WE SAY-

Labor Must Form an Independent Labor Party LABOR ACTION

WE ARE FOR-**A** Guaranteed Annual Wage For All Workers

JANUARY 15, 1945

A PAPER IN THE INTERESTS OF LABOR

ONE CENT

OPPOSE LABOR DRAFT **UAW Local 365 Out to Rescind No-Strike Pledge**

Throw Out the No-Strike Pledge Save the Union

Together with its brother trade unionists all over the country, the UAW-CIO is increasingly becoming affected by the problems of cutbacks and reduced hours of work. The cost of living continues to skyrocket; our real wages are ruthlessly hammered down by the corporations.

The no-strike pledge ties our hands and deprives us of our only weapon in the fight for a decent living for our families. Cutbacks, contract cancellations and \$100 billion of surplus war materials give the lie to the flag-wavers' claim that "strikes help Hitler."

Industry makes no sacrifices, but continues to pile up war profits. Management makes no effort to avoid strikes, but continually attempts to provoke them

Do you blame the corporations for kicking us in the teeth when we have pledged in advance not to defend ourselves? The no-strike pledge destroys our union solidarity and prevents us from giving aid to those workers who are forced on strike by labor-hating employers.

While we are bound by this cowardly no-strike pledge, any workers who dare to defend themselves and their union run the danger of being victimized not only by the employers and their government stooges but by our own international union officers!

To retain the no-strike pledge is to betray our brothers in uniform who fought so hard to build our union. Whether they return to union working conditions, or to speed-up, the stretch-out, and the blacklist of the open shop depends on us.

Vote to revoke the no-strike pledge in order to:

1. Restore collective bargaining.

2. Unleash the potential power of our union.

3. Break the Little Steel formula,

4. Strengthen our union NOW for the coming fight against the Sewell Averys and their like.

UAW East Coast Committee to Revoke the No-Strike Pledge 29-28 41st Avenue, Long Island City

This Is "Labor's Friend"

1. The country at large now knows that Roosevelt prevented Wallace. the new fairhaired boy of labors officialdom, from becoming his running mate. Many liberals and labor leaders satisfied themselves that Wallace would get an important post-election appointment—like Secretary of State—but nothing doing yet.

Roosevelt Gave Wallace the Boot!

Workers: Answer FDR's Second Try--

2. In the reorganization of the State Department Roosevelt nominated and forced the confirmation of a new millionaires' club to handle his foreign policy. Its membership consists of Stettinius, Grew, Clavton, Rockefeller and it is covered with a liberal fig-leaf called, MacLeish. FDR rejected the nomination as department counsel of Ben Cohen, author of much New Deal legislation.

Thus Roosevelt Guarantees Big Business

Domination of His Reactionary Foreign Policy!

3. In his annual message to Congress, preceding his inauguration, Roosevelt proposed what labor hates and helped to defeat over a year ago: A National Service Act!

This Is His Answer to the Demand by Labor for a Revision of the Wage Freeze, to Meet the Increased Cost of Living. Isn't It Obvious?

Build a Labor Party Now!

Reasons Given by FDR for National Service Are False

By SUSAN GREEN

President Roosevelt's recommendation to Congress to enact a national service law follows the pattern established throughout the war. The pattern is that labor is to bear the carry all the war burdens. So far the workers have done all the sacrificing. Of the President's original seven-point program, the wage freeze against labor has been the only one really carried out. On the other hand, the capitalists have "self-sacrificed" themselves into huge balances of war profits and post-war reserves.

One thought that occurs immediate- also be related to the stepped-up ly is this. If great numbers of workers have quit war work and gone into civilian jobs, then it means that business has gone in for civilian - no rush of war workers into civilian production to a considerable extent. work is in figures of the Bureau of That could not be done without War

schedules and not to the so-called exodus of labor from war plants.

Further proof that there has been that it will continue to rescue man-Labor Statistics, which figures show

American labor is in grave danger!

President Franklin D. Roosevelt, the "great friend of labor," not yet inaugurated for his fourth term, has just asked Congress to pass a National Service Act which can have no other effect than to regiment the American workers, cripple their union movement and lead the nation further along the totalitarian road.

Why does Roosevelt propose the measure at this time, after its previous defeat in Congress? The moment is opportune. A reverse on the German front, the hysteria created by the press, the convening of a new Congress and the clamor of the reactionary laborbaiters makes it easier for Roosevelt to jam through the measure demanded by the War and Navy Departments.

What is Roosevelt's professed purpose in calling for the National Service Act.

According to him, the War and Navy Departments, the War Production Board and the War Manpower Commission, the country faces a labor shortage of 300,000 workers.

To call for a total labor draft, a 4-F manpower pool, military control over the entire work-

> ing force — to fill a 300,000 manpower shortage-is, as one writer graphically put it, "to use a tank to crush a mouse."

Crow Hotel NEW YORK (WDL)-A civil suit for \$500 against the Hotel Knickerbocker in New York City for denying a room because of his race to. William Bowman, Negro organizer of the United Automobile Workers, CIO, was settled out of court this week for \$250. Bowman immediately contributed the money he was granted to the Workers Defense League, which handled the case for him and the United Auto Workers, CIO.

UAW Negro

Organizer Wins

Suit Againt Jim-

In a letter to the League, Bowman declared: "It is my sincere belief that the Workers Defense League is more than worthy of this small amount. By such noble deeds. I trust



HE'S FOR FORCED LABOR!

MANPOWER - Business Week, an organ of Wall Street, only recently showed that even this figure of 300,-000 was highly inflated and that the

real needs are much less than this.

We are writing to you because, no matter what position you took on the question of the no-strike pledge we are sure that the accumulated impact of events since the convention (Montgomery Ward, cutbacks, etc.) has reacted in favor of revoking the no-strike pledge.

We can all agree that the rank and file won its first big victory at the 1944 convention of the UAW-CIO in Grand Rapids. Against the almost-unanimous opposition of the top leadership, the convention voted by an overwhelming majority to submit the question of the no-strike pledge to a referendum vote of the membership. Now it is up to us, the members of the largest labor union in the world. We are in a position to clinch the victory won at Grand Rapids. The decision is in our hands. And it is a vital decision we have to make.

The question before us is:

Greetings:

Shall the UAW-CIO remain in the straight-jacket of the no-strike pledge, at the complete mercy of the War Labor Board and the profit-bloated corporations? Or shall we repeal the paralyzing no-strike pledge and restore the UAW-CIO to its fighting strength so that it is able to defend our threatened interests? We feel that there can be only one answer. If you agree, we urge that you do the following at once:

1. Wire or phone us that we can use the name of your local or officials to back the movement to revoke the no-strike pledge.

2. Contribute financially in order to make it possible to carry out our plans.

3. We will gladly furnish you with speakers for your regular membership meeting or a special meeting to "revoke the no-strike pledge."

4. A four-page newspaper will shortly be published to help our campaign-Order your copies now.

5. The enclosed leaflet in printed form can be ordered at \$9.00'a thousand. For further details call STillwell 4-7176. Ask for Mendy Mendelsohn or any member of the committee.

Yours for revoking the no-strike pledge,

TOM DE LORENZO, President Local 365, Region 9A,

Chairman East Coast Committee to Revoke the No-Strike Pledge. JERRY DENEHY, President Bell Local 501, Buffalo, N. Y., Region 9, Secretary East Coast Committee.

As if labor's role of the underdog has not been bitter enough, the President now asks for this national service law, which means conscription of labor, the regimentation of labor, totalitarian style. Toward this end there has been a

very clever build-up. During the past month or so, we have been made suddenly aware of a terrible fallingoff in war production. And who is to blame? Labor, of course.

WERE WAR PLANTS DESERTED?

Reading. the capitalist press, one is supposed to believe, that there has been a veritable stampede of workers out of war plants into civilian production.

So isn't the conclusion obvious? Labor must have a ball and chain clamped on its ankles to stop the socalled stampede. There must be a national service law, says Mr. Roosevelt acclaimed, the friend of labor by Sidney Hillman, Philip Murray

Chicago United Front Meeting Protests British Role in Greece

CHICAGO-Three hundred workers gathered at Garrick Hall in Chicago on January 7 to protest against British intervention in Greece.

20

The meeting was held under the auspices of the United Protest Committee which was set up by the united effort of the Workers Party, Socialist Party, Young People's Socialist League and the Revolutionary Workers League.

In opening the meeting the chairman announced that other organizations had been asked to take part in organizing this protest meeting but none of them had responded. Among the organizations invited was the Socialist Workers Party but this organization had also refused to cooperate.....

participating organizations all exposed the reactionary role that British and Allied imperialism are playing in Europe and especially condemned the role of British imperialism in Greece.

SHACHTMAN'S MESSAGE

Max Shachtman, representing the Workers Party, drew an especially enthusiastic applause for his clear and sharp analysis and condemnation of British, Russian and American imperialism for their actions in' carving up Europe and denying the people their elementary right of national freedom. His biting description of the muddleheaded liberals who are constantly surprised by the actions ican State Department.

The speakers representing the four of Allied imperialism evoked much laughter and applause from the audience. Concluding his remarks by showing that the only lasting peace and freedom could be established through the Socialist United States of Europe, he made a powerful appeal to the workers assembled to take the fight against imperialist intervention into the shops and unions. The meeting thus ended on a high

note of international solidarity. A resolution condemning Britain's crimes against the Greek people and American and Russian imperialist oppression of the peoples of Europe was adopted with the provision that copies be sent to the British and Russian embassies as well as the Amer-

et al.

Production Board cooperation. So the fault would lie with the WPB helping business in its rush to the front lines of civilian production for post-war profits.

But the truth is that there has NOT been an exodus of labor out of war production. There are, 'furthermore, figures to prove this truth.

REASONS FOR CHANGE

The WPB itself has made public that the reasons for such shortages in war production as may exist, are as follows: step-ups in war production schedules, 46 per cent; changes in design, 26 per cent; shortages of facilities, 12 per cent; and labor shortages, 22 per cent. Thus we see that any falling-off in war production is in relation to a stepped-up schedule involving changes in design and factory facilities. The 22 per cent attributable to labor shortages must

that the quit-rate in all manufacturing for August, September and October, 1944, was actually LOWER than in 1943. But more important to the point here discussed, the quitrate in war industries was lower than that of manufacturing as a whole during the above mentioned months.

CIO STUDY

The CIO has also made a survey of quit-rate figures in twenty-eight war industries for the months of May, June, July, August, September and October, 1944, as compared with the same months of 1943. Of the 328 sets of figures studied for comparison, in 201 instances fewer workers quit their jobs in 1944 than in 1943. In thirteen instances the number was the same. Of the other 114 instances, only twenty-five showed an appre-(Continued on page 2)

kind until it has gained recognition and the cooperation of all people."

· Bowman was represented by Max Delson, of 225 Broadway, New York, national counsel of the WDL, which successfully pressed a criminal conviction against Martin A. Nichols, the Knickerbocker Hotel manager who had in March, 1943, denied Bowman a room. The manager, who was convicted in January, 1944, and sentenced to thirty days in jail or \$100 fine, paid the fine. This was the first conviction of its kind in New York

State since the passage of the Civil Rights Act of 1895.

NEXT WEEK:

A SPECIAL ARTICLE ON THE **NEW "DIES" COMMITTEE**

There are now 600,000 unemployed in the country as a result of shifts in production and cutbacks. This is a reservoir of more than enough to cover any critical shortage in labor. If discriminatory practices in industry against Negroes, Catholics and Jews were ended a large supply

of labor would be immediately available. There are 7,000,000 workers engaged in non-war plants. With planning, organization, less bungling and mismanagement, 300,000 needed workers could easily be obtained

from such a source.

Labor, official paper of the railway unions, cites a confidential report circulating in one of the war agencies, which said, among other things:

"The erroneous impression that labor shortages are the principal ob-

(Continued on page 3)

Giant Companies Enriched By War

By T. R. COBB

As a direct result of the concentration of war orders in a few giant corporations, sixteen nonfinancial enterprises now control fifty per cent more assets than all the corporations owned by the government of the United States.

The extent to which these profit-pirates have added to their unearned fortunes and accumulated incomes is revealed in the December issue of the People's Lobby Bulletin.

PLB quotes a Business Week report that there were thirty-two concerns with total assets of one billion dollars or more in 1941. In 1942 the figure rose to thirty-eight. By 1943 there were forty-one corporations in the charmed circle of billion-dollar enterprises.

Despite the unprecedented appropriations for. the construction of munitions factories and machinery, the U.S. government at the close of 1943 had only twenty billion dollars' worth of assets in forty-four U. S.-owned corporations as against thirty-one billion dollars' worth of assets held by SIXTEEN giant corporations privately owned.

Pennsylvania Railroad Standard Oil Co. (N. J.)___ General Motors Corp. Southern Pacific System ____ 2,237,000,000 U. S. Steel Corp. _ 2.106.000.000 New York Central Railroad 2,102,000,000

The other nine are: Atchison, Topeko & Santa Fe Railroad, Union Pacific Railroad, Consolidated

Edison Co., (N. Y.), Baltimore & Ohio Railroad, serves and surplus undivided profits of \$23,500,-Commonwealth & Southern System, E. I. du Pont de Nemours, Bethlehem Steel Corp., Socony-Vacuum Oil Co. and Ford Motor Co.

THE BIG COMPANIES WAXED FAT

One outstanding characteristic may be noted about the common bond which unites most of the names on the list. They are corporations which, by their previously established monopoly position and physical size, were bound to wax fat and prosperous in the event of war. They are producers of the major products and services without which no modern war can be waged. Steel, oil, transportation and communications-the war was a heaven-sent boon to the overlords of these basic capitalistic industrial formations.

With the aid of a government and an administration that makes no bones about its protective benevolence toward "free enterprise" (monopoly capitalism), these sixteen industrial colossi were able to increase their assets in the four war years from 1939 to 1943 by \$5,239,000,000-a 20.2 per cent increase!

Another survey' revealed that 403 corporations having assets of one hundred million dollars or more accounted for forty-eight per cent of the total assets of 413,716 corporations reporting to the government. Their assets included:

		Cash	\$21,165,400,000
	•	Government obligations	19,414,100,000
1		Other investments	50,408,400,000
1	C.,1	Capital investments	41,131,100,000
		Other assets	2,575,300,000
	In	1 1340 these 403 corporatio	hs had surplus

200,000. Today that figure must be considerably larger, since a countless number of them have doubled and tripled their net profits AFTER TAXES in the war years since 1940.

No sensible person can interpret these figures in any other manner than to conclude that the war in a few years will enrich the monopolists to an extent far beyond their accumulated efforts in the two previous decades.

WHAT'S IT ALL ABOUT?'

Not one of them requires further government assistance. If Congress were to grant them subsidies for the purposes of reconversion, it would mark one of the most ironically outrageous acts in the history of government.

It is against the background of these figures that labor's demands for pay increases and a guaranteed annual wage are modest desires.

Big business hit it rich when the United States went to war to protect the reactionary status quo in Europe and Asia. It was for the benefit of the German and Japanese counterparts of our own monopolists that Hitler and Hirohito challenged the masters of the world's wealth. One unifying "ideology" prevails in the camps of the warring nations:

The destruction of the world's wealth and resources is a profitable business to those who own and control the mines, mills and factories that provide the wherewithal for the waging of war.

Until the working class takes over industry for the production of life-giving non-profit enterprises, all so-called "peace plans" are nothing but mumbojumbo.

2,812,000,000 2.328.000.000 2.265.000.000

sets are:

The top seven concerns and their present as-

American Tel, & Tel, Co.\$6,313,000,000

Page 2

LABOR ACTION

January 15, 1945



Philip Murray Embraces the "Free" **Russian Unions in Stalinist Paper**

Philip Murray, of the CIO, has re- this conference he will not sit down cently had published an article on international labor unity in the Russian publication "War and the Working Class." It is a very queer article and only reveals again Murray's stupidity and naivete. He is going to attend a conference, to be held in London this month, to discuss the formation of an international organization of labor. The conference will be composed of representatives of the British Trade Union Congress, the CIO and Russia. What we have to say about this conference revolves primarily around the question of Russia and the Russian representatives

What will the Russians at the conference be representing? Surely not free trade unions. As a matter of record, there are no trade unions in Russia. There are organizations of workers in Russia, but there are also organizations composed of workers in Germany. There are no organizations of workers in Germany. There are no organizations of workers in Russia which are called in England or the United States, trade unions. There are no organizations in Russia such as existed, for example, in the days immediately preceding the October Revolution. There is certainly nothing in Russia today in any way comparable to the free unions which existed after the October Revolution, in the days of the Bolshevik Party of Lenin, Trotsky and the other great leaders of the revolution.

What is known in Russia today as trade unions are groups of workers herded into Stalinized, totalitarian organizations, just as the German workers are herded into Hitlerized, totalitarian organizations. The Russian workers' organizations are controlled and dominated by the GPU, just as the German workers' organizations are controlled and dominated by the Gestapo. There is nothing in Russia in any way similar to the British Trade Union Congress or the AFL and CIO in the United States.

with democratically chosen representatives of the Russian workers but with Russian Stalinist politicians, who will be present, not in the interest of the Russian workers or of world labor, but solely in the interest of the Stalinist totalitarian bureaucracy. Murray, so to speak, will sit down with the GPU dressed in "overalls."

Murray's thinking about "free" unions in Russia takes its point of departure from his obsession with war and the temporary and forthe tuitous block between England, Russia and the U.S. formed for the purpose of inflicting a military defeat on Germany. In Murray's childlike mind he reasons that since England, Russia and the United States are united in war, therefore the labor movements of the three countries should be united.

Certainly the workers of England, Russia and the U.S. should be united. But there is no way at present to unite with the Russian workers. Today Murray can travel freely around the U.S. or England and talk to the workers and their free organizations, but neither he nor anyone else, except the GPU and the Stalinist bureaucrats, can travel around Russia and talk to the workers.

The German workers should be united with the rest of world labor. They aren't and they cant' be, right now. But Murray is not concerned with any procedure to bring this to pass. He believes that the "German people" should be compelled to "make restitution for their crimes." Does he demand that the Russian people make restitution for the crimes of Stalin and the totalitarian Stalinist bureaucracy? He does not, and we are happy that he does not. But why, then, does he not apply the same logic to the German workers?

Murray wants the "German people" to "make restitution for their crimes" while he prepares to go to London and sit at the table with Stalin's GPU and the personal stooges who will represent Stalin at this conference.

This is Philip Murray's conception of how to get an international organization of labor to carry on in the interests of the world working class When Murray gets to London to after the close of the present war!

NEWS AND VIEWS FROM THE LABOR FRONT

Paper of Catholic Unionists Is For No-Strike Pledge

By MARTIN HARVEY

DETROIT-The latest addition to the elements clamoring for the auto workers to reaffirm the no-strike pledge in the referendum beginning on January 4 is The Wage Earner, organ of the Detroit Chapter of the Associa- . tion of Catholic Trade Unionists.

The Wage Earner starts its editorial on the subject with the statement: "We have said it many times before and we say it again-the no-strike pledge must be upheld!" If the pledge is upheld, continues The Wage Earner further on, "the charges of labor-baiters and ivory tower editorial writers that the pledge is a fake and was never meant seriously, will be thoroughly refuted."

A BARGAIN NOT KEPT

When, may we ask, is a fake a fake? The no-strike pledge was given in return for a promised equality of sacrifice program. It was given in return for promised price control. It was given in return for promised limitation of war profits. It was given in return for promised protection of the unions by the government and the industrialists. It was given in return for more promises of the same kind.

Were any of these promises kept? Was a SINGLE ONE of these promises kept? NO, NOT ONE!

And that is why the no-strike pledge was a fake. It was part of a bargain which was never kept, a bargain which was never meant to be kept-a fake bargain.

How do we put a stop to this fakery? Says The Wage Earner-without even cracking a smile-why, by keeping our part of this fake bargain, by keeping the no-strike pledge. Let us put it less kindly. The Wage Earner does NOT want to end the fake.

But let us continue. If the pledge is upheld, says the Wage Earner, "the soldiers in the foxholes of the Rhineland will hear of it and will know that the home front is still one hundred per cent in this war.

"The sailors and marines of the South Pacific will get the results and will understand that the great mass of American workers is on the level with them."

LABOR'S RESPONSIBILITY TO SOLDIERS

The American workers have ALWAYS been on the level with their brothers in the Army and Navy. Who was first in demanding job protection for the

draftees? The labor unions! Who was first in demanding higher pay for members of the armed forces? The labor movement!

Who is in the forefront of the struggle for decent wages for all workers, veterans included? The unions!

Was it labor who refused to reconvert to war production until profits were guaranteed? Or was it General Motors and Ford?

Was it labor who restricted production to retain monopoly control? Or was it the Aluminum Company of America and the Norden Co. bombsight manufacturers?

The record is clear and unmistakable.

It is true that many soldiers and sailors are not aware of this record. But why is that so? Because they are fed the propaganda of the big daily papers of the laborhating brass hats. And how could this be otherwise,

when even the so-called labor leaders make public statements to slander and vilify workers who dare to struggle to protect their unions and their living standards and-it should not be forgotten-the living standards of the returning veterans.

Labor has the choice of knuckling under to the reactionary propaganda of big business, as Murray and Thomas and The Wage Earner propose, or of firmly and vigorously counter-attacking and appealing to "the boys in the foxholes" with LABOR'S program, with a program of struggle against the corporation who mean to smash the unions and lower the living standards of all who must work for a living. The first step in the second kind of program is to rescind the no-strike pledge.

But wait-half way through the editorial The Wage Earner seems to have a change of heart. It says:

"JUST" STRIKE

"To reaffirm the no-strike pledge does NOT mean that there can never, never, under any circumstances, be a just strike during the life of the pledge.

"The pledge is a rule of conduct. It is not a dogma nor a law. When circumstances occur which are clearly outside the pledge, exceptions must be recognized....

"The present strike against Montgomery Ward is one of these necessary exceptions."

This argument can only be described as an attempt to provide a "militant" cover to a policy of retreat. And they have to go outside the auto industry for an example of a "just" strike. The Wage Earner defines a just strike as one in which all legal and peaceful means have been exhausted and one which does not harm the war effort.

The first part of their definition can apply to practically every strike which has taken place, or to none at all. The miners, the steel workers, the auto workers, all have gone on strike AFTER they could get no legal redress for their grievances. But The Wage Earner opposes such strikes. Apparently they agree with the War Labor Board which, by deliberately misinterpreting the law, calls ALL strikes illegal. To the WLB, that includes even the Ward strike.

The second part of their definition (harm to the war) is equally meaningless. Did not Roosevelt order the Ward company property seized in the first strike on the ground that the strike WOULD harm the war? And Communist Party supporter Hodges Mason opposed backing the current Ward strike on the same grounds.

The Wage Earner wants to eat its pie and have it, too! It wants to support the no-strike pledge and yet appear militant at the same time. That is a simple matter for a newspaper which only writes about militant action. But it is not so simple when one must decide in life whether to walk on a picket line or scab by going through it.

The support given by the auto workers to the Ward strikers is a wonderful example of labor solidarity. But a strike at Ward's will not settle a grievance at Ford or Chrysler. The auto workers can only settle their grievances if they restore to themselves the right to strike. We sincerely hope they have voted that way in the referendum



tive begging." (The Dictionary is in-

debted to Walter Reuther, vice-pres-

ident of the United Auto Workers,

GRIEVANCE: Is a complaint the

workers bring to the management,

which juggles it as long as the con-

tract permits and then makes a lat-

eral pass to the grave-diggers on the

WLB, who go in for the kill and dis-

GRIEVANCE MACHINERY: A se-

quence of make-believe motions and

pretentious procedures to create the

illusion that bargaining is still an

actuality. Management knows labor

"cannot" strike! Labor knows man-

agement can always pull a WLB on

it! Any resemblance to pre-no-strike

pledge bargaining days is purely

NO-STRIKE PLEDGE: A precious

package donated by the labor lead-

ership to the capitalists via Roose-

velt, inside of which were carefully

wrapped the arms and legs of the la-

bor movement. What's left? A mere

torso. The delighted and grateful

capitalists proceeded to kick it

around, roll it over, trample on it,

spit on it, drag it through the muck.

The torso could only make faces and

The labor pleaders who donated

the blood of the workers were hailed

as patriotic sons of America-by the

capitalists. A great many workers,

however, hail their "leaders" as

RESCIND THE NO - STRIKE

NO-LOCKOUT PLEDGE: A prom-

PLEDGE: Obviously the thing to do!

ise given by the capitalists that they

would definitely not commit suicide

for the duration, that is, shut down

their plants while they are reaping

the greatest profits in their money-

in which the top labor leadership-

and the Communists-are the chief

WILDCAT STRIKE: Is a walkout

INCENTIVE PAY: Piecework risen

from the dead. A favorite darling of

the capitalists for whom it breeds

profits and shatters the unity of the

workers in the shop. A handmaiden

of Communist policy of production

for the sake of Stalin at any and

every expense to the labor movement. Obviously eligible for a re-

turn trip to the grave.

great sons of ... the capitalists.

for this perfect definition.)

pose of the body.

mechanical.

complain.

lined history.

strike-breakers.

living. STATISTICS: The government's major weapon in reducing the cost

A DICTIONARY

of living. WAGE FREEZE: A model of refrigeration. Has successfully - kept wages as frigidly inert as an old fish in cold storage. The various refrigerants used in the engineering-besides those contributed by Engineer Murray & Co. like no-strike pledge-

(a) Little Steel Formula - Little Steel, Big Steal, it makes no difference. This is a formula worked out with mathematical precision which proved to the satisfaction of every capitalist that workers, despite a rise in the cost of living, do not get more than fifteen per cent hungrier today than they were before January, 1942. Since it is a FORMU-LA, and a mathematical one at that,

it must be upheld at all costs, come hell, high water or Philip Murray. If the formula, does not fit the facts, so much the worse for the facts. If the workers, for example, spitefully refuse to be as well-fed and as wellclad as the formula "prove" they really are, why, then, so much the worse for the unscientific, unmathematical workers.

With the stubbornness of a mule, the Little Steel formula refuses to budge. It will obviously be necessary to throw it out. But it is so sturdy that the capitalists recently exalted it for not even BENDING under high-Murray pressure. As for Roosevelt's implied pre-election promises to discard the formula, who would be so ill-bred as to hold a man to promises made while running for election? In matters like these the labor leaders show exceptionally refined taste.

(b) Hold the Line! A homespun order from Coach Roosevelt telling workers to hold the line, i.e., keep down wages, so that the inflation "team" won't break through. On the sidelines, capitalist and labor (cheer) leaders sing in unison "Rah! Rah! Rah! Hold that Line!" as they cut capers and dance jigs in their neat. flannel pants and white woolen pullovers emblazoned with a big black "R." But the game is "fixed." Prices break through on every play and wages can't gain a yard. Final score: Cost of living 43, Wages 0.

WAR PROFITS: Limitless.

TRADE UNION PROGRAM: Rescind the no-strike pledge; yank the labor members off the WLB; build an independent Labor Party based on the unions to fight for a workers' sized holes to flood us with a newer, government.

CP Sanctions Ballot Stuffing in Ship Local 9

SAN PEDRO-At a general mem- for the executive board and their bership meeting on Sunday, Decem- candidate for executive secretary ber 17, called for the purpose of hearing a report of the elections investigating committee, the local Sta- HYPOCRISY UNMASKED

would have to stand for a new election.

second election as they did in the first; and this despite the fact that the first election was in many close cases clearly invalid because of the number of stuffed ballots.

The Stalinist - Communists an

hundred and fifty phony ballots between friends?

Immediately upon the placing of this motion on the floor, every responsible union man and even the international representative de-

dence and testimony accumulated that would permit the seating of all

Face to face with an aroused and nists, despite their majority at the

PRICE CONTROL: Consist's of the government plugging a small hole in the dike with its OPA pinky, while the winning candidates." the price waters rush through man-

militant membership, the Commu-

linists again packed the meeting and almost jammed through their own motions on procedure.

The elections investigating committee reported that the alleged ballot-stuffing was all too true and that in the cases where the winning candidate was within 150 votes of the runner-up a new election would have to be held.

At this point the meeting went up in the smoke that issued from the outraged nostrils of the Communist group; for many of their candidates didates might not do as well in a

Many workers wished to throw the entire election out and hold a new election for all officers at the union hall. Others wished to accept the recommendation of the committee to have run-off elections in the disputed cases, but only the Communist caucus was opposed to any new election whatever.

These great orators who shout for "democracy" and "the will of the membership," etc., were opposed to any new election for the very practical reason that many of their can-

ently uninformed as to the decision of the elections committee, were thrown into complete confusion by the recommendation for new elections in disputed cases.

After a good deal of bashful stammering and professional double-talk, they came right out with a motion that ballot-stuffing was simply a matter of taste and that if you had a sufficiently strong stomach - well, you could stand for almost anything. Therefore, it follows as night follows day that the election should stand as it was. And after all, what were a

nounced the Communist policy as "disastrous and ruinous." one that was calculated to start the period of the return of autonomy, for which we had waited so long and so anxiously, under a cloud of suspicion and distrust.

UNION-WRECKERS STALEMATED

Readers Take the Floor

Then, despite the fact that the Communists had a clear majority and could certainly have passed their motion, they withdrew it for a very weak substitute to the effect that the investigation continue "and attempt to find something in the mass of evi-

meeting, were forced to pull in their horns and withdraw their monstrous motion that a ballot-stuffed election stand in all of its details.

Stalemated for the time being, the Stalinists will undoubtedly attempt to slip their disputed candidates across without a new election at the next membership meeting.

In order to insure progressive policies and an honest election, it is absolutely indispensable that the membership turn out and make its will known AT ALL MEMBERSHIP MEETINGS.

The Triangle Fire Out of the Past By RUTH PHILLIPS

Fleeing from pogroms and poverty, from military conscription and political persecution, thousands of Poles, Jews, Russians and Slavs came to seek a new life in America at the beginning of the present century. They went to work in the mills, mines and shops of America.

Thousands of them, particularly the Jewish immigrants, found themselves in a new Ghetto, the Lower East Side of New York. There, under the elevated trains on Allen Street, in the tenements on Second Avenue, they lived in tiny, crowded apartments. They spent their days in the dirty, ill-ventilated, unsafe factories of New York's garment center.

Ten hours a day, six days a week, for wages as low as \$3.00 a week, hall bedrooms shared with a fellow worker-this was the new life for the inhabitants of New York's Ghetto.

Among the immigrant workers in the sweatshops of the needle trades industry were many who had been socialists in Europe. They had come to America, many of them after escaping from Siberian imprisonment under the Czar. They became the leading spirits in the drive to unionize the immigrant needle trade workers.

THE GREAT NEEDLE TRADES STRIKE

In 1910, 50,000 needle trade workers went on strike. After eleven weeks the strike ended with improved conditions for the workers. But many shops held out against the union's demands. One of them was the Triangle Waist Co., which had refused to settle with the Waistmakers Union. Eight hundred and fifty workers, most of them girls. and women, worked in the filthy factory, sitting at row upon row of closely packed machines. The bosses kept locked the heavy steel doors which led to the stairways, to prevent the girls from "interrupting their work," by going to the toilets outside.

One Saturday afternoon, when workers in the union shops were enjoying the half-day holiday won by the union, a fire broke out in the Triangle factory and spread through the place, fed by the waste material and dirt in the place. Trapped in the plant by the locked doors, crowded together at their machines, escape from the raging fire was impossible.

A horror-stricken crowd in the street below watched the girls and women, their hair and clothes afire, leap from the windows to their death, as their bodies ripped through the life nets of the firemen.

When the fire was finally brought under control, the toll was 147 killed and burned to death, and hundreds more suffering from terrible burns.

THE MASS FUNERAL

A great mass funeral for the dead was arranged by the union. One hundred thousand workers marched silently in the procession, despite the prohibition against it by the city officials. At mass meetings, thousands of workers listened to speakers condemn the system of inhuman exploitation which was responsible for the tragedy.

The victims of the fire had not died in vain.

The tragedy was a grim lesson in the need for union organization to the needle trade workers who helped build the powerful International Ladies Garment Workers Union and the Amalgamated Clothing Workers Union of today.

Labor Shortage--

(Continued from page 1) ciably higher quit-rate.

The Economic Outlook, a CIO publication, comments: "We do not question the fact that in some instances workers are leaving their war jobs for jobs with peacetime security. We do believe the seriousness of this problem has been greatly overstressed."

"Greatly overstressed" is putting it mildly. The situation has been falsely distorted. Labor, by and large, stays on the job. Workers cannot afford to let go of the bird in the hand for the possible two in the bush. The reason is simple. Quitting a job means giving up the means of livelihood-for heaven knows how long. The implication that workers are foot-loose and free in quitting jobs is about as sound as the one that workers go on strike out of a lack of responsibility.

So the picture put before the public by the capitalist press and radio, of workers flocking from war plants to civilian plants, is a hodge-podge of colors all run together without any sense. The build-up for Mr. Roose-



velt's demand for a national service law is a house of cards.

FDR ATTACKS LABOR

What does make sense, however, is that this is an anti-labor maneuverby labor's "friend" in the White House. And the reason why this is a propitious time for it is as plain as Jimmy Durante's nose.

The bigwigs have proved themselves wrong in their estimates of the duration of the war. First it was to have been over by October-November; next, Christmas was the date set. Now the end lies in the dim and distant future. Obviously the fighting power of the Nazis has beeh grossly underestimated. Besides all of this, the specter of power politics among the Big Three shows its ugly face. What is more natural than for labor, at this time, to become alarmed at the state of affairs their rulers have placed them in?

So the master politician, Franklin Delano Roosevelt, makes a shrewd twist. He points the accusing finger at labor: "The fault is yours," he says in effect. "You are responsible for everything. Everything will be fine if you are regimented under a national service law."

The trick is indeed shrewd, but very transparent when put up to the light where labor can see it for what it is.

IT IS AN ANTI-LABOR MOVE FOLLOWING THE USUAL PAT-TERN.

Labor must fight the totalitarian regimentation that President Roosevelt asks Congress to direct against labor.

Welcome Correction

To the Editor of Labor Action: I would like to call to your attention two incorrect headlines in the January 8 LABOR ACTION.

The first head on page one reads: "UAW Breaks Pledge." This headline, that is, the word "Breaks" is tactless in this connection.

The second head on page four reads: "Greek People Force Regency on Churchill, but"- This is politically incorrect. The Greek people did not "force" a regency on Churchill. It was Churchill and the Stalinist leaders of EAM and ELAS who forced a regency on Greece.

Everything else in LA is on the up and up. And with two more pages it would be swell! M. Ring.

New York, Jan. 8, 1945.

We appreciate the letter of our friend Ring. It shows that he reads LABOR ACTION carefully. So far as criticisms are concerned, we acknowledge our error in reference to his second point, with which we shall deal shortly.

Subscribers' Note! If the wrapper in which your paper is mailed is marked V9 No. 3, that means your subscription has expired.

Send in your renewal at once!

gomery Ward strike demonstrated how false was its stand taken on the no-strike pledge. We aimed to draw the attention of the hundreds of thusands of auto-workers now facing a referendum on the no-strike pledge that the pledge was in no way sacrosanct, as evidenced by the action of the union in the Retail Clerks' desperate struggle for their union. Naturally, we do not doubt that the auto workers understand the point. The criticism of the deck-head on the Greek article requires no lengthy explanation. It was in error, as the article itself, which was entirely cor-

rect, showed. The Greek events illustrate how an imperialist power intervenes to force its policies upon a weaker country. The regency was forced upon the Greek people through the agencies cited in the above letter, and not the other way around.

We'll be more careful in our headwriting. Thanks for jacking us up. The Editors.

Thanks Very Much

Dear Comrades: Your paper is getting better. A weekly labor paper must deal in the everyday problems on the job and the political events that concern the workers. You are doing this in a most effective manner, for which accept my congratulations.

On point one, only one correction I have been getting my late copies was needed, namely, to have put the from the newsstands, since my sub word pledge in quotes. The head was expired-but that is not satisfactory, written deliberately to show that the as I have missed a few. position of the UAW on the Mont-

Keep up the agitation for a Labor Party, as that is needed badly in the country. The failure of workers' political parties in our country has been caused by the lack of the backing of organized labor. Today, with fourteen million organized workers, it is possible to organize and get effective results from such an organization.

Between the Great Depression and the present World War, the workers are becoming more and more class conscious. Now is the time to organize them politically.

J. C. G., Akron.

To All Readers

We have received several complaints from readers and subscribers to the effect that during the past couple of weeks their papers did not arrive or arrived very late. The same complaint was made by those who receive bundles of LA.

The only explanation we can make for this is that the Christmas mailing season always affects general mailing. We ask all readers, suscribers and agents to bear with us during such a period, since we endeavor to be as careful and, precise as possible in handling the circulation of the paper. Thank you.

January 15, 1945

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Editorials

WLB Insults Textile Workers With A Minimum Wage of 55c an Hour

The press reports that the WLB is resentatives of the railway unions proved ready to establish a minimum wage of fifty-five cents an hour in the textile industry. This represents a "compromise" between the present fifty - cent minimum and the union demand for sixty cents. Before putting its decision into effect the WLB is seeking prior approval of Economic Stabilization Director Vinson. A favorable decision will thus affect the wages of tens of thousands of textile workers in the North and the South.

Since their demand was first made, the Textile Workers Union has turned to support the demand of the labor members of the WLB calling for a national minimum hourly wage of seventy-two cents. The weekly wage which would be granted by the WLB decision is \$22, while the union demand would increase these wages to \$28.80.

WHAT IS WRONG?

What is wrong with this whole dispute? The proposal of the WLB is a gross insult to half a million textile workers. The demand of the union, while many times better, is wholly inadequate.

By his own admission, President Rieve of the Textile Workers Union states that the demand for seventy-two cents an hour would grant the workers in the industry a wage considered as subsistence by the WPA in 1935! If this was true for 1935, when the economic crisis was at its low point, how can one accept such a wage in the midst of the present war when living costs have skyrocketed beyond the ability of most workers to meet them?

In the senatorial hearings on the Pepper bill to establish a national minimum hourly wage of sixty-five cents, the rep- should do it now and should do it unitedly!

that it was wholly inadequate. The alternative proposal made by the railway unions was to establish a \$1.00 an hour minimum wage. They also proved that this would be merely a living wage; it would not appreciably raise the standard of living nor "enrich" the American worker.

The demand for \$1.00 an hour minimum wage, a demand raised by the Workers Party and LABOR ACTION, conforms to the "existence" budgets of the overwhelming majority of statistical bodies in the country, including boards of the Department of Labor.

WHAT LABOR SHOULD DEMAND

There is no need to pile up statistics to prove that \$40 a week, which is what the \$1.00 an hour demand means for a fortyhour week, would make possible only minimum needs to live on. Every worker knows this. There is no doubt, either, that union officials know this. That is why the failure of the AFL and CIO to raise the demand for a \$1.00 an hour minimum wage is completely incomprehensible.

The war has shown that such a demand is not "fantastic" at all. It is only fantastic to big business, which thinks any minimum wage would rob them. They are for paying the lowest possible wagesanything they can get away with. But there is no reason why labor should advance demands which result in quibbling with business bodies like the WLB-over whether wages should be fifty-five cents, sixty cents, sixty-five cents or seventy-two cents an hour.

Labor should champion the demand for a \$1.00 an hour minimum wage. Labor

Two Working Class Parties Snub a United Front:

STUDY IN POLITICAL ARROGANCE

shameful attack by British imperialism upon the people of Greece has aroused a storm of indignation throughout the country. Anyone who allows himself to think understands that the Greek people, who made such heroic sacrifices in the fight against Nazi tyranny, do not want to surrender to any other tyranny. They want to decide their own fate, and decide it freely. British imperialism, however, wanted to oust the German overlord only in order to convert Greece into a vassal state. Encountering the opposition of the people, Britain aims to impose herself upon Greece by the superior power of her violence.

Against the power of Britain, aided in one way or another by her imperialist Allies, the people of Greece are helpless in the long run. But they are helpless only if the rest of the world sits by idly and confines itself to a feeling of outrage. It is, therefore, an elementary duty of every socialist, of every workingman and even of every progressive - minded person, to express this feeling in the most vigorous and effective way. It, is the elementary duty of every one of us to make our protest heard as loudly as possible, so that British imperialism is made aware of the fact that it is not merely the starved people of Greece it has to deal with. and so that the people of Greece are aware that they have friends all over the world.

To discharge this duty, the Workers Party called a public meeting in New York to condemn and protest against the crime of British imperialism and to assure the courageous people of Greece of our solidarity with them.

PROPOSAL OF WORKERS PARTY The Workers Party did not confine itself to this one action. It took the initiative in proposing to other radical labor organizations to join forces so that the voice of protest against the crime would be heard louder and clearer. In New York and other cities, notably in Chicago and San Francisco, the Workers Party addressed a proposal for a joint protest meeting to the Socialist Workers Party and to the Socialist Party. With one notable and honorable exception, and one not so honorable exception, this proposal was not only rejected, but simply ignored. After waiting for more than enough time in which to receive an answer to our letters, it is necessary to call this fact to public attention.

The Socialist Party made no reply to our proposal, but ignored it altogether. The honorable exception is the Socialist Party of Chicago, which, together with the militant Young People's Socialist League, joined with the Workers Party in a public protest meeting against British imperialism. The Revolutionary Workers League of Chicago likewise joined in the protest. In New York, however,

the Socialist Party did not even find it necessary to answer the Workers Party's communication.

Why not? Is it because the Socialist Party preferred to hold a protest meeting of its own, so that its own views could be put forward in full? That would be perfectly legitimate, but it would not eliminate the need. once such a meeting was held, to join with others who condemn the attack upon Greece for the purpose of making a common, united protest. But the fact is that the Socialist Party did not join with the Workers Party and did not hold a meeting of its own, either.

Why not? Is it perhaps because of the views expressed in the SP's paper by its national leader, Norman Thomas? In The Call of December 22 Thomas wrote:

"If the world really wants a lasting peace there never was any case for power politics as Churchill and Stalin have been playing them without any effective opposition from Roosevelt. But on the basis of the situation thus created in Greece I thought that Churchill had made a case for the British attempt to maintain order in Greece provided the facts were as he stated them in his speech. It is precisely this that seems increasingly doubtful."

WHAT THOMAS' VIEWS MEAN

If this were not printed black on white in a paper calling itself socialist and by the spokesman of a party who calls himself socialist, it would be unbelievable. You see, if the "facts were as he stated them." then Churchill would have had a "case" for the British "attempt to maintain order in Greece."

No wonder Norman Thomas and those who support and maintain his leadership, would not even reply to the proposal for a united front meeting by the Workers Party which wanted to condemn the British super-bandits and the imperialist "order" they want to impose upon the Greek people. We of the Workers Party are looking for "effective opposition" to all imperialism on the part of the working class. Thomas still deplores the "lack" of "effective opposition" by ... Roosevelt, that is, by the representative of American imperialism.

SWP SPRINGS ONE

So much for the Norman Thomas Party. But the Socialist Workers Party, which calls itself revolutionary and even "Trotskyist," did not condescend to answer our proposal either. It seems that it is too busy leading the struggles of the American working class by hiding out for the duration in order to "preserve the cadres," to bother with uniting whatever forces are available for a protest against the crime in Greece. In San Francisco, however, it forgot itself sufficiently to answer the Workers Party letter. It informed us that the branc had solemnly voted

tion reading as follows

"The San Francisco branch, SWP, rejects the proposal for a joint meeting with the WP on the topic 'Hands Off Greece' on the grounds that 1. only the two organizations and their immediate peripheries would participate, and 2. that this meeting would be an exposition of two divergent programs, and nothing more."

Again the fact that this is black on white is the only thing that makes it believable. The SWP will not join in a meeting which will have "only two organizations and their immediate peripheries" in it. Would it join if there were three, or twentythree? That would be better, of course. But if there are only two, and not three or twenty-three? In that case, you see, it is better to hold no joint meeting at all. In fact, it is better not to hold any meeting, not even one organized by the SWP itself!

A UNITED FRONT LESSON

Also, the SWP will not join with the WP on so elementary a demand as "Hands Off Greece" because at such a meeting there would be nothing more than "an exposition of two divergent programs." This was written by an organization which slyly lays claim to know all there is to know about "united fronts."

In the first place, a united front is possible and necessary ONLY because the organizations involved have divergent programs. If their programs were identical, they would have no reason or right to separate existence. The united front is possible and necessary not because the programs of organizations are divergent or identical, but because the positions taken by them on a concrete, specific, immediate question are similar. Presumably, that is the situation in this case: Both the WP and the SWP, however divergent their basic programs, agree in conedmning British imperialism and demanding "Hands Off Greece." At a united front meeting, the representative of each organization, while basing himself on his own program, nevertheless joins in raising the specific demand for which the meeting was called. That has been done a hundred times before and will be done a hundred times again, with or without the SWP.

Why not in connection with an urgently required united front meeting on Greece? The answer lies only in the narrow-minded factionalism and stupidity of the SWP leadership which has talked itself into the belief for almost five years that if only it "ignores" the Workers Party long enough then, by some mystic means, the WP will vanish from the scene. For an equally long time we have been very happy to disappoint the blind mystics. It is only unfortunate that meanwhile the solidarity which could and should have been expressed for the people of Greece has suffered

WORLD POLITICS Inter-Imperialist Conflict of the Big Three

By REVA CRAINE

"If there is one fundamental, underlying cause of the rift in Allied relations, it is in the basic differences of their national aspirations and outlook. It is strange that this flaw in the Grand Alliance was not obvious sooner to the peoples of the Allied nations. If it had been, there would not have been so much stunned surprise in the Allied countries when it first began to show itself on the surface."

Page 3

In these words, Raymond Daniell, writing in the New York Times, explains the difficulties which the Big Three are now encountering in

their attempts to "settle" among themselves the reorganization of the world. Actually, this rift, which is at last being recognized by everybody, comes as no surprise to revolutionary socialists. It was there from the very beginning for all who wished to see it. If the people did not see it sooner, the news analysts, who think it strange that it was not obvious sooner, played no small part in obscuring this fact,



INTER-ALLIED COMPETITION

What is this "fly in the ointment" of Allied unity, which, if gently removed, would insure freedom, security and peace? What is this "basic difference in their national aspirations and outlook" mentioned by our Times reporter?

Each of the major belligerents entered the war in furtherance of its national imperialist interests. which conflicted with similar interests of the others.

Defeated in the 1914-18 war to end wars, capitalist Germany sought to regain its world position through the only way possible in the capitalist scheme of things, through force. In preparing for war, the German ruling class first crushed the German labor movement, and thus made the German workers and their organizations the first casualties of World War. II.

Fascist Germany began its second great attempt at imperialist expansion in the territories nearest at hand, in Europe. In order to obtain a position of at least equality with its imperialist competitors, let alone world domination, Germany sought mastery of Europe.

BRITISH AIMS

But a dominant position in Europe is necessary to satisfy the imperialist appetites of several other. powers. Holding together the Empire is the motive force of British policy. Success in this regard is directly dependent upon England's strength on the European continent. Since she cannot dominate by direct occupation, England has always sought to operate in Europe through the formation of blocs and governments friendly to her interests.

As long as German fascism confined itself to crushing and exterminating the labor movement, imperialist Britain raised no objections, but even looked on with admiration and approval The attempt of German fascism to push England from its position in Europe led to war between the two.

If England was unwilling to yield her position to Germany, she is no more eager to yield it to any other power, even to a "dear" ally. At



present she aims at the organization of a bloc of western countries friendly to her, from

fore the CIO executive against his union on these grounds. The Communists, fighting to uphold the no-strike pledge in the UAW referendum,

carried on a dirty fight against the leaders of the clerks' union. They were aided in pledge in the United Automobile Workers' . New York by the aforementioned Osman, who is an opponent of the international leadership of the union.

Thus, in the midst of a strike for the

Communists Are Strike-Breakers In Union's Strike at Ward Plants

The struggle of the United Retail, Wholesale & Department Store Employees. CIO, against Montgomery Ward's attempt to smash the union was a heroic one, coming, as it did, in the midst of the war and the drive to retain the no-strike

The issues in the strike were clear. The

LABOR ACTION

United Retail Clerks won election after election in the Ward plants. After each such victory they found that the company, under the direction of Sewell Avery, would give no recognition to the union and would not accede to its wage demands even after a WLB decision.

referendum.

Early in 1944, the union struck Ward's. They did so again in recent weeks when they saw the WLB hesitate to do anything to enforce its demands. The strike was the only weapon which the union had at its disposal to enforce its election victories and wage decisions.

The powerful position of the union was reflected in the fact that the officialdom of the UAW, now fighting desperately against those who would rescind the nostrike pledge in the union's referendum, had to support the strike of the United Retail Clerks. In that action, they merely demonstrated how contradictory is their own position when they support the strike of another union fighting for its existence, while they penalize UAW locals and members who do the same thing.

WHAT THE STRIKE REVEALED

In the many things that the strike brought out, the clearest was the strikebreaking and anti-working class role played by the Communist Party, the Daily Worker, and their members and followers in the union movement like Harry Bridges, Nat Ganley and Arthur Osman, president of Local 65, the Stalinist-dominated United Retail Clerks' local in New York.

From the day the strike broke out, these union wreckers allied themselves with all the forces which opposed the strike. Bridges and his union not only attacked the strike, but went out to do some strikebreaking on its own. Charges are now be-

existence of the union, the communist leadership of the New York local of the clerks' union went on to carry out a strike-breaking campaign against its parent organization. While the union was fighting Avery, Montgomery Ward, the bosses' yellow press, Local 65 sought to cripple the strike of its sister locals throughout the country and to cripple its parent organization.

AN IMPORTANT LESSON

An important lesson grows out of the Montgomery Ward affair: the communists are strike-breakers and union-wreckers. The union movement would do well to rid itself of such strike - breaking leadership wherever it exists.

If the Ward workers who belong to the Retail Clerks' Union wins its fight, it will be because they did not heed the advice of its enemies, but went out on strike for its rights. If the Ward workers win, it will be because they turned their backs on the strike-breaker, Bridges, and fought him off as he aided the company; because they fought off the stab - in - the - back administered to them by the Communist Party and its hacks in the union movement.

LABOR ACTION A Paper in the Interests of Labor

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ALBERT GATES, Editor MARY BELL, Ass't Editor

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National Service Act

(Continued from page 1)

stacle to meeting current production requirements appears to have been deliberately created.

"This should have been corrected and morale repaired by calling public attention to the total situation which involves sharp increases in production schedules, problems of organization and allocation, design changes, opening of additional facilities and reopening standby facilities." Only a few weeks ago, the Senate

Mead Committee, reporting on manpower and the possible need of a labor draft, stated that there was no critical manpower shortage, and a labor draft was wholly unnecessary.

Lieut, - General Krug, head of, the War Production Board, followed the Mead report with a statement that a National Service Act was not necessary, coming so late in the war.

DRAFTING 4-F'S - Here we have an attempt to stigmatize those rejected for military service. There are over 4,000,000 in this category, the overwhelming majority of them are working in war and civilian production plants. If the critical labor shortage amounts to 300,000 workers, then it is clear that the move to draft the 4-F's into labor battalions is a big business scheme to get cheap labor, where workers will work for sub-standard wages.

Suppose all the 4-F's wanted to go into war industries. Where do the bunglers in Washington plan to put these 4,000,000 men?

DRAFTING NURSES - A critical shortage of nurses in the country's armed services is presumably the reason for putting through this measure. There is not a person in the country who would deliberately jeopardize the workers in uniform where a lack of medical facilities of any and all kinds is involved. But there are over a quarter of a million nurses in this country. Why then, does a shortage exist? ?

. Because there are 9,000 Negro nurses who are discriminated against by the brass hats. Only 200 Negro nurses out of this great number have been taken by the military services!

Because the Navy releases any nurse who marries and because neither the Army or Navy will take

nurses over the age of 45.

COMPULSORY MILITARY TRAINING-Although it is not asked for as part of a National Service Act, the President in his message called for the passage of a peacetime compulsory military training act. Why is it proposed now? Because it is hoped that it will be easily passed in the hysteria created over a supposed manpower shortage, a critical supply shortage, a reverse at the military front, and in the organized pressure for the passage of the National Service Act.

It should be recalled that in his previous requests for a labor draft, the President said that he would see to it that labor would be compensated by "equality of sacrifice," to be realized in control of prices, prevention of a rising cost of living, curb on profits and limitation of salaries, among other things.

BROKEN PROMISES

-absolutely none. Labor has made all the sacrifices in the war!

Now Roosevelt says little about these things, speaks instead of world political problems, about the sacredness of the Atlantic Charter (which is being violated every day) and post-war jobs for sixty millionwhen, after eight years in office, there were still nine to ten million unemployed, with a smaller population and working force than we will have after the war.

LVING TO LABOR

The leaders of the labor movement made possible the President's reelection, saying that the election of Dewey would mean totalitarianism and reaction in the country. How has Roosevelt repaid his labor supporters? Instead of a revision of the Little Steel Formula, on which Fala Phil Murray staked his life, he insists upon a further restriction on the rights of labor.

The reason Roosevelt is able to make such a bold anti-labor proposal at this, time is directly due to the subservience and docility of the labor officialdom.

Because of the maintenance of the no-strike pledge, which means an unarmed labor movement, Roose-

velt, intensifying his offensive against the workers, is backed by all the weapons of big business.

Oh, yes, he promises that the application of the National Service Act will be liberal. But what is his word worth? The evidence says: Nothing! At every important turn he has been adamant in his refusal to grant labor any of its important demands. "Labor's friend," indeed!

Who runs Roosevelt's boards and agencies? The OPA? The WLB? The WPB? The State Department? The RFC? They are run by big business and its agents. Only the blind can fail to see that a National Service Act will be carried out by the same kind of pro-profit, anti-labor forces! The demand for a National Service Act is a demand to shackle labor.

The labor draft is a scheme to force workers into the employ of chiseling bosses and corporations who pay substandard wages. No wonder every None of these promises was kept • union-baiter, every Southern bourbon, every exploiter of labor hails the demand for a national service act.

> The labor draft is a scheme to establish totalitarian control of the, working class in the midst of the present war and for the post-war period.

FIGHT THE LABOR DRAFT!

Labor is in grave danger! It is must fight the labor draft. The president of the AFL has already spoken against it. Murray, president of the CIO, hasn't yet said anything. No doubt he is still reeling from the effects of the President's message. He staked his reputation on Roosevelt as a friend of labor.

R. J. Thomas is silent too. He already announced that it was becoming more and more difficult for him to "sell" Roosevelt to the workers so long as the WLB continued in its present merry way. How does R. J. Thomas feel now?

But the answer to Roosevelt should be clear. Labor must say: No! We are against a national service act. It means to regiment the American workers, to shackle it with bonds tied by a capitalist administration. It means to make the workers the easy prey of big business. We will never stand for that!



the Scandinavian countries down through Belgium, Holland, France, Spain and Portugal. Hence her support of the reactionary Pierlot government in Belgium, the monarchy in Holland, fascist Franco in Spain, and de Gaulle in France. In eastern Europe she wants to retain

her control of Greece in order to safeguard her position in the Mediterranean, lifeline to Egypt and India. She seeks not merely anti-German governments but strongly pro-British ones.

RUSSIAN IMPERIALISM

Russia seeks to enhance her interests or, more properly speaking, the interests of her ruling class, through control of at least the eastern half

of Europe. At the expense of the liberties and democratic rights of the peoples of Europe, she demands half of Poland. control of the Balkan countries, in addition to the annex-ations already made of Latvia, Lithuania and Estonia. For the



Russian ruling class, this is but a stepping stone to the domination of Europe which every imperialist power seeks

Churchill delivers Poland to Russia and gets Greece. Or so it seemed. Each of them yields reluctantly and tries to hold out for as much as possible. Churchill holds off recognition of the Lublin set-up, hoping to strike a better bargain. Stalin withholds approval of British action in Greece. hoping to lop off a piece of that country. Macedonia and placing it in his sphere of influence, perhaps in the Balkan Federation.

De Gaullist France is allowing herself to be wooed by both sides-England, which seeks to involve her in a western bloc, and Russia, which wishes to prevent this bloc from becoming too strong and threatening. France doesn't wish to be mere junior partner of the western bloc and therefore signs a treaty with Russia to strengthen her bargaining powers with England. The two big allies vie with each other for France's support. In the end it will go to the stronger, the one which can offer more.

ROLE OF THE U.S.

And the United States?? The inner-Allied conflicts strengthen the position of U.S. imperialism. A Europe torn within itself, war weary, half destroyed, starved, helpless, looking for help from the outside, is the perfect place for intervention through money investments, lend-lease and, if necessary, armed force.

With no single European power dominating the Continent, and without a voluntary and harmonious unity of the European peoples, U. S. domination of Europe and the world is made easier. That is, provided the conflicts with England in the Far East, over India, in the Near East, in aviation and shipping can be fought out to the advantage of United States imperialism.

The seeds of World War III are already planted.

LABOR ACTION

January 15, 1945

Poland: How "Big 3" Differ on "Liberation"

Fage 4

By Mary Bell

Along with his "work or fight" directive in his message to Congress, President Roosevelt laid down another totalitarian dictum: anyone who speaks of the disunity of the Big Three should have his remarks labelled "Made in Germany."

It would be difficult, indeed, to find a phrase more cynical, more characteristic of a dictatorial mind, more contemptuous of the mentality of the people.

The whole world knows there are differences among the Allies on policy in the "liberation" of Europe-in Italy, in Greece, in Poland. The reporters and what Mr. Roosevelt disdainfully refers to as "excrescences" -the columnists-in most all of the British papers. American big business newspapers and even in the loudest shouter for unity among the United Nations, the Daily Worker, record daily the differences among the Allies over the disposition of the European peoples.

PM, for example, which fawns and slobbers all over the Roosevelt Administration, entitled a dispatch "Polish Issue Threat to Allied Unity" in its issue of January 5.

What is the President so fearful of, say, in the case of Poland?

On the last day of 1944, the Lublin Polish Committee of National Liberation proclaimed itself the provisional government of Poland, Following as fast as an echo came Russian recognition of the new "government." Soon, but without unseemly haste, General de Gaulle is expected to ape his "dear and powerful" friend in the Kremlin. (So dear, so powerful! So powerful, so dear!)

RIDING TWO HORSES

Britain and the United States continue to recognize the Polish government in exile seated in London.

The Atlantic Charter (may its soul rest in peace!) said that the liberated countries were entitled to governments of their own choosing.

The foisting of the made-in-Moscow Lublin provisional government on the Poles was a flagrant violation of the Atlantic Charter principle. Now, to any stern devotee of the Charter, the Russian rape of Polish independence and democratic rights would be cause just enough for disunity.

But that's not it. Roosevelt has said the Charter was not capable of practical application, but was nice to have as a motto hanging around on the wall, like "God Bless Our Home." Churchill, knowing what a motto is useful for, openly told Stalin to go ahead and take Polish territory, only let him take care of thrusting a "democratic" government upon the unwilling Greek people. (King George, a right regal "democrat"; or Papandreou, "democratic," but whose chances were spoiled by British guns; or Regent Damaskinos, who, after all, represents the "democratic" King. But anyone or anything, except a representative of the Greek people. After all, what do they know about democracy? They've had so little of it.)

NEITHER LONDON NOR LUBLIN!

The Poles, too for the past decade have had little enough democracy. It has been suppressed, as Jewish pogroms and poverty have flourished, at the hands of that gang of landlords and assorted "socialists" in London whom Churchill and Roosevelt formally recognize. They would restore in Poland the fascist constitution of 1935. They would claim as their own not only the piece of Russian territory taken by Polish imperialists in 1920 from the former workers' state, but all of East Prussia and more generous slices of other territories and more peoples than Russia now offers the new "independent" Poland.

The Lublin Committee is no better. Despite the parcelling out of a few hectares of land to the land-hungry peasants (it leaves the sacred estates of the Catholic Church untouched) it makes no fundamental changes, does not interfere with the property rights of husiness Said its president, Osubka Morawski: "The authorities of the state will prosecute ruthlessly any lawlessness and infringement on private property." But there is no question that the Lublin government (containing at least one pro-fascist, General Rola Zymierski, now "converted" to Moscow's way of thought) will infringe on the rights of the Polish people. That is the way of Stalinist totalitarianism. If there weren't a thousand other proofs, it could be seen in the way the Russian army as well as the "London-Committee-loving" Allies left the Warsaw uprising to be crushed by the Nazi military machine. The reason? The uprising was not under the control of the Stalinists or even of London. It was largely the Polish workers and peasants standing off Nazi tanks with home-made, weapons.

Labor Action Answers Readers' Questions: The Principles Labor Action Stands For

Gentlemen

Enclosed is a subscription for your paper. Just under the wire in your subscription drive. I am an industrial worker and I realize that while some of your statements are deliberately exaggerated, you come nearer the truth than the big daily papers like the Cleveland News.

I like the way you dish out the facts on the telephone strike, the shell shortage, the cigarette shortage, the whiskey shortage, income tax, etc.

The big daily papers were seen to retract some of their statements on the shell shortage. I wish there could be a daily paper in Cleveland that would print things from the worker's point of view.

I have just finished talking with a factory owner. His viewpoint on industrial policy is narrow, selfish and entirely one-sided, yet sane, orderly and sensible within itself. That guy believes in the divine right of management and that the entrepreneur can do no wrong. Well, Louis the XIV and Marie Antoinette felt that way too before they had their heads chopped off.

Now, I sound like a red hot revolutionary but I am really a conservative person with a "middle class' background. At times I burn up when your paper seems to be a colored man's paper, but I suppose that is only my Anglo-Saxon prejudice.

I know you favor abolition of the wage system as a whole. I realize this is just a corollary to the abolition of piecework. That the two sort of go together. I'd like to hear news of the various shops in Cleveland, because I have worked in quite a few of them and know a lot of guys who work there.

R. K., Willoughby, Ohio.

Dear R. K .: Thanks for your subscription and your interesting letter. You raise some questions that we think many of our readers would like to see taken

DOES LABOR ACTION EXAGGERATE?

We believe that your reaction ("some of your statements are deliberately exaggerated") comes from the contrast between a militant paper fighting in labor's interests, such as LABOR ACTION,

and what you refer to as the "big daily papers," which are in reality big business enterprises and give us a daily dose of big business propaganda.

We try to present our news and views in a dramatic fashion, but above anything else, we believe in telling the truth to labor. We believe only the truth can serve the cause of labor's progress. Contrary to the big business newspapers, we print facts they wish to conceal; we play up the profits of big business on page one, whereas they bury them in the financial columns if they print them at all.

"DIVINE RIGHT OF 'MANAGEMENT"

And just as your entrepreneur has a point of view, so do we. Whereas he believes in the "divine right of management," we believe that the only progressive force in society is the working class. The vast majority of industrial magnates did not get there by "working their way up," but by piracy, robbery and milking the public.

Does this statement seem "deliberately exaggerated"? We refer you to Gustavus Myers' "History of the Great American Fortunes" or Ferdinand Lundberg's "America's Sixty Families" for confirmation of the origins of great wealth.

And we can assemble a whole army of facts to show that only the workers, organized and stillto-be organized, are the only progressive force in society.

Capitalism is 'outlived. It has submitted the people to two imperialist world wars within the space of one generation. It has submitted us to recurrent crises, each one worse than the previous one, with a post-war depression just around the corner. It is minting profits, while forty per cent of American workers still make under sixty-five cents an hour. (Again, this is not an overstatement, but on of those facts you like to read in LABOR ACTION.)

On the other hand, it is only labor which fights for progress, for higher wages, against profiteering. Labor, being the biggest single organized force in the nation, without a stake in the profit system, has the potentiality of organizing its own political party to take over the complete administration of government and industry. Not all of labor is yet conscious of its historic mission. To

help make it conscious is the purpose of LABOR ACTION.

"A COLORED MAN'S PAPER"

While our ideas for complete political, social and economic equality of the Negro conflict with many workers' "Anglo-Saxon prejudices," we can only be proud that you and others sometimes think of LABOR ACTION as "a colored man's paper." In a society of inequality, which capitalism is, the Negro has been relegated to the lowest position due only to the color of his skin.

This menial position has been reinforced by prejudice, tradition, competition between Negroes and whites for jobs, etc. It is made all the more difficult to overcome this prejudice when the federal government and the state legislatures embody Jim Crow in law and practice-the poll-tax in the South, which prevents millions of Negroes as well as whites from voting; Jim Crow practices in the Army, Navy and Air Forces.

You know that the prejudice against and treatment of the Negroes in this country is no different from Hitler's handling of the Jews. Do you know also, that in other countries-England, France, Italy-where people have not been brought up in prejudice, they cannot understand the American attitude toward colored people? That Negro soldiers are accepted into the homes and hearts of the people, like any white soldier? That any prejudice which exists is imported from the U.S.?

But again, through cooperation and understanding in the unions, black and white are learning that their interests are identical, that they are both part of the working class, which must unite in the struggle for a government of labor. The first step toward breaking down the barriers is to recognize a prejudice for what it really is-as you have already done.

ABOLITION OF THE WAGE SYSTEM?

Yes, we're for it. We believe the "divine right of management," acquired, not through Providence but through the unholy exploitation of the people, should belong to those who do the work of society. Let the organized working people manage industry, eliminate private profit, plan production to suit the needs of the people-for peace, prosperity and plenty for all!

M. B.

Fascism Still Exists in Allied Italy

By JESSE KAAREN

up.

Count Carlo Sforza's resignation as Commissioner for the Punishment of Fascist Crimes in Italy and its acceptance by the Bonomi government, with whom he has no disagreement on this subject, is a move to shelve the whole question of purging Italy of its fascists.

According to a dispatch from PM's Italian correspondent, "the present right-wing Allied-dominated Italian government has neither the will nor the ability to destroy root and branch of all that is left of fascism in liberated Italy."

From the statement of resignation issued by Sforza, it is obvious that he is not resigning because he is more radical than either the Bonomi cabinet or the Allies on the question of how to purge the fascists. All of them are agreed on what is called the "judicial" viewpoint as against the "political viewpoint." They argue that since fascism was the law of the land for twenty years, it is impossible to call a fascist a criminal. Only those guilty of collaborating with the Germans or those who committed thievery and extortion are criminals, say these gentlemen.

By WALTER WEISS

be a liar himself!

bor Board.

talists.

try.

of what?

CONVINCE WHOM?

serves their support?

Some people have been spreading

The lie is that WLB rulings have

If anybody doesn't admit that this

IS a lie, we say-by George-he must

However the very liberal New

York newspaper, PM, famous as a

great "friend" of labor, decided in

its issue of January 4 to answer the

horrible charge by giving proof-

facts and figures-to show that the

WLB has more often favored indus-

Whom is PM trying to persuade

To persuade Sewell Avery and his

friends, that is, the most reactionary

capitalists and their bought - and -

paid-for press, that the WLB de-

You might as well try to persuade

them that Roosevelt (or at present,

perhaps, Mrs. Roosevelt) is not a

communist. Facts have no effect on

these people. Some of them are so

blindly reactionary that they really

believe such stuff. Others purposely

spread these wild lies as a form of

pressure, as a way of trying to pre-

vent even slight concessions (such as

Or is PM trying to persuade labor

that the WLB deserves the support

of the working class? On what

grounds? Is it because the WLB is

so "impartial" that the public mem-

bers have (to quote PM) "voted

more often with industry members

But this only proves the real

charge against the WLB-the charge

that LABOR ACTION and every

wide-awake unionist have been mak-

a two-cent raise) to workers.

than they did with labor"?

favored the unions against the capi-

a malicious lie against the War La-

This "judicial" conception has been used as the basis for court procedure in the last several months, and it has broken down. Sforza admits this when he says that it is impossible to find enough magistrates to judge the actions of officials some of whom have held office for twenty years to find out whether or not they "committed a crime." There is no hint in his letter of resignation that he considers fascism itself to be a crime.

CAN THEY DROP IT?

While he is as anxious to drop the whole matter as are the cabinet and its Allied masters, he knows that it is impossible to do that. Sforza and the government officials are forced to anticipate what will happen when the industrial workers of northern Italy are freed from German domination. Therefore they must seek to establish a formula to

mentioned earlier in this article. The only question to be asked of an accused individual, he says, is: "Did you facilitate the criminal activities of the invaders (Germans) or not?"

Under such a cover, it would be very easy to perpetuate Mussolini's old officials under Allied protection. Sforza, Bonomi, et cetera, fear a clean sweep of fascists more than they fear the fascists themselves. The courts of Italy are bogged down already with complex legal proceedings that are getting nowhere fast, because the officials are trying desperately to avoid a real showdown.

The present regime is completely bankrupt. Its position in the middle of the road is so uncomfortable that it attempts to solve the problem-by not solving it! It may try to appealse the Italian masses who are calling for a complete purge of the army, the civil servants, the industrialists and monarchists under whose oppressive domination they have been suffering for so many years, but its attempts are bound to end in failure. The present weak regime has no dedare suggest that ALL fascists be sire to pursue the purge to its logical end: The Italian capitalist class, be brought to trial, he proposes a the monarchists and the Allies are anxious not only to avoid jeopardiz-

Why, even the public members of

the WLB, who usually vote with the

industry members, say that Avery is

wrong. And the public members of

the WLB are "liberal" men, very

much like the editors of PM them-

We won't recall the horror and

rage of PM at the miners' strikes

at the poor miners, of course). No.

we won't recall that. But how about

the recent strike of the poor tele-

phone girls? PM "exposed" the tele-

phone monopoly, yet CONDEMNED

the strike. The public members of

ing the lives, property and positions of some of their favorite friends but they fear that a purge would threaten the capitalist system itself.

CANNOT STEM PEOPLE

Sforza has lost his value as a facesaver for the Allies. His record as High Commissioner for the Punishment of Fascist Crimes satisfies no one. The problem is a "hot potato" to the Allies. It has arisen in France, in Greece and in the Balkans, and it will surely arise in Germany.

The anger of the masses in Europe and their determination to stamp out once and for all the class responsible for their present misery is as mighty as an eruption of Mount Vesuvius and cannot be checked. In Greece it has resulted in open fightbetween the British and the Greeks. In Italy, the Romans threw a fascist jailer into the Tiber River. The hope of the Allies and their hirelings in the Italian government that a legalistic formula will keep the masses quiet is a vain one. It will be swept aside, along with the fascist rubbish itself.

the WLB, you see, ordered the girls

a break-once in a while. But when

the little folks try to do something

about the matter themselves, our fine

liberals warn them: "Don't try to

help yourselves. Let God (that is, the

THE COUNT ISN'T EVERYTHING

the WLB, we must add that only a

damfool liberal would judge the rec-

ord by counting how many cases

have been decided one way or an-

public members vote the same way

as the labor members of the board,

they are voting against the workers.

idea. We'll say that some workers

(and there are plenty in this boat)

are getting forty-five cents an hour.

Their union representatives and the

labor members of the board daringly-

demand fifty-five cents, Industry

members say the company can't af-

ford a cent. The public members of-

fer a compromise of forty-eight or

fifty cents. In order to get some-

thing, the labor members string along

There you are. There's a case

where, according to the WLB and

PM, the public members vote with

labor. ACTUALLY, THE LABOR

MEMBERS VOTE WITH THE PUB-

LIC MEMBERS in order to give the

workers a miserable, instead of a

LABOR ACTION doesn't believe

in liberal words or in sympathy-

but in labor action. Our program is:

Get labor off this WLB of the big

End the no-strike pledge and re-

store the one effective weapon of la-

with the public members.

still more miserable, wage.

monopolists!

bor action!

One example will give you the

The fact is that even when the

Before leaving PM's "defense" of

PM likes to see the little folks get

back to work.

WLB) help you."

other.

Greece: War of Liberation Still Being Fought

the set of the second second

By Jim Tanakos

The fifth week of fighting by the Greek people against the political domination of their country by British imperialism opened with the ELAS forces withdrawing from the city of Athens to their mountain strongholds. Only a few months ago they were fighting the forces of Hitler fascism from these very fortresses;

A truce was agreed upon by the ELAS forces and General Scobie of the British army-this after Churchill's "peace mission." The truce called for the ELAS forces to leave the Athens area. But as soon as the members of the ELAS came into the open out of their hiding places and proceeded to the hills, General Scobie, the Prime Minister's agent, sent Spitfire planes to shoot them down. Scobie's excuse was that the ELAS had British "hostages" with them.

In the meantime the new Prime Minister of Greece, Nicholas Plastiras, continued his demand, not for the withdrawal of the forces of British imperialism from Greek soil but for the unconditional surrender of the ELAS forces. In constructing his cabinet he left no posts open for the Communist Party or for the EAM, the political body of the military ELAS, which represents a large majority of the people.With this move he wants to discourage any hope the underground may have about being part of the government-if the underground holds out.

Exactly what will happen next in Greece depends on. many factors. Plastiras was picked for the job of Premier because it is expected that with his reputation as a "republican" he will be able to split the EAM and the ELAS.

WHO IS PLASTIRAS?

The new Premier came into prominence when he took over the government in 1922 after King Constantine had abdicated. At that time Greece had been in one war after another from 1912 on, and had just suffered a terrible defeat in the British-inspired war of Greece against Turkey.

Economic conditions in the country were terrible. Most of the soldiers had been in the army for ten years or more. A revolutionary movement began among these war-weary soldiers and it gained adherents rapidly among the workers in Greece. Plastiras and other army officers, realizing the dangers to their caste and their class system if this rising revolt followed the course of the Russian Revolution, headed it off by having the hated King Constantine abdicate from the throne, Plastiras then became dictator to make sure that no radical changes were made.

The revolutionary movement was not too clear as to its course nor was it well organized, but one thing it was sure of-it didn't want any more kings nor did it want any dictators. Plastiras was aware of these sentiments, and knowing that he was in danger of being overthrown, claimed that he was acting as dictator only for this very critical period. He proceeded to liquidate his own dictatorship. He eventually resigned and elections were held. Thus Plastiras gained the reputation of being a "republican' and a person who was against dictatorships. His only other bid for fame was in 1933, when, along with some other army officers, he attempted an unsuccessful military coup.

THE COMMUNISTS-"BUSINESS AS USUAL"

The Stalinist leadership, having thwarted the EAM and the ELAS from developing a revolutionary program, has made it much easier for Plastiras to pose as a friend of freedom and to split the movement. Plastiras can pose as a democrat and point to his 'record-he forced the King to abdicate, he refused to continue as a dictator and permitted elections and turned the country over to the people.

It would seem that neither set of scoundrels-London or Lublin-could keep the Polish people in control to suit the tastes of the Allies. What is the bickering about then?

DISUNITY WITHIN UNITY

It just so happened that Stalin installed his scoundrels without previously getting the agreement of his other two partners. And Roosevelt and Churchill are getting a bit worried about these unilateral agreements and decisions Stalin makes. He's getting too powerful to suit them.

So they must meet again to try to get each other to be more reasonable, to play their murderous game of cricket in a more sportsmanlike manner. Greece had been laid out for the British Empire-so Stalin should call off his Communists in Greece against Churchill, and FDR should not act so standoffish. Poland had been laid out for the Russian sphere of influence-but Stalin must not be so hasty and greedy. And again, FDR must not act as though he was so lily-pure and did not know about these deals.

There is a unity among the Allies-à "unity among thieves"-a unity with differences among themselves, but against the interests of the peoples of the world.

What is necessary is a counter-unity among the oppressed peoples of the world. For their salvation lies in their own hands. The Poles have had five years of invasion, partition, murder and war. They are not going to be willing to give up the fight to become serfs of Russia.

They will fight for their liberation, we are certain.

Flash on Labor Action Sub Drive!

A final check on the city standings in LABOR AC-TION'S campaign for 4,000 new subscribers reveals that the winner of the banner for first place is the Workers Party branch of Streator, Ill., which rolled up the highest percentage.

A verdict on the high individual scorer is not yet available, since the branches have not yet sent in complete returns. Those competing for the wards in books from the Labor Action Book Service should make an immediate report through the local sub campaign directors to share in the prizes.

forestall the mighty protest that is sure to arise when the more classconscious section of the Italian working class in the North is able to speak up. Since Sforza and company do not

swept out of office in Italy or even refinement of the "judicial" process

ing for a long time: that it is an

Or is PM so "liberal" that it be-

lieves the companies really have

had just cases more often than the

We think one of the answers to

our puzzle is this: The editors of PM

themselves, who don't believe in be-

ing reckless but who do like to see

the little people get a break ONCE

IN A WHILE, that it is perfectly OK

to support the Montgomery Ward

agent of the capitalists.

PART OF THE ANSWER

workers?

workers.

The Stalinists cannot expose the fact that Plastiras actions at that time were to prevent a social revolution because they dare not discuss the methods by which fakers, head off revolutions. To expose Plastiras' past fully would mean to reveal their own present role. The Stalinists cannot accuse Plastiras of being a fascist or a collaborationist, because up to a short time ago he was one of the Stalinists' saints and was featured as a peoples hero. On what basis can the Stalinists, with their program, ask the underground to keep fighting?

It is possible that Plastiras may succeed in splitting off some sections of the EAM and the ELAS. If he puts in a few genuine republican officers in the army, replaces a few fascist officeholders and makes a "democratic" move here or there, the Stalinist leaders aren't left with much of a program for which people will care to risk their lives.

The underground movement in Greece cannot help but disintegrate if the Stalinists remain in the leadership. The EAM and the ELAS men and women have been filled up to the ears with hokum about the Allies and Teheran. Now they see the realities: their comrades. are lying in the streets with United States lend-lease bullets in their backs from British tommyguns. Russia is trying to use the Greek resistance movement to further her Czar-like plans for a Slavic empire, and yet the Stalinists keep up the drivel about the "United" Nations and that this is not an imperialist war.

RESISTANCE TO STALINISTS IN EAM

There is some evidence that there are sections in the EAM and the ELAS that have objected to the opportunist role of the Stalinists. Outstanding is the occasion when the Stalinist leadership of the EAM and the ELAS unanimously accepted the empty and meaningless Lebanon Agreement last spring, whereafter it took six months of concentrated pressure by personal representatives of the United States, Russia and Great Britain before the underground permitted its leaders to enter the government in exile.

The second occasion was when the underground refused to lay down its arms, even after the Stalinists in the cabinet agreed to it. Whether the Stalinists later changed their minds is unimportant. If the underground had followed their advice, the people would be unarmed today.

The third occasion we know of was the time when the Papandreou government (when the Stalinists were still part of it and voting in the affirmative) sent governor, judges and other officials to Salonika to take over the government, and the ELAS forces there kept putting them into jail as soon as they arrived. The Stalinist cabinet members hotfooted it to Salonika to straighten out the "boys," but with no success.

The Stalinists bred illusions about Teheran. They tricked the underground into entering the Papandreou government and the people are now suffering the results. Plastiras may be able to win over a few of the discouraged and disoriented people of Greece, and many others may give up the struggle for a while. But many sections of the underground must be thinking over what has happened to their movement. They must remember that they held power in their hands before the government in exile came back. They will realize that they were tricked and lied to somewhere along the line. They will recognize the Stalinists as the betrayers of their revolution and treat them accordingly.

TEN DAYS THAT SHOOK THE WORLD JOHN REED The story of how the workers in Russia established the first workers' republic in November 1917 told by an eye witness.

selves.

are trying to persuade liberals like and especially at John L. Lewis (not

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