capital, labor is not only handicapped, it has to drag a cannon-ball riveted to its foot. Yet this is fair, according to capitalist political economy.

**WHERE WAGES COME FROM**

But let us inquire out of what fund does capital pay these very fair wages? Out of capital, of course. But capital produces no value. Labor is, besides the earth, the only source of wealth; capital itself is nothing but the stored-up produce of labor. So that the wages of labor are paid out of labor, and the working man is paid out of his own produce. According to what we may call common fairness, the wages of the laborer ought to consist in the produce of his labor. But that would not be fair, according to political economy. On the contrary, the produce of the workman's labor goes to the capitalist, and the workman gets out of it no more than the bare necessities of life. And thus the end of this uncommonly "fair" race of competition is that the produce of the labor of those who do work gets unavoidably accumulated in the hands of those who do not work, and becomes in their hands the most powerful means to enslave the very men who produced it.

A fair day's wage for a fair day's work! A good deal might be said about the fair day's work too, the fairness of which is perfectly on a par with that of the wages. But that we must leave for another occasion. From what has been stated it is pretty clear that the old watchword has lived its day, and will hardly hold water nowadays. The fairness of political economy, such as it truly lays down the laws which rule actual society, that fairness is all on one side—on that of capital. Let, then, the old motto be buried for ever and replaced by another:

**Possession of the means of work—raw material, factories, machinery—by the working people themselves.**—The Labor Standard, London, May 7, 1881.

(The pamphlet containing this article can be obtained from Labor Action Book Service, 114 W. 14th Street, New York 11, for 15 cents.)

# WORLD POLITICS

By REVA CRAINE

All is not going so well with the proposed world security set-up. The plans for the San Francisco Conference have hit a number of snags. These are not caused by the capriciousness of the Big Three, as many commentators would have us believe, but rather by the actual deep-going conflicts which exist in that camp. We have written before that what decides the relationships among the Big Three is not some idealistic desire for peace and harmony, or the interests of the people, but brute power.

At Yalta, Russia was in the most favorable military position, and this enabled her practically to lay down the law. That explains why it appeared that Roosevelt and Churchill had capitulated to Stalin. Since Yalta, the military scales have been tipped more in favor of the Western powers and this is immediately reflected in the sterner attitude which they now take toward Russia.

The boldness or timidity with which the Big Three treat one another is in direct proportion to their respective military positions, but these momentary shifts in no way wipe out the deep-going economic and political differences which divide them. These are rooted in their imperialist rivalries.



## Molotov to Stay Home

Poland is in the limelight again—that is, the conflict over the "Polish problem" has flared up again. Russia is demanding that her puppet Warsaw government be invited and recognized at San Francisco. England and the United States are holding out because this government has not yet been "broadened," as prescribed by Yalta.

In retaliation, Russia has been playing down the importance of the San Francisco Conference. Stalin told his partners off by announcing that Foreign Commissar Molotov would not come to the conference. A lesser figure, Ambassador Gromyko, has been assigned to head the delegation.

Stalin, like all realists, knows that all talk about "world security" is just so much talk, valuable only for fooling the naive and serving up illusions to the masses throughout the world who yearn for real peace and security. What counts for hard-headed dictators and rulers is something more "tangible." Stalin wants definite commitments about German industry, about lend-lease from the United States—and he wants some action on these things.

## Russo-Turkish Pact

Something "more tangible" is, for example, greater influence and control of the Black Sea area which Stalin regards as his special sphere. Hence the Russian denunciation of the treaty with Turkey which was signed in 1925 and the demand for certain "revisions." Exactly what these "revisions" are we do not now know, but undoubtedly they are intended to strengthen Russia's position in the Dardanelles, to provide an outlet to the Mediterranean Sea which England regards as her special sphere. Another purpose is to bring Turkey into closer political collaboration and break her away from British friendship.

## Mandates:

Another sore spot is the matter of the mandates which were established by the League of Nations. The United States now proposes that a conference of the "Big Five" (Russia, England, France, China and the U. S.) be held to discuss the internationalization of the mandated areas.

It is quite natural that England and France, the individual possessors of most of these mandates, interpret this proposal as a direct blow at them. They had accepted these mandates in order to bring these areas closer into the orbit of their empires, and finally as integrated possessions, and they certainly do not wish the interference of the United States. The United States wishes to retain the military and naval bases obtained from England during the war, and to expand in this field by obtaining more of them. It wants the mandated areas open to free trade, aviation and communication, for it knows that in free competition it can easily displace England and France.

To allay the fears of England and France, the United States is willing to confine this proposal for international control to the mandated areas, leaving the colonial possessions in the hands of their present owners—for the time being. But here is the unfolding of the drive made by United States imperialism to remove and displace its rivals from their imperial strongholds in order to establish itself as the one great power of the world.

## Finnish Elections

None of the parties in the Finnish elections operated on the basis of a clear-cut working class program which places the interests of the masses above any others, particularly the interests of foreign imperialisms. Hence the lack of a clear-cut decision.

The gains made by the Popular Democrats (Communist-controlled coalition) are not only an indication of the deep-going dissatisfaction with the other parties, especially among the workers who had previously supported the Social Democrats, but also reflect the pressure and warnings from Russia to vote for its party.

At the same time, the victory of the Popular Democrats was very indecisive, reflecting the justified suspicion that the policy of this coalition was to tie Finland to the imperialist apron-strings of Russia. The Finnish people have learned through bitter experience that friendship with Russia means subordination to the Stalin régime. Hence their merely partial support to the party which made its main plank "cooperation with" (read: subservience to) Stalin.

Only the existence of an independent party, independent of all imperialist pressures, Russian as well as Anglo-American, could have given the masses of Finland the means of accurately expressing their desires and oriented them in a struggle against foreign and native oppressors. Without such a party, the elections could not in any way represent the interests of the masses of Finnish workers and peasants.

# The State Anti-Labor Laws

By **WALTER WEISS**

In 1943, the year that Congress passed the widely publicized Smith-Connally anti-strike act, the adoption of laws against the unions by no fewer than nine state legislatures went more or less unnoticed by the labor movement as a whole.

This year Roosevelt's demand for a slave labor law naturally attracts the attention of the workers. But the state lawmakers are also at it again. Twenty-two legislatures (including five which put through anti-labor laws in 1943) are considering bills that would undermine the power of unions.

So serious is the situation that the CIO News of March 12 devotes to it a lead article, headlined "Tough Sliddering for Labor in the State Capitols."

**THE "RIGHT TO WORK"**

The main slogans being used to promote the present legislative attacks on the unions are "the American right to work," "responsibility," and "political liberty."

"The right to work" is a pretty name for the open shop. The employers, you understand, are not so much interested in breaking unions as they are in protecting honest workers from being forced to pay for the God-given right to work—at such times, to be sure, as the employers have work to offer.

For making the unions "responsible" there is a whole host of ideas. Most common, perhaps, is the filing of detailed financial reports. This would supposedly expose dishonest officers and, if just so happens, it would actually reveal the strength of union fighting funds to curious employers.

The "political liberty" bills would, for the most part, outlaw political contributions by unions. In other words, what the Hatch Act does for federal elections, these bills would do for state and local elections. Their principal purpose, obviously, is to hamper the development of labor parties.

A California bill would go even further. It seeks to prohibit unions from controlling, directing or preventing political ACTIVITIES or affiliations of members. "Directing political activities" would seem to cover almost anything.

As our correspondents from Michigan and Colorado pointed out last week, all these bills aimed at the unions represent political activity carried on by the employers and their agents—Republican agents and Democratic agents. The answer to this is clearly not less political activity by the unions, but more. And activity independent of the capitalist parties by an outright party of labor, responsible to the workers.

The CIO News describes the menace of the state bills very fully, but it completely misleads its readers on how to fight the menace.

In the first place, the News seems to blame the attacks entirely on a fascist outfit, the Christian American Association. "Some elected representatives of the people," we are told, have been seduced by these Christian Americans.

Not a word about that friend of labor, Roosevelt, who this year has already called on Congress three times (not counting private conferences) to pass a slave labor law. Don't state legislators pay any attention to Roosevelt? Don't they learn from him, too?

**NOT ONLY CHRISTIAN AMERICANS**

Not a word about Eric Johnston, "liberal" business leader and president of the U. S. Chamber of Commerce, who months ago threatened the unions with the whole Christian American program. Even mass picketing must, according to him, be stopped.

The CIO leaders treasure their friendship with Roosevelt above all things. They also seek the friendship of employers' associations and of Johnston, the business man who went to Russia. They entrust their newspaper to Len de Caux, their legislative problems to Lee Pressman—who are at least fellow travelers of the so-called Communist Political Association, which now devotes its every minute to eulogizing Stalin to American capitalists by betraying the interests of American workers.

So it's all the fault of the Christian Americans. Nobody else is much to blame. We ask: How can men who tell no more of the truth than that defend the unions?

In the second place, Mr. Pressman admits that there may be some abuses "in which labor unions have engaged, which abuses may be held to be in violation of the public interest." If so, "appropriate regulatory measures would be in order."

A fine position for the chief lawyer of the CIO to take! Haven't the unions and labor leaders been persecuted sufficiently under existing laws? Hasn't Pressman ever heard that unions must clean up their own houses, that the government steps in not to reform unions but to hog-tie or wreck them? Of course, he knows this.

To fight attacks, whether on a national or state scale, aggressive unionism is needed and independent political action is needed. The present leadership, AFL as well as CIO, will not do the job. Workers everywhere will have to organize rank-and-file groups like that in the United Auto Workers, groups that will develop a new leadership basing itself on a new program.

# One-Tenth of the Nation

Danger Signals

By **J. R. Johnson**

Last week I noted the evidence for the violent change and ferment that is taking place in the United States over the Negro question. I stated that this interest, even where it was expressed only in the reading of books, was a sign of the times.

The very ferment on the Negro question is a sign of progressive development. That is agreed. The changing attitude of the CIO is a tremendous social force. But it must not be forgotten that such progress unlooses and must unloose dangerous and counter-revolutionary forces.

**WHO OPPOSES NEGROES?**

How could it be otherwise? A substantial number of people in the United States profit by the degradation of the Negro. The Southern landlords and politicians owe to this degradation the utterly disproportionate share of economic power and political influence which they wield. In the South many jobs (skilled labor and petty bourgeois office jobs) which are held by whites, would be held by Negroes if they were treated as ordinary members of the community.

Big capital needs this division between Negroes and whites in order to disrupt the labor movement both politically and industrially. And, as always, with the most powerful representatives of the ruling class, they have attached to them a not negligible section of the population who live personally by them and take their political opinions and are stimulated to political action by the propaganda and agitation of big capital at a particular moment.

All these are viewing this upsurge of intellectual interest, popular feeling and vigorous action by labor unions on the Negro question. They recognize what it means. They know that to carry the movement for Negro emancipation to its conclusion re-

quires such a reorganization of economic and social life in the United States as would shatter the whole structure. They are not going to sit down and see their structure shattered—or even seriously threatened. For the moment they are giving way. But as sure as day they are waiting their moment for a counter-offensive. It may fail. But come it must.

**EUROPEAN COUNTERPARTS**

A similar movement and counter-movement took place in Europe during the years which preceded World War II. In every European country there was a tremendous upheaval among the masses, sections of the lower middle classes and the intellectuals. The intellectuals wrote and read and held meetings and organized. The masses took both industrial and political action, as we know, even carrying out many revolutionary outbreaks.

Nowhere did they go far enough. Nowhere did they manage to overturn the foundation of the evil, the capitalist system. The result was, and this was inevitable, disillusionment, a feeling of hopelessness and a drastic counter-offensive by the ruling class. The fascists and counter-revolutionary elements gained strength always as a result of the half-hearted attempts by the masses and their allies to settle long-standing social and political evils.

**COUNTER-OFFENSIVE**

For thinking people, therefore, the prevailing interest in the Negro question must be viewed with satisfaction, with hope, but also with a very clear insight into the dangers involved. At the present moment, progress is being made. But the counter-offensive is preparing already. In Detroit, for instance, the Ku Klux Klan, the Knights of the White Camellia, Holy Roller religious groups and other reactionary organizations

# British Send Indian Agents to 'Frisco Meet

By George Dixon

What plans are the capitalist governments going to make for world peace and security at the San Francisco Conference? One of their plans is to try to crush 390,000,000 Indian people under an iron heel even more brutal than that under which they have been ground in the past.

Winston Churchill, Prime Minister of a government vitally concerned in maintaining imperialist supremacy over its militarily conquered colonies, has made certain that the cries of Indian slave labor shall not embarrass the dignified gentlemen gathered around the conference table. For, were the workers, landless peasants and agricultural laborers of India to have their own representatives at San Francisco, they would show up the capitalist diplomatic talk of liberation from fascist slavery to be the sham that it is.

What will be called the Indian delegation to San Francisco, then, will consist of three pro-British Indians who have a stake in maintaining British rule in India. All were appointed by Vavell, British Governor-General of India. They are: Sir A. Ramaswami Mudaliar, supply member of the Viceroy's council; Sir Firoz Khan Noon, defense member of the Viceroy's council; Sir V. T. Krishnamachari, former Prime Minister of Baroda state. These titled dignitaries, you can bet, will not put too many questions to the conference about the future peace and security of the Indian masses.

### SOME AMERICAN "SUPPORTERS"

Also in San Francisco at the same time, though not as a delegate to the conference, will be Mrs. Vivaya Lakshmi Pandit, sister of Jawaharlal Nehru, second to Gandhi in leadership of the All-India National Congress. Mrs. Pandit will speak on April 27 and May 11 at two mass meetings called by the National Committee for India's Freedom to protest the misrepresentation of India at the conference. But the protest, according to Dr. Anup Singh, secretary of the committee, will be "discreet and diplomatic"—in other words, nothing embarrassing to the conference.

The National Committee for India's Freedom, representing the Congress Party in the United States, has been agitating for American aid in freeing India for some time now. But, paying little attention to the real sympathy for Indian freedom existing among many American workers, the National Committee has been waiting upon high officials and wealthy patrons in Washington and the American capitalist press to persuade the British ruling class to free India.

Mrs. Pandit, according to her official itinerary, attended meetings and luncheons while in Washington with such "friends of India" as Senator Burton K. Wheeler and Mrs. Gifford Pinchot, whose husband is a former Republican Governor of Pennsylvania. Are such people as Senator Wheeler and Mrs. Pinchot interested in Indian independence? Yes, because it would open India to American capitalist exploitation. But American capitalism is no more interested in freeing the starving workers of India from exploitation than is British capitalism.

### MISDIRECTING STRUGGLE FOR FREEDOM

The leaders of the All-India National Congress also expect Britain to give India its freedom as a gift. In the civil disobedience campaigns, their aim is to create a "deadlock" so that the British will be compelled to negotiate on the Congress demand for independence. This means that they expect Britain to AGREE to independence. But no amount of deadlock will force the British ruling class to agree to independence. It has \$7,300,000,000, yielding \$700,000,000 a year, in capital investments alone in India and would rather drown all India in blood than give up its profits.

The leadership of the Congress Party, however, is drawn from the native owning class, which has a stake (though small compared to that of the British) in the maintenance of the profit system in India. The only way India could be freed from foreign rule and still leave native Indian capitalism untouched would be for the British politely to leave the country as the result of a "deadlock."

Thus Nehru, on May 20, 1940, said: "Launching a civil disobedience campaign at a time when Britain is engaged in a life-and-death struggle would be an act derogatory to India's honor." On April 12, 1942, after the failure of the Cripps mission, Nehru said: "We are not going to embarrass Britain's war effort in India."

How else can the masses achieve their freedom from exploitation except by taking advantage of the difficulties of their exploiters? But the workers and peasants knew that their situation could not be worse and, in spite of Nehru's conception of India's honor, forced him to call a civil disobedience campaign or risk a complete loss of confidence by the masses in the Congress Party.

"India's Road to Freedom" will be discussed at the Labor Action Forum on Sunday, May 6, at 8:00 p.m., 478 Union Street, San Francisco. At this meeting the revolutionary solution for India will be presented and Mrs. Pandit's position on Indian freedom subjected to a Marxist criticism.

# Meat Profiteers Get OPA Go-Sign

Through Courtesy of Senator Taft

By M. HOWARD

Last week we carried a story on the sad plight of the meat packers, whose \$150 million profits aren't enough for



them. We told you how Senator Taft (Republican, Ohio) and others of his

ilk went to bat for the packers, fighting to get ceiling prices on meat raised so that they can make more money.

Senator Taft isn't worried about the adequate wages workers aren't making these days. But he is extremely worked up about the profits the big meat packers make but say they don't. He would not give labor a few pennies, but a million odd dollars to the packers—well, now, that's another matter.

### TAFT DESERVES GOLD STAR

This week we can sadly report that Senator Taft did his job well. The meat packers got what they wanted. Relief for their not-at-all-frozen profits came in three ways:

1. The OPA changed its pork price regulations, granting processors who send meat to the Armed Forces an additional twelve and a half million dollars of income.

2. The OPA cancelled its sched-

uled cut in beef subsidies to non-processor packers.

3. The Emergency Court of Appeals handed down a decision granting price relief to beef slaughterers through a ruling that a company's profits shall be computed according to a "product standard method," which means a packer who makes a terrific profit on his entire operations, despite a loss on beef slaughtering, must be allowed either a higher ceiling, or a subsidy, on beef anyway.

These relief measures were given in spite of testimony which proved packers' profits were seven times higher in 1944 than in any year between 1936-39, and in spite of their admission that the slump they complained of during the first three months of 1945 is a natural, a seasonal one. Obviously to allow them more profits now only means that when the seasonal slump is over, the packers will be sitting on top of a larger profit pile than they did in 1944!

More profits to the meat packers means a wage cut to all workers, who need meat in order to work, and whose families need meat in order to be healthy and strong. Whether you pay more for the meat itself or pay more taxes to the government, which is subsidizing the packers, makes little difference. Any way you view it, the meat packers' super-profits will come directly out of workers' pockets.

Workers' wages aren't seven times higher than they were in 1936-39. They are held down to almost pre-war levels, and now the OPA has made them worth even less! This is the way the OPA, the WLB and other government agencies work for the benefit of the public: packers who already make millions by exploiting those who work for them, running illegal black markets, cheating on quality and prices, are handed more millions. And the workers pay for it!

# Native Fascism: How It Can Happen Here

By Shirley Lawrence

Despite the popular belief that fascism is a collective madness peculiar to certain evil nations abroad, it should be recognized by every anti-fascist that the seeds of fascism are inherent in every capitalist country. Although there are differences in form, the content of American fascism is the same as that of Europe, in that fascism in reality serves big-business interests, although masquerading as anti-capitalist. That this has been amply borne out is evident when we consider some of the native and ill-assorted, anti-labor and anti-democratic movements which have flourished here, variously headed by such saviors of democracy as:

### SOME "RABBLEROUSERS"

(1) W. Lee O'Daniel, former president of the Hillbilly Flour Company and the Fort Worth Chamber of Commerce, recently elected senator of Texas and now head of the Christian American Association which has succeeded in adding several anti-labor laws to various state constitutions.

(2) Father Coughlin, whose crusade against Wall St. was in part subsidized by certain Wall St. silver speculators.

(3) Gene Talmadge, who led the Atlanta "Grass Roots" conferences, a gathering of Southern farmers and small-town folks, financed by such rusties as Pierre du Pont, Ogdin Mills, and several executives of General Motors, National Steel, etc.

(4) Huey Long, who had intimate connections with Standard Oil of Louisiana and was on the way to spreading the crackpot "share-the-wealth" gospel.

(5) Gerald L. K. Smith, head of the America Firsters, who can boast as one of his financial backers Harry Bennett, former head of the Ford Co. service squad, now a vice-president and reputed to be running the Ford empire.

### REYNOLDS' PARTY

The most recent fascist threat to American labor and the people as a whole is the formation of the Nationalist Party, by the rabble-rousing ex-Senator Robert Rice Reynolds (famed for his isolationist policies), who broke with Gerald L. K. Smith's America First Party. His ostensible aim is the creation of a mass party of Jim Crowers, anti-Semitic, anti-foreign-born people, and anti-labor elements, which abound in the country, with the goal of establishing a totalitarian fascist state in America.

Designed as a catch-all to combine numbers of the fascist "lunatic fringe" with the money and prestige of big business, the Nationalist Party is busily organizing secret cells in New York City. Operating thus far on a small and underground scale, about fifty secret cells or "units" have been set up in the five boroughs, especially in Queens and Brooklyn, where membership in a unit is limited to ten persons.

It has been reported, however, that an expansion of Nationalist Party organizational activity appears likely, for Reynolds who has been vacationing at his Florida estate, is due back at his Washington headquarters shortly, and "big things" are predicted upon his return. At least five important pro-fascist outfits in New York City have joined the motley crew.

The Nationalist Party is the result of the fusion of two other Reynolds' fronts, the American Nationalist Committee, and the Nationalist Confederation.

Reynolds also boasts a private, potential storm-troop outfit, the Vindicators, and a newspaper, the "National Record." He has indicated that the Nationalist Party will come out in the open with public meetings, distribution of literature, etc., on July 4 of this year. By then he hopes to have at least one unit in every Congressional District in the country. With the end of the war in sight, the Nationalists believe that now is the time to build a party which can exploit the resentments produced by casualty lists and the wounds of thousands of demobilized soldiers.

### A BIG BUSINESS WEAPON

That fascism is synonymous with all that is reactionary, retrogressive and corrupt in society is quite clear and leads to but one conclusion: fascism can be fought only by militant, working-class action. If the workers depend upon the reformist labor leaders, they will suffer defeat, because the reformists represent the interests not of the workers, but of so-called "liberal" capitalism, and when it comes to a showdown, "liberal" capitalism simply drops the adjective. It protests, but is powerless since it does not know how to fight fascism.

We have as yet no strong labor party to counterpose a genuine labor program for the people against the inroads of the fascists, but we do have the lessons of the past decade to guide us. We have learned that big business, in order to survive, maintains the fascist gangs merely as anti-labor militia at first, whose job is simply to terrorize and demoralize the workers' organizations. They help break strikes, beat up and murder the workers' leaders, wreck union offices and left wing newspaper plants. As capitalist crisis intensifies, big business finds that this is not enough and launches its fascist troops toward the conquest of state power.

Thus labor must organize the fight against fascism. It must organize its own Defense Guards to be ready for the fascist violence. It must organize an independent Labor Party based on the unions, to bring about the victory of a genuine working class program.

# A Guaranteed Annual Wage--

(Continued from page 1)

Of course, the WLB members exaggerate the risks for the present and immediate future. But they remember that only the war ended a ten-year depression. They know, as the New York Times reminds us, that the steel industry, which now operates at full capacity, was operating at only twenty per cent in 1932. There were, you see, no customers then to buy at profitable prices.

The WLB was willing, however, to throw a crumb to Philip Murray. They would ask the President to appoint a committee to study the whole subject of annual wage plans. That was four months ago.

And William H. Davis, at that time chairman of the WLB, told Roosevelt why such a committee was necessary. The workers fear unemployment, he said. That's the big reason behind all their "pressure for a change in the national wage stabilization policy."

In other words, he was saying: "Since we deny their modest wage demands at present, we must hold out some big hope for the future."

Recently, CIO and AFL leaders have not been talking much about an annual wage. Even the Little Steel formula has become almost a secondary matter. If only we could get bigger "fringe" demands (vacation pay, night shift differentials, etc.) they have been saying.

So now in March, four months after the WLB suggestion, Roosevelt remembers their idea for a study of the annual wage. When CIO and AFL leaders visit him about immediate

demands, more liberal "fringe" grants and the Little Steel formula, he will be able to point to that wonderful concession which costs no cash, the study of the annual wage.

This stalling game of committees and studies is one at which Roosevelt is an old hand. He has played it ever since early New Deal days. The latest examples were the famous studies on the cost-of-living and the Little Steel formula, which netted labor exactly nothing.

In ordering the study, the President has already made clear what its outcome will be. "He suggested," says the New York Times, "that an annual wage was simple for some industries but exceedingly difficult for others."

Eric Johnston is to be chairman of the committee and he is "ardent" for the annual wage, according to a New York Times reporter.

"Ardent" means very hot. Listen how hot Johnston is for it. Last October 2, in testifying strongly before the WLB against changing the Little Steel formula, Johnston also had this to say about the guaranteed annual wage (in reply to a question by John Brophy, important aide of Philip Murray):

That he had always favored every effort BY INDUSTRY to iron out peaks and valleys of production, that many (many—Ed.) industries already have an annual wage, but that other industries still found guarantees to be economically impossible.

The other great "liberal" of business, Henry J. Kaiser, who is invited

to address many a union convention, stated on March 17 of last year that a guaranteed annual wage could be achieved only by increased efficiency and productivity BY LABOR.

The nation can produce a national income of two hundred billions, enough to furnish \$5,000 a year and more to every family. But to the two greatest liberals of business any guarantee is impossible and what is needed is harder work by labor.

As for Philip Murray, only labor member of the study committee, he of course wants an annual wage. He would also like to see the Little Steel formula broken.

But how? He clings to the discredited War Labor Board, piously repeats the no-strike pledge before every "demand" that he makes, and above all shields Roosevelt from criticism by turning his ineffective wrath on the President's faithful underlings. Truly, Murray is not revolutionary.

Stalin's American agents on the misnamed Daily Worker and in the Communist Political Association seize happily on the annual wage slogan, in the hope that it will turn the minds of the workers from thoughts of struggle. These people act as strikebreakers (against the underpaid labor of insolent Montgomery Ward) they slander fighting unions (Mine Workers and Retail Clerks), demand an end to strikes even after the war, yell loudly for a slave labor law, and generally try to endear Stalin to American big business.

# Labor-Management Peace Charter--

(Continued from page 1)

marks by C. F. Hughes, business editor of the New York Times (April 1):

"From a hard and practical standpoint, the reaction of business to the management-labor charter is that there is very little to lose by backing it to the hilt. Trade and industry will need the strength and support that friendly labor can furnish to get taxes, for instance, revamped along lines that will encourage expansion after the war. For the lifting of other burdensome and unnecessary restrictions the same cooperation will help immensely. Similarly, in industry itself the achievements of the labor-management committees have been too striking to have the machinery scrapped when peacetime goals of lower costs and high volume must be attained to secure expanded employment and purchasing power."

(On the labor-management committees in the postwar period, be sure to read Frank Snyder's column in last week's LABOR ACTION—Ed.)

As for "wages assuring a steadily advancing standard of living," Johnston (like Henry Kaiser, another liberal capitalist and hot supporter of this code) on every possible occasion warns the unions that harder work—the speedup—must come first. This, he promises, will mean lower prices, more jobs, and possibly higher wages. Johnston recently told the War Labor Board that the present was certainly not the time to raise the Little Steel formula.

### The fourth and fifth points

The fourth point promises that management will help to protect labor from the government by opposing laws that might interfere with collective bargaining. Industrial peace is to be achieved by the acceptance of genuine collective bargaining.

The fifth point states that social security should be extended.

These points are chiefly interesting as showing that the labor leaders,

having unhappily depended on the capitalists' government to protect the workers against the capitalists, now look to these very capitalists (or, at least, to the good capitalists) for protection against the government.

We are sure that the rank and file have little confidence of gaining much improvement in social security through the cooperation of the corporations. We won't even speak about collective bargaining.

What's needed, as LABOR ACTION has always said, is an independent struggle by labor against both the capitalists and their government. What's needed is the strike weapon and a labor party. What's needed is a new labor leadership, less concerned about the fate of capitalism, more determined to fight for abundance in America.

### The Sixth and seventh points

These support the Administration's foreign policy, economic and political,

in all respects. LABOR ACTION has exposed the reactionary character of this imperialist policy time and again and will continue to do so.

The final paragraphs speak of total victory over Nazism and Japanese militarism, a prosperous and lasting peace, and national unity. To achieve these ends through the seven-point program, the program's sponsors are setting up a national committee of business and labor representatives to promote understanding and acceptance of the New Charter.

So far the leading capitalist newspapers have been editorially enthusiastic about the program. Both Roosevelt and Dewey have been "pleased." Winthrop Aldrich, head of Rockefeller's Chase National Bank, and Charles E. Wilson, president of General Electric, say that a very good start has been made and that action is now needed to carry out the fine words. And so on.

# Big Three Clash for Power on Eve of San Francisco Conference--

(Continued from page 1)

ence has little meaning. Since the Assembly, as the gathering of the United Nations is called, has no power whatever, being merely an advisory body.

All decisions of vital importance to the post-war world are in the hands of the Big Three, which is to expand itself, with the addition of China and France, into the Big Five. Whatever action may be taken in San Francisco will not be binding on the Big Five.

This furor over votes is all part of the big game of power politics, of diplomatic pressure to be applied by the Big Three to win the allegiance of the small nations.

The unity of the Big Three is unity forced by the fact that they are all warring against the same enemies. Beyond that point there is not much agreement except that they must attempt to solve their differences, which are enormous, in common.

America seeks to dominate the world economically. Great Britain is fighting desperately to save the Empire, which is endangered now, not by Germany, but the tremendous eco-

nomie power of the United States. Stalin's Russia, following a policy of imperialist expansion, is trying to take as much as possible before any "decisions" are made in conference.

A sharp example of the fundamental conflict between them is offered by the Russian demand that the Lub-



lin Polish Government, Stalin's creation, shall be represented at San Francisco, despite the fact that the agreement on Poland reached at Yalta, that the Lublin committee would broaden its base and set up a "truly democratic regime" representing all the forces in the country, has

not been carried out.

Immediately after Yalta, however, Stalin's GPU in Poland began to prepare for the "democratization" of the country by killing, arresting and deporting the opposition. Now Moscow refuses to carry out even the insignificant changes agreed to. At the time of this writing the issue is unresolved.

If the San Francisco parley will have no real status, if it can decide nothing, if it is solely advisory, why all the jockeying for votes? Because the San Francisco Conference will be an arena in which the Big Powers will be creating their respective bases for post-war alliances and power blocs!

Great Britain will come to the conference with six votes and influence over the votes of other countries. The United States will have not only her own vote, but the votes of at least twenty Latin and South American "republics." And now Stalin, in recognition of the obvious, is attempting to create for himself the largest possible base at San Francisco.

The natural question which followed the aforementioned disclosure

on voting was: were there any other secret agreements made at Yalta? Mr. Stettinius replied in the negative,



saying, none, except those relating to "territorial trusteeship."

This delicate expression was used

to hide the fact that what the honorable Secretary of State is talking about is how the big powers will partition the world, who will get what territories, colonies, and mandates. That they have not yet wholly decided this question we can well believe. It is not an easy matter for them to reach agreement, especially when Stalin wants so much. Churchill wants to keep what Britain always had and to add more, and the United States wants to break the stranglehold on all possessions, mandates and colonies in order to make it easier for American imperialism to penetrate areas heretofore monopolized by other powers.

This "secret" matter is of decisive importance and significance for the future of the world. Supporters of the Big Three, like Walter Lippman, brag out their imperialist opinions by insisting that the Atlantic Charter cannot apply to colonial peoples or other possessions. The Big Three have conducted themselves according to Lippman's formula. The Charter is applied only to some of the European powers which were overrun by the Nazis. When the Yalta conference an-

nounced that the Big Three would carry on in the spirit of the Atlantic Charter it was merely carrying a grim joke too far.

What was decided in Moscow, Teheran and Yalta, was the partition of the world by the Big Three. The United Nations conference in San



Francisco will be asked to ratify this partition of the world, to endorse the theory and practice of the Big Three that because they are big powers, because they have enormous arms and wealth, the rest of the world must subordinate itself to them. This is called "the democratic era" by the diplomats.

And when Mr. Stettinius says that the San Francisco Conference cannot be postponed because world development "makes it increasingly necessary that the plans for this organization worked out at Dumbarton Oaks will be carried on promptly," he reveals, in the light of the violations already committed, that the San Francisco parley has nothing really to do with peace, freedom and security.

It is merely another instrument in perpetuating the power of the Big Three, whose imperialist appetites are exceeded only by their hypocrisy.

**NEW YORK FORUM:**  
**MAX SHACHTMAN**  
Nat'l Sec'y, Workers Party  
on  
**BARBARISM OR**  
**SOCIALISM?**

Sun., Apr. 8, 8:15 p.m. Adm. 25c  
Hotel Diplomat, 43rd St. near 6th Av.