# **Roosevelt Tries To Save His** Wage Policy In Mine Dispute

By Mike Stevens

President Roosevelt has now stepped into the deadlocked negotiations between the United Mine Workers and soft-coal operators, and proposed that negotiations continue after the union agreement expires on March 31. President Roosevelt also proposed that any wage increases agreed upon shall be retroactive as of April 1, BUT that "if any wage adjustments are made they must, of course, be made in accordance with the act of October 2, 1942, and Executive Order No. 9250."

The mine owners immediately agreed to the proposal. And why not? Mr. Burke, spokesman for the southern owners, gave the answer: "I know that under the terms of the telegram sent by President Roosevelt there can be no increase in pay to the miners."

The Mine Workers also accepted Roosevelt's proposal, but with a stipulation that the negotiations will not be carried on more than

### **CIO** Unions **Map Political** Campaign In Detroit

DETROIT - Challenging the reactionary drive against labor in Congress and in the Michigan State Legislature, a special conference of the Detroit CIO unions held here on Sunday, March 14, called upon all locals to mobilize their members AGAINST anti-labor legislation and FOR progressive legislation.

All the speakers stressed the feebleness of labor's voice on the political field, in the nation and in the state, and attributed this to the fact that the workers abstain from voting in elections. Ben Probe, secre-

#### See editorial on Political Action on page four of this issue.

tary-treasurer of the Michigan CIO Council, reported that 30 per cent of the Michigan CIO membership of 700,000 registered for the last election, and a smaller per cent actually voted.

"Everything we do is controlled by government," R. J. Thomas, president of the Auto Workers Union. CIO, told the delegates, and therefore he insisted that labor must "think politically." He scored the anti-labor conduct of Mayor Jefferies who had been supported "time and again" by the CIO, but continued to advocate the policy of support of "friends of labor." Thomas, like the other speakers, warmly praised Presthirty days after April 1, thus suggesting that the possibility of a strike would still be on the order of the day if the miners' demands were not met by that time. Even with this stipulation, the miners' acceptance of Roosevelt's proposal raises many questions, the most important of which is: Are the miners ready to disregard the WLB?

Under the act of October 1, 1942, and Executive Order No. 9250, "The National War Labor Board shall not approve any increases in the wage rate prevailing on September 15, 1942, unless such increase is necessary to collect maladjustments or inequalities...." In its "wage stabilization policy" the National War Labor Board adopted the Little Steel formula: "If a group of employees has received increases amounting to 15 per cent in their average straight time rates over the level prevailing on January 1, 1941, the board will not grant further increases as a correction for maladjustments."

It is significant that at the same moment that President Roosevelt sent his telegram to the mine workers and the mine owners, the WLB rejected the petition of its AFL members that the Little Steel formula be scrapped and a higher formula substituted in its place. This rejection automatically threw out the second point in the petition to "permit employers to apply the maladjustment principle" without obtaining approval of the NWLB. Which means that Mr. Burke, of the mine owners, knew on which side of the dispute the government's policy was buttered.

#### Mine Owners' Strategy

President Roosevelt intervened at the request of the soft coal mine owners who have, during the two weeks of negotiations, rejected every single proposal made by the union.

LABOR ACTION ONE CENT A PAPER IN THE INTERESTS OF LABOR MARCH 29, 1943

# ABORCAN DESTROY NLB WAGE FORMULA!

**Board Rejects AFL Petition--Situation Demands Showdown On Little Steel Pay Formula** 

Rejecting a petition by the AFL, the War Labor Board on March 22 refused to scrap the Little Steel Formula by a vote of eight to four. Industry and the "public" voted together, while the labor members dissented.

The question immediately arises: what is labor going to do? There is hardly a union which has not taken a stand against the Little Steel formula which limits wage increases to 15 per cent over the level of January 1, 1941, while profits balloon upward. There is hardly a section of the working class that is not clamoring for higher wages. These are known facts. They are known to every union leader, to every worker and to every boss and government agent.

Now, what we ask, are the labor members doing on the Board? They had no business there in the first place. With the position of the "public" and industry-AND ROOSEVELT-reiterated in every important decision, it should be clear to even the most feebleminded of what John L. Lewis calls the "labor zombies" that it is long past time for them to get off the Board. Their dissents are about as fruitful as blotting paper in a flood.

Murray has denounced the Little Steel formula. He has demanded that it be lifted. But he contributes nothing to the situation-that is, nothing of benefit to labor-when he adds that the WLB should be maintained.

There is absolutely no justification for the continued presence of the labor members on the Board. Wilh all their dissents, their very presence on the board contributes to the straight-jacketing of labor in a wage policy that is driving the standard of living of the American working class down.

Despite all the vocal fury of the WLB, it is a sick and ailing body. Last week there was more than one indication that the Board was on its way out, or that, at the very least, its powers would be clipped and the formula raised. The resentment against it is so strong that an organized push could easily topple it.

ident Roosevelt and his war policies.

The report of the resolutions committee on its six point plan for political action brought forth a speech from one of the delegates who explained that the reason for the apathy of the workers in elections was the CIO policy of sup-

(Continued on page 2)

Early in the negotiations it became obvious that the owners had absolutely no intention of granting any of the workers' wage demands, but that they were going to utilize the negotiations as a forum and the expiring agreement deadline as a means to stir up "the public" against the union.

(Continued on page 3)



NO-STRIKE

PLEDGE

# **Corporations Continue to Pile Up Big Profits** While the WLB Keeps Labor's Wages Down

What Will the Miners Do?

	fines a programmer a second	"Earnings" for				
		Recent S	Same Period	Per Cent		
	Company	Period	Year Before	Increase		
	Paramount Pictures, Inc.	\$14,525,00				
	Bush Terminal Buildings Co.		0 341,656	66.6		
	Loose-Wiles Biscuit Co.	2,090,65				
	Parkersburg Rig & Reel Co.	- 764,74	4 544.008	40.6		
	Pressed Steel Car Co., Inc.	1,728,72	6 812.258			
	Climax Molybdenum Co.	13,390,43				
ł	Dresser Industries	- 518,00		A		
	Hathaway Bakeries, Inc.	208,54				
	Consolidated Cement Corp.			0.0000000		
	Consolidation Coal Co., Inc.	1,531,49				
	Doyle Machine & Tool Corp.	303,68				
	Thomas J. Lipton, Inc.	353,819				
	Pullman Co.					
	Basic Refractories, Inc.	- 670,29				
	Bayway Terminal Corp.					
	United States Freight Co.	1,418,59				
	Kansas City Southern Railway	2.121.78				
Ì	Market Street Railway Co.			A		
	"The figure given by the company v	vas \$173.73				
	C C C C C C C C C C C C C C C C C C C	+110,10	and cheven	montais.		

Our figure is for a year at the same rate of profit.

#### By EVERETT WESTON

When the AFL members of the War Labor Board last week joined in the attack on the Little Steel formula of limiting wage increases to 15 per cent, they made the ranks of labor virtually unanimous. And no wonder. For while workers have been fighting every type of bureaucratic delay to get a MAXIMUM of 15 per cent increase, the rise in the cost of living has increased by more than double that figure. And the bosses, who were doing very well in 1941, have shown enormous increases in 1942.

The figures in the accompanying table are as reported by the various companies in recent issues of the New York Times. All profits shown are NET, after all expenses and all taxes. And the increases, as you can see, make 15 per cent look sick.

Not all the companies reporting

cent.

# Labor Party Is a MUST!

Need Is Demonstrated by General Anti-Labor Legislative Drive

On March 18, the Kansas State Senate passed a bill which would prohibit strikes, the main weapon of the working class in their fight against boss oppression. This bill also gives the state full access to the financial records of the union-making dues, assessments, salaries, etc., the business of the state. Further, the state is given the right to limit the use of union funds for any purpose which it may deem inadvisable or unwise-that is, any union activity which furthers the cause of the

workers. It could, for example, bar the use of union funds in the organization of unorganized industry or in financing the campaign of any independent political labor candidate. Other state legislatures will undoubtedly be given encouragement in their anti-union legislation by this repressive act.

In Arkansas a "violence" bill has been passed through the efforts of Texas Sen. O'Daniel and his "Christian American Association," an organization which has been labeled

fascist by the AFL. This bill would actually ban strikes and picketing under the mask of outlawing "intimidation and violence."

In Idaho, a bill was signed by the Governor, which gives the state the same powers as the bill passed in Kansas, although the Attorney General told Governor Bottolfsen that the right to picket was constitutionally guaranteed and therefore the prohibition of picketing was unconstitutional.

(Continued on page 4)

their profits are shown, of course. But that does not mean that all those not included here did not increase their take. In most of these articles we have given an example of how. by one bookkeeping device or another, the actual profit of one company after another is much larger than the one reported. The Apex Electrical Mfg. Co., for instance. "earned" \$597,186 in \*1941 and less than half that amount, \$212.004, in 1942. But if you consider the general rise in profit and the fact that this company is almost certainly doing war work, you look further. And you find-that \$500,000 of the \$597,186 profit in 1941 was from a patent lawsuit, a non-recurring item that should be left out of this kind of comparison. If we ignore this, we

Figures on the rise in the cost of living vary greatly. The lowest is higher than 15 per cent, so that at best workers are told that they may remain not quite at the same level as formerly, while the bosses reap unprecedented profits. But a survey by a labor group, the New Jersey State CIO Council, found that the cost of living rose 35 per cent during the year ended January 1, 1943. This is the rise in money prices only and ignores the rise in real prices. Practically everything the worker buys, from food to clothes to furniture and back, has gone down in quality as well as up in price. The price ceilings, as everybody knows, are not enforced. But if they were, they would still be a joke.

In the face of all this, it is becom-

ing increasingly obvious to workers throughout the country that the Little Steel formula is nothing more or less than a device to force down the living standards of their class. It is a means by which the workers are being made to pay for the war. It must be broken.

The miners may yet provide that push. The fact that the WLB has in several recent decisions, and in its rejection of the AFL petition loudly reiterated its formula is definitely related to the mine dispute. The situation has reached the stage of show-down. On the one side are the miners who are doing something CON-CRETE to break the Little Steel formula. On the other side, the Board (and, behind it, Roosevelt) who are making a last ditch attempt to save the formula—and the Board.

That is why, apart from the solidarity which workers owe their fellow-workers under any and all conditions of struggle for better wages, is it so especially important to back the miners in their demands today—and to watch the situation closely. If the miners win their fight, the stormy declarations issuing from the WLB may prove to be nothing more than an over-delayed death rattle.

Not only must the Little Steel formula be broken, it CAN be broken. It won't be broken by pussy-footing. It WILL be broken if the labor unions rescind the no-strike pledge - - and if the labor leaders show that they mean business by getting off the Board. Rescinding the no-strike pledge, with the threat of action that it implies, will do more than a million dissents in putting an end to the scandalous imposition of a 15 per cent fetter-the Little Steel formula!



Chaos and confusion still reign supreme on the food front. On the one hand Secretary of Ag-

find that the increase was 119.1 per riculture Wickard boasts that 10,-000,000 more acres of land will be planted in food crops.

On the other hand, canners have announced that they are seriously considering cutting down the canning of food because the government purchases of the 1942 pack for the armed forces, lend-lease, etc., are still stacked in the warehouses-and, by the way, there is considerable dispute as to whether the government needed to buy as much as it did of the 1942 pack.

At any rate, if the canners reduce operations, much of the additional 1943 crops will simply be spoiled. Thus the bureaucrats muddle along -and workers pay for it.

The housewife was told that if she was caught without butter or oil when the freeze was unexepectedly announced beginning at midnight on March 22, she might substitute meat fats.

That is what one might call rub.

bing salt into an open wound-for where is the meat the average housewife can buy from which to get fat?

On March 19 the House voted to

increase farm parity prices once more-making the second increase in 1943, which is not yet three months old! Thus the farm bloc continues its victorious march to the heights of war profiteering prices.

If the Senate also approves the Pace bill, at least 16 per cent will be added immediately to consumer prices of food.

Ostensibly the Pace bill is for the benefit of the farm family, by allowing the cost of family labor as well as hired labor to be included in parity levels.

However, because of the octopus ownership and control of every phase of farming by the big farm corporations, most of the increase in parity prices will, in the final count, be in their pockets. Of the first 1943 boost in parity prices, those on top got 64 per cent, while the great mass of farmers gat only 13 per cent.

Lobbying in Congress pays those who can afford it.

When canned goods rationing went into effect, the OPA placed ceilings on beans, cabbage, carrots, peas, tomatoes, lettuce and spinach.

But no housewife has any way of knowing what the ceilings are supposed to be. When beans are 25 cents a pound one day and 29 cents the next, and she makes a fuss about it, she is told the beans are entirely

different, coming from another state, and of course are of much better quality.

One gag is as good as anotheras long as the housewife is forced to pay more for the same goods.

The mystery has never been solved as to why the OPA picked out just seven vegetables upon which to put ceiling prices-so that they can be violated.

Why is it not required of the dealer even to give a fluky explanation as to why turnips went up from three cents to eight cents a pound-why

#### Page 2

#### LABOR ACTION

# News and Views from the Labor Front

#### **Beats California** Local 9 Aims at Hodgson Yard Contract Anti-Labor Bill LOS ANGELES-California labor

#### By VINCENT QUEEN

SAN PEDRO, Calif. - The growing resentment of the Hodgson - Green-Haldeman Shipyard workers against the chiseling and violations of the contract practiced by the company exploded at last into a large and enthusiastic meeting held under the auspices of Local 9 of the Shipyard Workers Union, CIO. At this meeting a contract was approved for presentation to the company, a contract designed to end many of the abuses

LONG ISLAND CITY-The recently

concluded job evaluation and re-

classification at Brewster offered a

militant workers.

that exist in the Hodgson yard and mounting list of grievances that the to raise the wages and working conditions to the levels of those in the other yards in this area.

**Brewster Local Wins Victory** 

Remaining Grievances Can Be Settled by a Continuation of Militancy

For weeks there had been a growing union consciousness among the men and a realization that they had to take an active interest in their own affairs because nobody else was going to do it for them. There was no confidence in the Pollard administration in the local because of its do-nothing policy in the face of a

men had against the company.

The contract as it stands approved for negotiation contains a check-off clause, shop steward and grievance machinery, one week vacation with pay after one year's work, a three-stage improvership in going from helper to journeyman with a two-month limitation on each stage, strict seniority in hiring and layoff and 100 per cent union hiring. Under the new contract, all men doing mechanics' work at improvers' and helpers' wages stand to benefit as increases in pay are provided for them. Unless the company stalls, the contract should be signed and in effect about April 1.

Hodgson men know that it is as important to enforce as to sign a good contract. The best contract in the world is only a scrap of paper if open violations of it are allowed. Nobody expects Walter S. Pollard, "administrative director" of Local 9 to see that the provisions of the new contract are lived up to. He has tolerated not one but a dozen violations of the old contract. The job of making Hodgson Shipbuilders live up to its signed word falls squarely on the men who work in the yard and on the stewards they elect.

Shop stewards must be elected

in every department, men who are ready, willing and able to end company chiseling. Such shop stewards, however, cannot do the job alone. They must have the 100 per cent backing of the men they represent or else they cannot do their job. It is up to the men working in the Hodgson yard to see that a grievance committee is elected. that shop stewards function and that everybody who calls himself a union official does the job he's supposed to do. Unless this is done the new contract will be no better than the old.

At the same meeting, the overtime grievance was taken up. The company paid straight time on the Saturday and Sunday after Christmas, and the Saturday after New Year's Day, although time and a half and double time are provided for in the existing agreement. Straight time was likewise paid on overtime days when the men were sent home during the week due to rain-another violation of contract. It was voted to take this matter up with the company immediately and to have a report at the next meeting. If this grievance is successfully pushed, most men in the yard stand to gain five or six days' back pay.

The union started late in the Hodgson yard, but it is losing no time in catching up and passing the other yards in the area.

#### To Our Readers:

Because of the overwhelming amount of union material this week, we were obliged to omit the letters from our readers. Our apologies. Bear with us until next week when all correspondence will be published.

The Daily Worker And Phelps Dodge

Worker, Communist Party sheet, reports with handsprings of joy that a meeting of Local 451, Mine, Mill & Smelter Workers Union, condemned LABOR ACTION as "dishonest, treasonous and dangerous." If the hand that wrote the Daily Worker article did not write the resolution. it is only because the Stalinists have enough forces to assign the same filthy job to two people. (Let us always remember that these same people supported a pact with Hitler up to June 22, 1941.)

The resolution adopted by Local

in the first year of World War II,

lost 3.8 per cent of their total man-

power as dead or missing. This

is five times greater than the com-

bined losses of the Army, Navy,

Marine Corps and Coast Guard,

which lost only 0.75 per cent in the

Upon suit for \$2,000,000 brought by

the National Maritime Union (CIO),

an investigation was launched which

revealed the known fact that sailors

always work on Sundays at sea and,

further, that sailors do not unload

ships. The unloading of ships is the

work of longshoremen. The accusa-

tion that the sailors would not un-

load the needed supplies because

they demanded overtime is answered

by contracts, virtually standard for

the past ten years, which provide for

overtime for any work other than

sailors' work (manning the ship for

safe navigation). The question of

overtime could not have been an is-

sue had this story contained an iota

In due time, the Navy and Ma-

rine Corps issued statements exon-

erating the sailors and branding

the story as malicious and slander-

Major General Alexander A. Van-

dergrift, commander of Marines at

Guadalcanal, told the investigating

committee: "At no time while I was

in command did any civilian crew

refuse to do its allotted task in un-

Secretary of the Navy Frank Knox

said: "I had an investigation made

while I was in Guadalcanal and can

state unequivocally that no such in-

cident occurred." Further, Admiral

William Halsey, commander-in-chief

of U.S. forces in the South Pacific,

reported in a Navy release that none

of the crews had ever refused to

discharge its ship's cargo and that

the merchant seamen's efficiency and

These refutations of the slander

riously anti-labor

were neglected by most papers and,

where printed, were buried in in-

courage had won high praise.

conspicuously small items.

he not

of truth-which it didn't.

ous.

loading ships."

same period.

### Facts Behind the Guadalcanal Smear **Campaign Against Merchant Seamen** stated that the merchant seamen,

By C. T. WOLFE

CIO and the AFL.

The smear campaign against the seamen and their unions, started by the Akron Beacon Journal, can now be revealed as an opening wedge driven by Representative Vinson's Naval Affairs Committee to bring the merchant seamen under the direction of the Navy.

**CIO-AFL** Protest

this week beat back one of the

most reactionary anti - union

measures ever presented by the

representatives of the big cor-

porations and the Associated

Farmers in the State Legislature.

Senate Bill 290 carried within it

provisions requiring that trade

unions be incorporated, that their

books be made open to the pub-

lic and that the check-off and

closed shop be barred. This ob-

vious piece of class legislation was

defeated by a wave of protest in

a joint campaign sponsored by the

It first broke in the January 21 issue of the Beacon Journal under a scare headline, "Ship 'Strike' Ires Guadalcanal Fighters." The story, by sob-sister Helen Waterhouse, told a heart-rending story of the indignation of six unidentified and non-existent marines allegedly just returned from Guadalcanal.

This tale of hungry, malaria-weakened, wounded marines swimming out to unload sorely needed food and medicinal supplies because the seamen struck was picked up by the Associated Press, which rewrote and amplified it and then passed it on, to be again rewritten and editorialized by the reactionary Chicago Tribune.

While no effort was made to establish the truth of these slanders, the story of seamen refusing to unload supplies because of "Sunday rules" provided a field day for all the labor-hating congressmen in a particularly labor-hating Congress. Immediately, Chairman Vinson (D., Ga.) of the House Naval Affairs Committee launched an investigation for congressional procedure to make the merchant seamen subject to Navy discipline.

The ship owners, with the aid of the Navy and Representative Vinson, have been trying to issue Navy uniforms and probably Navy pay to the Merchant Marine. This story, gotten from two girls "who met a Marine downtown," followed a vicious story by the Chicago Tribune quoting an unnamed "Naval officer" who accused the merchant seamen of being "draft dodgers," "yellow" and "insolent."

The facts, as issued by Elmer Davis' Office of War Information, The March 13 issue of the Daily 451 does NOT represent the sentiment of the rank and file-specificals ly the Phelps Dodge workers. It represents the opinion of a Stalinist clique in the leadership-which, we might add, is in difficulty. It is reported that the election of Reid Robinson, Stalinist president of the international, has been challenged as fraudulent.

> LABOR ACTION recently reported a spontaneous walk-out at the Phelps Dodge Refining Corp. (It was, unfortunately, our only report of the situation.) Unable to get any support in their demands from the leadership of Local 351, and embittered against the company, the workers in Phelps Dodge took matters into their own hands. The union leaders stabbed the workers in the back, and forced the men to return to work without a victory.

What was and is the issue? The workers at Phelps Dodge want union security and a \$1.00-a-day raise from a company that is coining plenty in war profits. Now that the men are back at work, the WLB has postponed its decision, and the leaders of the union are seeking to squeich resentment by postponing and cancelling meetings.

The Daily Worker charges that we erred in our report that the WLB had granted a \$1.00 raise nine months ago and that the company had refused to pay it. We may have erred. Our information came from workers in the plant who assured us that it was common knowledge although the union leaders have made no announcement of the fact. But suppose we did err? If we did-and in the absence of an honest and democratic leadership it is difficult to ascertain if we did-but if we did, what of it?

We are willing to correct the error, and hereby do. The WLB didn't grant an increase? All right, it didn't. The fact remains that that increase is what the workers need and want. The fact remains that conditions in the plant are evidently so bad that workers took to the picket line against the will of union officers and in the face of general intimidation.

As a labor paper with a responsibility to report the truth and support labor's struggle for better conditions, we reported (along with other papers) the walkout. And, we admit it, we reported it in such a way as to make it clear that we are in sympathy with the demands of the Phelps Dodge workers - just as we are in sympathy with the mine workers in their demands, and with workers all over the country who seek a better wage.

What sticks in the craw of the Daily Worker and the Stalinist stooges in the union, who call upon the government to suppress us, is that many Phelps Dodge workers are LABOR ACTION readers. And that these workers know that LA-BOR ACTION is LOYAL to the interests of the working class-and that if "treason" exists, it is the treason of those who, like the Daily Worker, betray the interests of the working class. It is the treason of those who, faced with a situation that loudly calls for the support of the Phelps Dodge workers in their demands on the company. denounce-not the company!-but a paper that tells the working class truth, and will continue to tell it regardless of any spurious resolutions spawned in the Daily Worker office.

demonstration of the roles being played throughout the U.S. by the companies, the government, and the According to the contract between the local union (Local 365, UAW-CIO) and the company, a joint reclassification of the workers to eliminate the many inequalities in the plant was to be made and put into effect as of April 12. 1942. The company stalled for many months but finally the Job

Evaluation Committee of the company and the union concluded its task. Its findings showed what everyone knew: Brewster workers were grossly underpaid. As the company was well aware of the Union's no-strike policy, it did

#### Editor's Note:

It has been brought to our attention that in the last issue of LABOR ACTION the structure of the article on Brewster Aeronautical contained a misplaced emphasis that did not give an accurate picture of the developments in the situation there. The article in this issue, we feel, clears up any misunderstanding of the events.

what bosses throughout the country are doing: it refused to recognize the conclusions of the Job Evaluation Committee and told the union to "Take it to Washington."

The War Labor Board's decision went into effect on March 1, 1943fully five months after it had entered the case. It completely threw out the original reclassification on the ground that it added too much money (22 per cent) to the Brewster payroll. The WLB drew up a list of "scientific" job specifications which were far higher than the standards of the Job Evaluation Committee and ordered a second reclassification.

Throughout the country this The source of this dissatisfaction is combination of a union - busting company, a union tied by its nostrike pledge, and the "impartial" WLB has resulted in catastrophic defeats for the workers. However, Brewster workers from the very beginning had made it clear that they would not let events take their "normal" course.

At the very meeting in which the WLB was asked to take jurisdiction in the dispute, some of the workers showed their lack of confidence in the board by calling for a strike vote. Departmental walkouts were threatened so often while the WLB was stalling that the union leadership informed the board that it would not be responsible for the actions of the workers if a quick and just decision was not handed down. At the monthly membership meetings, the WLB was denounced in no uncertain terms. The local's paper carried some of the most scathing attacks against the WLB made by any trade union paper in the country. Most important of all, the aggressive union leadership aimed an arrow at the heart of its difficulties by presenting its Bushkill program which seconded a call for a special UAW convention to resolnd the no-strike pledge. The climax was reached in a 95 per cent work stoppage in the plant as workers refused to perform any work not in their classification.

It was in this atmosphere that the second reclassification was made. The most militant shop stewards completely disregarded the "scientifie" job specifications set up by the WLB-and got away with it. The WLB was sitting on a powder keg and did not wish to light a match. Job evaluation was established and the more-than-partial success in achieving it is a victory in itself. Thousands of workers have been reclassified and are now receiving wages more in keeping with their skill.

To deny that there is still dissatisfaction in the plants today is to close one's eyes to an obvious fact. demands at the proper time.

also obvious-the WLB reclassification is lower than the September classification which was thrown out. In the absence of official statistics from either the union or the WLB, it appears that the WLB average increase is from four to six cents lower. Particular attention must be paid to the fact that the WLB classification was made after the men had increased their skill by working an additional four months on their jobs and, if anything, should have received higher ratings

Special havoc was wrought in the ranks of the A men. In the disputed cases the union really received a slap from the WLB-with some departments winning only five per cent of those cases. Also, the high-handed and arbitrary action of the WLB in going against its own directive order, by refusing reclassification and back pay to those workers hired after October 4, 1942, is a sharp blow to the pocketbooks of many workers. Yet, with all these faults, Local 365's reclassification was a decisive

union victory. The militant actions of the workers forestalled the plans of the company and the WLB. The victory must be solidified by the laying down of hard and fast work standards in keeping with the pay rates of the various classifications. President De Lorenzo's statement that "no one is going to work for glory" is a good indication that this will be done. Above all, Brewster workers have learned the importance of not entering a fight with their hands tied behind their backs -the no-strike clause must be retracted.

Local 365's victory was more than a local labor triumph. The aircraft industry is a real war baby, so notorious for its chaotic wage system that doubts of its ever being organized were openly expressed by leaders of the international. Now, in Local 365, job grades and wage scales have been established that can serve as a strong base for further organization in the indusary and for further

# Who Are the Betrayers in the House of Labor?

We begin publication below of sections of a long survey of racketeering bureaucratism in the AFL written by a worker-correspondent who has been a militant unionist, and member of the AFL carpenters' union, for several decades. LABOR ACTION does not agree with every single line or point of phrasing in Comrade Carpenter's argument, but we submit as a valuable and interesting compilation by a worker who knows his AFL. We regret that we lack the space to publish the work in its entirety. Other sections will follow in subsequent issues of LA-BOR ACTION .--- Editor.

#### By BILL CARPENTER

With the greatest interest I have followed what some people call "Pegler's art of union-racket exposure." His work is equal to that of any Pinkerton labor spy, and differs only in that the latter do their work underground, whereas Pegler prefers to do his partially in the open. Both, however, operate with the ultimate motive of discrediting and destroying the labor union as a whole.

The fact that Pegler also raves against the Wagner Act, because it provided organized labor with a few crumbs and thereby enabled it to more than double its growth, in the past eight or ten years, proves that. I have not seen Pegler spend

much time in exposing crooked lawyers, bankers, loan-sharks or big industrialists who are exploiting labor on a much greater scale. Pegler's whole lamentation for the free American workers and their right to walk through the picketline has been demonstrated far too conspicuously.

One does not want to look at the AFL bureaucracy, its racketeers, gangsters and extortionists as something that is independent of the present "American Way of Life" itself, but rather as one of the lower branches of the same tree. It lives under its wing. It accepts its policy and, in return, contributes to its fertile soil. In other words, it serves the same purpose as the newspapers, the radio, the theatre, school, church, police, courts, army and the navy.

To be sure, I checked up on Pegler's broad statement, where he offered to name one hundred criminals holding office in the AFL. I searched through the records of the New York Public Library and after a few months was convinced, that there is truth in his statement.

But what of it! Pegler, as I pointed out above, explores these evils for his own ends. At the same time that does not mean that the workers belonging to these unions should stop there and let it go at that, or should look around for ele-

ments outside of their union such as journalists, intellectuals and shyster lawyers, posing as friends of labor, to rescue them from these labor betrayers. No, this can only be done by the workers themselves. The workers must make their own investigations, discuss them among themselves, find the remedy and then act accordingly. And the best remedy is rank and file control, union democracy.

After all, it is your organization. You maintain it with your dues. It is true that some sacrifices are needed. But that is no greater than the sacrifices of the men who founded the union movement. They were faced with similar obstacles. They were blacklisted, framed up, jailed, driven out of the state and some of them even murdered.

Bureaucracy Perpetuates Itself

Now, in commenting on the argument of the three Reverends, A. R. McGowan, J. F. Smith and W. J. Smith, in defense of the AFL-all around the old song, "Just because there are a few discredited among the 300,000 officials, that does not prove the whole AFL is bad"-let us see whom they are trying to defend. The report of the sixty-second annual convention of the AFL, held in

Ontario, Canada, in October, 1942, shows that 507 delegates represented 5,482,581 paid-up members. The re-

port does not disclose how many international unions, state councils, city councils or local unions. But it is estimated that about 20 International unions, 48 state councils and 471 city councils were represented. Taking for granted that 20 international unions and 48 state councils were represented by two members of the executive, let us say, the president and the secretary, that gives you 136. Then add one for each of the 471 city councils, although the number of city councils is far bewond that. That brings the number to 507. But not one of these needed to be elected, since they were all union executives. Where were the delegates elected by the 5,482,581 paid-up members?

The composition of the AFL convention and its executive board are a true reflection of almost all of the international unions, state and city bodies, with only minor differences in their functioning. While some hold conventions every two, four or eight years, there are others that meet only once in thirty years. And although conventions may revise constitutions or hold referendums, the referendum vote is often concealed from the membership and the opposite is announced. The powers vested in the international president reduce even the few rights of the union members to a mere sham. Yet with all their power they live in fear of what the future will bring and they are always expelling the mildest critics of their policies and lifting chartors of disapproving locals. In New York City alone, at least eight locals with a total membership of about 5,000 had their charters lifted by their national presidents.

What becomes of all these thousands of members and their officers after their locals are destroyed? Well, most members are transferred within thirty days after notice is served on them to transfer to other locals by their national presidents. Others who disobey and hold out, but rejoin after the verdict is announced. have to pay full initiation fee plus penalties. Some remained out to this day.

But for their officers it is not quite so simple. They stand under joint responsibility for the local union's funds. Suppose a local union had twenty-five thousand dollars in the treasury at the time the charter was revoked, and the officials used part or all of that money to fight the case, but lost. They, as individuals or as a group, cannot rejoin before that money is paid to the international office, and then only by paying their initiation fee plus a penalty of two to three hundred dollars. In addition they can "never again hold office in the organization."

Tribune, which carried front-page, six-column stories based on unidentified sources, of how well-fed, burly, \$700-a-month seamen sang to the 'sick, bleeding, starved Marines": "You'll never get rich, You ....," buried the truth in its back pages with a one-paragraph quote from Admiral Halsey. The Hearst papers, which printed the lie on the front page with three-column headlines, printed only one paragraph of the Halsey statement in its first edition and then dropped it from subsequent editions entirely.

# Detroit CIO

(Continued from page 1)

porting the old party candidates. He expressed regret that there was not a seventh point in the program calling for independent labor candidates. The speech was greeted by scattered applause, but there was no further comment from the floor or platform.

#### Six-Point Plan

1. That a political action committee be established in each local. 2. That these committees be co-ordinated by congressional districts. 3. That delegates be selected from the districts to act in conjunction with the state CIO in Lansing in ob-

taining desirable legislation. 4. That delegates be sent to Washington to act in conjunction with the CIO Washington groups.

5. That the CIO work co-operatively with the AFL, the railway brotherhoods and other unions to abolish anti-labor legislation.

6. That the executive board of the Wayne County CIO Council appoint a committee to work with and co-ordinate the activities of the political action committees established in the

#### **Continue** Old Policy

It was also decided that each local would break down its membership rolls by residence, in wards, pre-

#### In Chicago:

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cincts and districts for political astion.

The report was vague as to the work of these committees. Efforts will be made through them to get the unionists to register and vote in elections, and conduct pressure campaigns against anti-labor legislation and for the CIO program. All the speeches, however, implied that the CIO leaders wished to continue the old policy of "rewarding your friends and punishing your enemies" and would continue to support candidates of the two old parties, particularly President Roosevelt.

Other resolutions at the conference called for increased child care for children of war workers; the forty. eight-hour week and time and a half pay on the sixth day for city employees; government aid to housing; compulsory arbitration as a means of eliminating strikes; for increased war production; for repeal of the five per cent victory tax and for greater taxation of the wealthy.

#### Buy LA and NI In Akron at:

News Exchange (near Palace Theater), 51 South Main Street. News Center "38" (near Colonial Theater), 38 E. Mill Street. National News Co. (corner East Exchange and South Main Street), 333 South Main Street.

In Cleveland: G&M Newsstand, Superior and Sta Street

St. Louis CIO Council Hits Ehrlich - Alter Executions fighters, were executed in the Soviet

ists got a dose of their own medicine at the OIO Council meeting here on Wednesday, March 10, when their resolution demanding the recall of Admiral Standley was defeated, 2 to 1, and a resolution condemning the murder of the two Polish socialists, Ehrlich and Alter, was passed in its stead.

The Stalinist machine, which ordinarily steamrollers its political resolutions through the poorly attended council meetings, suffered a set-back when progressives in the council presented a "Resolution of Solemn Protest" against the murder of the two well known Polish social-democrats, Ehrlich and Alter.

by Russian Ambassador Litvinov to American labor leaders that Henryk Ehrlich and Victor Alter had been executed as spies in the employ of Hitler, the resolution describes the charge against the two Polish labor leaders as "amazing." After citing the records of Ehrlich and Alter in the labor movement "through their long careers in public life," the reso-

"... these vague, undocumented and unproved charges tried in seoret before a court of fanatically intolerant political opponents can remind us only of the political injustices and hatred visited upon unpopular figures in our own coun-

lution claims that:

Tom Mooney and others under a disguise of false and framed criminal charges."

It concludes, after paragraphs which refer to the "horrifying charges" and "this ghastly miscarriage of justice," that it be resolved:

"That the St. Louis Industrial Union Council solemnly record its protest to the Soviet government through its Ambassador at Washington and request of the Ambassador and President Murray of the Congress of Industrial Organizations collaboration in an international investigation by an unprejudiced labor commission of the

lish and Alter, and in the case of the collapse of these charges, the vindication of these labor servants' good name and punishment by the Soviet government of this tragic act of factional political vengeance by its agents .... "

NEW YORK-The Executive Board of the Knitgoods Workers Union, on the case. Local 155, ILGWU, has adopted a statement protesting the execution of Ehrlich and Alter. "We are deeply shocked and grieved," reads the

statement, "to learn that Victor Alter

and Henryk Ehrlich, the two Polish

trade union leaders and anti-fascist

Union. This is a blow to the millions who loved them and followed their leadership, to the underground movement against Hitler that was indemocratic struggle against fascism.' ment cites the records of the two men, and goes into the known facts

#### A committee, headed by David Dubinsky of the ILGWU, has called a meeting, in Mecca Temple on March 30, to protest the executions.

locals. spired by them, and to the cause of Charging that it is impossible for anyone to believe the slanders against the two socialists, the state-

#### LABOR ACTION

**Roosevelt Plan Is Based on Capitalist Insecurity** 



ca.'

the war goes on.

#### ITALIAN WORKERS AND SOLDIERS FIGHT FASCISM

Last week we reported riots in Milan armaments factories and a demonstration of workers demanding peace. This week we are able to reproduce two more documents which show the resistance of Italian workers against Mussolini's regime.

This is how conditions in a factory, which the author of the report knows, are described: "There are many political discussions. Quite a number of workers of all grades realize that fascism symbolizes war, misery, hunger and the destruction of any kind of civilization. At their benches the workers discuss their working conditions, their special class problems and questions of a general political nature. Naturally, those who take part in such discussions are not always of the same opinion but they talk things over in a calm and friendly atmosphere of mutual confidence such as did not exist in former times. This change of atmosphere makes it possible for socialists to develop extensive and by no means superficial political activity."

This new atmosphere of franker discussion and a new spirit of rebellion is also noticed in the army. Many, often bloody, elashes have occurred between Nazi officers and Italian soldiers. There is generally an immense hatred permeating all layers against the arrogant behavior of the Gestapo and the Nazis, but there is also a spirit of insubordination and general discontent in the Italian army itself.

"At Civitavochia the steamer Polluce took on board 570 soldiers and NCO's manacled and escorted by the police, who took them to Asinara in Sardinia. The soldiers

SEHIND THE REPORTS OF FRENCH GUERRILLA ACTIVITY

cannon, about regular communiques The papers have recently published a number of reports on the activity of French' "guerrillas." We have the impression that these reports have been exaggerated to a very considerable degree and should be taken with a grain of salt. While it is a fact the French workers fight with all means at their disposal against being shipped to Germany to feed the Nazi war machine - many reports on resistance in factories, holding up trains with recruits for Germany, and the flight of young French workers from already assembled trains are undoubtedly truestories about guerrillas armed with

were accused of insubordination. many among them having protested against the reduction of soldiers' family allowances. In Asinara Prison about 500 soldiers and NCO's are detained and are serving sentences from 15 to 30 years of penal servitude. At Curru, there is a concentration camp for soldiers who are suspected of anti-fascism and are punished merely as a precautionary measure. At present they number 654. The last transport arrived at Curru from Afriwould make necessary the use of re-

The Italian workers and soldiers run so low that the workers are able hate fascism. They fight it because to see the bare-shelved reality of it made them slaves of a totalitarian their wage situation. The result is machine which deprives them of libthe demand of the packing house erty and barely gives them the workers, airplane workers and minmeans to go on living. They fight it because it has dragged them into an imperialist war for colonies and world domination in which they are slaughtered on foreign battle grounds for interests which are not their interests and for reasons which have become increasingly clear to them as

was brought out and put on the shelves. Whereupon the War La-The U.S. State Department also bor Board, with the representatives claims that it opposes fascism, but of capital and of the so-called pubactually it plays ball with all those lie in a solid bloc against labor, reactionary forces which brought proceeded to vote against wage infascism to power and with the fascreases for the packing house and cists themselves. One proof among airplane workers many is the recently held friendly So much for the timing of the Prestalk between Mayor La Guardia and ident's coup. Now to the plan itself. Italian generals who are prisoners in Everyone wants the right to work this country. While the Italian work-

By JOHN BERNE

creasing wages.

serves.

The social security plan submitted

by President Roosevelt to Congress

a couple of weeks ago was undoubt-

edly pulled out of his hat at this

time to befog the issue of lifting the

unjust Little Steel formula and in-

One part of this plan was laid be-

fore the President by the National

Resources Planning Board more than

a year ago and another part of it

several months ago. But he hoarded

them in his desk against the time

when a shortage of current hocum

In fact the supplies of hocum have

ers for wages commensurate with the

cost of living-and the demand of

organized labor as a whole to end

the abomination known as the Lit-

"So the "morale-building" propa-

ganda of the social security plan

tle Steel formula.

ers fight against all kinds of oppresduring his prime, under civilized conditions, at a decent income. Evsion, the State Department evidently eryone wants an uninterrupted flow opposes only a specific policy of the of the needs of life-food, clothing, fascist apparatus. It has given reason shelter, medical care. Everyone to believe that it would not find any wants a little more than that alsofault with the fascist regime the moentertainment, education, some ocment that regime transferred its alcupational and cultural developlegiance from Germany to America. ment. Everyone wants freedom from fear of old age, sickness, accident,

> unemployment. These are the human wants the Roosevelt plan uses up much paper on. But these are the very human wants that the capitalist system is unable to fulfill. As a matter of fact, capitalism can only survive by curtailing more and more the needs of people.

This can easily be explained. Making profits will not be such an easy matter, if capitalism survives this war. The war will have ruined Europe, parts of Asia and other regions of the world. These countries will be paupers-not customers. As for the countries least scarred by the

war, competition for their trade will be grimmer, than ever in history. Trade will be given in return for the best bargains. If American capitalists are to export bargains in goods and capital, the American workers will pay the price with a lowered standard of living all around.

Instead of being taken in by high-sounding plans that have no economic basis workers must face the truth that the profit system of capitalism is now in its final stage, wherein the struggle for its existence is too tough for it to allow the workers a greater share of the product of their labor.

But suppose capitalism had the ability to carry out some kind of make-shift plan. The crucial question then would be: HOW?

For instance, the immediate comment on the Roosevelt plan of Representative Pace of Georga was: "It looks like a fifty-billion-dollars-ayear proposition. I don't see where we could get that kind of money."

The cost of war never stops a declaration of war. Congress calmly appropriates \$109,000,000 for the 1944 war budget. War is just a regular activity of capitalist society and finances must be provided for it. But granting social security to the

(Continued from page 1)

ticians, as expected, have been doing

their part in creating the atmosphere

of hysteria which greets any strike

talk. Presumably to take the edge

would be retroactive to April 1. The

posal to the soft coal mine operators

soft coal mined in this country.

Although the wage increase is the

most important demand of the union,

nevertheless they have been at-

tempting to reach agreement on

1. It will not be a violation of

the union agreement for miners to

Series of Demands

many other points:

The capitalist press and the poli-

people is extra-curricular activity for capitalism - and American congressmen will not see where "that kind of money" is coming from, even as the English Parliament did not see where the money would come from . for the defeated Beveridge plan.

**Our Plan: Social Security Through Socialism** 

Not that the Roosevelt plan overlooked the matter of financing. Taxation, of course, is the source. But who is to bear the brunt? The plan provides that the government will "rely LESS on corporation taxes," more on income taxes, and "BROAD-EN THE BASE" of income taxeswhich means YOU!

In a word, just as the workers are paying for the war, they would pay for so-called "social security" -OUT OF THEIR OWN WAGES. This would necessarily reduce their standard of living at all timeswhen employed as well as when unemployed - TO MERE SUB-SISTENCE.

You might ask, if the plan would make the mass of workers pay for it, why should boss politicians in Congress worry where the money will come from. Ah, but they have good

bor-higher than in peacetime. But after the war, they see a different picture. Unemployment, unsteady wages, low wages, will not be as good a source for taxation. So, if Congress accepts the "so-

cialistic" principle of "social security," the government may indeed have to rely MORE on corporation taxes and NARROW the base of income taxes. That, you see, will never do-and a congressman is very likely to lose campaign support from his patron-bosses if he votes for any scheme that may mean shaving off profits.

Another thing about this "cradle--to-the-grave" plan-which has none but propaganda value. Will "cradle to the grave" mean robbing the cradle for untimely graves? That is an important question. Will human beings be permitted to live out their years until old age returns them to Mother Nature? The answer to this question - so vital today - is contained in the part of the plan which calls for the maintenance of military forces, for building up a "stockpile war reserve" and for "experimental production of improved mili-

and-because of the demand for la- President's plan was to the effect that 'a more favorably 'divvy'" is still in order. "The United Mine Workers believe," wrote Mr. Lewis, "that present-day equitable pay rates will best conserve their well-being and that's just what they are asking for-not blueprints of a Utopia that, in the light of the present pace toward world physical and financial exhaustion, may never materialize." Mr. Lewis is 100 per cent right on the wage question. But his reactionary cynicism about social security is

due to the fact that he limits the fu-

ture to the confines of the tottering

capitalist system.

Rage I

The socialist thinks of social security-on a much higher level than the orudities of the Roosevelt and other capitalist plans-and of permanent peace, not as an impossible Utopia but as a practical possibility. Yes, a practical possibility-but only through freeing the resources of the country from capitalist exploitation and placing them at the service of the population through a workers' government.

Social security through socialism is the plan LABOR ACTION sum ports and submits to the common sense of the working people.

The average miner travels under-

FDR Intervenes in Mine Dispute - -

cease work to prevent shipment of coal to non-union concerns or where a strike is in progress.

2. Only union-made explosives and mine supplies shall be used in the mines,

off this hysteria the union offered to 3. Owners must pay for all safeextend the old agreement for a ty equipment and devices, electric month beyond March 31, but on conlight and cap rentals, blacksmithdition that any agreement reached ing and-for the day and monthly men - the necessary tools and owners rejected the proposal. The equipment. union made a somewhat similar pro-

4. Abolition of all differentials within and between districts.

outside of the main Appalachian 5. Union agreement to continue area, which are not represented in and to be in full force even if these negotiations, and which emthere is a change of leasing or ploy over 120,000 miners and proownership. duce about 25 per cent of all the

6. Increase of vacation payment to \$50.

7. Maximum work week of six days, to terminate at end of war emergency; double time for Sundays.

8. Only two shifts in any twentyfour hour period. (The present three-shift system does not permit

rock dusting, adequate ventilation to dilute inflammable and noxious gases, and necessary and proper inspection is impossible. This is one of the big reasons for the large number of mine accidents.) 9. Wage rate increases of \$2.00 a day and an \$8.00 minimum day

rate. 10. The establishment of portalto-portal working time for starting and quitting time for all underground workers.

#### Portal-to-Portal Wage

The last point has been a continuous demand of the rank and file in the Miners' Union for many years, but this is one time that the government may find itself interested in it. For it may provide the face-saver the government is looking for. The government, seeing the militancy of the miners in the negotiations and knowing that the miners mean business, may give in on this point if the miners continue their militancy and do not capitulate .-----

ground an hour and twenty minutes each day to reach the face of the seam of coal that he is working on, and to return to the mouth of the mine when his day's work is over. But he gets paid only for the time that he is at the face of the seam of coal. The owners have rejected the portal-to-portal proposal (that working time be measured from the time a miner enters a mine until he leaves it) of the union, but it will be difficult for any government agency to refuse this point, for only recently a Federal Appeals Court upheld the Mine, Mill & Smelter Workers Union in the iron ore mines on the very same point as a valid interpretation of the Wage-Hour Act. Thus the government may utilize this as a way out without setting any formulabreaking precedents that will raise the American workers' hopes of getting better wages through the WLB or Lewis.

Fifth in a Series of Articles: "WHAT IS A WORKERS GOVERNMENT?" Workers Government Is the FUNDAMENTAL Solution to Our Problems

#### horse sense, these politicians. A war, they know, can be financed by taxtary equipment." . For what-if not ing the people because employment for the next war? is more widespread, wages steadler John L. Lewis' comment on the

#### By SUSAN GREEN

A workers' government is the only instrumentality the working class can use for a FUNDAMENTAL solution of its problems. This is so because a workers' government replaces the capitalist governmentand immediately proceeds to administer the affairs of the nation on the basis of human requirements, suppressing the exploiting capitalistsand their yearning for profits.

If you examine the problems facing the working people today, you find, first, that they are not new, but only a new phase of old difficulties that have whiskers as long as capitalism itself; and second, you discover that they would disappear if the capitalists were out of the way.

For instance, the food situation, with its menace to health and to life itself, is causing most worry today. But is it really new for working people to live in fear of being undernourished, of becoming slok from malnutrition, of dying from slow starvation? Doesn't the "food situation" CONSTANTLY hang over the heads of the working class like the sword of Damoeles?

In peacetime depressions, the workers starve while warehouses are bursting with commodities the unemployed and underpaid workers are unable to buy. In wartime the workers are threatened with starvation from shortages created because fabulous quantities of goods and men are poured into the bottomless

> LABOR ACTION announces a series of lectures in New York on

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abyss of destruction. You have here both sides of the same coin.

issued by these guerrillas, etc., are

likely the fruit of the overheated im-

agination of some Swiss journalists.

voie mountains, to anybody familiar

with this region and with general

conditic s in France, sound about

like stories on guerrilla fighting at

Bear Mountain. It is also obvious

that reports of this character at this

time serve the de Gaullists and Sta-

linists beautifully. They want to

show what considerable support they

have in France in order to put

through their deals in competition

with Giraud.

Guerrillas entrenched in the Sa-

But the situation confronting us is not only due to shortages produced by the war. The problem is complicated by the stranglehold of capital on the food industry. It both limits food production according to its own interests and then squeezes the last penny of profit out of the sale of food. Black markets and all types of gypping are the only logical evolution of the principle that profits justify any means.

#### WHAT A WORKERS' GOVERNMENT COULD DO

But suppose the American workers should establish a workers' government. That would mean that the capitalist would have no more to say in running the affairs of the nation. There would no longer be a Congress of capitalist politicians elected on boss money-no more lobbying by big business-no more big businessno more \$1.00-a-year men in the seats of government-no more farm bloc dictating to politicians. Under a workers' government.

the food industry would be under the control of committees of working farmers, of farm labor and of the workers employed in the production, packing, canning and distribution of food. The land holdings of the big farm corporations and the canning, packing and dairy plants of big business would be taken over by the workers' government-AND MADE THE PROP-

ERTY OF THE ENTIRE NATION. Thus, unrestricted by the profit motive, the production, pricing and rationing of food could be planned to serve the people, and coordinated with the needs of all the other industries.

HOW TO MAKE JOBS AND PEACE SECURE

The expropriation of the capitalists and the national ownership of industry under workers' control is the fundamental solution. The specter of unemployment, which haunts every worker while he sweats on his temporary war job, can be laid in its grave permanently only by such anti-capitalist measures as a workers' government will take.

All the post-war plans based on a continuation of the capitalist statu quo-Beveridge's, Churchill's, Wallace's Roosevelt's-dodge the question of permanent employment. The best they offer is a pittance to prevent the unemployed from starving. In an honest mood, an editor of the New York Times recently confessed he knows no solution for unemployment. And Sir Beveridge knocked his own silly plan into a cocked hat

when he admitted that he doesn't know where post-war employment will come from. But the working class, through a

workers' government, can solve the unemployment problem by putting people to work producing things for domestic consumption and enjoyment and for non-profit international exchange - ending once and for all the tie-up between employment and foreign capitalist markets.

So also would the problem of terminating wars be solved by the establishment of workers' governments in this country, in England, in Germany, in France, in Russia, in Italy, in Japan.

All the post-war plans of the capitalist planners will wind up in another war as soon as the babies of today grow to adolescence. Churchill offers bleeding humanity nothing better than that old strumpet, the League of Nations, with fresh and heavier make-up. - American politicians are preparing for global military and economic dictatorship. And behind all the talk and preparations towers the ugly head of new imperialist conflicts already materializing.

Whereas workers' governments, displacing the imperialist governments and taking away the alldominating economic power of the capitalist classes, will pave the way for permanent peace-BY UP-

ROOTING THE CAUSE OF WAR. Then human society can reorganize itself for the peaceful development of the gifts of nature and of the ingenuity of man.

#### WORKING CLASS MUST HAVE SELF-CONFIDENCE .

But could the workers run the country?

The reason why workers lack confidence in their ability to rule is because they understand government in the capitalist sense-as a maze of laws, policies, treaties springing from the fertile minds of lawyers, politicians, diplomats. But this useless labyrinth is purposely created so at the rule of the bankers and of steel magnates can be hidden in.

Unce the workers conceive the function of government to be to provide the basic needs of the population and to plan and achieve an ever higher level of civilization and culture for the people, they can take a broom and sweep into the ocean the laws, policies, treaties of the capitalist state.

Who is better able to organize society for production than the producers? Who knows machinery better than the machinists? Who knows mines better than the miners? Who knows land better than working farmers and farm workers? Who knows the problems of education better than teachers?

Who is more competent to represent a factory than such outstanding workers as, for instance, the rank and file now choose as shop stewards? Such chosen work-

ers together with technicians, en gineers and other specialized workers indispensable to industry, have all the knowledge required for production. Needless to say, all the categories of brain workers will benefit as much under a workers' government as will manual workers. But they would have to be elected by the workers to sit on representative bodies and would have to be subject to the same control as all other elected repre-

The most capable manual and brain workers could thus run and control every department and phase of industry, public service, education and the whole of community life, both locally and on a national scale.

#### WILL THE WORKERS MAKE MISTAKES?

sentatives.

This war has brought out in bold relief the qualifications of labor to plan on a national scale. Long before the bosses, concentrating on how to make money out of the misery of war-and long before the government, reflecting the bosses' preoccupation with profits - had any industrial plans to offer, the Reuther plan was submitted. Since then organized labor has thought of other schemes to meet specific industrial problems. A workers' government, naturally, will not employ the organizing and planning genius of the working people for waging war. The point made here is simply that men and women stemming from labor's ranks have a know-how far superior to that of the capitalist class,

profit motive.

Will the working class make mistakes when it takes over the powers of government?

In 1918, Lenin, one of the founders of the workers government in Russia -later destroyed by Stalin - wrote on the subject of such mistakes as workers may make in the process of establishing a new society. Interestingly enough, the following quoted passage is from Lenin's "A Letter to American Workers," in which he asked for their support of the Russian Revolution. Lenin wrote:

"Each mistake in such a work, in this most honest and sincere work of tens of millions of simple workers and peasants for the reorganization of their whole life, each such mistake is worth thousands and millions of 'faultless' successes of the exploiting minoritysuccesses in swindling and duping the toilers. For only THROUGH such mistakes will the workers and peasants LEARN to build a new life, learn to do WITHOUT capitalists; only thus will they blaze a new trail-through thousands of obstacles-to a victorious social-

ism." And ... all the mistakes that the workers can possibly make in the course of building the socialist society through a workers' government will be like a drop in the ocean of major crimes against humanity committed by full-fledged capitalism in peace and in war.

The last article in this series will explain why the Stalinist govern-



#### Shipbuilding Company Hikes Profit 100%

While workers of the Los Angeles Shipbuilding & Drydock Corp. were struggling to adjust their wages to the continually spiralling cost of living, a 100 per cent increase in net profit was announced by Alfred F. Smith, president of the corporation, in his annual report to stockholders. Although workers in the plant received only a seven per cent increase in income from December, 1941, to December, 1942, stockholders of the corporation enjoyed a 100 per cent increase for the same period.

Profits of the corporation for the year ending December 31, 1942, totalled \$523,595. In spite of the fact that every possible penny was "deducted" from this total figure, including \$413,020 for federal taxes, it is still DOUBLE the amount reported the previous year.

Profits for the coming year promise to be even better for the coupon clippers. But the men in the yards are worried at the prospect of meeting this year's cost of living with last year's wage ceilings.

**New York Workers Attention !** THE NATIONAL QUESTION IN EUROPE WILL BE THE SUBJECT OF A LECTURE BY MAX SHACHTMAN SUNDAY, APRIL 11, AT 8:00 P.M. **IRVING PLAZA-Irving Place and 15th Street** QUESTIONS AND DISCUSSION AUSPICES: WORKERS PARTY, ADMISSION: 25 CENTS LOCAL NEW YORK

#### EDITORIAL PAGE

### Editorials **Political Action**

Elsewhere in this issue, we report a conference of Detroit CIO unions held to organize political action against anti-labor legislation. Similar conferences will no doubt be held in other sections of the country. There is in addition increasing talk in the labor movement about the necessity for political action. The New York American Labor Party is spreading its activities; its Tammany candidate for governor in the last election is visiting other states. A set-up similar to the ALP is now in the process of being formed in New Jersey. CIO and AFL leaders have held conferences on ways and means of combatting anti-labor legislation now pending in State legislatures or in Congress.

In general there is every indication that the restiveness of labor on the economic front is having its reflection in a tendency towards political action. Negatively, this same tendency was demonstrated in the last election. Rather than vote for the two main boss parties, Democratic and Republican, and lacking a party of their own, workers stayed away from the polls. Dissatisfied with the effects of the war on their conditions, workers are politically turning away from the boss parties. And beneath it there is undoubtedly a developing sentiment for INDEPENDENT political action.

This is an encouraging sign. One of the principal weaknesses of the American working class has been that its political independence and understanding have lagged far behind its economic aggressiveness. The same workers who, in a strike or similar oction, would fight with exceeding militancy and class understanding, have year after year gone to the polls and voted for the political candidate of the class they were battling on the economic front.

Political and economic problems are closely interwoven; action on one must consequently be united with action on the other. For example, the struggle for higher wages today is not merely an economic problem. It is a problem of great political importance as well-because, in fighting for higher wages, labor must fight the WLB, and various other government boards and decrees.

It is, we say, an encouraging sign. But will this sign be distorted and disembowled? There is every indication that it will-unless militants in the unions rise to defend a truly independent policy of political action, a genuinely Independent Labor Party. While many labor union leaders are initiating certain/kinds of political action, they are at the same time beheading it of any true signifance. The way to independent political action is not the way of the ALP. ALPism is not an encouragement to independent political action. The ALP is not an Independent Labor Party. It is, was and will in all likelihood continue to be, nothing more than an appendage to the Roosevelt machine in the Democratic party. Alfange's tour right now has all the earmarks of being nothing more than an organizing trip for a Fourth Term for Roosevelt. The very fact

that the ALP can be represented by a member of the Tammany section of the Democratic Party is itself proof that it is a labor party in name only. More important proof, however, is its program which is fundamentally the program of Roosevelt — a representative, and it is true an able and clever representative, of the capitalist class.

Another case in point is the Detroit conference referred to above. Here a group of powerful unions met to discuss' and plan political action against political measures contemplated against labor. A laudable and necessary task. But the conference completely skirted the fundamental issuebecause on this fundamental issue the CIO leaders showed no change in policy: they still propose to continue supporting the old boss parties in one way or another-Roosevelt against Willkie, or Willkie against Dewey, etc. It is not merely a question of supporting boss candidates-though that in itself is criterion enough. It is also a question of supporting boss policies on the basic issues of the day.

How false is the CIO policy of supporting the two old parties, or one of them, is demonstrated in Michigan. Here is a powerful union movement. Detroit is often referred to as the citadel of unionism in the country. Yet, the Michigan legislature is keeping pace with other reactionary legislatures in its anti-labor designs. Where in this legislature are the CIO workers — they don't have to be "big-shots," ordinary workers will dowho can stand up and blast to hell the anti-labor schemes — men and women who owe allegiance to a party and program of THEIR class?

It goes without saying that political action committees such as contemplated by the Detroit conference have their place. But their proper place and direction is the coordination of these committees with similar bodies in the AFL and railroad brotherhoods for the purpose of forming an Independent Labor Party.

Political action is one of the principal points on the working class agenda today. It is a necessary and indispensable complement to economic action against the boss offensive. And, further, it is an essential ingredient of a WORKING CLASS offensive. But, we repeat, that political action is meaningless and disorienting if it operates within the frame." work of the old boss parties, or within

an "independent" framework that is only a vore-snarching cover for a italist politician, even a "friendly" one.

### Sub Drive Picks Up in Second Week

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The sub drive shows some improvement this week. Forty-nine subs is a lot better than last week's twenty-seven! But there's a long way to go. Our weekly total will have to average about seventy subs from now on, if we are to get those 1000 new subscribers by June 15th

magazine: \$1.00 for six months; \$1.50 for a whole year. You can take advantage of the special combination offer: LABOR ACTION and The N.I. for six months-\$1.00; LABOR ACTION and The N.I. for a year-\$1.75.

Use this convenient form and mail your sub today. ONLY 25 CENTS FOR SIX MONTHS (OR 50 CENTS FOR A FULL YEAR). (Coin, Money Order, Currency, Stamps)

week. Forty-nine subs is a lot better than last week's twenty-seven! But there's a long way to go. Our weekly total will have to average about seventy subs from now on, if we are to get those 1000 new subscribers by June 15th. Briefly, we ask LABOR ACTION'S read- ers to put some real steam behind the drive, and we are confident they will. The so- cialist press has always depended entirely on the enthusiasm and hard work of its readers. LABOR ACTION is no exception; and LABOR ACTION is proud to be carry- ing on today, almost alone, in the best tra- dition of the great socialist papers of the past that have guided and educated the international movement of the workers. So it's up to you. Our distributors are hav- ing an increasingly tough time meeting the demands made upon them. The only answer is new subs—and plenty of them.	LABOR ACTION 114 West 14th St., New York City Enclosed find \$ for which please enter my subscription to LABOR ACTION for 1 yr. 6 mos. The New International for 1 yr. 6 mos. LABOR ACTION and N.I. for 1 yr. 6 mos. Name Address City Comments			
Sparks in the News By Everett Weston				

### LARGE ARMY? **Many Motivations Behind the Program** By R. Fahan-

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With last week's announcement of the creation of a special presidential committee to investigate the manpower problem and the speech of Secretary of War Stimson justifying an 8,200,000-man army, great interest has arisen in the question.

There are numerous complications to this problem: the entire policy of the Roosevelt Administration on the conduct of the war as well as its post-war policy is involved. Here we will indicate what we believe are a few of the political motivations which have led the Administration to champion an army of 8,200,000 men.

#### 1. THE LENGTH OF THE WAR

Those who direct the war in behalf of American imperialism are not misled by talk of a short war; they are too realistic to be subject to the recurrent waves of optimism which sweep the country with each minor victory. They do not expect the Allies to lick Germany in 1943. Secretary Stimson speaks of "striking the decisive blow a year from now," which would indicate that a second land front in Europe may not even be BE-GUN this year. But since the opening of such a front-dependent on the successful completion of the lagging Tunisian campaign-is merely the beginning of the decisive part of the war, it is clear that the Allies must still retain the perspective of a long war. As for Japan, the BEGINNING of the real campaign against her must wait upon the completion of the war in Europe.

Resultantly, Roosevelt and his generals count on needing a large army; their spokesmen emphasize that there will be many casualties.

The opponents of the large army concept raise these questions, however: Can such an army be shipped overseas? Will not a large section of it stay in American training camps at the very time when crucial labor shortages will develop? If one thinks in terms of a 1943 war (an assumption implicit in the thought of those who believe that this army will not, for the most part, be sent overseas), then only a third or so, according to War Department figures, could be shipped. But if one understands that many of the men being trained now, or six months from now, are not scheduled to see astion until 1944 or 1945, then the objection that they cannot be shipped is no longer tenable.

In summary, then, the fact that the Roosevelt Administration is set upon such a gigantic military force indicates that the war will be long; that Allied imperialism, incapable of destroying its enemy by political propaganda which could drive a fatal wedge between Hitler and the German people, can depend only on sheer military means and that such dependence means that, unless there is some startling turn of events, we are facing a long struggle.

#### 2. THE POST-WAR WORLD

A second factor which prompts the Administration to create such a large army is its possible influence on the post-war world. The blunt fact is that America is preparing to "police" those territories in which its armies are victorious. Regardless of what Vice-President Wallace may say about a just peace being essential after this war to forestall a Third World War, the Army is preparing to extend its military domination-as a concomitant of the extension of American economic domination -over the defeated Axis powers.

According to this plan, the helpless people of. Germany and Italy, who have already suffered so much at the hands of Hitler and Mussolini, are to be taught the virtues of democracy via the educating influences of American troops of occupation. This means, of course, that many American troops will not be able to return to ci even if and when America wins the war. Already, in Fredericksburg, Va., the Army is running a special school, stocked mainly with conservative business men and other "substantial citizens," to train executives to rule occupied territories. This country is preparing to enter the business of imperialism to an extent that will make all its previous ventures appear picayune. 🧕 Some of the American leaders make no bones about it: the large army is intended as a "persuasive force" at the peace table against any possible attempt by Britain and/or Russia to grab what America intends to reserve for itself, the lion's share of the spoils,

"Air-cooling systems, due to be yanked out of the Senate, House and other departments, will probably -Washington Merry-Go-Round. stay. -LA-

"There are two primary measures of control (of juvenile delinquency): keeping juvenile courts fully staffed expertly administered, and, and much more important, expanding the community organizations which keep children wholesomely occupied. What New York City has done in those directions under the supposedly enlightened regime of Mayor La Guardia typifies the alertness of adults almost everywhere to the seriousness of the situation: a slash of \$900,000 last April in the city's education appropriation, abolition of the Juvenile Aid Bureau of the Police Department, refusal to fill vacancies in Children's Court posts, and ... reduction in the number of city-operated playgrounds from 400, in 1939;

for the Spanish CP and Mexican CP has not been without its drama and fireworks. The celebration of the birth of the Virgin of Guadeloupe was given a curious fillip with a Stalinist mass meeting, at which all believers were offered leaflets (not handed, but with a slow, sweet gesture, as if holy water were being carefully sprinkled) explaining the rediscovery of Spanish tradition and reversing the old line of church-state separation. The defections have been heavy."-New Leader.

-LA-Max Lerner on Ehrlich and Alter: "It would be fearfully difficult to believe that two men who were at once labor leaders and socialists and Poles and Jews, and whose careers showed their integrity, could have had traffic with the Nazi enemy."

It is easier than you think, considering the things before this you have swallowed without a be

trouble with you, Max, is that you

don't read the Daily Worker. Mike

Gold, for instance, could have set

you straight in no time: "I grieve to

note that even Jews have been

drawn into the dirty work that Goeb-

bels does in America. For many

months the execution of two Polish

Jewish social-democrats by the So-

ico and South America this new turn viet courts has been known. They were guilty or they would not have been punished."

#### -LA-

"Nationwide cinema attendance is up 25 per cent from a year ago; in the major cities, 40 per cent."-Time Louis Burt Mayer, Jr., movie magnate, "earned" \$949,766 in salary and bonus in 1942. That's \$18,264.73 a week, or \$1.81 a minute. -LA-

Memo to FDR, for File: "Boys, I told you before you went across the seas that this was a war against wars, and I did my best to fulfill the promise, but I am obliged to come to you in mortification and shame and say I have not been able to fulfill the promise. You are betrayed. You fought for something you did not get."-Woodrow Wilson, September 5, 1919.

#### -LA-

All-Out Department, Capitalist Di-

The kind of political action we speak of is political action that champions the political interests of labor in all spheres, champions it independently and from a class-a working class-point of view. The kind of political action we speak for, the kind of political action we urge union militants to advocate, is the political action that can only be organized by an INDEPENDENT LABOR PARTY that severs ALL ties with the boss parties, that is the genuine independent voice of labor on the political front.

-New Republic.

According to a recent report of the National Child Labor Committee, there are 2,780,000 minors now employed, 580,000 of them under 16. -LA--

"The Comintern has changed its line on religion, and the comrades are now crowding the pews. In Mex-

## On Food Front - -

#### (Continued from page 1)

sweet potatoes or yams went from three pounds for 22 cents to 12 cents for a single pound-why cauliflower is 40 to 50 cents a head?

#### .

Secretary of Labor Perkins admitted that government cost-of-living indexes do not give a true picture of the rising cost of living.

This, she explained, is due to the fact that the statisticians do not take into account shifting from one kind of food to another, or shopping in higher-priced 'stores when things are not obtainable in lower-priced ones.

Between mid - January and mid-February, for example, fresh fruits and vegetables went up 3.8 per cent, according to government figures. Prices of canned goods stayed about the same. But, because supplies of OR WATER?

### **George Whiteside**

We have just learned that Comrade George Whiteside, of Whitewater, Kan., a member of the Workers Party and enthusiastic supporter of LABOR ACTION, is dead after a long illness. This painful illness confined him to his home and bed for a number of years, during which he underwent periodic hospitalization and treatment.

Comrade Whiteside was a veteran of the labor and revolutionary socialist movements, formerly a member of the Socialist Party and its candidate for Governor of the State of Kansas. As a left wing member of that party he was one of the first to support the Socialist Appeal group. Along with it, he was expelled in 1937 by the reformist bureaucrats under the leadership of Norman Thomas. He became a founding member of the Socialist Workers Party.

canned goods were short, more families had to buy the higher-priced fresh food. This made the rise in their cost of living much higher than government statistics showed.

Notwithstanding this fact, these government cost-of-living indexes remain the basis for the operation of the Little Steel formula-which keeps wages down to a mere 15 per cent above the miserable wages of January, 1941. While-Even by these inadequate govern-

ment indexes the rise in the cost of living has more than doubled 15 per cent.

More power to labor in its present fight to break the unfair limits . of the Little Steel formula!

When milk gets to be 20 cents a quart-as is the aim of the farm bloc -will they tell us to drink wine-

During the internal struggle in the SWP in 1939, Whiteside remained steadfast in his adherence to the internationalist principles of revolutionary socialism, to the proletarian struggle against imperialist war, and to an unflinching struggle against counter-revolutionary Stalinism. He was one of the hundreds arbitrarily expelled from the SWP by the Cannonites and helped found the Work-

ers Party in 1940. Despite his illness he never for a moment lost his keen interest in the affairs of the party and the development of the press. His letters to the party kept recording his dissatisfaction at being unable to function actively in the ranks; but throughout it all he remained keenly abreast of political events, party life and the develop-

ment of his organization.

We mourn the loss of a good soldier, George Whiteside.

vision: Buckingham Palace servants will no longer wear tailcoats and white ties.

### Labor Party--

#### (Continued from page 1)

Oregon has given back-wage suits against a company a life span of six months, after which any court action would be autlawed. Heretofore an employee had from three to six years to sue a company for back wages. Now a worker has to take immediate action in order to get a decision. Many workers do, not know that they are entitled to these wages until long after the decision has been given. They may have left the plant to work elsewhere. They may have entered the Army. Since all wage adjustments are now subject to government arbitration board, the time that elapses between a grievance and decision is very long. Here is a bill which on the surface has little, significance, but which is actually another blow at the worker's pocketbook.

In Michigan, all labor groups have united in an effort to defeat House Bill 110. This bill would force the incorporation of labor unions in the state. This means that the state could regulate unions, their use of funds, prohibit them from taking political action of any kind, list by law the liabilities of labor unions, and convict with severe penalties any action considered an infraction.

Similarly in the other states, some form of anti-labor legislation is pending. It is also on the agenda of Congress. The infamous Hebbs bill, which would destroy the independence of labor organizations, by making them subject to an anti-racketeering law. The boss could accuse a union of racketeering when it asked for a wage increase or raised any other demand.

In the state bills, there seems to be one common aim, to prohibit unions from using their funds in any political campaigns. The respective state governments show that they fear independent political action by the working class. This especially demonstrates that the unions must halt this legislative drive against them by electing their own representatives, by refusing to support the candidates of the boss class, by forming an INDEPENDENT LABOR PARTY.

#### 3. AMERICA AFTER THE WAR

Finally, not the least important of the motives for a large army is the fear that after the war is over, America will see a series of social convulsions of unprecedented scope. The ruling classes hope to use that section of the Army not overseas for the purpose of maintaining the capitalist status quo, and perhaps of even giving it a more reactionary and dictatorial twist. Sensational evidence along these lines is provided in some articles written by James Wechsler in the New York hewspaper, PM, on March 9 and 10 in which he describes a series of special "orientation courses" given by the Army at Fort Leavenworth for big business men. These courses, Wechsler informs us, are designed to inculcate among the big business leaders who attend them the idea of accepting increasing military control of civilian life. Wechsler quotes one of the outlines used as saying that military control may become necessary in many civilian fields. This report becomes even more alarming when it is understood as symptomatic of a trend toward the increased militarization which is a byproduct of the present war.

These, then, are some of the political and economic motivations which impel American imperialism to construct such a gigantic military project. American imperialism expects a long and bloody struggle; it hopes to come out on top and will not tolerate any rival playing more than second fiddle; and it expects to remain dominant at home.



### WORKERS PARTY PLATFORM

Against Both Imperialist War Camps! For the Victory of World Labor and the Colonial Peoples! For the Victory of the Third Camp of Socialism!

#### LABOR MUST DEFEND ITSELF!

- 1. Hands off the right to strike! For the defense of civil rights and all workers' rights! Against any wartime dictatorship measures!
- 2. \$1.00-an-hour minimum pay! Time and a half for overtime; double time for Sunday and holiday work.
- 3. Wage increases to meet rising costs. No wage or job freezing! Equal pay for equal work!
- 1. For a greater share of the increasing national income. For a higher standard of living!
- 5. No sales tax on consumer goods! No tax on wages! Against forced savings!
- 6. For control of price fixing and rationing by committees of working class organizations, housewives and farmers' organisations. Freese rents and consumer goods prices at the 1940 level to stop the rise in the cost of living.
- 7. No government contract without a union contract! The closed shop in all war industries!
- 8. Maintain and increase all government social services!

#### SOAK THE RICH-LET THEM AY FOR THEIR WAR!

- 9. A government levy on capital to cover the cost of the imperialist war. Confiscate all war profits!
- 10. Conscript all war industries under workers' control!
- 11. Expropriate the "Sixty Families"-the three percent of the people who own 96 per cent of the national wealth!

#### DEMOCRATIC RIGHTS TO THE DRAFTEES!

- 12. The right of free speech, free press and free assembly for the men in the armed forces.
- 13. The right of soldiers to role in all elections.
- 14. The right of all youth, male or female, to vote at the age of eighteen. Old enough to fight; old enough to work; old enough to vote!
- 15. For adequate dependency allowances paid by the government with NO deductions from the soldier's pay.

#### SMASH JIM CROW!

- 16. Down with Jim Crow and anti-Semitism! All discrimination against Negroes in the Army and Navy or by employers in industry must be made a criminal offense!
- 17. For full political, social and economic equality for Negroes!

#### BE PREPARED!

- 18. For Workers' Defense Guards, trained and controlled by the unions, against vigilante and fascist attacks!
- 19. For an Independent Labor Party and a Workers' Government! No political support to the Roosevelt government!
- 20. For Peace Through Socialism! For the independence of all colonies!
- 21. For a World Socialist Federation! Only a socialist world will destroy capitalist imperialism and fascist barbarism!