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LABOR ACTION

WE ARE FOR—
A Guaranteed
Annual Wage
For All Workers

DECEMBER 25, 1944

A PAPER IN THE INTERESTS OF LABOR

ONE CENT

HANDS OFF EUROPE!

UAW Rank and Filers' Leaflet on No-Strike

The rank and file won its first big victory at the 1944 convention of the UAW-CIO in Grand Rapids.

Against the almost unanimous opposition of the top leadership, the convention voted by an overwhelming majority to submit the question of the no-strike pledge to a referendum vote of the membership.

Now it is up to the members of the largest labor union in the world. We are in a position to clinch the victory won at Grand Rapids. The decision is in our hands. And it is a vital decision we have to make.

The question before us is this:

Shall the UAW-CIO remain in the straight-jacket of the no-strike pledge, at the complete mercy of the War Labor Board and the profit-bloated corporations?

Or shall we repeal the paralyzing no-strike pledge and restore the UAW-CIO to its fighting strength so that it is able to defend our threatened interests?

We won the right to cast a deciding ballot on this question at Grand Rapids. Before casting our votes, let us have the clearest possible understanding of what is at stake.

THE RESULTS OF THE NO-STRIKE PLEDGE

Blind men see nothing at all. Short-sighted men do not see beyond their own noses. Let us not be blind or short-sighted. Let us see how the no-strike pledge came into existence. Let us judge what the results of the pledge have been. Then let us decide on the basis of these results—not the promises, but the actual results. That is the intelligent way to act.

The no-strike pledge was given originally by the top leadership of the unions without consulting the rank and file membership. That is point one to remember.

Point two is that the pledge was given as part of a program called "equality of sacrifice." Labor was to make a big sacrifice for the war. Capital was to make an equal sacrifice. Remember this, too.

Now let us cast up the balance sheet and examine the results. They are clear, unmistakable, incontestable.

LABOR SACRIFICED:

The right to strike, that is, the right to its most powerful weapon in the fight against the big monopolists, who are ALWAYS working to lower our living standards and crush our organizations.

The right to fight for higher wages—because wages were frozen.

The right to look for and get another job or a better job—because jobs were frozen and we could move from place to place ONLY by the permission of the employer.

The right to have our wages go up as the cost of living went up—because our wages were frozen by the

fifteen per cent Little Steel formula while the cost of living has gone up, since January, 1941, by more than forty-five per cent, according to the figures by our own International President, R. J. Thomas.

The right to collective bargaining—because all demands and grievances went to the War Labor Board, which denies our demands and ignores our grievances, or else buries them in its vaults for months and even years.

LABOR GAINED:

Nothing!

We were told that in exchange for giving up the right to strike, the manufacturers would not resort to lockouts. That was a cruel joke played on us from the beginning. Naturally the employers will not lock out labor when there is a boom on, when there is a labor shortage, when they need us like they need life itself! Why should they? THEY gave up only what they did not want in the first place, and what they could not use without cutting their own throats.

BUT—when their contracts run out, when there are no more profits to be made, what do they do about THEIR pledge? Do the employers lock us out? Oh, no! They just "cut back" production—and we are out on the streets. When we walk the streets without a job, what difference does it make to us if we were "cut back" or "locked out"?

INDUSTRY SACRIFICED:

Nothing! Nothing except their comical pledge not to lock out labor at a time when a lockout meant suicide for them.

INDUSTRY GAINED:

Land bought for them at government expense. Factories erected on this land at government expense. Machinery placed in these factories at government expense.

Raw materials guaranteed to them by a hundred government agencies.

An ample supply of labor guaranteed to them by the government—with jobs frozen and wages frozen and strikes frozen and grievances frozen.

Juicy cost-plus contracts with profits guaranteed by the government.

The biggest post-war reserves in history, also guaranteed by the government.

A War Labor Board, set up by the government, which looks carefully and tenderly after their interests.

The highest salaries in history for corporation executives, with NO "\$25,000 limitation" such as was promised. Only our wages have limitations.

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300 Workers Protest British Role in Greece

This meeting of three hundred workers held in New York City on December 17, under the auspices of the Workers Party, denounces without reservation and protests against the crime committed in Greece by British imperialism in massacring the people who made such heroic sacrifices in their own war against fascist tyranny and who are now fighting for the elementary right of national independence and self-government. At the same time, we denounce the imperialist hypocrisy of the United States and Russia, which likewise seek to deny these democratic rights to other peoples under their domination or to people they seek to dominate, be it in Puerto Rico, Latin America, the Balkan or Baltic countries or Poland—thus pursuing essentially the same policy made so notorious and hateful by German fascism.

We proclaim our solidarity and warmest sympathies with the Greek people and with all other peoples who are genuinely fighting for their national freedom from the imperialist oppression of either the Allies or the Axis.

Resolved that copies of this resolution be sent to the press, the United States State Department, and the British and Russian Embassies.

Workers Party "Hands Off Greece" Meeting

Three hundred workers were in attendance at the mass meeting called by the Workers Party, Local New York, to protest Allied policy in Greece, in particular, the assault by British armed forces against the heroic fighters for Greek liberation. The meeting, held on Sunday, December 17, was addressed by Max Shachtman, national secretary of the Workers Party, and was chaired by Reva Craine, organizer of Local New York.

In a vigorous speech, Comrade Shachtman reviewed the developments in Allied political policy arising from the nature of the war itself.

"We are assembled here," he stated, "to protest the crimes and abomination of imperialism in the war.

"Hitler and his fascist gangsters did not march under the banner of freedom and democracy, but under the black flag of tyranny and oppression. The fascists deprived the

peoples they conquered of all their rights and ruled them with sword and machine gun. They established puppet governments—Quislings—and maintained them by armed force in brutal defiance of the will and interests of the people."

The Allies had promised liberation to these oppressed peoples and thus had won their sympathy. This promise of freedom was "solemnized" in an historic document—the Atlantic Charter. But, stated Shachtman: "This is not a war for freedom or national sovereignty. This is not a war against fascism and tyranny."

He punctuated this statement by showing how, in each country that had been "liberated" by the Allies, every effort was made to prevent the genuine freedom of the peoples—their genuine democratic rights have been withheld. Italy, France, Belgium and Greece have all suffered the weight of Allied oppression. The

Two weeks ago, Sherman tanks produced in Detroit under the no-strike pledge and sent to the British under lend-lease, shelled Greek anti-fascists in the streets of Athens.

The Greeks were battling for their right to have a government of their own choosing.

Before these slain Greeks were buried, the future independence of Poland was doomed, her eastern territory granted to Russia and her western boundary extended to include German territory, where it was planned to vacate the Germans and displace them with Poles.

Polish independence was the issue over which the war broke out in September, 1939.

Earlier, the British reached into Italy and vetoed an Italian anti-fascist politician, Count Sforza.

Although a conservative, Sforza was unfavorable toward the monarchy (pro-fascist and pro-British) which none of the Italian people want.

The Greek fighters for liberation from fascism were shot down because they wanted a government of their own choosing. The British had placed at the head of a hand-picked government, Papandreou, a man who represents no one but himself. Greece happens to be an important waystop along the lifeline of the British Empire extending to India. Therefore, England must dominate the country. The U. S. has rendered aid to the British by withdrawing UNNRA relief to the starving Greeks.

Over 250,000 Poles were sacrificed in the Warsaw uprising because of the rivalry between the Moscow-made Polish govern-

ment and the London Polish government in exile. Now, their independence has been shattered to appease the appetite of Stalinist Russia for more land and more power. The inclusion of East Prussia, Silesia and the port of Danzig in Poland means much to Russian trade and because of the necessity of their defense, would turn Poland into the vassal

"Atlantic Charter
Unsigned, But Intact,
Roosevelt
Says"

—Headline in the
New York Times,
December 20.

state of a big power—in this case, Russia.

All the Allied powers, fighting under the banner of the Four Freedoms, the Atlantic Charter and the war to rid the world of fascism, levied an armistice on the Italians, granting them the right to "pass" on the composition of any Italian government.

Dividing the Booty

The U. S. did not loudly applaud the British veto of Sforza, because, after all, it strengthened England's power and not that of the U. S., but its "passive resistance" and "non-intervention" gave the go-ahead signal to Churchill.

On Poland and Greece, Churchill in a recent speech appealed to Stalin on the basis of "You scratch my back, and I'll scratch yours. I take Greece, you take Poland. Besides, this was agreed to at Teheran and

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Ward Strike Proves the Injustice of the Pledge

BY JACK MILLER

DETROIT—Leaders of the United Retail, Wholesale, Department Store Employees Union in Detroit, faced with the problem of maintaining the union in the Montgomery Ward stores, ordered a strike of all employees here to enforce the War Labor Board ruling of two years ago providing for maintenance of membership, checkoff of dues, seniority provisions, arbitration of grievances, and \$2 to \$5 wage increases retroactive to December 8, 1924.

There was an immediate response from the majority of Ward workers to the strike call, and in spite of the first blizzard of the winter, the workers picketed the stores through a half foot of snow. They had to resort to this action in order to win the aforementioned points granted two years ago by the WLB!

The farcical nature of the WLB is indicated in the fact that labor has been made to knuckle under a thousand times to the WLB, but that august body (having no less than four "labor" representatives on it) has done nothing to get for the Ward workers the union conditions granted two years ago. Consequently, the CIO leadership in Detroit was finally forced to act. The "No-Strike Pledge" was ignored and the strike was given an official okay.

NO-STRIKE PLEDGE ISSUE

The Labor members of the Regional War Labor Board, the officials of the Michigan CIO, several UAW Executive Board members hastily dashed over to the picket lines and walked around for a while to the immense edification of the Detroit newspapers. The Detroit Times, a Hearst paper, editorialized about the "hypocrisy" of the CIO, while the Detroit News quoted Phil Murray's pledge that there would be no strikes, "come what may," and then pointed out that although "what may" had "come,"

the official CIO had authorized the strike.

In the meantime, Gus Scholle, CIO representative for Michigan, called a meeting of all CIO local union presidents to discuss the strike and take action in its support. The meeting was well attended by local union presidents and the ensuing events were broadcast to the rank and file by the Detroit newspapers.

Every worker remembers today the scabby strikebreaking role played by Harry Bridges during the first Ward strike some months back when he ordered the warehousemen of his union to scab against the URWDESA workers who were on strike. This filthy role has been repeated again, not by Harry Bridges this time, but by a fellow supporter of the Communist Political Association, Hodges Mason, president of Bohn Aluminum Local 208 UAW.

During the presidents' meeting, Mason took the floor to attack the CIO leadership for authorizing the strike and (believe it or not) for taking measures to support the striking workers. The gist of Mason's remarks was that the strike would have a bad effect on the UAW workers among whom a referendum is about to be taken on the No-Strike Pledge. What Mason is saying is that the UAW workers might learn something from the Ward Strike and vote to rescind the pledge. This, no doubt, is true, and would be one of the best lessons UAW members might learn.

COMMUNISTS AT WORK

But Hodges Mason and the Stalinist Party is too interested in sacrificing the American working class on the altar of the war to care about some poor Ward workers and their desire to have a union of their own.

Now let us examine the role of the "right-wing" leadership in the Ward affair. As Mason stands up to attack the strike, he in turn is attacked by

one of the Retail Clerks Executive Board members who points out that Mason's own workers are at the moment on strike. Now the pot is calling the kettle black. Mason condemns the strike, but his workers are striking. The "right-wingers" okay the Montgomery Ward strikers, but Mason's strikers are attacked. While it is true that both groups of strikers have legitimate demands, each is attacked by the other wing in the name of the "No-Strike Pledge." Gus Scholle states, "The CIO is not throwing its no-strike pledge overboard." The No-Strike Pledge is not even being "bent."

But the fact that the pledge has been forgotten in the Ward situation indicates the desperation of the CIO leadership. They must drop the cherished no-strike pledge because the very life of the union has been threatened. And while they refuse to admit it, the very same thing is happening in every other local union in the United States: they are slowly crushed out of existence by the sell-outs of the leadership. The leadership cannot see it since the dues continue to flow in because of the maintenance of membership.

SUPPORT THE STRIKE

It's time the rank and file woke up to the sell-outs to the capitalists. In the UAW, the members have their opportunity to show the leadership what they think of the sacrifices when they vote on the referendum. Every UAW member who wants to see his union rebuilt, and who wants to see collective bargaining replaced by collective begging replaced by "NO" when he receives his referendum ballot. Back up the Ward workers and all the workers in the country by restoring the unions to the membership, by bringing back the old militancy that made the labor movement in the United States one of the biggest and most powerful in the world.

Dalrymple Splits Local 101

DETROIT, Dec. 17—Sherman H. Dalrymple wants to win the acclaim of Chambers of Commerce and pro-big business politicians as the first man in the labor movement to ram the no-strike pledge down the throats of rebellious rank and file unionists. Instead, he is rapidly winning the title of the nation's number one union-wrecker. Dalrymple is now employing his talents along these lines on United Rubber Workers Union Local 101 at the U. S. Rubber Co. in Detroit. He has already driven 1,000 workers, or one-fifth of the union's membership, out of the local.

These workers were fined \$12.50 each by Dalrymple, who thereby punished them for stopping work in protest against an arbitrary cut in piecework rates by the company in October. The deadline for collecting the fine was set at November 20. Few paid. The deadline was extended to December 20. Fewer paid. And now Dalrymple has sent in two errand boys, International Representatives R. J. New and Robert Hill, with orders to collect the fines or else. Hill and his aide, New, called a special union meeting, inviting down all workers in the shop, including

those suspended for non-payment of the fine. It took place today with no more than 125 out of the plant's 6,000 workers present. For moral support, Hill also invited two majors and one lieutenant in the U. S. Army, two antiquated representatives of the U. S. Department of Conciliation, and August Scholl, regional director of the CIO.

For two hours the audience was subjected to a hailstorm of tearful flag-waving speeches, loud-voiced threats and sentimental pleading, all

(Continued on page 2)



HITLER
He Oppressed Europe's People



CHURCHILL
He Is Hitler's Successor



STALIN
He Is Churchill's Partner in Crime



ROOSEVELT
He's the Ally of Churchill and Stalin

MASS ACTION

By David Coolidge Nat'l Labor Sec'y, Workers Party

"Fine 'Em or Fire 'Em" Dal, Again

Sherman Dalrymple, president of the United Rubber Workers, has decided that the way to run a union is to adopt the tactics of a dictator. Dalrymple is a second-rate and ignorant bureaucrat, but he is something more. He is a strong-arm man. After 1,000 members of Local 101 in Detroit went on strike against a cut in piecework rates the great Dalrymple fined each of them \$12.50. The men refused to pay the fine. Of course they were outraged at such a brutal and bureaucratic imposition from the president of their international.

There has been some talk from many of the fined workers of leaving the URW and going to the Mechanics Educational Society (MESA). They are militant workers who are sick to their stomachs over the kind of treatment they and others have received from Dalrymple. They are correct to oppose Dalrymple. It is a pity that the workers from Local 101 did not join in the fight against Dalrymple at the last URW convention. If this fight had been carried through, this little dictator might be out looking for a job today.

There is one mistake, however, that these workers should not be provoked into making. They should not leave the URW. The URW does not belong to Dalrymple, even though he acts that way. The URW belongs to its members. And even if it does not, the membership should take their union back. This goes for the 1,000 who were fined and all the other URW rank and file members.

The place to fight against Dalrymple is inside the URW. Fight in Local 101 against him and his stooge, Marmon. Prepare for the next URW convention and kick Dalrymple downstairs. He isn't fit to be the leader of workers. Reactionary, stupid, arrogant and bureaucratic—that's Dalrymple. By all means the 1,000 and all the URW militants should fight this little bully. But inside the URW and Local 101, the URW and the CIO. The fight against Dalrymple cannot be carried on from inside the MESA. Should these militants leave Local 101 and the URW, the local and the international will be weakened. Then Dalrymple will have a field day. Nothing would please this bureaucrat more than to have these militants pull out. It is their union and they should not let Dalrymple take it away from them or force them out. The next URW convention is not years away. These fines can be made into a mighty weapon to fight Dalrymple with at the next convention.

Here is another instance of the havoc wrought in the labor movement by the no-strike pledge. Dalrymple will claim that what he did was "legal." There isn't but one way out for the URW, the UAW and all the unions: kick out the no-strike pledge. Bury it and forget it.

Mont'y Ward and No-Strike Pledge

That strike-breaking scab sheet of the Communist Party, known as the Daily Worker, has an article in the December 15 issue on the Montgomery Ward strike in Detroit. "The principal issue highlighting the Detroit Montgomery Ward strike," says the Daily Worker, "is whether labor can leave even a crack open for exceptions to its no-strike pledge." Stalin's crew can always be depended on to shove new anti-labor ideas and new reactionary advice into the trade union movement.

It has been an accepted opinion for a long time that the principal issues in a strike have to do with improving the conditions of the workers who are on strike: better wages or working conditions, shorter hours, the right to organize or to bargain collectively. These are the issues at bottom in the Montgomery Ward strike. The principal issue is whether or not the workers at Montgomery Ward are to permit their union to be kicked to pieces, their standard of living reduced and their fundamental rights to be trampled on daily.

THE NO-STRIKE PLEDGE IS INVOLVED

"The issue is not Sewell Avery," says the Daily Worker. That is correct. The issue is the attitude of the Montgomery Ward corporation in its attempt to take advantage of the no-strike pledge to the disadvantage of its employees and for the destruction of their union. The Daily Worker goes on to say that "the conduct of an employer obviously cannot be a condition for maintaining the no-strike pledge." What is so obvious about this? Wasn't the statement made by Murray, Thomas and others that the no-strike pledge was given in return for the promise from Roosevelt that the employers would not be permitted to harass the unions, that collective bargaining would be protected, that the cost of living would be pegged as of a certain date?

If the labor leaders lied about this, then even worse, those workers who are inclined to accept the no-strike pledge would have an extremely difficult time convincing even the most stupid that the pledge should be kept.

If the labor leaders did not lie, and Roosevelt actually made these promises, it is a fact that they have not been kept. They have been violated both by the government and the employers. This alone, if there were no other reasons, releases labor from any obligation to maintain the no-strike pledge. This alone is sufficient reason for every worker to vote in the UAW referendum for rescinding the no-strike pledge.

WHY THE PLEDGE SHOULD BE RESCINDED

There is a further and more important reason for voting against the no-strike pledge or for acting against it. That is the fact that it has become a huge millstone about the neck and body of labor. Even the leaders of the AFL and CIO admit this in effect when they say that the WLB has destroyed collective bargaining, or when Thomas at the CIO convention, found it necessary to apologize for the membership on the WLB, or when Murray and the other labor leaders whine and whimper about the rise in the cost of living and the failure of the government to give up the Little Steel formula.

The conduct of an employer has everything to do with what decisions the unions make. If employers or the government grant the demands of workers, obviously they will remain on the job. Workers don't strike just for practice in walking the picket line. The worker has his primary relation to the employer for whom he toils. If the government steps into the picture and acts precisely as does the employer, then the government is obviously acting against the workers and in the interests of the employers. That is the case today, yesterday, and will be the case tomorrow: the government will protect the interests of the capitalist employers. Under these conditions, where will labor get by coming together annually to reaffirm a no-strike pledge?

The Daily Worker says that employers like Avery "are doing everything they can to provoke strikes." Let us assume that this is true. Why do Avery and other employers act in this manner? Because labor is tied to a no-strike pledge. Because Avery and other employers know that the leaders of the labor movement and the Communist Party will agree with him that there should be no strikes. Because he knows that Murray, Thomas, Green and the Daily Worker will howl for the workers to stay on the job and be kicked around by the Sewell Averys, General Motors, U. S. Steel, Congress, the WLB and Roosevelt.

No employer today would dare "provoke strikes" if labor rescinded the no-strike pledge. The mere act of getting up from its knees would scare the pants off the employers, the WLB and Roosevelt.

SUNDAY EVE., DEC. 31, 1944

- Next to the Fourth of July and Christmas Day, December 31 is the easiest date of the year to remember.
- You are as likely to forget that the evening of December 31 is NEW YEAR'S EVE as you are to forget your name.
- Here's an additional fact about December 31, 1944, that's worth remembering:
- Labor Action will hold its annual New Year's Eve Party and Dance at Caravan Hall, 110 East 59th Street. Admission will be \$1.00 and we urge our New York friends and readers to keep the date with us and spread the good word around.

NEWS AND VIEWS FROM THE LABOR FRONT

No-Strike Leaflet--

(Continued from page 1)

And the largest, fattest, bloodiest profits the world has ever known since man first came into existence! The corporations moan and weep about the "high taxes." What are the facts? Let us quote just two simple ones from the statement by CIO President Philip Murray, and remember them well: "Corporate profits for 1944, AFTER TAXES, increased 198 per cent over the 1936-39 peacetime era. Corporate profits for the same year, before taxes, show an increase over the peacetime era of 449 per cent."

So the results of the no-strike pledge add up to this: Labor sacrificed everything and gained nothing. The corporations sacrificed nothing and gained everything.

Isn't it high time we changed that around a little? The trouble is, we cannot make a change unless we begin by repealing the paralyzing no-strike pledge.

WHY AND HOW DOES THE PLEDGE PARALYZE US?

Every unionist, every worker knows the answer. He knows it from bitter, accumulated experiences.

Our demands for wage adjustments to keep pace with the rising cost of living are modest and legitimate. Our grievances are just. They multiply and grow more serious and intolerable every day.

When we take them to the employers, they pay no attention to us. They are too busy counting their swollen profits. They wave us aside and tell us: "Take it to the War Labor Board." That is like telling us: "Take it to the cemetery."

When this sort of run-around continues, month-in and month-out, and becomes unbearable, we go again to the employer, or send our representatives for another flying, futile trip to Washington. We get no satisfaction whatsoever.

Then we say: "We can't stand this any longer. We won't stand for it!"

The company laughs in our face! "What are you going to do about it? Back to your machines, and keep your mouth shut!"

What CAN we do about it?

Nothing! We are tied hand and foot by the no-strike pledge! We know it and the company knows it. So long as we remain tied this way, we are completely at their mercy. They can do with us what they will. And that is exactly what they are doing. IT IS PART OF THEIR REACTIONARY PLAN TO SLAUGHTER US ALTOGETHER IN THE POST-WAR PERIOD.

Only sheep can be led to slaughter without fighting. We are not sheep, but fighting union men, with a magnificent record and tradition of victorious battles for our rights and our interests.

Sheep have no weapons. We have a powerful weapon. It is the right to strike. But we have given it up. Let us take it back! We taught these big, cold-blooded, profit-hungry monopolists a lesson once. It seems they need another lesson.

Let us restore the fighting strength of our union.

WHAT ABOUT THE BOYS IN THE FOXHOLES?

The dirtiest, most hypocritical and stupidest argument in favor of the pledge revolves around the spread-

eagle talk about "the boys in the foxholes." We hear it said: "Don't betray the boys in the foxholes."

Who shouts the loudest about this? The corporation chiefs, their spokesmen and their tools, their paid editors and scribblers.

Their nerve is almost as colossal as the profits they are making. They want to teach US patriotism! THEY ARE THE SAME PEOPLE WHO WOULD NOT CONVERT TO WAR PRODUCTION, WHO WOULD NOT PRODUCE A SINGLE AIRPLANE, TANK, CANNON, RIFLE OR BULLET FOR THE "BOYS IN THE FOXHOLES" UNTIL THE GOVERNMENT GUARANTEED THEM THEIR HEAVY BLOOD-PROFITS. Remember this too.

Who are the "boys in the foxholes"? They are OUR sons, OUR brothers, OUR sweethearts or husbands, OUR fathers. We are a million times more concerned with them than the ice-hearted corporations who squeeze a brutal profit out of everything the boys wear and everything they use.

We are so concerned with them that: We do not want them to come back to "open shop" conditions.

We do not want them to come back to low-paid jobs and back-breaking hours.

We do not want them to come back to smashed or paralyzed unions.

When we fight to make our union strong and effective, we are also fighting for THEM.

Wherever fascism triumphs labor's standard of living and working conditions catapult downward.

Wherever fascism triumphs, labor loses the right to higher wages, the right to move from job to job, AND THE RIGHT TO STRIKE.

Haven't the "boys in the foxholes" been told they are fighting to destroy fascism and to restore these rights to labor everywhere? Isn't that what we have all been told? Are we helping to fight to restore these rights—if we begin by giving them up ourselves?

We are not betraying our sons and brothers and sweethearts and husbands and fathers when we fight to restore our right to strike—we are keeping faith with them!

We are keeping faith with the great principles of labor when we take back our right to strike.

We are keeping faith with the heroic and self-sacrificing fighters who founded and built the UAW-CIO in fearless combat for our rights and standards as human beings. We are NOT keeping faith if we allow our union and ourselves to slip back into big corporation serfdom.

Brothers and Sisters:

The decision is up to you!

You have the vote on this key question!

Cast it solemnly and firmly. Vote solidly to—

Repeal the no-strike pledge!

Put an end to crawling on our bellies!

Restore the fighting strength of our great Union!

Issued by:

National UAW-CIO Rank & File Steering Committee,

Larry Yost chairman; Arthur Hughes Secretary; 4372

Virginia Park, Detroit 4, Mich.

(Additional copies of this folder may be obtained by writing to Larry Yost, 4372 Virginia Park, Detroit 4, Mich. Price: \$9.00 per thousand.)

Split in Rubber Local 101--

(Continued from page 1)

with one refrain: "The men must pay the fines and that's all there is to it."

Hill said that he had found Dalrymple absolutely adamant. On December 21, he stated, the company would be asked to remove all men who had not paid their fines from the payroll. These men would be expelled from the union and in order to return would have to pay a total of \$27.50. If the company refused he would take the case to the War Labor Board, which would instruct the company to do so and if it then continued in its refusal he would demand that the Army take over the plant and carry out the mandate of the WLB. If there were any work stoppage, he declared, the Army would take over the plant and blacklist the strikers from all other war plants. The officials of the U. S. Army, he announced with modest pride, were 100 per cent behind Dalrymple in levying the fines.

Two of the Army officers, representing Colonel K. Johnson and General Somervell of the Army Office of

Procurement and Supplies, spoke at the meeting in confirmation of all that Hill had announced. One of them had the gall to say: "After all, you fellows must stick behind your union on this fine business."

Threatening the Ranks

Scholl reported that both he and Allan Haywood, organizational director of the CIO, had spoken to Dalrymple about the possibility of reaching some compromise on the fines but Dalrymple was unbending. And Scholl concluded: "He finally convinced us that if these fines were revoked it would lead to chaos, anarchy and demoralization in the union."

Here we are dealing with a group of men who are crazed with the desire to please their true masters, the big bankers and monopolists, who rule through Washington, D. C. Obedience and deference to the demands of big business to them represents order, democracy, and organization. Resistance to the dictates of the monopolists, that is chaos, anarchy and demoralization. They have forgotten how to speak the language of the workingman and echo the sentiments

of the big capitalists. The ordinary union worker can make progress only if he resolves to sweep these kinds of people out of control of the CIO and the labor movement as a whole.

It was made clear at the membership meeting that the Mechanics Educational Society of America (the MESA) a small, independent union, has been signing up members of Local 101 and intends to challenge the control of the shop by the CIO. Hill and Scholl have only one message to the men who have signed up with the MESA: If you don't change your mind, we'll see to it that it is changed for you.

But to leave the CIO means to make it easier for the Dalrymples and his kind to remain in solid control of the whole labor movement. There is already a big movement under way in the Rubber Workers Union to get rid of Dalrymple's stranglehold over the union. There are thousands of union members behind this movement. Why not stay with them and help them clean the fakers and misrepresentatives out of the URW?



The Red Special

Out of the Past

By RUTH PHILLIPS

The pitiful campaign conducted by Norman Thomas during the last presidential election must have turned the thoughts of many old-timers in the socialist movement back to the golden days of American socialism. Then its presidential campaigns were full of the color and vigor of a growing movement. At its head was Eugene V. Debs, the eloquent spokesman and tireless champion of the oppressed.

In 1898, Gene Debs and his Midwestern railway workers joined with the sweated garment workers of New York to form the Social-Democratic Party of America. This alliance of native and foreign-born workers, later joined by Bill Haywood's Western Federation of Miners, was the starting point for the emergence of a powerful socialist movement that, until the end of World War I, was a real force in American politics. The times were ripe for socialist agitation.

The "muckrakers," Lincoln Steffens, Ida Tarbell, Gustav Meyers and others, were exposing the trusts and the corruption in the old political machines. Hundreds of thousands had listened to William Jennings Bryan's speeches about the "Cross of Gold."

When Debs ran for President in 1900, 96,878 votes were cast for him. Eight years later, half a million voters cast their ballots for socialism. The campaign of 1908 brought the ideas of socialism to the American people.

The Socialists had organized the "Red Special." On a special train, Gene Debs and his brother Theodore, accompanied by their socialist entourage, toured the country from coast to coast. At little villages and big cities, workers and farmers came to hear Debs and listen spellbound to his vision of a new socialist America. Other prominent socialists, including Big Bill Haywood, spoke with Debs from the train platform.

It was the greatest educational campaign the socialist movement in this country has ever conducted. In 1912, Debs' vote went up to 900,000 and in 1920 one million Americans cast their vote for Debs, still a prisoner in Atlanta, where the Wilson government had put him to still his voice against the war.

Jew-Baiting Used in LaMotte's Dive Bomber

A real low in labor journalism was reached by the Dive Bomber, voice of Local 856, UAW-CIO (should read: Voice of Union Wrecker LaMotte and his stooges, Goodyear Aircraft, Akron), in an insistent, anti-Semitic editorial issued under the supervision of the new hand-picked editor and cronies of the local's administrator.

LaMotte, who was removed as director of Chrysler's at the last convention of the UAW, was sent to Akron to do a hatchet job on Local 856's militant and progressive leadership. And what a job he is doing—employing every dirty trick in a bureaucrat's handbook.

The latest piece of infamy contributed by this union-wrecker is the aforementioned editorial. Two things stand out in it: 1. The worst kind of talking down to the workers, deliberate misspelling, not as ordinary workers would do because they had not had the opportunity for schooling, but insolent, snobbish misspelling by an editor who has a cinch job living off the dues of workers whom he undoubtedly regards as a bunch of ignorant dopes. That is characteristic of the job-holding bureaucrat.

"What worker, for example, says 'Goodyear Ary Craft'?" What worker writes "difficultyes," "an it" (two words), "administratin em rite," "exposed" (two words) "she nani guns" (three words)? We've seen a lot of attempts of writers trying to be funny, but the editorial in Dive Bomber, far from being humorous, is the worst insult to the labor movement. It's the kind of stuff hacks on the capitalist press are paid to write when they insult union militants. It's the kind of stuff that the Akron Beacon Journal would write and we have no doubt Sir John Knight inspired just the kind of stuff that appeared in the Dive Bomber, which used to be a model of labor journalism.

But worse than the above is the deliberate anti-Jewish part of the editorial which refers to "trotski" . . . Of course, LaMotte in his fight against the union militants and progressives goes in for a little red-baiting by attacking them as Trotskyites. Trotskyites are revolutionary socialists who fight for a better world, for a world free of exploitation and oppression. They are the kind of labor people who stand with the workers at all times, trying to improve their living conditions, their working condition, their daily lives and their whole future.

When this scoundrel Gibson refers to "Trotsky kikes" he is engaging in deliberate anti-Semitism to take advantage of any prejudices workers may have in order to influence the coming elections in the union. Where Do Top Leaders Stand?

We would like to know what R. J. Thomas thinks about this? And Mr. Addess? And Mr. Reuther? We would like to hear from these gentlemen, who sponsored a resolution at the last UAW convention condemning race prejudice of any kind in the union movement. We would like to hear from Philip Murray and his co-leaders of the CIO, who adopted a similar resolution at the CIO convention. Do you condone this kind of stuff in the CIO or the UAW? Will you permit such people to continue to operate in the leadership of the union—especially appointed by you to run a local? Speak up! We would like to hear from you!

We have an idea what the ranks of the Go-d-year Local will do. They will probably toss these bureaucrats out on their ears and send them out to do an honest day's work for a change. No greater justice could be done than to take them off the backs of the workers.

Carlo Tresca Memorial

NEW YORK CITY—Simultaneous memorial meetings in honor of Carlo Tresca, crusading anti-totalitarian editor murdered in the dim-out here in 1943, will be held in various American cities and in Italy, England, Mexico and Cuba on Thursday, January 11, second anniversary of his death.

The New York City meeting is to take place in Webster Manor, 119 East 11th Street, with more than 100 of Carlo Tresca's friends as sponsors. Prominent individuals who knew him intimately will speak. Norman Thomas is chairman of the

New York memorial committee, which includes Dr. Angelica Balabanoff, Frank Crosswaith, Walter Frank, the Rev. Aron S. Gilmartin, America Gonzales, Sidney Hertzberg, Harry Kelly, Sheba Strunsky, Oswald Garrison Villard, M. R. Werner and Bertram D. Wolfe.

"On January 11 we will not only pay tribute to a fearless and uncompromising fighter against totalitarianism," Norman Thomas declared in announcing the memorial plans "but we will demonstrate that the public has not forgotten the urgency of running down Tresca's murderers."

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"Liberating" Europe's Masses

By Carrying Up Poland Over Heads of People

By MARY BELL

Poland is a nation which has been conquered and partitioned many times.

This oft-repeated destruction of the independence of the Poles has produced in them a strong desire for their freedom from foreign domination. It has repeatedly served to unite all Poles.

The issue over which the Second Imperialist World War broke out in September, 1939, was violation of Poland's territorial integrity, when Hitler and Stalin partitioned the country between them. England and France had treaties with Poland, shrieked to the heavens about "poor Poland," and declared war over the outrage of Poland.

Flip-Flop of the Allies

It was of no moment to Russia that she had a pact with Poland, guaranteeing its independence. It said in part:

"The two contracting parties... have renounced war as an instrument of national policy in their mutual relations... undertake to refrain from any aggressive action against or invading the territory of the other party, separately or together with other powers."

This treaty between Russia and Poland was signed in 1932, extended in 1934 to 1945, and remained in existence during the invasion of 1939!

And what of the Allies, who made so much of defending Poland's integrity, who said it was because of their sacred pledge and high honor in relation to Polish guarantees that they must go to war, and who winked at the swallowing up of Austria and Czechoslovakia, but could not go back on their word in the case of Poland?

When Prime Minister Winston Churchill laid before Parliament what he termed the "grim, bare bones of the Polish question," he was in reality exposing the "grim, bare bones" of the imperialist nature of war. This latest sacrifice of the independence of a partially "liberated" country on the part of one of the signers of that dead document, the Atlantic Charter, was due to the recent grab for Greece on the part of England. "You Russians can have Poland," Churchill said in effect, "only let me have a free hand in Greece."

Let us reveal the "grim, bare bones" of imperialist treachery to the Polish people.

When the Russians and the Nazis engulfed Poland, the Polish colonels, government leaders and men of wealth and noble position—as has been their custom in every occupied country in the course of this war—fled, leaving the Polish people, the workers, peasants and middle classes to fight their oppression.

Throughout these horrors the Polish people never ceased fighting their oppressors. The political parties, Socialists, Communists, Democrats, Christian Socialists, worked underground. Underground labor organizations sprang up under the Nazi heel. In the meanwhile, Russia changed sides when Hitler attacked her, and all Poland was over-run by the Nazis. London Poles Vs. Lublin Poles

The official claimant to represent the Polish people fighting in the underground was the Polish government

with its seat in London. As is the custom of such leaders, it fought in armchairs and in the diplomatic offices of England. Its foremost representative has been M. Mikolaczky, leader of the reactionary landlords' Peasant Party.

This is the group that ruled Poland since the dictatorship was established in 1926. It reduced the Polish peasants to extreme poverty. It was slightly less brutal than the Nazis in its treatment of the Jews. It seized Teschen from the Czechs in a deal with Hitler. In truth, the London group is anti-Russian as it is anti-democratic since it wants a Poland "independent" and intact so that it can resume the lucrative sport of milking the peasants and the working people of Poland.

The other claimant to represent the Polish people is the made-in-Moscow Lublin committee. This committee consists of fourteen members, including the usual puppet members of the Polish Communist Party, some peasant leaders, a Zionist leader and a general. The correct stamp is put on the committee by one of its star members, General Rola Zymierski. This man led the Second Union when it was a genuine work-Polish Division against the Sovieters' fatherland, in 1920. He was also a member of the Polish Officer Corps and cooperated with Colonel Beck in supporting Franco in the Spanish Civil War.

The London group and the Lublin group have been seesawing for the control of the underground and, through it, control of Poland, since the Lublin committee was formed in July of this year. This contest led to the tragic massacre of 250,000 Poles in the Warsaw uprising which began so heroically in August. The Polish people fought with bare hands and gasoline-filled bottles against the mechanized might of the Nazi Wehrmacht and were bloodily defeated in October, due to the failure of adequate aid by either side.

In the struggle for domination between the London and the Lublin Poles, the Moscow group is now on top. England, hoping originally for a reconciliation between the contestants, was banking on Mikolaczky, who went to see Stalin and became convinced that Poland should give up to Russia the "marshland" east of the Curzon line. Russia then guaranteed that parts of German territory would be included in Poland at the end of the war, including all of East Prussia, Danzig, Stettin, Upper Silesia.

What Price Liberation?

This territory in Germany, of course, is not Stalin's to give. It happens to be populated by several million Germans who have been victimized by Hitlerism. This arbitrary disposal of these people must be worth several divisions in morale to Hitler's legions, as is every Allied reference to parceling out Germany to the victors and every plan for harsh punishment of the Germans, including those workers who fought Nazism when the Allied leaders applauded Hitler.

This offer of German territory would seem generous on Stalin's part. But the Poles in London realize that surrendering the Curzon territory only brings Stalin that much

The Charter's Still Alive in Poland, Frankie?

"2. They desire to see no territorial changes that do not accord with the freely expressed wishes of the people concerned.

And How Does This Apply to Greece, Winnie?

"3. ... They respect the right of all peoples to choose the form of government under which they will live; and they wish to see sovereign rights and self-government restored to those who have been forcibly deprived of them."—From the Atlantic Charter.

closer to the heart of Poland and toward making Poland a vassal of the USSR. Now the London Poles not only demand that Poland be returned intact, but that they head the new Poland, including East Prussia and part of Silesia!

The one thing that these leaders are ignoring is what this war is supposedly being fought for—the liberation of the people. The choice is not London's or Lublin's. It is the Polish masses who should decide whom they want for their government. It is the Ukrainians and White Russians in eastern Poland who should decide whether they wish to

be incorporated in Poland or Russia, or if they wish to be independent of either.

Churchill is forced to give the go-ahead signal to Stalin because he is impotent to do anything about Russian expansion and because of his own designs for control of the Greek government, carried out to the point of shooting down the Greek anti-fascists, who want their own government.

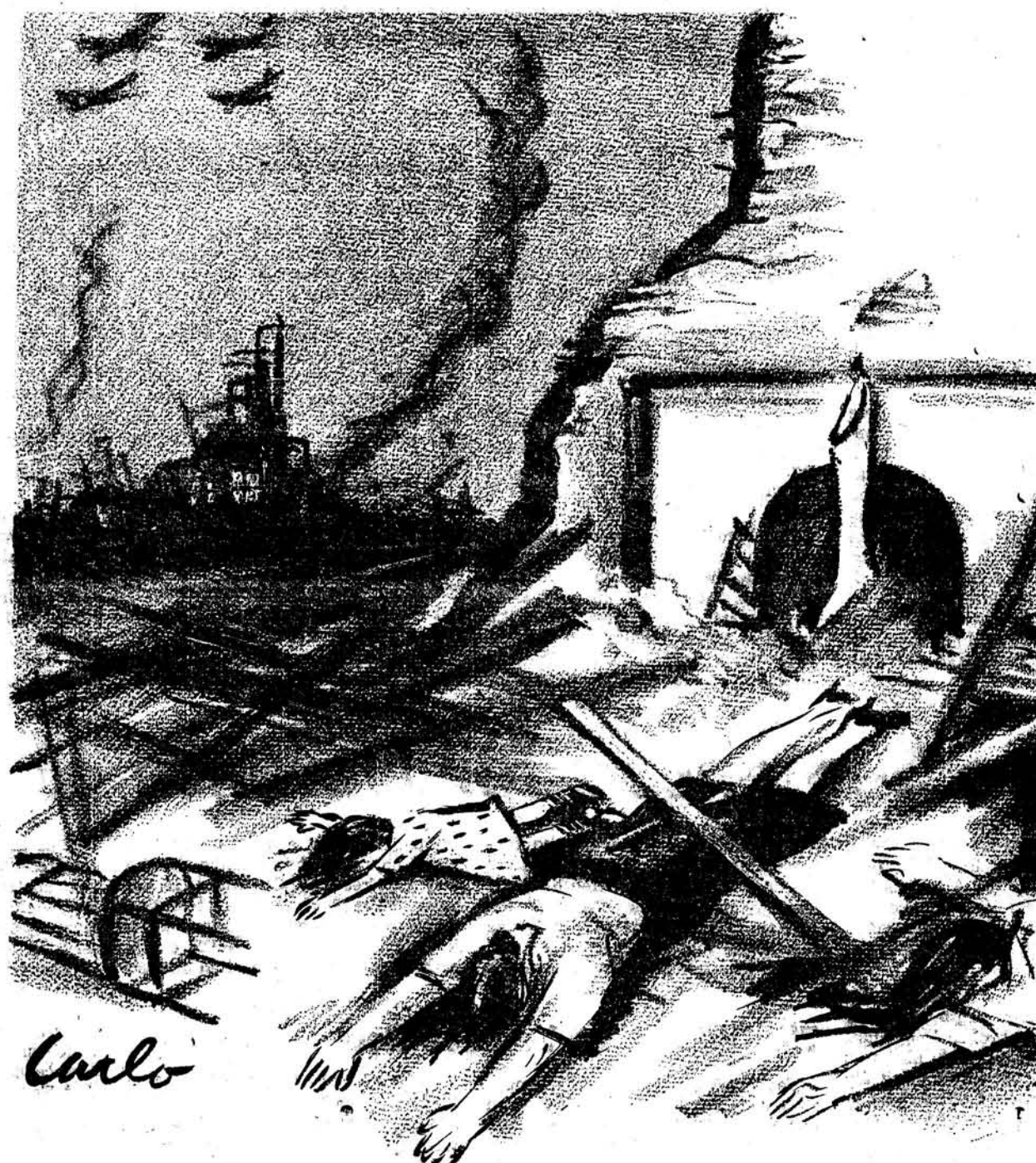
Roosevelt has spoken through the new Secretary of State, Stettinius. Yes, the division of Poland is okay with us, providing the countries involved agree, he says. He does not

mean people, naturally, but the usurping "leaders." Churchill is right in admonishing the U. S. for its pretense of "hands off" since he let the cat out of the bag in relating that Roosevelt agreed at Teheran and Quebec to this division of the spoils of war. So, while the U. S. nominally maintains "hands off," she is really party and partner to the whole dirty deal.

Let the people of the conquered countries choose their own governments!

And that means to the empire-grabbers of all countries: **HANDS OFF EUROPE!**

CHRISTMAS IN GREECE, 1944



By Hand-Picking the Italian Government

By SAM ADAMS

One does not need additional confirmation than the evidence furnished in the last month that the Atlantic Charter in the hands of imperialists is a worthless document. The differences that exist among the Allies arise from national interests which force each of them along separate roads even though they fight a common war against a common enemy.

Part of Italy has been "liberated" for more than a year. Within that year, the united action of the Allies toward that country was calculated to prevent the independence of the nation—freedom of the people to select their own government, to speak freely, to assemble freely, to organize and to write freely. Government was and is in the hands of the Allied Control Commission; supervision is exercised over all affairs of the country by Allied representatives, while the Bonomi government, twice constructed, remains little else but a pawn of the Allies.

This was nowhere so graphically portrayed as in the period between the fall of the first Bonomi government and the establishment of another under the same Premier. When Bonomi resigned, the six legal parties which formed the first coalition government nominated Count Carlo Sforza to be Premier or Foreign Minister. Sforza, a confused and inconsistent liberal, has a world-wide reputation as an anti-fascist, based on his opposition to Mussolini over a period of more than twenty years.

Press reports indicated that Sforza was ready to select a new cabinet or to participate in one. It developed, however, that the Italians did not reckon with the British ruling class. The British vetoed Sforza in a manner completely identical to the way Hitler conducted himself with his satellite nations. Churchill and Eden intervened publicly and insolently to say that Sforza was "unreliable" and not acceptable to them either as Prime Minister or as head of foreign affairs.

The British Broadcasting Company, an official agency of the government, states: "Sforza is not considered a reliable man in London and would not make for good Anglo-Italian relations."

Sir Noel Charles, British Ambassador to Italy and a power in Rome, told a deputation representing the official parties in the country that Sforza "would not be welcomed" in Britain.

The dismay caused in Italy by these declarations was quickly followed by explanations by British Foreign Secretary Eden, speaking in the name of his government. Eden denied that his country wished to determine the character and personnel of the governments in the "liberated" countries. The New York Times reported his position in the following way:

"The Foreign Secretary denied any doctrinaire interferences in the affairs of other countries, asserting that the threefold aim of British foreign policy was to win the war, preserve the grand alliance and, as far as possible, give the people of the liberated lands a chance to choose their 'governments freely.'"

"As far as possible" has meant no freedom to the people to choose their

own governments. Look at the record: The British insist that power in Greece must rest in the hands of an imported King and a reactionary collaborationist ruling class against the people. They stand behind the Pierlot government in Belgium, which is the representative of Belgian collaborationist big business class. In Italy too they stand solidly against any assertion by the Italian people of their democratic rights.

Sforza is unreliable, says Eden. He disrupted the old cabinet of Bonomi, adds the Foreign Minister, and therefore is unacceptable to the British.

Bonomi says that Eden is misinformed. Sforza was not unreliable and he did not disrupt the cabinet. Bonomi insisted that he and Sforza are old friends and he hopes his little British intervention in the life of Italy will not destroy this friendship. Sforza on his part agrees with Bonomi and then, like a spineless liberal, announces his retirement from active participation in Italian politics, meanwhile exhorting the Italian people to support British and American "democracy" in order to save Italy!

Thus did the British save the day for themselves. Obviously the British fear Sforza because he is anti-monarchist i.e., a determined enemy of the House of Savoy and might, if in power, destroy the kingly "rulers" of Italy. Sforza himself revealed that one of the conditions laid down by Churchill before agreeing to the Count's departure for Italy was that he announce his support of the House of Savoy and cease from any struggle against it. A commentary on Sforza himself is revealed in the fact that he agreed to go to Italy and refrain from any struggle against the King. The American State Department was a party to this piece of skullduggery.

"The largest part of the two-hour conversation with Mr. Churchill in London on October 11, 1943," said the Count, "was employed mainly to put strong pressure on me so that I might be induced to accept King Victor Emmanuel III regardless of his heavy responsibilities with fascism, with the war against Britain and with the consequent calamitous defeat... The incident to which the attitude of the British government is due... is connected only with my beliefs and deeds on matters of domestic politics; deeds I have no reason to disavow."

The British claim that this right to pass on Italian government representatives was given to the Allies in the armistice signed by Italy, a right which all the Allied powers have exercised. No wonder this armistice was never made public—it is reported to be harsher even than the peace signed between Russia and Finland, and Russia and Rumania.

The outstanding fact to be remembered about Italy is that the Italian people want democratic rights which they have not yet achieved after a year of "liberation." They want peace and bread. The peasants want land.

Economic conditions in Italy are frightful. The country faces starvation and destitution. The Italian people will not long stand for this kind of situation. American labor has a duty to them: support their every effort for freedom and economic security.

Bevin: Imperialist Labor Leader

By BEVA CRAINE

The brutal intervention of British imperialism against the Greek people who are seeking the right to determine for themselves the kind of government they want has outraged the labor movement of the entire world. The Greek events have shed some light on what the war is about—and the function of the Atlantic Charter, especially that section which grants to the oppressed peoples the right to govern themselves.

When the Allies needed the support of these oppressed peoples, no promise was too big to make. As soon as the tide of battle turned, however, the true aims of the mighty powers in the war became more and more obvious.

At the conference of the British Labor Party held last week, Ernest Bevin, British Minister of Labor and leader of the party, spoke out on what was behind England's actions in Greece. Speaking to the angry and rebellious delegates who wished to condemn Churchill, Mr. Bevin declared:

"The British government cannot abandon its position in the Mediterranean. It is impossible for it to do so."

BEVIN—PARTNER IN CRIME

And to guarantee England's position in the Mediterranean it was necessary to "stabilize" Greece, according to Bevin, which is another way of saying that the only Greek government which England will recognize is one subservient to its "position in the Mediterranean," i.e., subservient to the needs of the British Empire.

Further, according to Bevin, it was necessary for the British to resort to armed force against the Greek people because "the British were attacked by guerrillas without uniforms." The latter statement, of course is a great lie, since every impartial observer has reported that the British fired upon and bombed unarmed and defenseless Greek demonstrators who were presenting their demands

to the British-backed Papandreu government. There is, then, according to Bevin's own words, a conflict between England's position in the Mediterranean and the right of the Greek people to govern themselves. Which of these is more important?

The war, you see, is being fought to protect the British imperial lifeline in the Mediterranean and for other such lofty ideals. That is what Mr. Bevin told the Labor Party Conference, if not in so many words, then certainly by implication.

Having revealed that much, you would imagine that the leader of the British Labor Party was going to launch into a vigorous attack upon the government which pursues such policies. Mr. Bevin had something else in mind. He was speaking, not in defense of the Greek masses, but in order to clear the name of British labor, but rather as a stooge of Mr. Churchill. For he declared:

"The steps which have been taken in Greece are not the decision of Mr. Churchill. They are the decisions of the cabinet. I took part with my labor colleagues in the whole of these discussions, going over nearly four years trying to work out these terrifying problems that would arise at the end of the war."

In this way Bevin attempts to place the dirty mantle of imperialism upon the shoulders of the British labor movement—and thus to lighten the attacks which are being levelled at the Churchill government which stands for the defense, at any and all costs of the British Empire.

The turbulence at the Labor Party Conference, the more than twenty motions of condemnation of the government which were presented by various trade union delegations, show that Bevin does not speak for the British labor movement. Only by offering some sort of compromise resolution and ruling out of order speakers who rose against the Bevin policy was the leadership of the Labor Party able to obtain the endorsement of the con-

ference. But the workers have not yet had the last say.

Ernest Bevin is a misleader, a traitor to the class he purports to represent. He is the man who turned against the striking miners' apprentices last year. He is the man who today stands up to defend the heinous rule of British imperialism. He is the self-acknowledged partner-in-crime of Winston Churchill, His Majesty's Prime Minister—friend of Kings and dictators. His position flows from the policy of political and economic collaboration of the Labor Party with the direct enemy of labor—the capitalist class and the capitalist government. A complete break with class collaboration and its practitioners is the only way out for British labor.

Now British Won't Get Out of Ethiopia

Emperor Haile Selassie, Conquering Lion of Judah, Elect of the Lord and King of Kings of Ethiopia, is now calling for help against his former "friend" and "protector," the British Empire. This scandal has

Hands Off Europe--

(Continued from page 1)

Quebec. It'll be okay with Roosevelt. He's in it, too." And so he is. Through Stettinius, he agreed that any boundary settlement made on Poland by the conflicting powers would be all right, although the U. S. won't guarantee them.

Roosevelt was questioned in a recent press conference about his agreement on the division of the spoils of war at Quebec, specifically relating to Greece. He replied that the question was "contentious," i.e., quarrelsome, and it ought not be brought up again. (How would the Greek people, who were fired on by the British, and some of whom shouted "Viva Roosevelt!" because they thought the U. S. was different, like to hear their case dismissed in this summary fashion?)

What They're Fighting For

The redivision of the world—this is what the Allies are fighting for. NOT the Four Freedoms, nor the Atlantic Charter, nor a new world of the common man, nor the driving of fascism from the face of the earth.

reached the American public by way of Drew Pearson's column, "Washington Merry-Go-Round." The story goes like this.

When the Italian army in Africa was defeated by the British, the

beneficiaries of this war—the little people who never compromised with fascism—are being trampled on by the Allies. Their democratic rights are not restored, and they are being murdered in the cause of imperialism.

A famous military man once said: "War is politics continued by other, i.e., forcible, means." That is what we see today. The kind of politics at home that passes the Smith-Connally Act, that allows prices and profits to run away, that exacts the no-strike pledge from labor and then rawhides and speeds up labor to produce more for the war—

THIS IS THE CLASS POLITICS OF THE CAPITALISTS THAT IS CARRIED OUT AMONG THE OPPRESSED PEOPLES OF EUROPE AND WHICH USES THE METHODS OF THE NAZIS WHEN THE PEOPLE SPEAK UP FOR THEIR DEMOCRATIC RIGHTS!

THE ENTIRE LABOR MOVEMENT SHOULD DEMAND: HANDS OFF EUROPE!

Ethiopian Emperor, brought back from his exile in England, made an agreement permitting Great Britain to occupy his country for two years. At the expiration of that time, the pact was extended for another year at the request of the British. Now the second term is drawing to a close and the Conquering Lion of Judah asked his "guests" if they were preparing to leave. The answer was "No." The reason given by the British was that the natives of certain provinces do not want Haile Selassie any more but desire instead to give allegiance to King George VI of England. In fact, the British have made it clear that parts of the two richest provinces in Ethiopia are to be annexed to British Somaliland.

According to Drew Pearson, the Emperor then appealed to the American State Department, which kept the matter secret except for a polite suggestion to London that it was not acting properly. When nothing came of that, the Emperor tried to get publicity for his cause by trying to send the story to Drew Pearson. That was squelched either by British censorship or by the American State Department, but the information finally got through from other unofficial channels.

Democracy is as important and as workable in a small country and among a backward people as it is in a more advanced nation.

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Unemployment Guaranteed by Capitalism

By M. J. MARSHALL

Both labor and "independent" economists have reported the real possibility of post-war joblessness reaching totals of anywhere from seven to twenty millions. Not to be outdone in alertness by these groups, big business has been far from silent on this all-important question.

Evidence of this awareness could be found as far back as December 29, 1943, when Marion B. Folsom, treasurer of the Eastman Kodak Company and member of the Committee for Economic Development (CED), stated that "A job for every person willing and able to work is absolutely incompatible with the free enterprise system."

This frank statement of viewpoint casts a dark shadow over the sunny propaganda of the National Association of Manufacturers and the United States Chamber of Commerce. In the recent election campaign and in their voluminous printed broadsides, big business has come before the public as a most vocal advocate of prosperity and a high level of production. It is naturally interested in the latter, because, as the war has demonstrated, the higher the production, the higher the profits.

The NAM has issued a series of handsome, slick pamphlets containing at least one chart or graph to the page in order to buttress its case statistically. One such chart graphically proves that post-war prosperity is a cinch and lists the billions of dollars in deferred demands for consumer goods, durable and otherwise.

On the top of this list are such items as automobiles, refrigerators, radios, washing machines and new houses. Just one little item mars the picture. The chart doesn't show what the working class is going to use for money to purchase these goods. The classic answer of industry to this problem has not changed one iota in the past fifty years. "Production makes jobs, jobs make purchasing power, purchasing power makes sales, sales make more production," etc., etc. Two other requisites are usually added: "A sensible wage policy" and "no governmental interference with free enterprise."

BUSINESS GUARANTEES UNEMPLOYMENT

But there must be at least a few people in the United States who recall that this economic philosophy has led to recurrent depressions, each worse than the previous one so that today we are living in the period of permanent economic crisis of "free enterprise" capitalism, of which the Second World War is the most devastating consequence.

It is on this hopeless and outmoded economic system that President Roosevelt bases his promise of sixty million productive jobs after the war. Implemented by what plan? The answer is "None"—except if we are to consider a nation-wide system of TVA's as the key to "prosperity"—which is an absurdity.

Already we have indications that big business admits defeat. A campaign is presently under way to soft-pedal the talk about full post-war employment. The phrase "post-war high production" is being substituted in its stead.

Speaking at the Hotel Pennsylvania in New York, Melvin H. Baker, president of the National Gypsum Co. and vice-president of the NAM, stated that "Fifty-three million jobs would be a sane estimate for maximum employment." He added that "It was possible according to past history, to have as many as three million unemployed and national prosperity simultaneously."

And John Scoville, chief statistician of the Chrysler Corporation, participating in a radio panel on post-war problems, gave the following reply to a question about unemployment in the transition period from a war to a peacetime economy:

"It seems to me that too much stress is placed on the responsibility of industry to furnish employment... It depends on the scarcity of goods... and whether it is possible to retain a profit... Give industry conditions in which it is possible to operate profitably and you will have little unemployment."

The wolf has stopped talking like Little Red Riding Hood's grandmother.

SCARCITY OR PLENTY FOR ALL

Drew Pearson, in his syndicated column, reports that the reaction of big business to the Wilson proposals was typical. They considered Wilson nothing short of a traitor to his class.

Wilson, it may be recalled, feuded with Donald Nelson in the WPB over the latter's preference for early reconversion and the release of materials as soon as they became available for peacetime production. It was Wilson who countermanded a WPB order putting this policy into effect—in an extremely limited way—by demanding NO reconversion until big business was prepared fully to take advantage of its superior facilities in the competitive market. In actuality, this meant that big business would permit no reconversion until it could assert its MONOPOLY position in the economy.

And does Wilson practice what he preaches? In his own backyard—the General Electric Co.—the only way GE workers have been able to obtain fair take-home pay was to buckle under to the back-breaking, throat-cutting, speed-up system known as "incentive pay."

The nub of the problem lies in the necessity of total planning for total employment—a procedure which the capitalists find impossible to follow. Not that capitalism cannot plan—it can and does—but its calculations are always based on strict profit motives. Matters such as full use of our productive capacity never concern it, not even in time of war. At present price levels, for instance, the steel industry can operate at only fifty per cent of capacity and still make handsome profits.

Planning for super-profits and corner-cutting—yes. Planning for plenty for all—no. Only a workers' government and a socialist system can do that.

The Communists Oppose, We're for Socialism Versus Free Enterprise

By J. R. JOHNSON

The capitalists of Europe are in a mess. They have lost faith in their own system. For decades they have fought working class efforts to institute a new socialist order in place of the chaos, the fascism and the imperialist wars of capitalism. But now, says a New York Times foreign correspondent, "an influential body of opinion in Great Britain" believes that private enterprise can no longer be depended upon to organize the economy of Europe after the war. Socialism, they say, is inevitable, "even if it is unwanted."

The kind of socialism that these capitalists envisage is not what the Workers Party means by socialism. Not at all. What the capitalists mean is that the capitalist governments, their own states, will have to make themselves responsible for the organization of production. The workers will remain just where they are—sweating in the factories and in the fields and piling up the profits for their masters. Their sudden recognition of the "inevitability of socialism" is only a maneuver to fool the working class. But that they have to adopt so dangerous a maneuver shows the demoralization to which the decay of their system has reduced them.

"Free Enterprise" in the U. S.

In the United States, however, the decay and the destruction have not reached so far. Our capitalists feel strong enough to continue shouting about "free enterprise." Only last week the National Association of Manufacturers issued a manifesto which was a long sermon on the benefits of this very "free enterprise."

Therefore, when an "influential body of opinion in Great Britain" so openly states its belief that "free enterprise" will no longer work in Europe, their brother capitalists in America are horrified. Millions of American workers are very skeptical of this "free enterprise" business.

Free enterprise landed them in the great depression of 1929. Free enterprise could only continue to exist by vast quantities of government spending. But free enterprise plus government spending could not reduce the unemployed to less than ten million in 1939.

Furthermore, many workers have an obstinate suspicion that it is free enterprise which landed them in a Second Imperialist World War, that free enterprise will lead the United States into another terrible depression after this war and that unless this free enterprise is controlled or abolished in some form or other it will inevitably lead to a Third World War. Look at the post-war program of the CIO and you will see the scant respect the workers have for free enterprise.

Acutely aware of this, the New York Times took it upon itself to show that this "influential body of opinion in Great Britain" which believes in the "inevitability of socialism" (its own kind of socialism, to be sure) was hopelessly wrong. The Times Laments

In an editorial (Sunday, November 26) the Times lists the arguments of these demoralized capitalists. Russia, they say, is a completely socialized country, and Russia has done very well in the war. (You see, for them, Russia, with its toiling workers, is socialism.) Britain, they say, has accumulated so many debts and lost so much trade that nothing but "controlled collective action over a long term of years can put her on her feet." As for Europe, the Nazis and their collaborators have so confused private and public ownership, and the feeling against "mines and factories owned by traitors" is so strong that the only solution is confiscation by the state.

out that when the capitalists themselves begin to be doubtful of the system of private property, it is time for American workers to organize themselves into a Labor Party for the purpose of destroying that private property.

New Capitalist Defenders

But capitalism, viewed critically by both workers and capitalists, now finds passionate new defenders. These defenders ask the capitalists to have "more faith." The scared capitalists are assured that capitalism is not in such a bad way as they think. This dying, rotting monster can be rejuvenated if only the capitalists will listen.

And who are these defenders? No less than the Communist Party of the United States. Robert Minor replies to the Times article in the Daily Worker of December 1. Nothing but his own words are sufficient.

According to Minor, the "salient point raised by the Times" is: "Whe-

ternational in Russia and elsewhere has trampled upon the Russian Revolution and reduced the Russian workers from their proud place at the head of the Russian state to the most miserably oppressed people in Europe. In Germany and in France it led the revolutionary workers to demoralization and defeat. In Spain it stabbed the revolution in the back. It used all its influence to lead the workers of Europe behind their capitalists into the imperialist war. It helped to organize the resistance movement only when such action suited the foreign policy of Stalinist Russia. In Europe now it is exercising every ounce of its energy to preserve capitalism. In the United States today it strives with might and main to keep the workers bound to the Roosevelt war machine.

These are crimes infinitely greater than an article asking the capitalists to have "more faith" in capitalism. And yet, at the same time, it is an apparently insignificant article like this which lights up Communist Party policy and can bring home to thousands of their own party members and millions of American workers the real, the deliberate treachery of their masquerade as leaders of the workers' struggles.

Enemies of the People

These people are more capitalistic than the capitalists themselves. Here in this article they give notice that they will stop at nothing to maintain the capitalist system. This means that capitalism has inside the working class a well organized, conscious, determined and unscrupulous ally in its unceasing struggle against the working class and society. Capitalism can continue only by beating down the workers' movement. The communists, following the foreign policy of the Stalinist bureaucracy, are out to maintain capitalism and will therefore, in their own way, hold the workers in check and, if necessary, from inside, smash them down.

The Workers Party is a party of revolutionary socialism. The Workers Party believes in the organization of the working class for the overthrow of capitalist society as the only cure for the crimes of capitalism. The Workers Party recognizes the signs of confusion and demoralization among the capitalists. But it greets them as a means for the further encouragement of the American working class in its growing recognition of the necessity of organizing its own party in order to wipe capitalism off the face of the earth.

And for this reason we shall every day and everywhere and on all possible occasions carry on the most relentless struggle against these renegade reptiles who use the name communist and the traditions of the Russian Revolution to prop up the system which communism was founded to destroy.

Common Men Risen in the World

"In the tumult when Wallace had finished (his speech), few could hear Phil Murray's ecstatic tribute: 'We love him because he is one of us, a common man.'"

"Murray and Hillman hustled Wallace to the Skyway Suite for luncheon. As two waiters served the first course (honeydew melon), Henry Wallace looked about him, at the luxury of the room, sumptuousness of the menu. With his familiar, headcocked grin, he dryly observed: 'You common men live well.'"—From Time, December 4, page 20.



We are not very much concerned with what the Times has to say against this. We wish only to refer to one sentence. It deserves a paragraph to itself.

"Even if we grant all this, it does not follow that government ownership or operation in these cases need be permanent."

A most remarkable admission!

The demoralization is not only British and European, but American as well! The Times admits that Europe may have to go through some such stage and can only console itself and its American capitalist supporters with: "Cheer up—it won't be for long."

Now here is a matter of some satisfaction to real socialists. Here we can show the workers that even the capitalists themselves, on both sides of the water are worried about the future of their precious and beloved "free enterprise" in the important continent of Europe. We can point

ther the people of Europe will accept the continuation of the capitalist system when the war is over." Communist Minor replies:

"On a world scale the Times would be justified in having in this matter a confidence somewhat firmer than its question-mark editorial manifests."

Of course, of course, socialism is more efficient than capitalism. And, of course, socialism, Minor "thinks," is inevitable for the whole world. The Communist Party always puts that in. But all this is relegated to another epoch. Meanwhile:

"I repeat," says he, "that the Times could afford a firmer and more assured faith in capitalism."

After some more arguments, he comes back to the point that "the Times has more justification than it has asserted for confidence in a continued vitality of capitalism."

There are times when even indignation fails. Stalin's "Communist" In-

Negro Sentenced for Defense of Home

Tee Davis, Negro tenant farmer of Edmonson, Arkansas, in March, 1943, took quite literally the Arkansas law which says a man's home is his castle. As a result, he is serving ten years in jail for alleged assault with intent to kill.

Davis was convicted because he fired a shotgun through his own door when it was being broken in at night by a man who, unknown to him, was a special deputy sheriff hunting for thieves. The Workers Defense League was called into the case because it is the official defense agency for the Southern Tenant Farmers Union, of which the prisoner is an active member.

There had been a complaint of thieving in Edmonson. Three deputies searched several homes, without search warrants. Then one of them, named Weaver, went to Davis' house, which is somewhat removed from the town. Finding the door locked, he began to kick it down, shouting: "Open up, you God-damned black son-of-a-bitch!" Davis, inside with his family, fired through the lower part of the door. No one was injured. Then Weaver fired back, harming no one.

But Davis was convicted and sentenced, despite his plea that he acted within his rights in defense of his home, which Attorney K. T. Sutton of Arkansas avers is absolutely the case under that state's laws. The Workers Defense League is

This Will Make You See Red

Newsweek magazine of November 27 reports that before the election, on October 31, Biddle pleased Army and Navy authorities, the Office of Contract Settlement and (not least) war contractors by cutting a piece of red tape.

Red tape? He ruled that six BILLION dollars of cost-plus contracts already cancelled don't have to be audited by the General Accounting Office.

"He also opened the way," to quote Newsweek, "for the eventual satisfactory financial arrangement of an additional \$21,000,000,000 of such contracts."

Satisfactory? To whom? We are further informed that Biddle capably avoided a pre-election row

campaigning for a pardon for Tee Davis now, and it is possible that he may be freed by Christmas, if the story of Tee Davis is widely told, and many people urge a pardon. In a letter to the Governor, WDL chairman Aron S. Gilmartin cited Section

2999 of the Arkansas Statutes which declares the right of a person to prevent another from entering his home in a violent, tumultuous and riotous manner, even by homicide, if necessary. "The trial record in this case is barren of evidence of a specific intent to kill," Mr. Gilmartin told the Governor. "We cannot find evidence which shows, or from which an inference could reasonably be drawn, that Tee Davis knew who was outside his door; nor was there evidence of a reason or motive for wanting to kill or harm Mr. Weaver, even if we assume Davis knew who was outside."

It used to be that the Accounting Office would make contractors pay a little—just a little—of their faked costs. They couldn't get away with having ALL their entertainment costs charged to the government—just SOME of them.

Biddle felt that this petty snooping by the Accounting Office slowed up payments to contractors and was bad for business. So he put an end to it even before the election—but secretly.

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ACTION NOW CAN FREE TEE DAVIS!

1. Wire or write Governor Homer M. Adkins, Little Rock, Arkansas, urging a Christmas pardon. Do send us a copy of your letter.

2. Rush a contribution to Dr. George S. Counts, Treasurer, Workers Defense League, 112 East 19th St., New York 3, for the nation-wide pardon campaign. Funds are specially needed for the campaign in Arkansas—do send all you can.

TWO WEEKS LEFT IN LABOR ACTION DRIVE; 381 SUBS TO GO!

Only 381 more subs to go in the two weeks remaining in LABOR ACTION's campaign for 4,000 new subscriptions! We're just about over the hill. The box score shows that 504 new subs were sent in for the week ending December 18. By this time this issue comes off the press that total will be increased considerably with the subs coming in during the current week.

This is a most gratifying experience for LABOR ACTION and the best kind of Christmas gift we can conceive of. But this shouldn't cause our many good friends to

rest on their laurels in the remaining two weeks. It means that the branches of the Workers Party, the LABOR ACTION agents and clubs, and our many reader friends should keep up their efforts and go way beyond the goals set for them.

Many cities really went over the top in this campaign. A preliminary survey reveals that the banner city in LABOR ACTION's drive is Detroit. The Workers Party branch and LABOR ACTION agents originally had a quota of 650; they jumped it up voluntarily to 750, and now with the drive still on they have over 800 subs!

Ten cities and towns went over their quotas! First in line comes Los Angeles, which deserves these belated thanks from

the LABOR ACTION business manager. Los Angeles is followed by Streator, Buffalo, Seattle, Akron, Detroit, Chicago, San Francisco, Reading and Louisville. These are the centers which have made possible the success of the drive.

New York City is not far from completing its quota. With over 800 subs already sent in, it needs less than two hundred to go over the top. One big push in the final week can turn the trick. Youngstown-Warren and St. Louis are pretty close to the top too. Only Philadelphia, Cleveland and the National Office are far behind in their campaigns. Had they been able to keep up the pace of the other cities we would have passed the goal of 4,000 new subs long ago.

They can still make the job easier by putting all their effort into the drive in the last week of the campaign.

The slogan: GET A LABOR ACTION SUB FOR CHRISTMAS!

City	Quota	Week	Total	Pct.
Akron	150	6	168	113
Buffalo	150	22	199	132.7
Chicago	300	69	330	110
Cleveland	200	9	94	47
Detroit	750	64	820	109.3
Los Angeles	200	108	274	137
Louisville	25	—	25	100
National Office	500	54	219	43.8
New York	1,000	103	805	80.5
Philadelphia	175	19	92	52.4
Reading	50	—	51	102
St. Louis	50	12	37	74
San Francisco	200	29	205	102.5
Seattle	150	42	176	117.3

PM Laments, CP Lauds New State Dep't

By CARL DAVIS

At the time of going to press, President Roosevelt made an announcement that he had presented the nominations for the new millionaires club known as the State Department. Spitting in the face of those who excused these reactionary nominations on the ground that they were really not those of the President but of some reactionaries and ill-advisers, Roosevelt emphatically notified the Senate and the House that if his nominees were rejected he would send them right back again.

In face of this determination of the President to get his nominations passed on, the liberal opposition among senators and representatives crumpled and the nominees were duly confirmed.

Those blood-curdling shrieks you've been hearing in recent weeks come from the camp of the assorted liberals who were unceremoniously outraged by the Great White Father's selections for the reorganized State Department. These gentlemen from in-between were indignant enough when Roosevelt, the great American liberal, the indispensable man, only just elected President as the savior and protector of mankind, slapped his beneficiaries across the mouth by nominating as Secretary of State, Edward R. Stettinius. The latter is a graduate of Wall Street under the tutelage of the House of Morgan and erstwhile president of another liberal institution, The U. S. Steel Corporation.

JUST A SLIP

The President just made a slip, wasn't in his right mind at the moment. Anyway since he, and not Stettinius will set the tone to foreign policy, we've nothing much to worry about, said the in-between gentlemen. But to their great consternation, that man in the White House proceeded to nominate as Under-Secretary of State, Joseph C. Grew, former Ambassador to Japan, related to the House of Morgan, a conservative who thinks kindly of the Japanese Mikado who should, he believes be retained on the throne after the war.

As Assistant Secretaries, the "indispensable man" nominated William C. Clayton, cotton king, who did business with Hitler, Tojo, and anybody else who could give him profit (in the midst of the war, too); Nelson Rockefeller (nuff said), and the poet, Archibald MacLeish, who moves from left to right and vice-versa according to the economic index and the numbers of unemployed.

"A millionaire's club," shouted the liberals with PM in the van. Some evil influences have reached Roosevelt, came one explanation. The big business interests have won out because Roosevelt doesn't really know what he did, since he relies on vicious advisers. But how can you really attack the Great White Father? Makes you feel kind of silly after the support given him for the fourth term, doesn't it? But the liberals have a way out, however.

In the December 17 issue of PM, its labor editor and ex-Communist, James Wechsler, concluded that not everything was lost in the fight over Roosevelt's nominations. The liberals made a great fight in and out of the Senate and the House. They made Roosevelt take notice. And even if the only "liberal" he nominated (MacLeish) was defeated, their battle would show the President that the liberals will fight for their cause. He will not repeat such a mistake again! Most important, adds Wechsler, the men nominated will be under the public eye and therefore they will not act rashly in anything they do. The liberal gaze is certainly a withering one. God save the mark!

STALIN'S BOYS EMBRACE THE MILLIONAIRES

But if you want the pure, true, unadulterated reactionary point of view, you have to go to—no, not the Chicago Tribune, Hearst Press, New York News—but the Daily Worker. It stands four-square behind the President's nominations. Not because these men do not "bring their faults with them, but they will function under the President..."

The Communists, in their complete (!) devotion to President Roosevelt, the ex-"war-monger and imperialist," now turned "world's greatest benefactor next to Stalin," accept everything he does.

No they don't believe that Roosevelt was ill-advised, or did not know what he was doing. Roosevelt nominated a team, don't you see. "We need not state our own feelings," says the Daily Worker, "on the past record of some of these men. It would be easy to object to them as individuals. But they have been presented to the country as a team, dedicated to the NEW policies of the United States and NOT THE OLD ONES." (Emphasis in original.)

How can you possibly object to the nominations of big business, U. S. Steel, General Motors, Girdler, Weir, presented as a team? Is it reasonable? Is it crickets? After all, not all the capitalists are bad—only a few like Sewell Avery. But the big job is to win over capital, big business, U. S. Steel, General Motors, Girdler Weir, Crawford, Thompson, Winthrop, Wilson, etc., ad nauseum to labor. They will learn to love labor if you give them a change—if labor always surrenders to them! So the Daily (Wrecker) Worker, yells, yea team! Support the President. Never question him unless... unless he has a fall-out with Stalin!

Southeast Missouri	—	—	15	—
Streator	50	4	67	134
Youngstown-Warren	50	—	42	84
Totals	4,000	504	3,619	91

SUB BLANK

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