

ATLANTIC CHARTER

We have never regarded the Atlantic Charter as a precise and legally inflexible instrument of diplomacy. We have always regarded it as a general statement of certain broad and fundamental United Nations aims—aims whose realization would require the framing of other, more specific statements of intent on various subjects, and which also would require the undertaking of clear and legally binding international commitments.

Therefore we were not disturbed by President Roosevelt's revelation the other day that no official copy of the charter exists and that, consequently, no one ever "signed" the charter in the technical sense. A declaration of adherence to it has been signed by representatives of all the United Nations. The charter, in the President's words, has been "signed in substance." In our book, and certainly in his, it is as morally binding as if the signatures were affixed to the original piece of paper upon which Mr. Roosevelt, Mr. Churchill and their aids, including Sumner Welles, drew up that famous "joint declaration" of the American President and British Prime Minister at sea on August 14, 1941.

A valid criticism of the charter is that the sentence expressing "desire to see no territorial changes that do not accord with the freely expressed wishes of the peoples concerned" should have been amended to permit such a change, in the general interest of all peoples, as can best solve the problem of East Prussia. The Germans of East Prussia obviously aren't going to like losing that land. Except where clearly overridden by the general interest of the world, however, the wishes of the majority of those people who are deeply rooted in any contested locality ought to prevail.

Having just reread the charter as a whole, we still believe that its principles are excellent; that despite all present manifestations of "power politics" they are still very much alive in the world; that their triumph will require a long fight but can, in the essentials, be won; and that the United States government today, aided by public opinion in most lands, is striving to serve them well.—The Chicago Sun.

WELL, "LIBERALS," WHAT NOW?

We pity the millions of workers who have had so much to say in the past about Roosevelt's "liberalism."

It was they who spoke long and loudly about the Atlantic Charter. It was they who were permitted to base their hopes for a better world upon the promise of four freedoms everywhere in the world—without being set right by their President, although Prime Minister Churchill did take early opportunity to let it be known that he was still committed to the slavery upon which empire is based.

But the trusting "liberals" still had their Roosevelt—until third week in December.

Now they know that the Atlantic Charter—about which they said and wrote so many words and upon whose promises of a free future they rationalized the slaughter of war—doesn't mean any more on this side of the Atlantic than it does three thousand miles to the east.

The Atlantic Charter is —
Just another scrap of paper.

So says the President—now.

It doesn't mean anything. American liberals know it now. So do the embattled Greeks and the frustrated and troubled Poles and, probably, the exploited millions of the Orient.

Well, "liberals," what ARE we fighting for now, if not for a world order of justice and freedom and peace and security? You don't know, do you? You'll have to wait until the President speaks in more positive terms, won't you, before you know anything?

We suspect that some of those "liberals" who have insisted upon going along with Roosevelt—no matter what!—are disillusioned. And the only comfort we can offer them is the reminder that disappointment always has been the lot of a generation that expected a leader to free them from the bondage of ancient wrongs.

Don't blame Roosevelt if your hopes are shattered in the end. Even the President of the United States must conform to facts. And the outstanding fact is that the private-profit economy can't exist when men are free.

We Socialists told you that when the Charter was first handed to you as an immortal document . . . before it was recognized as a scrap of paper. Now we tell you to be prepared for other scraps of paper.

There's only one way in which people can be safe and free. They must free themselves—by ending the immoral private-profit system and replacing it with the cooperative commonwealth which American "liberals" rejected last November.—Reading Labor Advocate.

New Farm Policy Based on Plenty of Jobs at Good Wages

The nation's perennial farm problem has gone 'round and 'round and is now back where it started more than 20 years ago.

Secretary of Agriculture Claude R. Wickard made that disclosure this week when he outlined in a speech to the Farmers' Union Grain Terminal Association at St. Paul a post-war program for agriculture which old-timers will have no trouble in recognizing as a revamped version of the McNary-Haugen proposal which Norris of Nebraska, McNary of Oregon and other Western Progressives backed after the last war and agitated through the 20's.

Vetted by Presidents Harding, Coolidge and Hoover—who thereby destroyed the Republican party in the West—the McNary-Haugen scheme after all these years is to be presented to Congress at the next session.

Wickard's statement that a new approach is to be made to the problem is of the utmost importance, as he undoubtedly speaks for the administration.

It was an implicit acknowledgment that methods of helping farmers pursued during the last 12 years, while effective, were in the nature of makeshifts and will have to be superseded by something more fundamentally sound.

The McNary-Haugen plan guaranteed to farmers a profitable price for that portion of their crop needed for domestic consumption. The rest of the crop was to be disposed of for what it would bring in the foreign market.

This plan was to be self-financing, without subsidies from the Federal Treasury.

There were to be no restrictions on planting, but farmers would

THE MARCH OF LABOR

Most strikes occur in the spring and summer months—March to September.



INDUSTRIAL ACCIDENTS SINCE PEARL HARBOR HAVE TAKEN MORE AMERICAN LIVES THAN THE GUNS OF THE ENEMY. ACCIDENTS HAVE KILLED 37,600 WORKERS—5000 MORE THAN THE LOSSES OF THE ARMED FORCES—AND HAVE DISABLED 4,710,000 OTHERS, 60 TIMES THE NUMBER WOUNDED.

ALMOST 15% OF WOMEN WORKERS ARE THE SOLE SUPPORT OF THEIR FAMILIES.

THE UNION LABEL IS A WEAPON OF ORGANIZED LABOR IN ITS FIGHT FOR DEMOCRACY.



THIS IS THE UNION LABEL LABEL. INSIST ON IT!

IN THE WIND

From THE NATION

A ghost-writing firm in New York advertised in the December 9 Saturday Review of Literature that it does sermons. We asked about rates and got this reply by return mail: "The cost for the preparation of an original sermon which would take from fifteen to twenty minutes to deliver would be \$8." Folders enclosed with the letter offered (1) a set of four ready-made sermons, \$1.75; (2) "several original prayers" for private devotions, guaranteed to have a "distinct psychological appeal," \$1; (3) a \$25 personal horoscope, \$5.

Goldsmith Brothers, "the Big Stationery Store" at 77 Nassau St., New York, will give you \$8 for any friend you recommend who works there for thirty days; if the friend does part-time work, you get \$4. There is no limit to the number of friends you may place.

From a statement by Tom Linder, Georgia Commissioner of Agriculture, before a subcommittee of the House Agriculture Committee in Washington, December 5: "In the union of these forty-eight states there is strength. The farm belt of the United States and the industrial belt of the United States are married. The two form one complete whole. When either of these contracting parties undertake to carry on intercourse with the outside world, the effect is the same as the unfaithfulness of one party to a marriage contract."

In Nazi anthologies of German poetry, Heine's poems are signed "Anonymous." Olin Downes, music critic of the New York Times, quotes the issue of December 10 a letter from Lieutenant E. Forbes of the Seabees, who reports that at an orchestral concert in the Royal Opera House in Rome, under the auspices of the British Army Education and Welfare Commission, the composer of "The Ride of the Valkyries" was designated on the printed program as "Anonymous."

From an account of a speech by R. F. Clough to the Elks of Mason City, Iowa, in the Mason City Globe Gazette of December 4: "Mr. Clough called attention to the fact that the flag of the United States stood for all the virtues of Elksdom."

Jews, Czechs, Greeks, etc., take note: "While we hate to say it," says the Washington Times-Herald of December 9, "war does seem to have contributed a lot to human progress by weeding out the less fit and permitting the fittest to survive." It adds that it means not individuals but races.

Festung Europa: Inmates of the Frøslev concentration camp in Denmark asked permission to hold religious services. It was refused. A Nazi official told them, "We do not pretend to be Christians."

LIBERAL UNCLE SAM

The latest reports of the Securities and Exchange Commission show that there is no lid on profits. Even after the renegotiation of the war contracts and the payment of taxes on "excess profits," the profits of 267 corporations producing war materials increased by 10 percent in 1943 over the fabulous figures chalked up for 1942.

If anybody thinks they will be any less for 1944, he has another think coming from the indications of some of the quarterly reports of corporations in 1944 already made.

Profits, after payment of taxes, for the 267 corporations were \$600,000,000 in 1943—a gain of \$60,000,000 over profits of 1942.

How liberally contracts with the government have been drawn is shown by the fact that these corporations returned \$500,000,000 to the U. S. Treasury this year. This huge sum was actually deducted before they even figured out the profits and taxes noted above, and, in many cases, the money was paid before the formal renegotiation of the contracts, as the corporations themselves realized that the original prices the government had agreed to were excessive in view of actual production costs.

Time is everything in war. Prices can only be guessed because there is no previous experience to guide either the government or the contractor in figuring the probable cost of a new thing like a B-29 or a Sherman tank. As a rule, costs are reduced rapidly after production gets under way. But the return of half a billion dollars from two years' profits shows that your Uncle Sam is no tight wad when dealing with Big Business.—United Mine Workers Journal.

60 MILLION JOBS

President Roosevelt recently declared the peace-time economy of this nation must be geared to sixty million jobs. The President bases his declaration on a co-operative program involving labor, the farmer, industry and commerce.

The nation's business press looks askance upon such a program, and frankly doesn't believe it possible without an extension of our export trade beyond anything this country has ever had in the past.

Pure bosh!

Sixty million jobs is not an impossible goal. It is worth repeating that elevation of the lowest one-third of our population to the level of the middle one-third would create employment for many more millions than we have ever had in a peace time economy.

It is also worth repeating that so long as one child has no clothes fit to wear, or a glass or two of milk a day, and bread, a decent home, and a chance for an education and an opportunity to grow up into decent, self-respecting citizenship, our work is cut out for us.

Achieving this tremendous task, in this country, would mean employment for every man and woman who needs a job or who wants a job.

Let's set about this task on that basis not on theory.

We have the resources, we have the skill, we have the brains and we have the money. Now let's create the jobs by elevating our national standard of living.—The Progressive Miner.

The Reader's Digest Not Impartial

Is the Reader's Digest a mirror of current American opinion? In raising the question the magazine and newspaper committee of the National Council of Teachers of English has performed a useful service. And the hysterical efforts of Dr. Angela Broening, president of the National Council, to have its report suppressed seem completely unjustified even by normal academic standards. The report contained no conclusions and no recommendations but it brought into the open the fact that the Reader's Digest is in the main not a "digest" at all but a staff-planned publication whose editorial policy influences not only its own selection of articles but those of other magazines as well. The committee's analysis showed that approximately 45 per cent of the magazine's contents was not reprint but original material, fully a third of its contents was editorially planned by the Digest staff, and 19 per cent was actually prepared by the staff. To give the effect of presenting a cross-section of American thought, a substantial proportion of the hotbed articles were printed in other periodicals first and were then "reprinted" by the Digest. The genuine reprint articles covered for the most part human-interest and scientific subjects; a very large proportion of the anti-labor, anti-Russian, and anti-New Deal articles were products of the Digest's office. No one will deny the Digest's right to plan and prepare such articles, any more than one would deny Dewitt Wallace the right to contribute \$2,500 to the Republican National Committee. And alert English teachers will undoubtedly continue to use the Digest's controversial articles in their public-speaking and debating courses. None of them, however, will be fooled into believing that the Digest is impartial.—The Nation.

HELP GIVE FREEDOM TO LABOR ABROAD

By MAX ZARITSKY

Any thoughtful plan for a democratic postwar Europe must naturally call for efforts to re-establish Europe's free, democratic and independent trade union movement. The war of ideas which we have been fighting against Nazism and fascism will not have been won if labor abroad remains permanently crushed, permanently impoverished.

Postwar peace and postwar plenty both hinge on the vigor and independence of labor abroad. Crushed and impoverished labor movements cannot fight for decent living standards for their own workers; the flood of cheap commodities produced by impoverished labor will be a threat to American industry and therefore a threat to the high living standards of American workers.

These are some of the reasons why the Labor League for Human Rights, relief arm of the American Federation of Labor, has set up a Free Trade Union Committee, for the purpose of extending vitally needed practical assistance to European and Central and South American trade union movements. To help rebuild these trade union movements, speedily and democratically, the Free Trade Union Committee will conduct a campaign to raise a minimum of \$1,000,000 from AFL members during January, 1945.

The American Federation of Labor has always recognized that organized workers anywhere have a moral right and obligation to assist their fellow workers everywhere. Through the Free Trade Union Committee, the AFL can make a human and unique contribution to the establishment of peace, democracy, and a higher standard of living at home and abroad, by helping the workers of other lands to build strong, free

trade unions for collective bargaining.

Our whole-hearted support of the Free Trade Union Committee campaign will mean that American labor is standing by the democratic forces in European and South American labor in their continuing fight against all forms of totalitarianism. And if our aid to these labor forces is "too little and too late," it may mean the end of genuine democracy in Europe for a century to come.

I therefore know that all of our affiliated locals and all of our members will understand the meaning of this call for help and respond while heartily in January, 1945, when the campaign for the Free Trade Union Fund will be conducted.

FOR FREEDOM?

In the countries where people are slaves they are today asking questions. When we went around the world, people in some countries said, "The United States of America is bound by the Atlantic Charter."

We cautioned them that that was a noble declaration but not the law of either the United States or Great Britain. They said, "Oh, but you are bound; we have a right to be free, and you are going to help make us free." When we asked them "freedom from whom?" they would say "freedom from one of the Allies."

If we are to say in the future to these people that this was a war between Fascists in imperialist powers, and that all the slaves have to look forward to is a return to slavery and their old masters, we have not done a thing but disillusioned hundreds of millions of people throughout the world.

American boys are again fighting and dying on a thousand fronts for democracy, the second time in a generation, and if all they are to accomplish is the securing of possessions all over the world for im-

OUR STATE DEPARTMENT CONSTRUCTED TO SERVE THE "FREE ENTERPRISE"

By RAYMOND HOFSES, Editor Reading Labor Advocate

It's my business to call 'em the way I see 'em, and I don't like flim-flam in the news. And its on that basis that I propose to discuss the Roosevelt policy of placing active millionaires and global profiteers in charge of the nation's State Department.

I wish people who have supported Roosevelt through thick and thin would stop trying to make the appointment of Stettinius, Grew, Rockefeller, Clayton, Dunn, Holmes and MacLeish look mysterious. I'd appreciate it if they'd stop deploring the President's action as a "mistake." It's not mysterious at all. And whether it is a mistake or not depends upon what Franklin D. Roosevelt has in mind for our future.

The big mistake has been made by the millions of Americans who stubbornly closed their eyes to the simple meaning of the oft-repeated Roosevelt declaration that "I stand for the private-profit economy." Keep that objective in mind and all else becomes clear.

It was to preserve the private-profit system that Roosevelt declared a bank holiday back in 1933. The system was falling apart and desperate measures were needed to prevent collapse.

It was not liberalism at all, but an understanding of what was necessary to preserve the private-profit system, that caused President Roosevelt to establish such agencies as CCC, WPA, PWA and AAA when the Stettinuses and Grews and Rockefeller's and Claytons found it impossible to use and control millions of resentful and desperate people. That, too, was why the President inaugurated his policy of planned scarcity; a profit system needs a scarcity; it can't function under a condition of abundance without first becoming a dictatorship. And under the latter condition the "private" character of profit is seriously endangered.

Nor was it because he sought to free the workers of his nation from the burden of paying tribute to owners that he encouraged the organization of labor. Labor had to be organized to be controlled. And labor had to be controlled if the private-profit system was not going to shake itself apart.

That's how it came about that under Roosevelt there came into being such things as price fixing and wage freezing; public works and job control; maintenance of membership clauses in union contracts and a Labor Board to annul those clauses unless unions

toed the Roosevelt line . . . and a few years after Nazi Germany inaugurated an economy of barter and fascist Japan launched its drive to expand into the undeveloped mainland of Asia—American participation in the bloodiest war in all history.

Those developments are not mysterious. Neither are they mistakes. They are the logical and necessary developments and devices of a private-profit economy that is bent upon preserving its own existence beyond the point at which it ceases to fit with human freedom and human welfare.

In packing the important State Department—which is the most important government agency in the establishment and maintenance of international economic relations—with the agents of the biggest of big business, Mr. Roosevelt is merely following the line.

He's still out to save the private-profit system.

The mistake was not Roosevelt's. It was the vast number of smaller people who erred—when they rejected the Socialist program of production for use and permitted themselves to be shaped and fashioned to fit the pattern of an economy that can no longer function in a free and peaceful world.

IS A PROPHET, BUT CAN'T CURE ULCERS

Do you wish to know when the war will end in Europe? Well, stick a pin in this date—August 17, 1945. We didn't pick it; it was figured out by Basil Shackleton, a London photographer.

According to the scientists who have been experimenting with him, Shackleton is quite a fellow. They think he can look into the future and describe an event before it happens.

Shackleton admits he is an "extraordinary character," but he says possession of a "unique mind" may get one into serious difficulties.

"Sometimes," he told the reporters, "I sit in a bar having a drink and for no apparent reason a complete stranger will grab me by the neck and punch me in the jaw."

He explains that these parties have "weaker minds" and that they resent the "thought waves" which emanate from his cranium.

The scientists will publish a book about Shackleton. In the meantime, he is going to a sanitarium. He can predict the end of the war, but he doesn't know how to cure stomach ulcers.—Labor.