WE SAY-

Labor Must Form an Independent Labor Party LABOR ACTION

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

ONE CENT

MARCH 12, 1945

A PAPER IN THE INTERESTS OF LABOR

The Militants at Chrysler and Briggs Show the Way--

Lewis Under Fire As He Moves to **Get Miners Raise**

By WALTER WEISS

John L. Lewis has opened the 1945 wage campaign of the soft coal miners with two surprise moves.

In the first place, three days before the opening of negotiations, he filed notice, in accordance with the Connally-Smith anti-strike law, for a legal strike vote.

He pointed out that government agencies, by spreading hostile propaganda against the miners, were encouraging the coal operators not to negotiate in good faith. The miners, therefore, had no choice but to protect their legal rights to the fullest extent possible.

Every worker knows from his own experience that Lewis' charges against the government do not apply to the coal industry alone. The War Labor Board, for example, has taken the stand that, in spite of any and every company provocation, strikes are unjustified. Almost all union leaders back the WLB in this stand. Rank and file workers, however, as the record of unauthorized strikes proves, feel differently.

Three days later, the miners' president pulled an even more startling surprise. Stating that he was ready to cooperate with the government by not challenging the stabilization program (that is, the Little Steel formula), he presented a long list of "fringe demands." Most unexpected among these is the demand for a tencent royalty to be paid into the union treasury for each ton of coal mined. The money is to be used for medical care, hospitalization, insurance, rehabilitation, and economic protection.

NATURE OF DEMANDS Other demands are mainly for the patriots and sell-out artists.

as full (instead of partial) portal-toportal pay, increased vacation pay, differentials for the second and third shifts, and free working equipment. Estimates of the total cost of these demands-if they were to be granted in full-have ranged from \$1.60 to \$3.30 a day per miner. In any event,

the sum would not be trifling. The most important thing to be said about the miners' demands is that every union man and every union local should give them full sup-

There have already been countless editorial attacks on the Lewis propo-



AT BAT. AGAIN

sals in the daily press. Every workingman will know what weight to give these.

The strangest attack, however, is to be found in the so-called Daily Worker, organ of Stalin's American out.

Detroit Shop Stewards Should Meet to Fight Anti-Labor Drive

Call a conference of all UAW shop committeemen and stewards in the Detroit region.

Jess Ferrazza, militant president of Briggs Local 212, was reported in the press to have made this excellent suggestion during the Briggs strike.

Ferrazza is one hundred per cent right. The top leadership of the UAW has shown time and time again that it has no proposals whatsoever that can counter the union-wrecking drive by the big auto monopolies. Yet all the high officials of the UAW admit that such a drive is under way.

In one breath, the UAW brass hats humbly appeal for assistance to the War Labor Board. In the next breath, they denounce this same WLB as an assemblage of bosses' stooges. They have even demanded that the CIO withdraw its representatives from this pro-employer packed body.

It is time to end this farce. If the UAW leaders do not know what to do, or are unwilling to do anything, let them make way for the rank and file. Call a conference of UAW shop stewards and committeemen in Detroit and see what they have to say.

During the recent Montgomery Ward strike, the officers and executive board members of all but the Communist-dominated CIO locals met to agree on action in solidarity with the United Retail and Whilesale Union. This conference, made necessary by the strike-breaking policies of the CP-dominated Wayne County CIO Council, supported mass picketing of the Ward stores, raised the fighting spirit of the Ward workers, and made clear to all that the Ward strikers were not just a tiny minority that could be discounted but were backed up by tens of thousands of CIO workers.

Even more effective than this body would be a conference of shop stewards and committee. Stewards, elected directly by the men with whom they are in daily contact, could bring their decisions back to the men quickly and when necessary translate them into action overnight.

Such a conference could give first place to the need to combat the anti-union offensive of the big corporations. It could set up a machinery for common action where necessary, as in the Ward strikes or the Briggs and Dodge strikes. It could work out means of fighting the vicious, arbitrary establishment of production quotas by the employers... which led to the Briggs and Dodge strikes.

Above all, it would give the direct representatives of the rank and file an opportunity to grapple with problems that the top leadership cannot or will not face.

Yes, Ferraza is right. Call a conference of UAW shop stewards and committeemen.

Company Provokes Strike

"The present situation in Detroit . was deliberately provoked by management and implemented by indiscriminate firings of workers.

"Management should be required to refer all disciplinary discharges to grievance procedure before any such discharges are made effective." So says Richard T. Frankensteen, UAW vice-president, in a telegram to the War Labor Board.

In our opinion, management should have no right to fire at all without consent of the union. But Frankensteen's proposal is a step forward, if he would do something to carry it

Why should the workers and the unions be compelled to go through miles of red tape and wait endlessly for settlement of their grievances when employers are free to act arbitrarily and summarily ... waiting for nothing and no one?

If an 'EMPLOYER discharges a worker without cause or in order to demoralize the union, as all are doing and as the Briggs and Dodge managements have done recently, why must the WORKER and the UNION follow the interminable

waiting before HE is permitted to act? Frankensteen's idea is fine. Take away the employer's right to fire at

to put this good idea into practice? By a telegram pleading with the War Labor Board! But doesn't he also tell us that the WLB is a farce and should be thrown into the ashcan?

By MARTIN HARVEY

DETROIT-The tense labor situation here, resulting from an unceasing anti-union campaign by management, exploded with two major strikes against the Chrysler and Briggs Body corporations by UAW-CIO members.

The Chrysler strike, which began at the Dodge main plant of the company, ended with a partial victory for the union. The Briggs strike is still continuing at the time of this writing.

The 13,500 members of Dodge Local 3 walked out on Friday. February 23, in protest against the company's discharge of eight men for their failure to meet a production speed-up. They returned to work on Monday, March 5, with the following results:

Gained:

They forced the National War Labor Board to act on the issues before the strike was ended, which the WLB has always insisted they would not do.

Their militant and united action, plus the lesson that was learned during similar strikes at Chrysler Highland Park and Chevrolet Gear and Axle here recently, forestalled any

disciplinary action by the international union.

The raised production schedule will not be intro-Uduced until after it has been arbitrated by the umpire under the Chrysler-UAW contract.

Lost:

The local retreated from its position on the key issue of whether the men would be reinstated before the termination of the strike. Their reinstatement is also referred to the umpire for future settlement.

The Dodge walkout, which was supported by the inter-plant drivers of the company, resulted in the shutting down of the Dodge truck plant with 3,000 workers, the Chrysler Windsor plant with 1,500 workers, and the partial stoppage of the Chrysler tank arsenal, the Highland Park and other plants. The DeSoto-Warren plant walked out in support of the strike because they refused to work on parts delivered by non-UAW

(Continued on page 2)



grievance procedure AFTER the discharge? According to Frankensteen, mand.

ninety per cent of all UAW strikes are caused by this unfair method. Why not make the employer do the

will. But how does Frankensteen intend

> Get off the War Labor Board and call the UAW stewards together. They will find a way to gain this de-

extension of gains made by the miners in the past or for concessions al- bor's main wage fight, the struggle ready granted to workers in other against the Little Steel formula. They industries. They include such things

They accuse Lewis of betraying la-(Continued on page 4)

Councilman De Falco, a Tammany-

(Continued on page 2)

after the war is over.

Stuyvesant Tenants League Speaks, But Does Not Act!

cil.

them.

By MICHAEL WYLIE

NEW YORK - Over four hundred aroused tenants of New York's Stuyvesant area, all of them soon to be evicted on order of the Metropolitan Life Insurance Company, attended a protest meeting called by the Stuyvesant Tenants League last Friday night.

They came in high spirits, ready for some action which would stop the Metropolitan dead in its tracks in its attempt to throw them out into the streets. They came to demand adequate housing and relocation before the company demolished the area in order to erect its multi-million dollar Stuyvesant Town project.

The Stuyvesant Tenants League, a thinly disguised Communist Party outfit, gave them speeches instead.

POLITICAL GAS BAGS

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There were all kinds of speeches: long ones, short ones, clever ones, stupid ones, naive ones and demagogic ones. Most of them were delivered by politicians or self-styled "gas house boys." A better name for the latter would be "gas bag boys," because when they got through with speechifying, the hot air in the Stuyvesant High School auditorium was stifling.

By MARY BELL

"Simply intolerable." Thus Philip Murray described labor's situation in the face of the latest War Labor Board report. Only a violent word could express the situation. For the WLB, far from granting a revision They played on, and at the same of the Little Steel formula that all time, abused the honest sentiments labor wants, had the brass to say of the Stuyvesant tenants, who looked that wages are in advance of the to them for some solution to their cost of living! They dare to write it, plight. This was particularly true of black on white, for all the house-"guest" speaker Ben Davis, Jr., nowives of the nation to see. torious Stalinist demagogue and a The War Labor Board's figures on

member of the New York City Counthe increase in wages are based on increases in take-home pay due to promotions and hours worked in ex-Unfortunately, he succeeded in cess of the normal work week. But raising the unsuspecting audience to basic. straight-time hourly earnings a high pitch of enthusiasm, without are behind the WLB's conservative offering them a single concrete sugestimate of the rise in the cost of gestion as to what they should DO living. The increase in take-home to protect themselves and their fampay has meant a huge increase in ilies from the fate which awaits

EXPOSING WLB REPORT

production and hence, in profits.

American Labor Party faker, after Murray rightly scored the "falladenouncing LABOR ACTION from cies" and "weaknesses" in the WLB the platform for its attack on the inmajority's report. They failed utterly action of the City Council, told the to consider the looming cutbacks due audience that all their problems to the cessation of much war producwould be solved by the pending Mction when the war in Europe ends. Gowan bill, presently pigeon - holed These cutbacks, which are occurring in the State Legislature. This bill even now, will mean cutbacks in enjoins the Metropolitan from dehours and promotions that will far molishing the area until six months offset the temporary war gains in wages. OPA has declared that this Even if the bill should pass, which loss will approximate \$17 billion an-

is a distinct unlikelihood at the presnually. ent writing, due to the fact that the Here are the WLB public members' strange figures;

Increase in average straighttime hourly earnings from.

1944 Increase in cost of living for same period

Increase of wages over cost

of living ... The dissenting labor members of the WLB concede for the purposes of argument (although the CIO reports show it nearer 44 per cent) that the cost of living has risen a mere 30 per cent. That makes their computations something like this:

Increase in cost of living from January, 1941, to October, 1944 30% Increase in basic wage rates for

the same period less than 20% Basic wages lag behind cost of living

If they used their own figure of 44 per cent for the increase in the cost of living-a figure that takes into consideration deterioration of qualities, disappearance of cheaper goods ,and other factors that affect workers' standards severely - they would show a lag of about twentyfive per cent!

Roosevelt's "equality of sacrifice" program means that when the war. boom ceases, workers' wages will be three-fourths of what they were prior to the war for "democracy."

The "equality of sacrifice" notion, for which labor ceded its right to strike, means that the employers of the U.S. have bagged the biggest profits of any country at any time in history!

Murray Meets Wage Freeze With Post Cards

AN "INTOLERABLE SITUATION"

So whether you take the employer-minded public members' figures, or labor's own figures, labor is solidly behind the eight-ball. Or, as Murray genteelly says: "The situation is intolerable." Well, where do we go from here, Mr. Murray?

caught out on a limb again as he was at the UAW convention. There, to



strike pledge, he safd: "I am as sure as I am living that the Little Steel formula will be revised." The WLB sawed that limb off too quickly. So Murray quickly follows up that "intolerable" with:

"Now, more than ever, it is of the utmost importance to our war effort that there be maintained uninterrupted production. The CIO and its members are fully conscious of this need and therefore shall observe their no-strike pledge."-CIO News, February 26.

Opposed Strike but Charged

Company Provocation

No, sir. No "intolerable situation" is going to trick Murray into rescinding the no-strike pledge. He's going to call a meeting of the Executive Board of the CIO to "tackle this crucial problem."

Now we know what to expect. Murray, as well as his followers on the board, are going to do as they have been doing throughout the war. They are going to ask, beg, plead, request, urge, call upon, insist on-even DEMAND - revision of the Little Steel formula. And if that doesn't work, they will wheedle, cajole, supplicate, whine, petition-to get the revision.

That won't work. We know. They've been doing it all along.

"ACE IN THE HOLE"?

But the CIO and Murray have an ace in the hole. They gave up the right to strike, to be sure, but they do have a weapon. What it is is revealed on the last page of the aforementioned CIO News, which, let it

not be forgotten, is mailed to the mighty, multi-million throngs of CIO members all over the country. That weapon, to be used by each of the six million members of the CIO, their wives, hubands and other kin is-

SEND A POSTCARD TO YOUR CONGRESSMAN TO REVISE THE LITTLE STEEL FORMULA!

To us, the spectacle of Phil Murray, president of a union whose members struck, fought on picket lines and died to organize themselves to get a little more bread and butterthe spectacle of Phil Murray pleading with the boss-minded WLB, the boss-financed Congress and the super-boss of them all, FDR, is what is intolerable in the situation.

Forced by the utterly wretched condition of its members, the Textile Workers Union withdrew from the WLB and released its members from the no-strike pledge. That is an example to follow. To try to get raises with a labor movement bound to the no-strike pledge is as futile as trying to lift a rug you are standing on.

STOP BEGGING!

The begging, pleading, urging, etc., tactics of Murray and the rest of the big labor leaders have driven the situation from bad to intolerable. Formerly, the War Labor Board, with that dispatch for which it is noted, would get around in two or three years to a two or three cent increase.

(Continued on page 2)



January, 1941, to October, 36.7%

29.4% 7.3%

> Phil Murray is not going to be stifle the move to rescind the no-

Page 2

LABOR ACTION

NEWS AND VIEWS FROM THE LABOR FRONT

Behind Chrysler, Briggs Strikes--

"Who Won the Election?"

The Shipyard Worker of the IUM-SWA (CIO) for February 5 carries a "Statement by Our Vice-President," John J. Grogan. The statement is published in opposition to the National Service Act. The statement begins with the position that "The entire labor movement, including our union, is in a fight for its future existence. The anti-labor forces are determined to use the recent, beatenback German offensive ... as an excuse to draft labor.... Figures show that there has been no serious decline in production.... But the reactionaries... influenced national offcials. . . . "

"Today, when we stand on the threshhold of final victory, the cry for manpower drafting is being raised. It is being supported by the reactionary and anti-labor elements." The statement then goes on to talk about the reactionaries' aims being to try to smash the CIO "in order to keep aloft the banner of property rights."

You would think that Grogan would call names in such a vigorous

statement. But hot a single E.S name does he call; not even the name of 🖘 Browder, whose Communist Party Political Association has come out in full 701-CIPEUS WHERE DOES endorsement of this "slave bill." HE FIT IN? Is Grogan

afraid that the Stalinists on the IUMSWA General Executive Board will gang up on him and throw him out of office at the next convention? The Stalinists took over control of the IUMSWA at the last convention at Atlantic City, aided by the stupid and cowardly acquiescence of Johnny Green, Grogan and others.

WHO DUNIT?

Grogan also refrains from calling the names of any of the members of Congress who are pushing this "slave bill." Why is this? Was he trying to dodge something? Was he afraid that

if he called names he might have to say bad things about some of the Democratic Party "friends of labor" who were supported by the CIO last November? And finally we ask, really who are these "anti-labor forces" who conceived this awful "slave bill"? Who are the "national officials" who were influenced by "reactionaries"?

----- By David Coolidge

MASS ACTION:

of

Who are these "reactionary labor elements" who are supporting the manpower draft right at the time "we stand on the threshhold of victory"? How did this slave bill get to Congress, anyhow, right at the time "the recent German offensive"?

Brother Grogan doesn't discuss or answer any of these questions. Did Howard Smith of Virginia, or Cox, or Rankin, or Taft write this bill and introduce it in Congress? Was this bill written in the office of the Chicago Tribune? Have we all been smoking opium and lulled into the fantastic belief that the Democratic Party won the election? Who is President anyhow; Roosevelt or Dewey? Perhaps it's Hoover who is President and sent this bill to Congress in his annual message. That is what anybody would be forced to believe who had only Brother Grogan's "statement" to guide him.

The "Marassed" Rail Unions

No one should be surprised that the railroad unions are in the camp of the New York State capitalist employer organizations which are opposing passage of the Ives - Quinn anti-discrimination bill now before the New York Legislature. The Brotherhood of Locomotive Enginemen and Firemen, the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers and the Brotherhood of Railway Clerks are in a bloc with the New York City Chamber of Commerce, the New York State Chamber of Commerce, the boards of trade, New York City employment agencies, the real estate associations and the Commerce and Industry Association of New York State.

The railway unions say that the bill is intended "to harass them." Whether or not "harass" is the prop-

er word, it can be used. These extremely reactionary unions need to be harassed. There are no more reactionary labor organizations in the land than the railroad unions. Right now the Railway Firemen are trying to drive every Negro fireman from the Southern lines by use of the most reprehensible anti-working class tactics ever devised.

FOR AND IUMSWA;

JIM CROW RAIL UNIONS

These unions engineered a conspiracy with certain Southern railroads to give Negroes, especially Negro firemen, a "non-promotable" status. The Clerks attempted to hinder the independent organization of the "Red Caps" by claiming that they had jurisdiction over these employees. All of the four brotherhoods, at one time or another, have attempted to abridge the democratic rights of Negro railroad workers by the subterfuge of claiming jurisdiction, They barred Negroes from membership but claimed jurisdiction. After establishing their claims they refused to represent the Negro workers. They consented to the practice of roads in the South paying Negroes lower wages for equal work than received

by white workers. In the South they have engaged in every mean and dirty practice against Negro workers known to the government: federal, state or municipal. They make no insistence. on the right and necessity for labor organizations to run their own affairs, to set their own house in order without the interference of capi-

talist government.

These unions are not in position to make such demands, even if their officers understood the meaning of such a position. They have no objection to government butting in so long as such intervention does not interfere with their reactionary, aristocratic and anti-labor attitudes toward Negro workers and white workers who happened not to belong to the four silk-hat brotherhoods. All they can do is to line up with the capitalist employers. This is what they know best.

(Continued from page 1) members.

The Briggs strike was also the result of planned company provocation to break the union. It began on March 1 when the company discharged seven minor union officers for allegedly "instigating" a recent strike. In addition, four to seven more were discharged for participating in the current strike.

The beginning of the Dodge strike let loose a vicious barrage of antiunion propaganda and intimidation by the reactionary daily press, the bureaucrats at the head of the UAW, the corporations, the WLB and the Communist Party. The papers went wild at the idea that workers were striking to defend their rights and their union. They spewed out charges of "near treason," hurting the war effort and demanded that 'the draft boards reclassify and induct into the army striking unionists.

STRIKE-BREAKER ADDES

George F. Addes, acting president of the UAW, headed the slander campaign of the bureaucrats. Despite the fact that he had to admit the justification of the union's case, he demanded in his best strike-breaking manner that the men go back to work without a settlement of their just grievances. At a meeting of the Dodge workers on February 27, Addes and Norman Matthews, Chrysler director of the union, were vigorously booed for their anti-union stand and their attacks on Mike Novak, president of Local 3, and the local officers who supported the membership in their demands.

Addes attempted to justify his stand by claiming that the February 27 meeting was unrepresentative and was dominated by "hot-heads." After the meeting Addes announced that the international was withdrawing all support from Local 3. He was reported to have said that "they are on their own now. The international union will not help them to get discharged workers reinstated and will not aid the local if more strikers are dismissed by the company."

This statement was both a lie and a threat. It was a lie because the international union never lifted a finger to help the Dodge workers. They did their best to prevent a victorious settlement of the Dodge grievances. In other words, there was no aid

they could have withdrawn. It was a threat because it was an open invitation to the Chrysler Corporation to fire militant workers at their pleasure.

Addes' charge that the local meeting was not representative of the men was also shown to be a lie when a later meeting, held on March 1 and attended by 2,200 members of the local, voted overwhelmingly to stay out until the men were reinstated. The combined efforts of Addes, Vice-Presidents Walter Reuther and Richard Frankensteen and Chrysler Director Matthews to sell out the workers proved unavailing.

COMPANY PROVOCATION

The extent of the betrayal by Addes and his fellow bureaucrats is shown by their own admission of the bitter anti-union drive of the corporations. Frankensteen charged before the WLB hearing in Washington that the Chrysler Corporation was out to break the union. "Detroit employers," he said, "are deliberately seeking the creation of industrial unrest and work stoppages. The object appears to be to gain public hatred toward the whole institution of collective bargaining and, specifically, to destroy the UAW-CIO."

Frankensteen charged, in addition, that Chrysler has spent thousands of dollars for labor spies in preparation for the post-war period and referred to a speech made by John W. Scoville, a Chrysler spokesman, in which Scoville demanded an end to all collective bargaining.

This, of course, is not news to Chrysler workers. This union-busting offensive has been going on for a long time and the object is not to break the union after the war but NOW, if it is at all possible. Frankensteen and his brother misleaders have known about this too but have not done anything about it. When the Dodge workers take concrete action against this very anti-labor offensive all Frankensteen can think of is to demand an investigation! In the meantime, he and Addes and Reuther sell out the strike.

Franksteen, however, did make one excellent suggestion - although this also came a little late. He demanded that in the future no workers be fired until AFTER the case has gone through the grievance procedure. This should be adopted throughout

Companies' Fault - Frankensteen

The Chrysler Corporation is deliberately planning to wipe out the United Auto Workers Union.

This fact was established by Richard T. Frankensteen, vice-president of the UAW. On March 3, Frankensteen called upon the War Labor Board to in-

vestigate the "conspiracy... to undermine the UAW-CIO."

the UAW and the labor movement. It is obvious that if workers who are fired have to remain out of work for many months, sometimes a year or more, before their grievances are settled-and they are usually settled unfavorably by the WLB-they have no real protection from the bargaining procedure. Often the company has achieved its objective even if the worker is reinstated because he has been out of the plant for so long. Militant workers who are candidates for union office have been fired on trumped-up charges only so they will not be eligible for election. It is time the unions put a stop to this procedure and provide a real defense for militant stewards, rank and filers and local officers.

Frankensteen, however, did not make this proposal because of any concern over defending the rights of auto workers. He made it purely to cover up his own strike-breaking ac-



DAVIS WAS "ANGRY"

tivities during the Dodge and Briggs walkouts. You can be sure that once these walkouts are settled he will conveniently forget the whole thing. The rank and file of the union must not let him forget.

The role of the top UAW leaders in this situation points again to the fact that they are concerned essentially not with defending the membership of their union but with supporting their boss. Franklin "Slave Labor Law" Roosevelt. To support Roosevelt, the political representaof the corporations, it is only natural that the labor leaders will appease

the corporations. Any genuine fight against the corporations "embarrasses" Roosevelt. And since the last thing in the world these misleaders

they lash out bitterly against their

rank and file, which is concerned not

mula. want to see is Roosevelt embarrassed.

public. That, you see, makes it a little harder for Davis and the other Roosevelt bureaucrats to seem impartial when they sell labor down the river.

When Mike Novak appeared before the WLB, Davis angrily told him to "Get this clear. You're calling your union together, and you're telling the members to return to work Monday." When Novak accepts the majority decision of his membership and supports their grievance - that makes Davis angry. When Scoville announces that Chrysler wants to break the union-Davis meekly calls that "out of place."

WORKERS MORE MILITANT

That more and more workers are beginning to realize that the top union leadership represents not them but the Roosevelt government, the government of America's Sixty Familles, is indicated by the action taken by the Briggs strikers, led by their past president, Jess Ferrazza. Three hundred of them picketed the international office of the UAW at the same time that they were picketing the Briggs plants. They carried slogans such as "One Homer Martin Is Enough" and "Let an Administrator Take Over the International." The last slogan referred to the dictatorial practice of the international of taking over militant locals and trying to hatchet the progressive members by appointing an administration hatchet man over the local.

Ferrazza also proposed the organization of all stewards and committeemen in Detroit shops to act on such questions as speed-up and firing of unionists. This proposal is discussed elsewhere in this issue.

The Briggs workers understood that to settle their grievances and protect their union they faced not only the corporations and the government but also the sell-out leadership of their union. Thereby is indicated the road that progressive UAW members must follow to take the union out of the hands of the Thomases, the Addeses, the Frankensteens and the Reuthers. They must join with the Rank and File Committee of the union and unite against the two old power caucuses around the Rank and File program:

1. Rescind the no - strike pledge.

2. Break the WLB by getting the labor members off the board.

3. Smash the Little Steel for-

4. Build a Labor Party.

The fact that the Chrysler workers have walked back does not end the problem. The demands of the Briggs strikers have not yet been met. And



By RUTH PHILLIPS

William Sylvis entered the labor movement during the industrial crisis of 1857, when the men in his shop struck against a twelve per cent reduction in wages. He became an active member of the picketing com-



Karl Marx wrote at this time that the demand for an eight-hour day was the "first fruit of the Civil War." Eight-hour Leagues were forming all over the country and every union was taking up the cry.

In 1866, Sylvis' work for national

labor unity was realized in the for-

mittee and was one of the few men who kept his pledge not to return to work at reduced wages.

He joined the union, the Philadelphia local of the Iron Molders, and within a month was elected recording secretary.

The Molders Union was composed of seventeen locals scattered throughout the country. These isolated locals were weak and ineffectual. Sylvis, a secretary of the stronger Philadelphia local, early realized the need for a strong national organization. Through his efforts, the convention of 1863, which elected him president, organized a strongly centralized national union, with uniform by-laws for all locals and a national system of finances. Such a tightly knit national union organization was unique in the annals of American unionism at that time.

With \$100 in his pocket, contributed by various locals, Sylvis embarked on an organizing compaign for the national union. He travelled ten thousand miles, through every part of America and in Canada, begging rides or walking when he didn't have the funds to pay his fare. At the end of a year, he had organized thirtyfour new locals, during the most unusual organizing tour in American labor history.

HIS POLITICAL VIEWS

Sylvis had never had any education beyond the essentials of reading and writing. But even before he became a leading trade unionist, he was an avid reader of books on political economy. His reading, plus his trade union experience, interested him in social problems beyond the narrow trade union field. Before the outbreak of the Civil War in 1861 he had been a Democrat, taken in by their demagogic propaganda on the necessity of averting war with the South.

When the war broke out, however, he became a loval supporter of Lincoln's government. His anti-slavery sentiments did not prevent him from criticizing attempts to outlaw strikes and use troops against strikers during the war. He saw speculators and munitions makers growing rich from the war while the workers suffered from the rise in living costs. Thus he came to distrust both the Democratic and Republican Parties, the one as the party of the slavocracy, the other as the representative of industrial capitalism.



WILLIAM SYLVIS

Sylvis urged the formation of an independent party of labor so that labor could enter the political arena as a vital force. He based his agitation for a Labor Party on a recognition of the basic antagonism of capital and labor, writing that they are "two distinct classes with interests as widely separated as the Poles." Alongside his interest in independent labor political action, he worked for a supported labor press. His union was the first national union to issue a publication of its own. The Molders Journal, which reached a circulation of 54,000.

Sylvis' aim was to make labor a recognized decisive force in the life of the nation. His dream was the creation of a national federation of labor which would be the basis of a Labor Party. He seized upon the agition for an eight-hour day as the rallying point for the formation of a national federation.

mation of the National Labor Union, the first national federation of labor in the United States. Within the NLU Sylvis' main fight was for the creation of a Labor Party. But he was alive to other issues of the day and his stand on them was consistently progressive and ahead of his time. He urged the organization of Negro labor, pointing out that disunity between black and white workers could only aid the capitalist class. He cooperated with women's rights leaders like Susan B. Anthony in the fight for woman suffrage and the inclusion of women workers into the ranks of organized labor. He saw the necessity for international labor unity and cooperated with the International Workingmen's Association in London, led by Karl Marx and Frederick Engels.

Sylvis' untimely death in 1869, at the age of forty-one, made it possible for the middle class reformers to take over the NLU. Under their influence the NLU turned its attention away from class-struggle issues. It became a propaganda society for tariff and monetary reform, abandoning its old program of organization of women, contract labor, better housing, etc. The trade unions began to drop away from the NLU.

Sylvis' chief work, the NLU, disappeared. His dream of a Labor Party based on an alliance of organized labor, farmers and the Negro people, never materialized. The idea of a National Federation of Labor, which was his contribution to the labor movement, remained. It is a reality today in the CIO and the AFL. His fight for a Labor Party continues



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He quoted a speech by John W. Scoville, Chrysler economist, at the Detroit Kiwanis Club. Scoville said:

"It is probable that public sentiment will change in regard to collective bargaining. As industrial turmoil increases more and more people will see the evils generated by collective bargaining and we should look forward to the time when all federal labor laws will be repealed."

Frankensteen revealed that after Scoville's speech, the Chrysler Corporation began repeatedly to ignore and violate the established collective bargaining procedure.

What does Frankensteen intend to do about it? Nothing! He appeals to the War Labor Board.

But his own union has demanded the withdrawal of the CIO from this boss-controlled front for the big monopolies.

If Frankensteen has nothing to propose, let's hear from the rank and

Get off the War Labor Board! Call a conference of UAW shop committeemen.

with any embarrassment of Roosevelt but with their own "embarrassment" that is, the rising cost of living.

FDR'S WLB

What Roosevelt has done for the workers was indicated at the hearings before the WLB in Washington. When Frankensteen pointed to the union-busting speech of Chrysler's John W. Scoville, William H. Davis, Roosevelt's representative at the head of the WLB, could only say that the

speech was out of place and that Scoville ought to keep his mouth shut!

Did he oppose Chrysler's open attacks on the union? Not at all. They can break the union all they want provided they don't talk about it in

reprisals against the Chrysler workers and Briggs workers are possible. The WLB promised that no Dodge workers would be fired as a result of the strike but it is a weasel-worded promise which does not include other Chrysler plants. Action against President Mike Novak has been threatened by the international.

UAW workers: remain on guard.

Organize to defeat the antiunion offensive of the corporations and the sell-out policies of the international leadership.

2. All moving expenses to be paid

by the Metropolitan Life Insurance

3. The present tenants to be guar-

Tenants League Delays Action--

(Continued from page 1) Legislature is scheduled to adjourn in three weeks, it would only postpone, not SOLVE the problem. A needs-and these families definitely worse housing shortage than exists DO NOT NEED SPEECHES. now will prevail when the boys come back from this imperialist war.

The situation which exists at present clearly calls for ACTION on the part of all the tenants of the Stuyvesant area.

The Stuyvesant Tenants League

Phil Murray--

Now, the WLB's power to make deci- return to the high standards of the

It's high time for labor to repudiate what FDR appointed him for. No all the big and little editions of Phil Murray in the labor movement, to strike out for wage increases in the only way:

WHAT CAN BE DONE

A new tenants' organization should

be created by the tenants which will

carry on the fight, which will achieve

RESULTS through united action.

This new body could organize the

tenants on a block-by-block and

STOP COLLECTIVE BEGGING!

GET OFF THE WAR LABOR BOARD!

RESCIND THE NO - STRIKE PLEDGE!

SIN 2 Can Strate

has already forfeited the respect of building-by-building basis, into miliant committees of action. The tenants these working class families by turnof this area, many of whom were on ing its back on their most urgent the relief rolls during the depression, know well the futility of begging favors and also know well the effectiveness of picket lines and dem-

onstrations.

ants.

A good starting program for this new organization would include the following:

1. No evictions until suitable rehousing has been obtained for all tenvesant tenants.

Company.

anteed priorities on apartments in the future housing project at no higher rentals than they pay today. 4. In view of the fact that the Met-

ropolitan's "Tenant Relocation Center" is a cruel farce, demand that the City Council and the Mayor place the city's full facilities for emergency housing at the disposal of the, Stuy-



At long last we are able to report the individual winners in our recent subscription drive. First prize goes to Jimmy Little of Buffalo, who secured 130 subs. Second prize to a sympathizer of LABOR ACTION in Detroit, who got 120 subs."

To Jimmy Little go two volumes of the collected works of Karl Marx, "The Third International After Lenin," by Leon Trotsky, and "Essays in Historical Materialism by George Plekhanov, and a pamphlet on economics.

many of the classical pamphlets of Lenin, "Fascism and Big Business." by Daniel Guerin, the novel, "Native Son," by Richard Wright, and other books.

Streator, Ill., the branch winner in the campaign, gets "Native Son" and "Fascism and Big Business," plus several Lenin pamphlets and "Lessons of October," by Leon Trotsky. Just received are the bound volumes of LABOR ACTION for 1944. A volume sells for \$2.50 and will be sent out to you immediately upon To our Detroit sympathizer go receipt of the money.

sions has been taken away, usurped Little Steel formula." by Economic Stabilizer Vinson. And Vinson means to stabilize. That's

more of these wild, abandoned, runaway-inflationary wage increases like the WLB used to hand down. No, sir. Wages are going to stay frozen as hard and cold as a brass monkey.

A few more CIO executive board petitions, a few more postcards-and we'll have an actual cut in the hourly rates. And Phil Murray might say at the next CIO convention: "I'm as sure as I am living that we shall soon

March 72, 1945

LR.

Editorials

Dan Tobin, Labor Leader

labor leader is Daniel Tobin, life-long president of the International Teamsters Union, which he runs like a dictator through his bureaucratic machine control of the organization. His latest act of perfidy is the lead editorial in his union's publication, The International Teamster, which defends the Little Steel formula.

This defense is made purposely at a time when the entire labor movement is up in arms against Roosevelt's wage freeze, demanding the upward revision of the formula. Tobin warns labor that if the Little Steel formula is revised and labor does get its demand for a straight eleven per cent wage increase, a compromise demand to meet the WLB's assertion that the cost of living has risen by only eleven per cent), these wage increases will be nullified by the increase in prices which would follow.

TOBIN'S SO-CALLED SOLUTION

Admitting that industry has profited to an extent hitherto unknown, Tobin, with unbecoming righteousness, declares that it would be unfit for labor "to get a cut of this blood money" which business has made from the war!

What this dull-witted president of the Teamster's Union overlooks is that labor is trying to get . were militant socialists. When the entire labor a living wage to meet the rise in the cost of living and not blood profits in the manner of so many of Tobin's friends in Democratic politics.

How does Tobin propose to resolve the present situation of record-breaking profits and low wages? "The remedy," he says, "lies in enacting the tax laws proposed by the National Administration to take away these profits. That is up to Congress." Tobin misrepresents things. The Administration

One of the worst examples of a treacherous is not trying to "take away these profits." It once sought to limit them. But its fight was half-hearted and when Congress rejected the Administration program, it quietly abandoned the scheme, but it did not abandon the scheme to limit wages. Tobin's leader, Roosevelt, went ahead with his program to freeze wages. This was the only point in the President's seven-point program which became a law of the land.

WHAT ABOUT TOBIN'S CONGRESS?

And what about Congress? The Democrats have a majority in the House and Senate. This is the party to which Tobin belongs. He is a leading figure in the organization and head of its labor committee. How does Tobin explain away his party's actions in Congress? He doesn't. But at every election he calls upon labor to support his anti-labor party.

Tobin's views and actions are not dominated by labor's interests but by the political interests of a capitalist party for which he is a spokesman and a capitalist president whom he serves.

When Tobin couldn't oust the progressive leadership of the Teamsters Union in Minneapolis he got his friends in the Administration to help frame them and send them to jail on the ground that they movement is fighting the Little Steel formula, this labor leader rises to its defense.

It is easy to see that the labor movement would be much improved if it got rid of such high-priced leaders as Dan Tobin, If he must play Democratic Party politics, he ought not play while a president of an international union. He ought to get out of the union movement, for he has no real place in it. Tobin outlived his usefulness to labor long ago.

DINO GRANDI'S WHITEWASH

By V. P. JENSEN

This is a lean year for Italian facists. In Lisbon, Count Dino Grandi, ex-Foreign Minister of Italy, ex-Italian Ambassador to Great Britain, and ex-sidekick of Mussolini on the fascist Grand Council, has been driven to writing fiction to turn a few pennies. That his fine Italian hand is especially suite to the art of the myth, a series of articles on the role of Grandi during the last nine years of Italian fascism will readily indicate.

' In England, Lord Beaverbrook's Daily Express hastened to insure Grandi's living in the style he was accustomed to by buying his "inside story" of Italian fascist politics for several thousand pounds. Here in the United States, Life features an article by Grandi in its February 26th issue, though not without warning its readers that this article could be construed as an apology on Grandi's part, an attempt to avoid punishment as a war criminal.

WHITEWASH OF A CENTURY

"Apology" in this case is the understatement of the century. The whitewash spread by Grandi over Grandi could cover the Roman Coliseum and there would still be enough left to do a job on the Empire State Building. To listen to the no-account Count, one would think that since the March on Rome in 1922 there beat beneath his dandified fascist exterior a heart of purest democratic gold. that he always was against Mussolini, always for peace and democracy.

cism came to power, Grandi had differences with Mussolini, Grandi, in control of the most powerful section of the Italian Fascist Party, was in a struggle for power with Mussolini. Mussolini won

royalty of ten cents per ton on every

ton of coal mined for use or sale.

Apart from its actual effect in the

struggle for wage increases the de-

mand, as made by Lewis, is of the

"Such royalty shall be deemed par-

tial compensation in equity to the

mine worker for the establishment

and maintenance of his ready-to-

serve status, so vital to the profit

motive of the employer and so essen-

It is a grand sentence, leading far.

It does not go far enough, but it

makes a serious attempt to lift labor

theoretically to the status of capital.

most profound social sagnificance.

out and Grandi-was banished from political activity for about two years. But after the murder of the Socialist deputy, Matteotti, and the final consolidation of Mussolini's bloody régime, Grandi came back into the limelight as one of the leading fascists and as Foreign Minister.

Grandi explains that he had decided that he must work inside the machine if he was to be of any service to his country. (This is like Groucho Marx's gag, "Force some brandy down my throat-I'm fainting." And Grandi had as much difficulty swallowing the brutal fascist dictatorship as Groucho did the brandy.) Grandi makes a point of saying

that he was always anti-war, and in strumental in keeping Îtaly "close to the democratic ideals of peace and 0 disarmament.'' No doubt that is why, when

Mussolini embarked on the rape of "ELECTRIFIED" Albania in GRANDI 1938, Grandi

wired him from London, where he was Ambassador at that time: "The happenings of today have electrified my being. You, Duce, are advancing the revolution with the fateful drive of a tractor. I, your faithful collaborator, know you have never relaxed your efforts. This conquest makes the Adriatic a strategically Italian sea and opens to Mussolini's Italy the ancient highways of Roman conquest in the East."

Grandi, who for seven years lived luxuriously in England as Ambassador and who was the darling of the notorious appease-

more pro-British than some of the other members of the Fascist Grand Council, fearing the power of Hitler Germany more than he did what he called the "impotent democracies." But never did he fail publicly to confirm Mussolini's moves. As he wrote when Mussolini made him Undersecretary of State for Foreign Affairs, "You know how boundless and unquestioning is my faith and how my only wish is to obey you."

A SUDDEN "COMMISSION"

Grandi, in spite of his lies now, served Italian fascism faithfully all the time he was in England. He supported the Italian war against Ethiopia successfully fighting British sanctions and supported Italian intervention in the Spanish Civil War. He was a member of the leading council when Italy entered World War II.

When the Americans invaded North Africa and Sicily, Grandi saw the fate of Mussolini's régime and he voted to end the dictatorship with all the courage of a rat deserting a sinking ship. It was he who proposed the notorious fascist general, Badoglio, as the ideal next head of state.

Then, fearful lest the workers of Italy, who suffered and starved under fascism, take a well-earned revenge against him, one of their worst oppressors, Grandi slipped into Lisbon, where a fascist rat can always find a luxurious hole in the wall and gain the willing and profitable ear of the prostitute British and American press.

The "liberated" Italian workers starve under inadequate bread rations, but Dino Grandi, the fascist, whose heart is as black as his beard, boasts of his many "good friends" among the British.

Thus do the war criminals suffer. And thus are they punished!

your royalty to encourage you. We must get our royalty to encourage John L. Lewis has demanded a

Economics of Miners' Fight

Note what the fund is to be used for. Modern medical and surgical service, hospitalization, etc.; but the last two items are "rehabilitation and economic protection." That can mean anything, from establishing workers' recreation clubs to building a university for training workers to master the processes of managing the coal industry.

In thus raising the question of the dignity of labor, not in a general sense but specifically in a wage contract, expressible in dollars and cents, coming from the pockets of capital and established as a principle, Lewis shows himself once more to be far ahead of the average run of labor

basic premise of labor's progress today must be the elevation of the productive laborer to the role, formerly held and rightly so, by the capitalist of master in the process of production.

The point is not merely theoretical. Lewis' whole conception is based on the idea of the continuance of private profit with the worker making bolder and bolder demands to be realized within the structure of capitalist production. It cannot be done. Capitalism is bankrupt. The war is one proof. Another proof is the fact that the President has to take it upon himself to promise 60,000,000 jobs. Capital can no longer be trusted to do any such thing. And we may note that the medical and surgical services, hospitalization, etc., for which

WORLD POLITICS By REVA CRAINE

Page 3

Romanian Overturn

The crisis and fall of the Radescu government have been reported in all the newspapers as "the first big test of the effectiveness of the Yalta decisions." By that is meant that the test will come on whether Russia alone will decide the issue in Romania or whether the Big Three, acting in unison, will settle the fate of that Balkan country. One thing is certain, Yalta does not provide for the people settling their own fate.

Censorship imposed by Moscow and Bucharest makes impossible a complete picture of what has been happening, but the main outline is fairly clear.

1. The Romanian People: As everywhere throughout Europe, the people of Romania want peace, freedom, economic security-and the necessary changes that will produce these things. The workers want work at decent wages; the peasants want the big estates broken up and the land returned to them. All of them want a change from years of political reaction, starvation, exploitation, war and destruction.

None of these things have been achieved since the Germans were driven out and the Russian armies took over. Even the abolition of the anti-Jewish laws decreed by the Nazis has remained on paper, since the government, and all the parties which supported it, has done nothing to implement it.

The various Romanian governments which have been set up since the "liberation" have been governments of the capitalists and landlords, and like their similars throughout the world, they have not solved a single one of the problems which the masses of people face. In addition, the masses are saddled with the burden of the stiff reparations terms foisted upon Romania by Russia, occupation of the oil fields, the carrying off of their plants and deportation to Russian labor camps of thousands of Romanian workers (supposedly of German descent, but actually coming from groups which have lived in Romania for two or more centuries).

2. The Role of the Stalinist-Communists: This can be understood only if we realize that they are the agents of Russian imperialism and that their actions are always determined by the needs of their masters. Through the National Democratic Front, organized last October, the Stalinists occupied forty per cent of the Radescu cabinet. They saw nothing wrong in cooperating with this extreme right-wing conservative.

Making use of the popular demand for the purge of all fascists from the army and other government agencies, the NDF placed itself in the leadership of the movement. The interest of the Stalinists, however, was limited to the purge of all anti-Russian elements, since they themselves remained loyal to the King and collaborated with any pro-Russian fascists in Romania. They were also demanding increased representation in the cabinet in order to strengthen their political position in the country before any elections were held.

The attack on a popular meeting and the shootings and arrests which occurred on February 24th served as the pretext for the Stalinists to break with Radescu and demand his resignation. Had he yielded to their earlier demands, he would not now be called a fascist by the Romanian communists and by the Moscow press.

A Weakness of U.S. Labor

The American union labor movement is composed of one of the best working classes in the world. American workers are intelligent, militant and progressive in their native way. That is why the American union movement has in some respects the finest record of economic struggle in the history of world trade unionism.

What is lacking in the union movement is political development to match its splendid economic achievements. American labor is still tied to capitalist politics. In its leadership, thought and action are indistinguishable from that of capitalist politics.

LABOR'S POLITICAL WEAKNESS

The greatest weakness of American labor is found in the fact that it lacks political independence from boss politics and boss political parties; that it has not yet formed its own political party, with labor candidates and a labor political and economic program.

Nowhere is this as glaringly evident as in the field of national and international politics. At home the labor movement fights desperately against the anti-unionism of capital-the big corporations and their political parties and politicians. It fights against almost every important project of Roosevelt's which relates to labor.

Despite that, the labor movement, through its politically backward officialdom, is tied to the traces of the capitalist parties of big business, and every election finds these labor officials in the camp of one or the other of these anti-labor political parties.

LABOR AND THE BIG THREE

The Big Three has held a conference in Yalta. Present were the representatives of the ruling classes of the U.S., England and Russia. The heads

British and American big business, as well as Stalin's ruling class. Yet this Big Three Conference was endorsed

by Philip Murray, president of the CIO, just as it was endorsed by the World Labor Conference just held in London, at which the CIO was present.

What should labor have said about the Big Three conference? There were many things to be said.

Labor might have asked Messrs. Roosevelt, Stalin and Churchill why, in their condemnation of the fascists and the German people, not a word was said against the German financiers and industrialists who made Hitler and put his party into power.

It might have asked some pointed questions about the rape of Poland by the Big Three-Poland, over whose borders this war began.

It might have asked why not a word was said at this conference about the incorporation of Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania into the borders of Russia in violence of the rights of these peoples.

It might have asked some pointed questions about the role of the British in Greece; about the role of the British and the AMG in Italy; about the use of British and American arms against the people of Belgium.

It might have asked the Big Three about the fate of the colonial peoples, the victims of Allied imperialism.

It might have asked why India is not granted freedom; why the Dutch shall continue to rule the East Indies; why all the colonies of the world shall not be free.

FOR THE INTERESTS OF ALL TOILERS

It might have some pointed questions about the rights of labor, their standard of living throughout the world; their working conditions,

It is true that when Italian fas-





of these three states, who now dominate the world of the United Nations, have just decided on a new partition of Europe, the rape of Poland, the dismemberment of Germany, the shifting of borders and peoples. There wasn't a decent progressive action recorded at Yalta. And to top off their work, the Crimean conferees agreed to the enslavement of millions of German workers-workers who did not have and do not now have any responsibility for their fascist rulers, who were put into power by German capitalists, aided by their union organizations

There are hundreds of other questions the labor leaders might have asked. More important, there are hundreds of important things labor should have demanded of the Big Three in the interests of the toilers all over the world.

But no, our politically backward labor leaders, echoing the British trade union leaders, and the Stalinist "labor" leaders, join in the pack cry of the imperialist wolves against the "common man" of Europe, Asia, Africa and the Americas.

The Hate-Campaign Is On

The heat is on all Germans inside Germany. With a voluntary unanimity almost as harmonious as the controlled unanimity of German propaganda, all the organs of opinion in the U.S. are castigating all Germans as bad and pro-fascist.

The New York Times movie critic, Bosley Crowther, has volunteered his mite in this vast campaign. Writing of the Hollywood movie, "Hotel Berlin," which is distinguished from the runof-the-mill product only insofar as it portrays some Germans in a sympathetic light, Crowther says:

"So again we have got a picture in which 'good' Germans are distinguished from 'bad'-a dramatically convenient distinction which is politically questionable. True, the Warners have protected their thesis with a good-will epilogue, quoting the words of President Roosevelt, Prime Minister Churchill and Premier Stalin. But the question remains: what's the idea of giving any Germans our solicitude? Why haven't we had any action from that 'Hotel Berlin' underground?"

Crowther's review is the answer to his question. The propaganda of the Allies toward the Germans is calculated not to arouse revolt among the German people. The U. S. Army tells the Germans it comes, not as a liberator, but as a conqueror. U. S. soldiers are forbidden to fraternize with German soldiers or civilians on pain of severe fines. The peace plans announced by the Big Three propose to saddle the German people with a foreign oppressor, exact reparations which will impoverish the country for decades to come and enslave masses of workers.

Under such a barrage, it is impossible to expect the German underground and resistance to be pro-Allied. It would have to oppose the "foreign" (Allied) oppressor as much as the native Hitlerites.

HITLERISM-IN-REVERSE

18

The Allied war machine, and its its paid and unpaid hirelings like Crowther, are practicing Hitlerism-in-reverse. Hitler called the Germans a race of supermen and denigrated the Jews and all other "inferior" beings. Allied spokesmen call the Germans a race of inferior men, biologically doomed to militarism, fascism and war. It need only be pointed out that Spain is a fascist country, albeit less powerful than Germany, but one which found it convenient to play "neutral." Crowther cannot be so uninformed as not to know that some fascists in this country speak with a Southern accent, some with a good old Yankee accent and still others with the smooth voice of big business

Fascism in Germany, as elsewhere, is a desperate attempt on the part of the big capitalists to enslave the nation, using mysticism, race glorification and race prejudice, the cult of the leader and the discontent of the middle classes in order to chain the nation and continue profit-making. With thugs-in-uniform paid by big business, its first act is to destroy all the organizations of labor -unions, socialist, communist and labor parties. It, is the last resort of private property threatened with a workers' socialist government. It is not GERMAN; it is CAPITALIST.

Once in power, Hitler-aided and praised by various of the present Allied spokesmen-proceeded to train a whole generation to murder for the sake of German profits. But despite the power of Nazism, even the Russian Germanophobes report the existence of a German underground. Hard as the Allies make their job for them, the resistance movement exists.

......We are confident that the millions of German workers, oppressed for a dozen years by Hitlerism, and threatened with new oppressors of different nationality, will be heard from, just as the Italian workers, after twenty years of Mussolini, finally rose to oust him.

And it does so, not in gene the abstract, not in a convention address, but in wage demands and negotiations. It is aimed at disturbing the pockets of capital and not at soothing the ears of the workers.

THE POSITION OF LABOR

By J. R. JOHNSON

Lewis says:

tial to public welfare."

The key phrase here is "the establishment and maintenance of his ready-to-serve status." Lewis here touches on the fundamental relation between capital and labor.

Karl Marx, the great economist, made it the basis of his analysis of capitalist society that the worker was paid only what was necessary to enable him to live so as to produce profit. As he would in time die, he received a little more so as to enable him to raise a new generation of laborers-to produce profit. Some small sections of the workers might get more than that. The general level of wages might be higher in one country than in another. But if you took any country as a whole, calculated the wages of a worker from the time his working-life began, included unemployment periods and the generally rising cost of living, including also the years of old age, then it became clear that, like coal or oil or cotton, the power to labor of the worker was a commodity, bought and paid for like other commodities at their value.

Lewis challenges this, and in widely publicized wage negotiations. He says, in effect: Labor is NOT a mere commodity. Labor is different from cotton, coal, oil, steel or potatoes. Labor lives and maintains itself and is always ready to serve capital. Labor therefore demands something more than its mere value as a commodity.

In principle, this royalty is excluded from wages. It is NOT unemployment pay. It is a sum demanded "in equity," that is to say, as a claim of legal and social justice. It is demanded because the mere fact that the laborer has to exist and be ready to work is "vital to the profit motive of the employer."

Coal, oil, cotton and other commodifies are put in their place. They are inert, lifeless, waiting to be used. They don't have to establish and to maintain themselves, to be ready to serve. They are always there, ready to serve. Lewis places the capitalist and the laborer in a category apart, both as human beings with human aims, human responsibilities and human privileges. He says: "You get

leaders. Yet it also lays bare the fundamental weakness of Lewis in that rightly the province of the state. he cannot escape from the limitations of capitalist society.

LEWIS' ERRORS

It was Marx's contention that the essential process of capitalist production was an interchange between capital and labor. By capital Marx meant the mass of raw materials either in its natural form or in a form processed by labor, such as machinery. In the early days of capitalism, the capitalist carried out a certain funcganized it. Today the capitalist is no longer necessary to the productive process.

If the Sixty Families all collapsed from heart failure at Lewis' demand or from overeating or from whatever cause you wish, it would make not the slightest difference to the production and distribution of goods for American society. The word "royalty" here is very important. It has nothing to do with funds paid to those who supervise. It carries the, connotation of paying the capitalist for what he likes to think is his ready-to-serve status. In reality, he has no ready-to-serve status. He is absolutely useless. The laborer is not. He is vitally necessary. This is Lewis' theoretical error. He says in the paragraph that the laborer's readyto-serve status is vital to the profit motive of the employer and "imperatively essential to public welfare." It is a gross error. The laborer's ready-to-serve status is imperatively necessary to public welfare. Lewis does not say but he implies or at least accepts the profit motive of the employer as imperatively essential to public welfare. He does not repudiate it. He leaves it on an equality with what he demands for labor. In fact, as LABOR ACTION has demonstrated a thousand times in a thousand different ways, it is this very profit motive as the basis of the productive system which limits it, distorts it, ruins it and leads mankind into ever deepening difficulties of economic crisis, fascism and imperialist war.

We do not propose for one moment that every labor leader engaged in wage negotiations should raise or emphasize the uselessness of the capitalist to modern production. There is a time and place for everything. But Lewis has never shown the slightest understanding of the fact that the

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Lewis demands royalties, should be

A CHANGE IS COMING

Lewis seeks to establish in principle that the workers' remuneration should be such as to enable him to live as a human being with social needs corresponding to his vitally important status in production. Good. But at the present stage of capitalism, this is a political question. It can only be done by the workers tion necessary to the process. He or- " themselves seizing the economic power. That, we repeat, is not a question of wage negotiations today or tomorrow. It is a question of principle. Yet it would be a mistake not to see the social significance of this demand, its causes and its probable effects. There is the increasing awareness in the minds of labor as to what is its role in production, and not only its responsibilities, but also its privileges in society as a whole.

> That spirit is spreading and penetrating into the minds and hearts of tens of millions of American workers. It manifests itself in various ways, among others in the lip service which the capitalist politicians pay to the so-called Four Freedoms and the century of the common man. Lewis, here shows himself a shrewd and bold trade union leader. In reality, he is but an expression of the general social consciousness and half-conscious aims and aspirations of American labor in this stage of social development.

By his demand and its formulation, the stir which it has created and will create among not only the miners but among the millions of other workers, he lifts a stage higher the social consciousness of American labor. Thereby he brings them closer to the day when they will realize that the only solution for their increasing problems is to lift themselves to the position of masters of the process of production now held by the capitalist. But by so doing they will not substitute another dominance for the capitalist dominance. Labor being the majority and the most oppressed class by emancipating itself lays the basis for the emancipation of all. promotion and a second second second

The pattern of Stalinist behavior in Europe is the same. They try to obtain political control and friendship, that is, subservience to Russia through deals at the top, even with fascists. Where this fails, or is not executed satisfactorily, they will call into being, or place themselves at the head of the popular movement. Their purpose is to derail this movement, use it as a bargaining point, and eventually to betray it when the bargain, suitable to Russian needs, is struck. The last thing the Stalinists want is the victory of the masses.

3. The Role of Russia: It is difficult to judge the exact reasons Moscow had for dumping Radescu. In all probability it did not judge his government "reliable" enough for Russian interests. The denunciation and demand for resignation carried in the Russian press certainly had nothing in common with the demands and desires of the Romanian people whom Stalin seeks to dominate and enslave. The Russian army has remained in the background thus far, allowing the NDF to do Stalin's work.

In every country where the Russian armies have entered, deals were arranged with the capitalists and landlords at the expense of the masses of people. The revolt of the people is never encouraged, and where the "Red" Army encounters such revolts, as in Bulgaria, it quickly puts them down.

John MacCormac in the New York Times correctly states that "nowhere has a revolutionary solution been encouraged by Soviet Russia in any liberated country of Middle Europe, unless the revolt of the ELAS in Greece was such an attempt." And in Greece the Stalinists delivered the goods too by selling out the splendid ELAS fighters in the agreement with Churchill's puppet in exchange for what Stalin got at Yalta. MacCormac adds:

"With the possible exception of Greece, it (Russia) has discouraged revolutions from below. The solutions it has imposed have been from above. What has been happening in Middle Europe-and at Yalta-has been that Soviet Russia has been holding the European revolution in check, where its own national interests could be served without it, in order to reach an accommodation with the capitalist and democratic world,"

The first part is absolutely correct, but the reason that Russia plays this counter-revolutionary role in Europe is the reason which all imperialists have in suppressing the free action and movemen's of the oppressed and exploited. The counter-revolutionary role of the Russian imperialists is all the more dangerous because they have at their disposal organizations which pose as "communist" and "revolutionary" and which can and do sidetrack and betray the popular movements.

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LABOR ACTION

UNNRA: Club Over Staring Europeans

By Jessie Kaaren-

Washington commentators who can usually snift on it . in advance the next public scandal, hint that the axe is about to fall on the bald pate of ex-Governor Herberd H. Lehman, director of UNRRA, and that he is to be called on the carpet for UNRRA's complete failure to, relieve even to a small extent the desperate suffering and starvation of the European masses.

A SCAPEGOAT?

Page 4

"Congress, stirred by reports of starvation, disease, black markets and runaway inflation in both Southern and Western Europe, may start an investigation into the failure of UNRRA to get relief supplies moving on an adequate scale. Meanwhile FDR already is receiving reports on the situation from his White House aide, Judge Sam Rosenman, who is returning with him after a trip through France, Belgium and Holland.

"The storm will beat around the head of UNRRA's chief, former Governor Lehman. Neither U. S. nor British government agencies have been willing to divert shipping to UNRRA for relief purposes....

"Nevertheless, Governor Lehman may have to shoulder a part of the blame. He has failed to adopt the only method which might have gotten results-that is to raise the roof with loud, public outcries against the restrictions which have prevented UNRRA from doing the job it was set up-sixteen months ago-to do." (New York / Post.)

It may be that Congress is getting ready to open the safety valve of public opinion. It is even possible that President Roosevelt is about to make Lehman a scapegoat, to repeat a tactic that he has used consistently in the last few years, that of rewarding his stooges with a knife in the back.

As for Lehman, it looks as though he made the mistake of expecting that the administration of relief in World War II would be the same as in World War I. He failed to understand that the situation is in many respects a thousand times worse now than it was then. He probably planned on being the Herbert Hoover of 1945, the kindly old gentleman with a sack of flour over his shoulder which could be handed out or not, more or less as he saw fit. After World War I, if the starving masses agreed to the type of government which the Allies thought proper for them, were were rewarded with a little food. If they decided to be stubborn-no food.

But Lehman can't play Santa Claus in this war, or even be the kind of stooge that he figured the State Department wanted. And after all the fuss is over, if there is to be a fuss in Washington, policy on the administration of relief will still be determined by what the hardboiled military clique that is running the show thinks is necessary at any given time, unless the militancy of the workers brings about a "change of heat."

The brass hats are suspicious of professional relief workers and they have evidently convinced the higherups in Washington that they know what's best. They have evidently decided that the best method of weakening a rebellious native population is to starve it, and when the last ounce of strength is reached, perhaps they'll dole out a spoonful of relief. They want to take all the fight out of the European masses before it is too late. Having a vast Allied army on the scene and with the excuse of "military necessity," they figure this is as good a time as any to bring the European masses to their knees.

The Fight's Not Won Yet, But **ELAS Leaders Throw in the Towel**

The pact which was signed by the Stalinist leaders of the ELAS and the puppet Greek government of Nicholas Plastiras is an outright betrayal of all that the Greek masses were fighting for when they took up arms in a struggle that was waged for over a month

The heroic Greek people who had fought for freedom and democracy against the Nazis and had continued. the fight against the British were once more betrayed by the agents of one of the Big Three, Stalinist Rus-

Under the Nazis and later when the British took over through the Papandreou regime, the Greek peonle had learned that the only way i 1 which they could press for and a sfend their rights was through the it e of arms. What led to the direct o'u threak of hostilities between the ELAS and the government was the at a mpt of the latter to disarm the res i stance fighters, while permitting the pro-fascist and royalist military groug is to retain their arms.

Pola ular opposition to the Papandreou: government and the King, the British were trying to ram whom down the throats of the Greek people, le 2 to the removal of the former and the appointment of a regency. The new? Plastiras government then entered into negotiations with the ELAS int order to establish "law and order."

During

which London directed the bombing and strafing of the Greek people and Washington limited itself to words of indignation at British policy (not before it cut off UNRRA supplies to Greece). Moscow maintained official silence.

YALTA AIDS PACT

On the day the decisions of the Yalta Conference were announced, the world was also informed that the leaders of ELAS had finally signed a pact with the Plastiras government. The terms of the pact and the fact that it was signed by the Stalinist leaders of ELAS indicate the close connection between it and the "pacts" signed at Yalta by the Big Three.

The accord stipulates that the ELAS fighters are to surrender their arms within two weeks. No political amnesty will be given persons who refuse to give up their arms by March 15th. In place of the armed people, the National Guard will start calling up men by age groups. At the same time the reactionary and royalist miltary formations were to retain their arms. ELAS is to turn over a minimum of 41,500 rifles, 1,000 light machine guns, 163 mortars, submachine guns, heavy machine guns, 32 pieces of assorted artillery and 15 radios, and ELAS guards are to collect these from the people for the government.

Negotiations which finally resulted in the agreement to disarm the the armed conflict, in Greek warriors and peasants had

been going on for many weeks, with the government refusing to meet the conditions made by ELAS, which included the demand that all military groups be disarmed, including the reactionary and pro-fascist Mountain Brigade and Sacred Squadron; that political amnesty be granted to all who participated in the fighting; and that collaborationists be punished. Suddenly, but coincidentally with the Yalta agreement, comes the news that an agreement was signed in which not one of the above conditions was included.

A BETRAYAL OF LABOR

The general secretary of EAM stated to the press that this agreement would contribute to the "pacification of the country," and that EAM will continue to exist "with a view of securing the people's rights." He did not say how this jibed with what the people had learned, namely, that their rights could be secured only by their own armed strength. Partsalides went on to repudiate the ELAS "for taking things into

their own hands" and promised an investigation of the executions carried out by them. The role of the Communist Party and the Stalinists in EAM and ELAS

was suspect from the very beginning. when, as members of the Papandreou government, they had voted to disarm the fighting forces of the people. When this proved to be impossible, they placed themselves in the lead-

ership of the fighting ELAS and sought to utilize the opposition of the Greek people to British domination for the purpose of strengthening Stalin's hand against Churchill.

The role of the Greek Communist Party, and this holds for the Stalinist parties throughout the world, is clear only if we understand that what motivated it was the service it renders to the policies of the Russian ruling class. Stalin saw in the conflict in Greece an opportunity to pressure Churchill into reinforcing agreements previously reached for the partitioning of Europe in which domination of the eastern half of that continent would go to Russia. Hence the militant action of the Greek Communists.

The Greek situation was undoubtedly another of the "arguments" Stalin used at the Yalta Conference to "persuade" the other two partners of the "justice" of Russia's claims. Once these were conceded, Stalin agreed to the liquidation of the Greek situation, that is, he instructed his agents to sign the pact with the British puppet government by which all that the Greek people were

fighting for, and the means which they had for achieving their aims, were surrendered. Stalin's aims may be satisfied, and the militancy of the Greek Stalinists may be at an end, but the Greek people still have the struggle before them .-- R. C.

De Lorenzo, of Local 365, militant

union president who fought hard in

guarding the interests of his mem-

bership, becomes a "Trotskyite" too.

If my article contained the impres-

sion that because such leaders are

not Trotskyists, why, then, we do not

support them, that is incorrect. Space

did not permit a full explanation and

exposure of all the lies in which Mor-

LABOR ACTION and the Workers

Party support these leaders WHEN,

AS and IF they defend the interests

of the workers. We think we would

do a better, more thorough and con-

sistent job were we in their places.

We condemn them insofar as they all.

to one degree or another, support the

imperialist war or the pro-employer

These aforementioned leaders, like

John L. Lewis and many others, are

not under the Stalinist hypnosis, as

are Murray, Hillman, Thomas and

others who are holding hands with

the Russian totalitarian

ris' pamphlet abounds.

no-strike 'pledge.

Pan America: What It Means to the U.S.

By Sally Gorman

United States diplomats have just concluded a twoweek parley in Mexico City with representatives of nineteen Latin and South American republics. Held for the express purpose of "guaranteeing hemispheric security" and forming an alliance "to protect peace," the conference actually merely scored another victory for American foreign policy.

While reiterating the high-sounding and empty phrases of the Dumbarton Oaks Conference, which it imitated on a regional scale, the parley accomplished a much more practical purpose: that of tying every one of the Latin and South American republics a little more firmly to the economic apron strings of the United States.

Opened by an announcement of the aims of U.S. foreign policy, made by Secretary of State Stettinius, the conference passed resolutions on two points in particu-

1. Permanent banning of Axis or Axis satellite nations and exclusion of Axis war criminals from this hemisphere.

2. Use of force, if necessary, to bar aggression and to guarantee the territorial integrity and political independence of the nations of the Western Hemisphere.

A number of minor resolutions were considered and passed, but around these two issues revolved most conference discussion.

NO ACTION AGAINST AMERICAN FASCISTS

If this had actually been the extent of negotiations, the inter-American conference in Mexico City would have been a farce, its participants puppets acting out meaningless roles and coming to empty agreements. Why? Because the conference took a firm stand against Axis nations, but not against the fascist tendencies and political dictatorships inherent in many of the so-called "democratic" South American nations sitting at it. Because it banned Axis and Axis satellite nations from the the Western Hemisphere, but completely excluded from conference discussions such touchy subjects as suspending diplomatic and commercial relations with Franco Spain, an openly and defiantly fascist country. More than this, because it attempts to guarantee peace by agreements that all the countries involved shall join in "use of armed force to prevent or repel aggression ... in case that acts of aggression occur or there may be reason to believe that an aggression is being prepared."

History has taught us that the threat of war is no insurance against war. That the nations of the Western Hemisphere hope to guarantee peace by insuring their right to jump at each other's necks is a pitifully laughable matter.

If these were the only mockeries in the Mexico City conference they would hardly bear repeating, but the real joker in the pack remains. The conference drew up an agreement, the Act of Chapultepec, wherein all the American nations mutually guarantee to protect each other's boundaries and to take specific means of punishing all acts of aggression. They have forgotten only one thing-the Dumbarton Oaks plan for a World Security Council. The terms reached by this World Security Council, when it meets in the next few months, may entirely wipe out the "authority" of the American states to carry out the terms of their regional boundary guarantee! It has not been clearly stated what relation the . San Francisco policy will have on the Monroe Doctrine.

U. S. AIMS IN SOUTH AMERICA

This would seem to leave the Pan-American conference a pretty meaningless mess. It gathers representatives from twenty American republics together with much pomp and ceremony in Mexico, sits in conference for two long, argumentative weeks and accomplishes what?

The nations involved agree to help each other make war in case any other American nation makes war, or even thinks about making war, but with no assurance that they can ever carry out such an agreement because of another agreement which may be reached in the future! Is the conference really as meaningless as this? No! Beneath all the empty peace plans, barely mentioned in the press releases, are hidden its real accomplishments. Here United States imperialism becomes recognizable in its old role of keeping its economic back yard to itself. The U. S. diplomats shout loud phrases about "insuring the peace, the rights of all peoples, annihilating hunger, poverty, disease," but what they are interested in are provisions for expanding the activities for their Export-Import Bank; post-war extension of the U.S. Commercial Corps purchasing program in the direction of South America; and further U. S. support of Latin American national economies once the Bretton Woods proposal for a World Bank becomes a reality in the form of international loans and investments.

Morre on Daily Worker Liar, Morris--

To the Editca:

Your story in the last issue of LA-BOR ACTION on George Morris' vicious lies in h is new pamphlet "The Trotskyist Fift 1 Column in the Labor Movement," wi s a bit confusing because it was re ally incomplete.

Several of Morris' lies were answered by mervily saying that Morris lied. That's true enough. A Stalinist hack of hit: standing is incapable of doing any ything else. But I think that the readers of LABOR ACTION deserve some more explanation so that the; really know how and precisely when and in what way he did so.

Add to the genea'al confusion the fact that the Morris pamphlet condemned many non-{Trotskyist union leaders that the CP d'isagrees with as Trotskyist. In answering it was merely pointed out that the se leaders were not Trotskyists. It leaves the impression that LABOR ACTION may also condemn the union malitants. This I know is not so ... so winy not a little more on the rot that Morris dug out of the sewers. S. L.

New York, March 3, 1945

It is much easier to lie than to tell the truth, especially where the whole

truth does. Consequently his is the much more arduous job.

HOW THEY LIE

There are many ways of lying. One can use distorted facts, false logic, wrong conclusions from correct facts, half-truths, truths juxtaposed to lies, etc. The Communists. to whom no one can hold a candle in falsifying, use all these methods. Here is an example of the typical Communist Party method:

It is a fact known to every high school student that the Communist Party represents the interests of Stalinist Russia. The Workers Party says: The Communist Party subordinates the interests of the workingclass to the Stalinist bureaucracy.

The Hearst press writes that the sidered by the Communists under

Enthusiasm--to Order

According to the Daily Worker (Wrecker), the pamphlet by George Morris, its anti-labor expert, is being received very enthusiastically in the unions. Such a statement is obviously suspect, and when we read the whole story our suspicions were completely verified.

Minnesota Labor, organ of the Minnesota CIO, according to the Daily Worker, published a review of the pamphlet by William Mauseth, business agent of the Moline, Ill., local of the United Electrical Workers. There is the give-away. The Communist-Stalinists control the Minnesota CIO. They also control the national organization of the UE. William Mauseth is an old-time member of the Communist Party. So there is really nothing strange about the Communists promoting their own pamphlet in the unions which they control. They need such propaganda to bolster their anti-labor, scabbing policy.

Communists are "Russia Firsters." Trotskyist leadership because it is a Therefore, say the Communists, the militant local whose members have Hearst press and LABOR ACTION struck and whose delegates backed the move to rescind the no-strike

are identical. It's so easy! pledge at the UAW convention. As you point out in your letter, Morris identifies labor leaders who WHOM WE SUPPORT have not come under the thumb of the Communists, who divide their support of the war with the interests of the workers, as Trotskyists.

Under this interdict come Walter Reuther of the UAW (a "subversive" according to Morris' lights!), David Dubinsky of the ILGWU and Samuel Wolchok of the United Retail and Wholesale Workers (who "give the Trotskyites shelter and support, using them chiefly as tools for Red-baiting and anti-Sovieteer purposes").

Briggs Local 212 in Detroit is con-

Generals are usually not as concerned as diplomats are about sowing any democratic illusions. These army men realize from first-hand experience how desperately bitter the masses are against the war leaders of all nations, the Allies included. They can see how fast the people are becoming disillusioned with the promises of the Allies. They can judge better than can civilian statesmen how deep is the native's hatred for imperialist aggrandizement, regardless of which country it stems from. These fighting men know how quickly that hatred can break out into open warfare.

AN INNOVATION

After the First World War, the countries which for political reasons were denied relief by the British and American governments could rely for assistance on voluntary organizations. This time, they won't get even that because UNRRA has added a new refinement to the business of giving relief, strictly in the totalitarian fashion of the day. All the major private relief agencies have been invited to join UNRRA and work under it-and that's what they have done. These private agencies supply social workers of whatever category UNRRA requires and pay their salaries. In return, their workers may wear armbands with the name of the norminal employer embroidered on it. The agencies and the workers agrees in advance that they are strictly under UNRRA's orders and that the agency has no jurisdiction or control, except to see that the salaries are forthcoming. If these social workers stay parked in Cairo or in some other city, while the question of relief for starving people is thrown back and forth, the only thing these agencies can do is keep quiet and continue to pay the salaries.

Great Britain has set the pattern for giving relief in this war by its actions toward India when the great famine in that country was killing off thousands of people about two years ago. It denied a hearing to the Indian delegation at the Atlantic City conference where UNRRA was formed, the American and Soviet representatives concurring in this decision and the smaller nations protesting. Again in Greece, the British commander ordered UNRRA to cease its activities. Some reports go so far as to say that British army men connected with UNRRA were pressed into the fighting against ELAS forces. And that other "humanitarian" of the Big Three, the Soviet Union, refused permission to UNRRA to enter Poland until after the boundary question was settled to her satisfaction.

U. S. RESPONSIBILITY

But, the main responsibility for the appaling situation in Europe and the Balkans rests with the United States. This government is the master of the military situation in Europe, it is in control of practically all shipping and, what is more important, it is the only source of vast supplies of foodstuffs and materials.

Accusations will fly back and forth but the situation will not improve much until the workers of Europe do what the miners in Lens, in northern France, are doing now. They have gone on strike because "on 1,300 calories a day, they cannot provide the physical effort demanded of them." Without the miners to bring up coal, without the workers to man the factories, the generals, the statesmen and the officials who control the supply of food will sing a different tune.

The second

structure of our own society is woven together with lies.

Lies about the war for "democracy"; lies about the guilt of the whole German people for Hitlerism; lies about the world peace and security that will come out of this war; lies peddled freely in this country about the Japanese race of "half-men, halfapes"; lies about the inferiority of Negroes: lies about Jewish bankers being the beneficiaries of the war. etc.

New Titles Added:

A liar has no responsibility for checking facts. One who tells the

Nor is it strange that Daniel Tobin, president of the Teamsters International, is helping the Stalinists in promotion of this pamphlet. Tobin is a reactionary labor leader and the only top-flight labor leader who defends the Little Steel formula (see editorial on page 3). Two groups of reactionaries have merely clasped hands! They would look much better outside the labor movement. The labor movement would certainly be a healthier place without them. Shirt Hart M.

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Of Special Interest to Labor Action Readers:

A PARTS FORKI ------

the World Labor Conference. Therefore, you see, they're anti-Soviet, pro-Hitler and Trotskyite! It's so very, very easy.

But for the smart, class-conscious workers, who see the Communists acting as strike-breakers in the Mongomery Ward fight, who know that their spokesman, Harry Bridges, proposed a permanent no-strike pledge, who know that Earl Browder now defends capitalism and postpones socialism to the millenium-it's not so difficult to nail the lies .- M. B.

Support Miners--

(Continued from page 1)

describe his policy as "stabbing the labor movement in the back." They say that there is nothing new about his demands!

On the other hand, they accuse him of "pointing a strike gun at the government and our fighting men," although he must know that the negotiations "seriously affect the war effort and stabilization."

Make sense of this, if you can! They attack him for not challenging the stabilization program (that is, the wages, high taxes and a big business Little Steel formula) of their beloved Commander-in-Chief, Roosevelt, and then they weep bitter tears about his using a strike threat where the serious problem of stabilization is involved.

LABOR ACTION has long demanded that the Little Steel formula be broken. Stalin's hired hands were the LAST people in the labor movement to take up the demand, trailing even Philip Murray in this respect. They were forced to fall into line.

Whatever else may be said about Lewis's past record or even about his policy in not challenging the Little Steel formula now, this much is perfectly clear: he has been the only top union leader of importance who has led his men in a real struggle to defend labor's rights in wartime.

SUPPORT THE MINERS

The other "leaders" swear to uphold the no-strike pledge at all costs and then demand (in words only) the end of the Little Steel formula. Lewis begins by stating that his fight is really a serious one and then says

(evidently because he thinks conditions require it) that he will not challenge the formula.

No wonder workers in the recent "unauthorized" Detroit strikes are said to have called for the return of Lewis to the CIO, in spite of his politics, in spite of his bureaucratism.

One of the best ways at the present time to support the struggle against the no-strike pledge (and without this struggle any fight against the Little Steel formula is practically meaningless) is to support the miners to the full in every possible way.

Let every local union tell its own international officers, the daily press, the WLB and other government agences. and even Roosevelt himself that, come what may, they support the miners one hundred per cent.

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weeks.

The Business Manager.

THE STAKES SOUTH OF THE BORDER

The U.S. has no intention of letting South American trade, which she has cornered almost entirely during the isolated war period, slip back into British or other European hands. This conference is mainly a diplomatic attempt to sew up Latin and South American economic interests completely in the post-war period by proposals to continue buying after the war, probably shifting the emphasis from military to relief supplies, or perhaps continuing the purchase of strategic materials to be stock-piled for future emergency military use-such as the armed punishment of aggression arranged for by the conference.

Let us not be fooled by "peace" conferences, either of the Americas, the Big Three, or anyone else. The Big Three at Yalta divided among themselves the important economic territories of the world. The United States at Mexico City sewed up a market for its excess goods, at the same time assuring itself of a monopolistic interest in tremendously important South American metal deposits, oil fields, rubber, coffee, tobacco, etc. It negotiated, not with the exploited peoples of South America, but with the governments of their rulers-for the most part a group of political wasters and military dictators.

With promises to defend their boundaries, United States big business interests bought up one of the richest regions in the world. Not this kind of "peace conferences," but only a socialist world can guarantee peace in this hemisphere or in the world.

WHAT'S ON: LOS ANGELES-David Coolidge on "Workers and

Race Prejudice." YMCA, 1000 East 28th St., Room B, near Central Ave., Monday, March 19, 8 P. M.

۲ NEW YORK-Reva Craine on "Roosevelt's Record

and the Fourth Term," Sunday, March 11, 8 P.M., Irving Plaza at Irving Place and 15th Street.