It Almost Takes a Revolution Just to Get a Mere 55c an Hour

Freedom from want is one of Roosevelt's famous Four Freedoms. Freedom from want is also part of the Atlantic Charter.

Freedom from want is also, to get right down to earth, fifty cents an hour or less in the United States at the present moment. So say the decisions of the War Labor Board, which have fixed

a minimum hourly wage that ranges from forty to fifty cents. No worker has yet collected on the Four Freedoms or the Atlantic Charter. Pay envelopes are still based on the orders of the WLB. And these orders say \$16 to \$20 as the minimum for a forty-hour

WLB "MIGHT" RECOMMEND RAISE

There were reports last week that public members of the WLB, now considering some textile wage cases, might recommend a boost to fifty-five cents-or a little more, or a little less.

Of course, there would be exceptions—as there are to the present fifty-cent "sub-standard" level. Not every employers can pay wages this high, according to the employers and the WLB.

The employers claim that fifty-five cents an hour would be al-

most a revolution. Wages of \$22 a week—and before deductions at that—would be almost a revolution!

After all, it is true that 21.7 per cent of the American working class now earns less than fifty cents an hour, less than \$22 a week. One out of every five workers. These are figures of the War Labor Board itself, and they don't even include farm workers, the lowest

WHAT IS A "DECENT" WAGE?

Way back in the 1920's, government estimates showed that an American family required \$2,500 a year to live "in decency, health, and comfort." That meant \$48 a week.

At this very moment, with wartime prices and taxes prevailing, about eighty-seven per cent of the workers are earning less than \$48 a week. These, too, are WLB figures and not do include lowpaid farm workers.

It doesn't take a mathematical genius to discover, on the basis of the above figures, that under present conditions, even \$1.20 an hour for a forty-hour week is too little to guarantee real freedom from want.

What has the Textile Workers Union done in this case? It has proved that seventy-two cents an hour, \$28.80 a week, is

necessary to maintain a family of four on a WPA "minimum subsistence" budget. An "emergency" budget-and even this would be dangerous to health is continued for long-would require eightyseven cents an hour. You can see that our figure of \$1,20 is none

Having proved that seventy-two cents was far too little, the union asked for sixty cents.

As compared with forty cents, they asked for a fifty per cent But the unions have also proved that the cost of living has gone

up almost fifty per cent since 1941.

They are therefore asking for a wage that does no more than equal forty cents at pre-war price levels. WE NEED FREEDOM FROM BUNK, TOO

The public members of the WLB, empowered by law of Congress and executive order of the President to "correct sub-standards of living," suggest fifty-five cents as a basis for discussion.

Freedom from want! What a miserable farce! So miserable that even Senator Pepper has introduced a sixty-five-cent minimum bill in the Senate-strictly for talking purposes, of course. So miserable that the labor members of the WLB, shameless creatures

two cents-strictly for talking purposes, of course.

All this goes on in an industry in which, according to different estimates, profits have risen 600 to 800 per cent over pre-war levels. All this goes on in a country able to produce an income of \$100 per week for every family. END COLLECTIVE BEGGING

The workers get nowhere by begging the WLB for favors. The unions need to clear their members out of the WLB talking-shop!

They need to take back the right to strike. Now-before post-war unemployment makes their bargaining position far weaker, as even union leaders say will be the case.

The workers get nowhere by begging Roosevelt and his government for favors. He offers crusts today, fine words about some Atlantic Charter pie by-and-by.

The unions need to start their own party now. Why surrender the power of government to the "Sixty Families"-to the Morgan men and the Rockefeller men-to run for their private profit? A workers' government could do the obvious-operate the nation's productive machine fully to turn the words of the Atlantic Charter

ONLY 218 TO GO! See the Story About

On Page 2 Today

Labor Action's Sub Drive

LABOR ACTION

WE ARE FOR-

A Guaranteed Annual Wage For All Workers

JANUARY 1, 1945

A PAPER IN THE INTERESTS OF LABOR

ONE CENT

Join the Workers Party in the Struggle--

FOR SOCIALIST FREEDOM!

Anti-"Pledge" **Group Has Logic** On Its Side

The "leladers" say that it is our first duty to end this fearful war as soon as possible. That is what we owe to the soldiers "wno are fighting and shedding their blood, giving their lives to the cause at this moment."

The words quoted are from a speech made by Churchill this last September. In one way or another, all our "leaders" say the same thing: the politicians, the military men, the industrialists, the trade union tops, the preachers, and even the outstanding strip-tease ladies.

They are speaking to

"No matter what else happens, production must not stop for an instant. If it does, your son or your brother or your sweetheart may die," they

Local 501 Executive Is Against "Pledge"

BUFFALO-Taking its cue from the sentiment of the UAW convention, the Executive Board of Bell Aircraft Local 501, UAW-CIO, went on record seven to one in favor of rescinding the nostrike pledge. One member voted to reaffirm, one member refused to take a position and merely voted "present," and the remaining two board members were absent from the meeting held De-

cember 4. According to the "501 Organizer," newspaper of the union, the vote "serves not only as a public statement of policy of each board member but as a strong indication of prevailing rank and file sentiment. The 'Organizer' is confident that the 501 membership will follow the lead of the Executive Board and will, at referendum time, vote to rescind the no-strike pledge seven to one or better."

Referendum ballots on the nostrike pledge will be mailed out January 4 to mailing list of national UAW newspaper.

What possible answer do you have to that, you rubber workers who refuse to speed up any more, you steel workers who pull a "quickie" when management for the hundredth time laughs at your grievances, you auto workers who are now daring to take a democratic vote on the sacred no-

Yes, and you, too, you slaves of Sewell Avery, the overlord of Montgomery Ward? What good will it do you to win that magnificent 46 cents an hour, ordered by the War Labor Board but refused by Avery, if your strike costs the life of even one Al-

lied soldier? The Word case is different, you may say. Avery is defying the government. He is responsible for any lives that may be lost.

That is not a logical answer. The really logical people, Earl Browder, Harry Bridges and his lieutenants, and the other Communists will have

none of it. They say: Come hell or high water, we must not let down our own boys and our Allies. Where we Stalinists have organizations in Avery's chain, we will act as scabs.

Now, that is really logical, Hasn't the War Labor Board told us that no wartime strike can be justified, no matter how great the provocation? Why, if there were no provocation, these wise men say, there would be no cause for striking, and a no-strike pledge would be meaningless.

Hasn't R. J. Thomas, president of the Auto Workers, told us that provocation is no excuse? Hasn't he said that, if the industrialists are unpatriotic and cause trouble, we workers must be doubly patriotic and suffer their blows for the sake of the boys

CAPITALIST "LOGIC"

The Bridges-Browder crew certainly have logic on their side, as compared with Thomas, Murray, and their like. Yet, when logic is carried that far, almost every worker shrinks back in horror from the results. When logic is carried that far, almost every worker can see that it is capitalist logie and that labor must have a different logic of its own.

The workers say that they don't wants the soldiers - their sons, their brothers their sweethearts-to come back, if they come back at all, to an Averys' America.

Let's carry this logic a bit further. Do we want the veterans to return to an America in which two out of every five workers earn less than 65 cents an hour? Hearings before a Senate committee have shown that to be the America of today (LABOR ACTION, December 18).

The capitalists and their mouthpieces, in a non-stop flood of propaganda, tell the workers to wait until after the war to remedy this situation. Then they laugh, sometimes boldly and openly, and tell one another that after the war there will be plenty of labor, that wages will be kept down or even lowered. They hope and expect that the millions of veterans will assist them in their wage-cutting

When it comes to their own profits, the capitalists refuse to wait. They would not convert to war production, until the government furnished the capital for new plants and guaranteed high profits. They were unwilling to release their monopolistic patents to other manufacturers. Were the materials needed to save lives on the battlefield? Too bad! Some of the biggest corporations even sold defective wire, airplane engines, and other equipment. Were lives lost? Too bad! Profits come first.

"Yes, yes," the labor leaders say, "we know all about these capitalist crimes. We can't stop them right now. Instead the workers must put out extra efforts to make up for the disloyalty of the capitalists. This, after all,

is labor's war." The proof? If we can't find it at home, we must look abroad.

Churchill has said, you will remember, that we owe it to the soldiers as (Continued on page 2)

BEWARE! CHURCHILL, EDEN BEAR CHRISTMAS GIFTS TO GREEKS

Three weeks of armed struggle by the little people of Greece for their liberation from British imperialism has shaken the English government to such an extent that Winston Churchill, Prime Minister of the mighty British Empire, and his Foreign Secretary, Anthony Eden, have rushed to Greece to make the best possible bargain for their Empire.

What a commentary on the collapse of Britain's former power! Churchill has been trying for weeks to convince the world that the Greek underground forces are nothing more than a bunch of "brigands" and "common thieves," representing nobody. Yet Churchill and Eden dashed off to Greece on Christmas day to hold a conference with these selfsame "brigands" and "thieves."

Thus the leaders of the once mightiest empire in the world left their country mansions on the day celebrating the birth of Christ, dropped all their important war duties as the heads of a nation at war to spend Christmas with a "gang of gangsters."

No. it was not the Christmas spirit that moved these gentlemen. Neither was it the blood of the British-slain Greek people flowing in the streets of Athens that disturbed their con-

It was the universal condemnation by the entire world against this barbarous crime of British imperialism. the rising tide of resentment by the English and colonial peoples against the Churchill government, the increasing antagonisms between the Big Three which forced this trip. Churchill realized that unless the fighting stopped in Greece, his allies would utilize the situation for furthering their own imperialist ends.

The conditions under which Churchill met the underground leaders in Greece reveal how much of



the Greek population is supporting the puppet government. Churchill had to meet in a hotel, for the government buildings are not in the hands of the government or the British troops. The Greek government, appointed by the British, has its headquarters in a hotel in that part of the city foreign troops obtained for him. The Prime Minister and his Cabinet have to make their own beds, and English girls who came to Greece to open canteens for the British soldiers do the cooking in the hotel. Even the hotel help walked out when the Greek government came in, Churchill must hold his conferences under an oil lamp, because

the gas and electric workers are in the general strike.

What a pitiful sight, and yet what a glowing tribute to the Greek people! They have forced this scoundrel, head of an empire, to come to their little country to hold a conference under these "inhospitable" condi-

WHAT BRITAIN WANTS

Great Britain is trying to impose a puppet government upon the people of Greece because the trade routes and communication lines to large sections of her empire lie in the Mediterranean and she wants to guarantee her control of that area. This is important to British imperialism-so important that they are prepared to shoot down as many Greeks as necessary to achieve this

control. On December 5th, Premier Papar dreou told the American correspondents that he was resigning in hopes that this would bring about peace under a government to be formed by Themistocles Sophoulis. Churchill refused to permit Papandreou to resign. Why? Is Sophoulis a radical? Of course not! Sophoulis is leader of the Liberal Party, also known as the British Party in Greece.

The Liberal Party has always held the position that Greece, being a small country, needed the financial and military aid of one big power. Britain was always the choice of the Liberal Party, on the ground that every power would charge big interest rates and exploit the country but that Britain, at least, would not seek territorial expansion at the expense of Greece; that Britain's needs in the Mediterranean would force Britain to help her in time of war.

Churchill refused to permit Papandreou to resign in order to end, once and for all, any ideas the Greeks (Continued on page 4)

Ring Out the Old!

As 1944 draws to a close, the old, out-moded society of capi talism plumbs the depths of destruction, inhumanity, insecurity and contempt for freedom and democracy.

No society since barbarism—which capitalism more and more resembles—has killed so many and doomed so many more to

In three short years since the United States entered the war, we have experienced over half a million casualties, killed, wound ed or missing on half a dozen battlefronts.

According to Hanson W. Baldwin, New York Times military expert, we can look forward in all areas of warfare to 100,000 to 120,000 casualties a month in the coming year of 1945.

Bravo. Maestro!

When Arturo Toscanini refused to play the fascist hymn at a concert in Bologna in 1931 he was set upon by a gang of fascist hoodlums and his arm was

slightly injured in the melee, Last week one Mario Ghinelli was ar rested in Naples and charged, among other

things, with having organized the attack on Toscanini. With what seems to us excellent journalistic sense, the Associated Press asked Toscanini to comment on the arrest; and the conductor made the following brief, pointed and, to our ears, ringing statement:

"I had already forgotten the name of the man who offended me so slightly. But I cannot forget the name of the degenerate King of Italy who has betrayed my country, who was the accomplice and the supporter of the fascists in all their crimes against civil liberties, and who is one of the major ones responsible for this bloody war and the ruin and misery of the Italian people. I am astonished and disgusted that he and the Italian monarchy have found support and protection by the Allies."-The Nation, December 23.

Since the war began five years ago, the entire continent of Europe was conquered by the Axis powers, and its reconquest by the Allies is well on the way to being finished. Millions have been killed, many more millions rendered homeless all over this planet, sacrifices to the war for imperialist profits.

This is the face of capitalism. This is the profit system at work. This is the system which plunges the world into recurrent depressions, each worse than the last, since capitalism

Ring In the New!

Yet no society since barbarism has the possibility of creating greater security, happiness, culture or democ-

It is possible today, without even expanding our facilities, for every family to have an income of \$5,000

It is possible to eliminate this mechanized mass murder for profit's

It is possible to have a society of peace, prosperity and plenty for all -socialism.

How is this possible? We have the material resourcesthe factories, the mines, the farm-

(Continued on page 2)

UAW Ranks, Some Leaders Back Ward Strike

By JACK MILLER

As the Montgomery Ward strike continued through its second week in Detroit, several actions were taken. First was the announcement that the Wayne County CIO Council, dominated by the Stalinist Communist Party, had refused support to the strike. Second was the calling of a meeting for local union executive board members and chief shop stewards to discussion action against

The announcement of the Wayne County Council's non-support of the strike came early this week. The Council is following the line of the Communist Party and the Daily Worker 100 per cent. Like Harry Bridges during the first Ward strike, they refuse to support this one, too, because of the no-strike pledge.

The action of the Council was greeted by howls of protest from the strike supporters here. There was talk of withdrawing immediately from the Council. The ranks and file feels that it is being sold down the river by the Communists. Here is a case where even the War Labor Board has recommended a few concessions and "Sewer" Avery has refused even these. But the Communists apparently don't care if the

workers get nothing or if their union is destroyed, as long as the no-strike pledge is maintained.

In a totally different position are the official leaders of the CIO in this region. They are interested in maintaining the no-strike pledge, but the pledge must be made "elastic" to cover situations like the one at Ward's. Gus Scholle, CIO regional director for Michigan, and Roy Scoggins, regional director for Detroit of the United Retail, Wholesale & Department Store Employees, are giving official support to the strike, in spite of the no-strike pledge. Even that great upholder of the pledge, Dick Leonard of the UAW, is supporting the strike.

Devastating, however, has been the silence of CIO President Philip Murray and UAW President R. J. Thomas. This silence has been explained away as tacit approval of the strike by both, and it has been rumored that both support the strike and would say so openly were it not for their positions as union presidents and the position of the CIO on strikes.

The Stalinists are carrying out the official policy of the CIO bureaucrats on strikes right down the line, and the viciousness of this policy is evident in Detroit, where their action



SILENT ON WARD STRIKE

in opposition to the strike has been a stab in the back. The so-called "right wing" leaders are in a contradictory position. They feel that the pledge must be upheld, but that in the Ward case it should be "stretched" because the life of the union is at stake.

About 2,500 rank and file leaders of the UAW attended the meeting called by the CIO president's committee to plan action on the Ward strike. Two speeches by Gus Schulle and Roy Scoggins prefaced the real meeting. The essence of their remarks was to the effect that the nostrike pledge is good, it must be maintained; the War Labor Board is good, it must be upheld; Avery is no good, he must go. This, in one form or another, was repeated fifty times if it was said once.

In front of the stage was a sign reading: "Uphold the War Labor Board," and the telegram sent out calling the meeting stated in effect that the existence of the War Labor Board was the issue at stake in the Ward strike. This was the tone laid down by the official CIO leadership. Forgotten was the Little Steel formula and the thousands of anti-labor decisions of the WLB which have been crammed down labor's throat for the past two years.

But when the floor was thrown open to speakers, the real meeting began. One of the delegates from GM Diesel Local 163, UAW, started off the barrage by demanding that all locals withhold per capita tax from the Wayne County CIO Council,

thereby destroying that body. He further suggested that the per capita tax be contributed to the Ward strikers. This speech was greeted with much applause, as the action of the County Council has gained for itself many enemies in the past few After this speaker came several

people who spoke about the no-strike pledge. They pointed out the contradiction of having a no-strike pledge and of supporting the Ward strike, and called for rescinding of the nostrike pledge and thereby giving full support to the Ward strikers.

Dick Leonard thereupon took the floor and denounced those who wanted to rescind the no-strike pledge. The issue was the Ward strike; Avery had spit on the government and "I do not subscribe to that," he said. He called for all support to the strike but reminded the audience of the no-strike pledge.

SOME REAL ISSUES

The most significant speech of the evening was that of Dan Gallagher, labor member of the Regional War Labor Board. Gallagher first said he believed in the no-strike pledge. But, said he, the issue is greater than

(Continued on page 2)

5)

MASS ACTION

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

How Progressives Get Licked

We have just learned that Joe Hanley, president of Local 108 of the Farm Equipment Workers in Chicago, has been defeated for re-election by a Communist Party slate. Thus another militant trade union leader goes down to defeat before the reactionary forces in the labor movement. What is particularly bad about the Hanley defeat is that he was defeated not by just ordinary trade union conservatives, but by the most venomous, poisonous and reactionary people in the whole trade union movement. This is the difference between the defeat of Bass of Goodrich Local in Akron and the defeat

After all, as a rule, pure and simple trade union conservatives believe in the preservation of the union as an organization for the maintenance of workers' rights and improved working conditions. This goes for the bureaucracy at the top, but the Stalinists are not of this stripe. They go into a union to rule it in the interests of the Stalinist bureaucratic clique.

At present this means to fasten the union to the no-strike pledge, to put in the incentive, piecework pay, to kill all militancy in the union, to frame workers who demand militant action, to drag the union through the mire of capitalist politics: in a word, they go in to wreck the union and to deliver it over to the employer and the government.

AN OLD STORY BY NOW

We don't know all the details, but here again we have the same old story: a militant leader who failed to understand that not only militant trade union organization is necessary, but also the political education of the workers; Labor, whether in the Farm Equipment Union or in any other union, cannot stand against the political machine of the Stalinists or the capitalist political machines unless it is politically educated to understand the nature of the issues with which labor is confronted.

The Workers Party and LABOR ACTION have been pounding away at this question for some months now. Many militant workers are beginning to understand. Some of them join the Workers Party, where they can have the association of other militant workers who face the same problems. Here they can acquire the necessary political education and learn how to associate themselves for the most efficient action as workers and on the foundation of a genuine and militant working class program.

A Prostitute Plying His Trade

Roy Hudson, writing in the Daily Worker for December 24, charges that "hypocrisy" is "proven" against the leaders of the fight against the no-strike pledge. The fight is a "conspiracy," organized by "disrupters, headed by Reuther, the Trotskyites and other pro-Lewis forces." According to Hudson, Avery refuses to abide by a decision of the WLB and the "disrupters" refuse to abide by the no-strike pledge. That is the "hypocrisy" and that is the

This stinks too much to fool anybody. Even if we admit that the UAW membership approved the no-strike pledge, surely that same membership has the right later to disapprove. The leaders of the movement to rescind the pledge resort to the most democratic method: let every member of the UAW cast a secret ballot and express his opinion. Of course, this is precisely what the Stalinists are against: the opportunity for a trade union membership to have the opportunity to express its opinion.

The Stalinists are against fair and honest voting in elections. They don't like this method of giving every member a chance to vote and protecting his right to vote as he sees fit. They believe in and practise methods which prevent a membership from expressing its real opinion. These people believe in stealing elections or in organizing voting so that it will be as difficult as possible for the membership to vote. Then they can rush in their stooges and win the vote or the election by an "overwhelming majority of the honest

The only disruption in the no-strike pledge referendum is the disruption of the plans and methods of the Stalinists. Any honest and democratic probedure is a disruption of their plans. Any honest and decent procedure for the membership of a union to express its opinion is a "conspiracy" to the

AVERY IS AIDED BY AMERICAN COMMUNISTS

Sewell Avery refuses to abide by the decision of the WLB because it is his, that is, the capitalists', WLB. He refuses because he wants to do everything possible to harass the unions. He believes that he can get away with it. He is fighting for his class interests as a capitalist. Despite their raucous tirades against Avery, the Stalinists fight at his side and arm in arm with him.

The workers refuse to abide by the no-strike pledge because they have discovered that the pledge is only an aid to Avery and the other capitalists. The leaders of the movement to rescind the no-strike pledge want the membership of the UAW to express its opinion, in the most democratic manner. The Moscow bureaucrats advocate that labor lie on its back and permit the Averys to walk on its face. This is what they call "winning the war."

What does Hudson mean by "pro-Lewis" forces? Is Walter Reuther pro-Lewis? when, where and how does he demonstrate this? Does Hudson take every worker in the land for a plain fool? Not only is Reuther not pro-Lewis, and Hudson knows this, but Reuther is not even a leader in the agitation against the no-strike pledge. On this point he is closer to the Stalinists than he is on the question of supporting the war. Whom are the Stalinists trying to push Reuther off on?

CAPITALISTS GAIN FROM NO-STRIKE PLEDGE

The Workers Party and LABOR ACTION are not pro-Lewis. We supported the UMWA last year during the strikes. We supported Lewis in the matter of the miners' fight for life. Thousands of workers in the CIO and the AFL supported him also. We will support Lewis again if and when he leads his union in any militant action for the redress of their grievances. If Philip Murray should dry his eyes and lead his steel workers in a struggle for that seventeen-cents-an-hour increase we would support him also. LABOR AC-TION would support him in big bold type, just as we did Lewis and the UMWA in 1943.

Hudson closes his article with the call for retaining the no-strike pledge. He calls that a "victory" which can be won if "no quarter is given to the enemy." To keep the no-strike pledge would be a victory: a victory for the Stalinists; which is only another way of saying a victory for the Averys, the NAM, Ford, Chrysler, the du Ponts, the WLB and all the capitalist employers.

NEWS AND VIEWS FROM THE LABOR FRONT

Ranks Support Ward Strike -

this. "It amounts to a fight to the, finish ... as to whether the CIO is of any importance in Detroit. It is a test of whether a CIO strike shall

be given consideration; whether an authorized strike is important. How in hell will you be able to win a strike AFTER the war if Ward workers cannot get support today in an authorized strike?"

To be sure, Gallagher reminded the audience that he, in his position as member of the regional WLB, had ordered many of them back to work. And he pointed out the impotence of the WLB in making Avery give in. He stated that "the Army was cold to the idea of seizing these

But the real essence of Gallagher's remarks was that the War Labor Board's existence was at stake. If its decision in the Ward case was not upheld, what might labor do?

It might forget about the War Labor Board and the no-strike pledge and begin to fight on its own legs once more. Gallagher did not say this, but it was implicit in his remarks. (Apparently Gallagher prefers his job on the WLB to a fighting, powerful labor movement.)

But the peak of the evening was reached when Ben Garrison, who is chairman of the UAW Referendum Committee on the no-strike pledge took the floor and suggested a "labor holiday" be called to get the UAW members onto the Ward picket lines.

the delegates pounded their feet and must be shared by Garrison himself, called "support." But after Garrison finished and debate was closed the motion that was voted upon was not one calling for a labor holiday, but

"Of course it is true that we have an interest in the Mediterranean. That has never been denied by anyone. But in respect of this action we took in Greece, we took it only in order to bring food and

supplies to Greece becausewe knew the position in which Greece would find herself." -Anthony Eden, British Foreign Secretary, in December 20 speech to

"Such meetings as those held at Bretton Woods and Dumbarton Oaks are evidence of the desire on the part of the nations participating to maintain and extend the unity which has developed in the course of the war," Murray said .- From the Daily Worker, Sunday, December 24.

one calling for all support to the Ward strikers.

The call for a labor holiday was completely glossed over in spite of calls from the floor for a vote on

who did not put his proposal in motion form. It seemed very much as if he was not interested in the action but merely in making a "militant" name for himself.

This was the attitude of the leaders of the meeting, who were sitting on the platform, Any kind of talk was okay, but when action was proposed it was out of order because this body has no authority to do that." If the leadership wanted action, why wasn't authority given? Why hadn't the meeting been called through official CIO channels, thereby automatically giving it authority?

But no, that was the real point of the leadership: to try to gain support by meetings and without involving the huge mass of UAW members in Detroit. By calling a labor holiday, the stores would have been closed so tight nobody would have gotten in, but the leadership cannot forget the no-strike pledge.

The Ward workers will win their strike only if the rank and file UAW members in Detroit join them on their picket lines and keep the scabs out by sheer mass. This could be done easily enough, but the CIO leadership will not resort to this unless the strike is threatened by failure. Instead of ending the strike victoriously, they will let it drag on and on. and use mass action only as the last

The "Pledge" and the War

our first duty to end this fearful war Stalin, for his part, makes certain as soon as possible. Who can believe this now? It is as clear as day that his first and only

FOR YOUR BLOOD SWEAT AND TEARS

FAR ABOVE AND BEYOND THE CALL OF DUTY .

IN KEEPING WITH THE NO STRIKE PLEDGE

WE PRESENT YOU WITH THE

DOUBLECROSS

duty is to preserve the British Empire, so that the British capitalists will not lose their profits. Does this mean shooting down Greek or Belgian or Italian workers? Too bad! Does this mean that lendlease materials will be used against

the European anti-fascists? Will it lead to a shortage of troops or of munitions on the main fronts? All too, too bad! "Our" first duty is not, after all, to save lives but to establish a certain

kind of world—a world where profits

will be safe. Churchill is not alone in seeing this as his first duty. Roosevelt and de Gaulle are looking out for the American and French capitalists. They quarrel with each other about the French colonies. Roosevelt quarrels with Churchill about the world's air-

first of all, that Poland and most of the Balkans will be in the Russian sphere of influence. He seeks to enrich his bureaucracy. Churchill and he make a cold-blooded bargain, perhaps only temporary, about Greece and Poland.

The great war for liberation turns out to be a war against liberation. Polish, Greek, French, Italian, Belgian workers, who for years have been fighting Nazi domination, must now be disarmed, and, if necessary, shot by the thousands and hundreds of thousands. There is no shortage of ammunition for this purpose. Nor is there any sparing of British or American or ony other boys.

It might take years to crush the European workers, to re-establish the kings and capitalists as their masters. At the same time, fear spreads everywhere of a clash between the great powers themselves-and not 25 years from now. "Too bad! Too bad!"

The parts fit together to make one clear picture. Anything goes for profits at home; anything goes for profits in Europe and the colonies. The workers as workers, the workers as soldiers are the victims everywhere. The imperialist system breeds war and oppression. It becomes worse every day.

All the talk about saving lives is the purest hypocrisy. We can really save lives, we can really bring about peace and plenty, only by struggling to end the system. LABOR ACTION has always said this. Events are now making it clearer every day.

To end the war and bring home our sons and brothers, to bring them home to a decent life-both these purposes require that labor stand on its own feet and stop being duped by capitalist propaganda.

The thousands of auto workers and other workers who have come out against the no-strike pledge and for an independent political party of labor are the truest friends of our own fighting men and of the common people everywhere.

tem. It was one of four large locals. free from Communist control, in the Communist-dominated International Farm Equipment Union. Under the leadership of its mili-

tant president, Joe Hanley, his followers on the Executive Board and Grievance Committee, Local 108 won more grievances, gained more wage increases for its membership, and accumulated more money in its treasury than any other local in the FE international. Local 108 was also outstanding in waging a bitter fight against the Communists in the local and in the national office.

CHICAGO - Local 108, the McCor-

mick Works local of the United Farm

Equipment & Metal Workers of

America, is the strongest local union

in the International Harvester sys-

On December 7, elections for officers were held at Local 108. Despite their good record as fighters for the workers within the prescribed limits (Roosevelt - prescribed, we might add), Hanley and his entire slate lost every Executive Board office and three grievance committeemen to a group composed of Communist Party members and stooges. At the same time, anti-Communist groups were defeated in three other big locals, leaving the union completely at the mercy of the Stalinist henchmen in the national office. This, of course, means the subjugation of the FE workers' interests to Browder's CP

WHAT DEFEAT MEANS

Instead of fighting to abolish the brutal piecework system in the Harvester companies, the Communists will fight for more "incentive" pay and bonus systems. Instead of fighting to restore collective bargaining, the Communists will fight to maintain the wartime controls on labor as long as Russia and the U.S. are-"allies." Instead of fighting for Negro rights, the Communists will use the discontent of the Negroes to weaken union solidarity.

These and many others are the consequences the McCormick workers will face as a result of the Communist victory in the elections.

Why, in view of their good record. were Hanley and his entire slate defeated by this unscrupulous gang of union wreckers? The answer is not hard to find; it is simple. The principal reason was the lack of a program dealing with the real issues facing the organized workers today.

Hanley and the groups around him did not understand the need for such a program with which to educate the rank and file. Perhaps they themselves did not really understand the real issues. They thought they could win on the basis of their past record and Hanley's popularity.

But Hanley was in office for three years, and for three years the Communists have been working to get him out; for three years they have been tearing down his popularity. The Negroes were told that he is anti-Negro; the piece workers were told that he was interested only in the day workers; rumors were spread that he was grafting union funds. These and many other insidious rumors had a great deal of effect on the workers-principally those who do not attend union meetings.

Communist Slate Wins

Farm Equip't Election

But more important than the above, many workers were disgusted because they could not get wage increases. They blamed this on the local union leadership. Many thought that a change in leadership might help them. They do not fully understand that in order to get wage increases, the union must present its case to the War Labor Board; that this involves time and expense; that the WLB delays labor's grievances indefinitely; and that even in the face of the most justified demands the WLB will not allow wage increases of more than fifteen per cent (if that) above the January, 1941, level.

If a progressive leadership is to regain office and build a strong union, it must explain to the workers that there is no collective bargaining today; that the only way to return to collective bargaining is first to rescind the no-strike pledge and withdraw labor's representatives from the WLB.

A progressive leadership must also explain to the workers that their problems today are political; that it is no longer only the company against the union, but the capitalist government aligned against the workers; and that Roosevelt is NOT the "friend of labor."

POLITICAL PROGRAM NEEDED

It must be explained that if labor is to have anything to say about full employment, the thirty-hour week, etc., it must first organize itself politically into an independent Labor Party based on the unions.

The McCormick workers will soon realize that the Communists do not represent their interests but, on the contrary, are wrecking their union. If Local 108 is to free itself from the destructive bureaucracy of the CP, the advanced workers must first organize themselves on the basis of a fighting program to rescind the nostrike pledge, to withdraw labor's representatives from the WLB, and to form an independent Labor Party. This is the only program which can really defeat the Communists in the

SAN FRANCISCO:

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You Can Buy Labor Action and The New International

Fitzgerald's Newsstand

Woodward at Clairmount

42nd St. bet. 5th & 6th Aves.

14th St. bet. 3rd & 6th Aves.

Resolve for 1945: Join Workers Party (Continued from page 1)

We have the skills and techniques which have created the largest aggregate social wealth of any country in the world!

We have the human resources. These are all people who have no real stake in the profit system. These are the 13,000,000 organized workers and their families. These are the millions of poor farmers and white collar workers and middle classes. All of these have created the wealth and performed the services of society.

These are the vast majority of the entire population.

They are opposed by a handful. LABOR ACTION and the Workers Party have a program.

We believe wealth should be conscripted. Soak the rich! Let them pay for their war!

We believe labor should form a political party of its own with a program of its own. Break with bankrupt and reactionary capitalist polities and politicians! Form a party based on the unions, controlled by them-an independent Labor Party!

We believe in ending war and fascism by a democratic people's peace, without annexations, indemnities, tribute, or the dismemberment and oppression of sovereign nations and peoples.

We are for complete, immediate national independence to all colonial or semi-colonial peoples!

We are against all old or new annexations, or depriving nations of their sovereignty and independence, by American, British, Russian, German or Japanese imperialism!

We are for a Socialist United States of Europe and a World Socialist Federation.

JOIN THE WORKERS PARTY AND HELP RING OUT THE OLD WORLD OF CAPITALIST IMPE-RIALIST IMPERIALISM, RECUR-RENT WARS, FASCIST BARBAR-ISM, OPPRESSION AND EXPLOI-TATION!

JOIN THE WORKERS PARTY AND HELP RING IN THE NEW WORLD OF FREEDOM, PLENTY, PEACE AND SECURITY, AND WORLD BROTHERHOOD!

Mesabi Workers Join Drive; 97% of Goal Reached!

The box score tells the story. We are one week away from the end of the subscription campaign for LABOR ACTION and only 218 subs keep us from completing our goal. The score shows that

the drive has been completed! This is really a good showing, but not good

ninety-seven per cent of

enough. We want to go over the top, and we can do it if everyone puts in the last week of the drive with some real work in behalf of LABOR ACTION. How can it be done? By going out and do-

The big story of the week is the manner in which the Mesabi Iron Range workers

until the last couple of weeks, but they went to work and sent in the equivalent of fortyeight six-month subs! E. J., of the Railroad Workers Joint Action Committee, is the spirit behind the drive there. He complains loudly because he hadn't seen LABOR AC-TION before and apologizes because he and his friends were unable to participate earlier in the drive because, if they had, they would have made the big cities look up and take notice!

The forty-eight subs sent in from the Mesabi Iron Range extend over many towns in Minnesota. We haven't the slightest doubt that if our Hibbing friends had been with us from the start we would be way over the 4,000 sub goal. It's a wonder-

we thank them from the bottom of our ary 8. Below is the up-to-date box score. hearts. Good going, E. J. and friends!

This week saw 163 new subs gathered in the drive. We're just a step away. Right now, Streator, III., leads in the percentage column with 154 per cent. It is only twenty-three subs away from doubling its quota!

New York is just about 150 subs from completing its quota of 1,000. Youngstown-Warren and St. Louis, with a little effort, can go over the top. But we are somewhat worried about Cleveland, Philadelphia and the National Office. A look at the score will show them way behind in the drive and the reason we haven't reached the goal yet.

Look for the complete story of the drive

joined the drive. They didn't know about it ful job they have done in one week and in the issue of LABOR ACTION dated Janu-

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| Buffalo | 150 | | 199 | 132 |
| Chicago | 300 | 15 | 345 | 115 |
| Cleveland | 200 | | 94 | 47 |
| Detroit | 750 | 4 | 824 | 110 |
| Los Angeles | 200 | | 274 | 137 |
| Louisville | 25 | **** | 25 | 100 |
| National Office | 500 | 10 | 229 | 46 |
| New York | 1,000 | 44 | 849 | 85 |
| Philadelphia | 175 | 2 | 94 | 54 |
| Reading | 50 | 6 | 57 | 114 |
| St. Louis | 50 | | 37 | 74 |
| San Francisco | 200 | 16 | 221 | 110 |
| Seattle | 150 | | 176 | 117 |
| Streator | 50 | 10 | . 77 | 154 |
| Youngstown-Warren | 50 | 10 | 77 | 154 |
| Southeast Missouri | | 4 | 19 | |
| Mesabi | | 48 | 48 | |
| THE RESERVE OF THE PARTY OF THE | j. — II | | | 7.00 |
| -Totals | 4.000 | 163 | 3.782 | 97 |

SUB BLANK

YES, I want LABOR ACTION. Please send it to me regularly. Enclosed find twenty-five cents in stamps or coin for a six-month subscription [], or fifty cents for a year's subscription []. (Check which.)

| | | | | | A STATE OF STREET |
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Editorials___

Stalin Wins Out on Poland

will not give up an inch of our own soil." (Stalin, before Latyla, Lithuania and Esthonia were incorporated into Russia and before Poland was partitioned between Hitler and Stalin.)

The stage was set last week for another major move to turn puppet Poland into a purely Russian pawn, as the imperialist powers gave Stalin a goahead signal in his nefarious schemes.

The New York Times reported that the Lublin Committee, agent of the Kremlin, was going to announce itself as the provisional government of Poland, thereby assuming full government power. Stalin was prepared to install it in power and so advised Churchill,

This was hardly a surprise in diplomatic circles after a series of build-ups, particularly after Churchill's speech.

Churchill openly approved of Stalin's aims to make Poland a puppet nation. De Gaulle came to people. an "understanding" with Stalin on the same mat-

And, finally, the American State Department put its seal of doom on the Polish nation with a cleverly worded statement on "The Polish fron-

We want not one part of foreign soil but we tier question," which was immediately hailed by the Daily Worker.

> The fact that the Russian armies are reported again to be ready to assume the offensive in the Polish sector is a military recognition of the diplomatic success Stalin scored on the Polish ques-

One technical obstacle remains before the Lublin Committee farce is solemnly approved by the Machiavellian politicians of the major imperialist powers. The reactionary Polish landlords' "government in exile" a British puppet, must somehow be eliminated from the scene. In principle, that has been agreed to. The details of its disappearance remain to be worked out.

The establishment of the Lublin Committee as "the provisional government of Poland" would "legalize" the use of police power against all Polish people seeking a free and independent nation, based on Polish people and containing Polish

The skeleton of the Atlantic Charter has already found its first companion, in the closets of imperialist diplomacy; Poland as an independent nation has joined it.

Phil Murray Still on His Knees

In a letter to President Roosevelt asking for upward revision of the FDR-WLB wage freeze, CIO President Philip Murray charged that a sales tax and wage cut of fifteen per cent have been levelled against the nation's workers as a result of the infamous Little Steel formula.

Quoting a Roosevelt message to Congress in 1942 in which the President stated that a rise in the cost of living equal to that which had occurred in 1940-41 (fifteen per cent) "would be equal to imposing a fifteen per cent sales tax on all food purchased by wage earners," Murray wrote that "the situation which you projected in September, 1942 ... has actually occurred."

Accepting the figures of President Roosevelt's own Cost of Living Committee, which took almost a year to report a thirty per cent rise in prices since 1941, Murray's estimate of the situation is a comparatively conservative one.

What if Murray stuck by the guns of the CIO-AFL survey which, taking into consideration such factors as lowered quality of goods, disappearance of lower-priced articles, forced changes in housing and eating away from home, reported a total increase in living costs of 45.3 per cent?

THEN MURRAY WOULD HAVE HAD TO, AS HE SHOULD HAVE, CHARGE THE PRESIDENT WITH IMPOSING A THIRTY PER CENT-NOT A FIFTEEN PER CENT-SALES TAX AND WAGE CUT ON THE NATION'S WORKERS!

But even if the humble president of the CIO were to quote the nimble President of the United States from now till doomsday he would still have to reckon with a man named-Roosevelt.

"Philip Murray," says the CIO News of December 11, "has put the issue squarely up to President Roosevelt.'

After a year of the most shameful run-around that labor in this country has ever received, after a year of double-talk and double-cross, after a year of fruitless pleading, cooing and crawling by the CIO top leadership, after a year of shielding the REAL CULPRIT and DECEIVING THE RANK AND FILE - "Philip Murray has put the issue squarely up to President Roosevelt"!

Isn't this the same Murray who urged the reelection of Mr. Roosevelt because the President "is a friend of labor"?

What has put enough dynamite under the WPB

You know what has happened? Just this: The

Yes, the women raised their voices in protest.

Some sixteen women's organizations started a per-

sistent bombardment. Petitions were sent to the

WPB and to Congressmen. Delegations went to

Washington. The women talked turkey. They

showed that there is plenty of cotton for luxury

and OPA to make them promise certain measures

to alleviate the unbearable crisis that has devel-

housewives and mothers of this country got into

pode in consumer cotton goods?

facturers in their practices.

And we might ask why this "friend of labor" must have an issue of such pressing importance to every working man and woman put "squarely" up to him? Would not any sincere "friend of labor" have dealt promptly and equitably with such a situation long, long, ago?

And might we further ask how a "friend of labor" could have permitted a sales tax and wage cut of thirty per cent to be imposed upon labor in the form of uncontrolled rises in the cost of living? And might we still further ask, "WHAT IF PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT SAYS 'NO' "?

We have a pretty good idea of what Phil Murray will do in that very likely eventuality-and we don't envy the man his leather-lipped task. As for us, we'll take

The UAW Rank and File

-which means "ABOLITION OF THE NO-STRIKE PLEDGE."

At least that's what we HOPE it will mean. We have faith in the fighting courage and intelligence of the rank and file members of the United Auto Workers of America and we look forward to a demonstration of those qualities in the forthcoming no-strike referendum of the union's 1,200,000 members..

The 300,000 General Motors workers who have been given the dizzy double-cross by the WLB would be wise to INSURE and ASSURE the granting of their justified pay demands by VOT-ING TO ABOLISH THE NO-STRIKE PLEDGE.

Chrysler workers, Dodge workers, Ford workers, North American, Vultee, Consolidated and Douglas Aircraft workers, Hudson, Continental and Bohn workers-UAW members from coast to coast-they are the only ones who can decide the issue "squarely," and they are the only ones, along with thirteen millions of labor's rank and file, who can RECTIFY the thirty per cent sales tax and wage cut imposed upon them by stooges for corporate wealth!

Yes, we'll take "UAW INSURANCE," because we KNOW that the UAW rank and file is one hard-boiled egg that knows what it is fighting for! END THE THIRTY PER CENT SALES TAX AND WAGE CUT!

ABOLISH THE NO-STRIKE PLEDGE!

A ONE-ACT PLAY

NEW TIMES, NEW METHODS

By ROBERT SHERMAN

This play has been especially written for LABOR ACTION. Its title is taken from Harry Bridges, the Communist leaders of the National Maritime Union. When asked about the three-year no-strike contract his union signed with the ship owners, Harry replied: "New Methods."

SCENE: Sumptuous interior of ultra-exclusive club room of National Association of Manufacturers. On the walls of the room are hung various portraits of men who deserve hanging, and over the mantelpiece, triumphantly overlooking other trophies, rests the no-strike pledge, framed in gold. Seated in the luxuriously upholstered chairs are three men with luxuriously upholstered abdomens who look as though they might have been taken from a cartoon by Carlo.

As the curtain opens:

FIRST CAPITALIST: Club seems empty these days with so many of the boys being appointed to posts in Washington.

SECOND CAPITALIST: Yes, doesn't it, though? THIRD CAPITALIST: How was the convention? FIRST CAPITALIST: Good. Things are looking

very good. SECOND CAPITALIST TO FIRST: And how are things holding up in your line?

FIRST CAPITALIST: Oh, not bad, not bad. Of course, you know that was quite a scare we had back there in that break-through-looked as though they were going right through to Berlin. Stocks took a deep drop, but (patting his broad abdominal expanse) looks like it will last a while now. Not bad, not bad. And you? (To Second Capitalist.)

SECOND CAPITALIST: Doing about the same but having some labor trouble. (Ears of Capitalists One and Three perk up.)

FIRST AND THIRD CAPITALISTS (in unison): Really? What seems to be the matter? SECOND CAPITALIST: Well, it's this way; wages

are frozen, naturally, ONE AND THREE (nodding vigorously): Natu-

SECOND CAPITALIST: And we are not recogniz-

Or, A Fourth at Bridge(s)

ing grievances these days. (One and Three shake their heads negatively.)

ONE AND THREE: Of course not,

SECOND: Their case has been with the War Labor Board for twenty-seven months now. (Other two shrug their shoulders.)

ONE AND THREE: But what could be more proper?

SECOND CAPITALIST: And they are talking of a strike! (First and Third Capitalists stiffen with a nercen-

tible shock. After a while First regains composure). FIRST CAPITALIST: It is perfectly obvious that you haven't the right people in the right places. Now take my situation. I had the same trouble and even had my union rejected. It looked might bad, mighty bad, until some of their leaders and a group of-(whispers) if you will excuse the expression-Communists got in and headed them off. And I tell you, those boys are doing better than any I ever put in myself.

Why, it's even less expensive than having my own union! Wouldn't do without them. No, sir! Why, do you know that since they have been in I haven't had to even discuss a wage raise, let alone give one. Productivity has shot up, what with the men working harder and faster and their complaints not even getting to first base at their meetings. And I have been gradually getting rid of the trouble makers and agitators who call themselves rank and file militants whom these-er-Communists hate worse than we do. If that's possible. Yes, sir! I have been doing all right with those boys.

THIRD CAPITALIST: And how about Harry's local signing that contract calling for no strikes or lockout for three years no matter what? (They laugh heartily at the word lockout)

FIRST CAPITALIST: Good old Harry. I think I'll drop a note to Peg to go easy on the boy.

SECOND CAPITALIST (one with the labor trouble): Well, whom shall we phone for a fourth at bridge?

FIRST CAPITALIST (one with Communists running union): Someone who ought to do you some

SECOND: You mean ...? FIRST: Exactly.

One-Tenth of the Nation By J. R. Johnson

committees are busy with bills for a permanent FEPC. Congressmen themselves say it is because, among other reasons, there will be race riots in the U.S.A. after the war if

discrimination continues.

Lillian Smith is the author of Strange Fruit, a best-selling novel on the race question in the South. At a Town Hall Meeting of the Air a short time ago she debated the race question with Roy Aucker, Washington columnist, and Representative O. C. Fisher, of Texas. Fisher took the view that a permaracket." It "would do nothing other than stir up race intolerance and

friction." The American Mercury for December has published a debate on the Negro problem between Archibald Rutledge, a poet of South Carolina, and George Schuyler, associate editor of the Pittsburgh Courier. The editors of the Mercury say that the Negro problem is "reaching a crisis." Schuyler states his opinion pointblank in the title of his article: "More Race Riots Are Coming."

NEGRO PROBLEM REMAINS Isn't it obvious that we have here a deep-rooted political problem, something that goes down into the very roots of the nation's economic,

social and political life? But if this is so, then it follows that only some far-reaching, comprehensive plan and activity can deal with it. For three hundred years

As I wrote recently, congressional War broke up one aspect of it, only to have the problem appear in another form

> SOCIALISM THE ONLY HOPE In the midst of our daily activity, for union solidarity, for up-grading rights for Negroes, for support for FEPC bills, against discrimination, amidst all these necessary activities it is worth while to stop sometimes and think a little ahead.

We have therefore to place first things first. The solution of the Negro problem lies in the solution of capitalism's major problem-the tremendous problem of unemployment. In nent FEPC would start a "beautiful the meantime, Negro and white workers, and Negroes who are not workers must hold on to that as a basic premise. And the solution of the unemployment problem demands a transformation of the American productive system from capitalism to socialism. The fiercer the Negro problem becomes the more urgent is the need for this transformation. Capitalist society cannot solve the Negro problem. As it drags human society to rack and ruin it creates a situation where people frantically run around saying to one another or writing in the press "What can we do to prevent race riots?"

> LABOR ACTION and THE WORK-ERS PARTY have always supported and always will support to the best of their power any definite action, which will help the Negros to gain equal rights with their fellow citi-

But we refuse to stop there. We it has plagued the country. The Civil are revolutionary socialists and we

say "All these actions that we take from day to day must have a fundamental purpose in mind. That purpose must be the organization and education of the workers and all the oppressed to abolish this system under which we live."

NEED FOR LABOR PARTY

To do that the first step is the organization of an independent party

The time has come for Negroes to think seriously in these terms. Let me close this column with a quotation from a recent article by Lillian Gunbb (Pittsburgh Courier, Dec. 16, 1944). She said:

form committees to study this Negro problem....There have been more studies made of the Negro than of any other group of people on earth."

It is time somebody said that. It is time, too, to remind ourselves that innumerable laws have been passed giving Negroes rights. Yet the Negroes are still pariahs in American society and people say and write "What shall we do to prevent race riots when the great war for democracy is over?"

The ultimate solution of the problem is socialism. The immediate problem is how to relate the necessary day to day struggles with the struggle for the Independent Labor Party; and how to insure that the Independent Labor Party will carry on the struggle to the abolition of capitalist society. Next week I shall make some

Power Bloc Within Power Bloc

the French government and leader of the re-established French Empire, once referred to the land that has been most aptly described as "a prison for the workers" as "dear, powerful Russia." De Gaulle has just signed a pact

pledging mutual assistance between France and Russia with Stalin. To show his good faith, Stalin (so "dear" to one who also had a favor to

render) gave France what was not his to give, namely, the Rhineland. This is the rich industrial area of France which has long been coveted by France. Stalin (so "powerful" since he jailed

or shot every voice in opposition to him) guaranteed the incorporation of this territory within the boundaries of France prior to any "final" decision by the other Allied powers. And what has Stalin to get from

de Gaulle? The Franco-Russian pact seeks to break up a western European power bloc dominated by England and/or America, which Russia fears. De Gaulle is probably still smarting from the early rebuffs

North Africa.

GAME OF POWER POLITICS.

conference at Dumbarton Oaks, where a world pact of the United Nations was set up and where a seat was left for France and the other "liberated" countries?

The significance and the seriousness of that world pact can be understood in a second if we examine the fate of other pacts of the signators at Dumbarton Oaks.

sistance guaranteeing independence and territorial integrity, etc., between England and Poland, and France and Poland. Poland today has been thrown to Russia by England as part of Russia's share in the booty of the imperialist war.

tween Poland and Russia, thrown off by Russia at the time of the partitioning of Poland by Hitler and Stalin, put in force again when Russia was attacked by Hitler, and shed again today as Russia demands Polish territory.

and Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania guaranteeing "sovereignty and territorial integrity." These unfortunate gives the whole game away.

ereignty and territorial integrity that Russia also had a pact with Iran,

which she is pressuring to give up her oil deposits to "refrain from aggressive action" toward Russia!

Russia also had a pact with France dating from 1932 not "to give assistance to an aggressor (of France) at the time of conflict." Russia was Hitler's ally when France fell under the Nazis.

PREPARING NEW CONFLICTS

Such is the fate of pacts made between exploiting classes. They are made for the moment, to create power balances against competitor nations, in time of peace for exploitation of the workers of the world, in time of war to secure further areas or maintain those already held. They are made to be broken when the conflicts between rival profiteers and exploiters supersede them.

If the world security conference of the United Nations bloc had any meaning, there would be no necessity for the blocs within the United Nations and the twenty-year treaties made by England and France with Russia. The fact that adherents to world peace organizations do sign separate mutual - assistance pacts

THE WAR FRONT

What Is the Meaning of the German Offensive?

By WALTER JASON

The Nazi army achieved a major tactical success with serious strategic implications in the one-week-old counter-offensive on the Western

Already the major objective of the German high command has been attained: Complete disruption of Allied military plans for an offensive from the West

The complete surprise and brilliant gains won by the German army stand as a sharp criticism of the Allied military leaders, who were caught flat-footed by the offensive.

The basic reason for he surprise was not merely over-confidence carelessness and poor leadership: above all, it flowed from a fundamentally erroneous conception of German strength.

WHY IT HAPPENED

The question has been asked, time and again, how did Von Rundstedt manage to mount such a large-scale offensive without detection by Allied air reconnaissance, or by intelligence?

Significantly, there had been reports of German "reserves" pouring into the front. These movements had been seen. But they were totally misinterpreted. The Allied high command assumed that these German troops marching to the front were replacements.

The Allied high command, in a word, overestimated seriously the effects on the German army of the deadly battle of attrition (blood-letting) raging on the Western front.

Also, the Allied high command excluded the possibility of the Wehrmacht making any serious counter-offensive, because it accepted the popular view that Germany was on its last legs. (Max Werner was the most vociferous exponent of this false idea.)

That is why the Wehrmacht did the "impos-

The Allied view was that the German armies were operating on a shoestring. One serious largescale battle would seal its fate. Eisenhower's winter offensive was begun for precisely that reason. His prediction of an early conclusion to the European phase of the war arose from this theory he

GERMAN STRATEGY BECOMES CLEARER

Front line dispatches, and the usual distortion by headline writers deceived the American public into believing that the winter offensive was succeeding. Actually, the only important gains were made in strictly secondary areas. Eisenhower's major drive in the Aachen sector was limited. This was the background for the German counteroffensive, from the Western front.

One other major factor, however, must be taken into consideration, namely the situation on the Eastern front and its relation to the events on the Western front.

The German high command in a repetition of its strategy of the First World War, although the strategy was in slightly different form, had decided to force a decision on the West, while weakening its strength in the East.

Von Runstedt judged that the Russian armies would not make a major offensive of sufficient strength to derail his Western front schedule. The comparative inactivity of the Soviet army on the vital Polish-East Prussian front, its preoccupation with political maneuvers in the Balkans and Hungary and its lack of offensive punch, which exhausted itself seriously in the summer drive; these factors determined Von Runstedt's strategy. It was simply an application of Germany military views as ably presented by Von Leeb in his major work,

Thus far, the only Allied counter-measures have been the series of counter-attacks, rear-guard actions and air blows against the German advance when weather permits.

The hope has been expressed by Eisenhower that the present German offensive is the last big gamble of the German high command; that German reserves are committed so deeply that the present battle can be turned into a decisive one in which Allied quantitative superiority finally will emerge, as victor; an army super-serve traffing

STRUGGLE WILL SHARPEN

This idea contains the same fundamental approach as the one on which the Allied high command operated. It presupposes a lack "of the independent will of the enemy."

It is quite probable that Von Runstedt, who doesn't make many mistakes, has defined his objectives exactly. Perhaps the major part of the counter-offensive has already been finished. Von Runstedt might easily be occupied in exploiting the remnants of his victory.

Already he has succeeded in disrupting for a few months any Allied offensive against Germany. Once he consolidates his gains he hopes to turn his attention to any belated Russian moves.

Even if the Allies finally drive him back to the Siegfried line, the job will be a costly one, adding to the losses sustained in the present defeat. In any case, the Wehrmacht is assured of more time for other counter-measures to an all-out offensive.

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in the same with all and arm with

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ALBERT GATES, Editor

a fin red to a fill to be

January 1, 1945

MARY BELL, Ass't Editor TAR YOU KE NAME.

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Re-entered as second-class matter May 24, 1940, at the Post Office at New York, N. Y., under the Act of March 3, 1879.

Commons , with certain housing demands?

goods, but not for clothing for a working class family. They proved, by government figures, that there has been a systematic increase in the manufacture of higher-priced cottons and a simultaneing for British imperialism. ous decrease in production of apparel for the workand his family. They pointed out that the policy

Of Special Interest to Women

The petition circulated by the Congress of Women's Auxiliaries, CIO, read in part: "We are housewives and mothers. Our families, and especially our children, need clothes. We cannot today buy the clothes we need at prices we can afford. Some things, especially durable children's clothes, we cannot buy at any price. Many of us need to make part of our clothes. Today we cannot buy cloth good enough to justify the effort we put into sewing. We are desperate. Some of us cannot even

of OPA has encouraged the profit-grubbing manu-

suitable clothes." Direct pressure of this kind has brought promises of relief. It will take even more effective pressure to get tangible results.

send our children to school because they have no

ENGLISH WOMEN FIGHT FOR HOUSING

From across the Atlantic come the sounds and signs of increased activity to give the bombed-out people of England a place to lay their heads. It seems that 130,000 workers have been brought from all parts of the United Kingdom to restore London's houses and build huts for shelter. Even the Yanks are included in the plans, involving some 3000 of them assigned by General Eisenhower, with an allotment of bulldozers, trucks and cement

mixers for the job. Why the vim and vigor? What has happened to divert a small fraction of Churchill's attention from killing Greek people to providing a little housing for English people?

Can it be a coincidence that recently some six hundred women, representing thousands of housewives and war workers from all parts of England, Scotland and Wales, converged on the House of

·While a demonstration was held by these women outside the House of Parliament, a delegation of them went to see the ministers of Reconstruction and Works, and another deputation presented their case to the members of Parliament. Among the demands of the demonstrators are that the government immediately buy land for building houses, that it speed up the repair of bomb damage, that it control rents at a level within the reach of the average working class family.

By SUSAN GREEN

Housewives from the Clyde region told the august members of Parliament about their "luxurious" homes where the bread had to be hung on strings to keep it from the rats. Mothers told these politicians for the landlords and capitalists, of how they are bringing up as many as five children in one room-while their husbands are fight-

HUNGER "RIOTS" IN ROME

In Rome-which now has "liberty" based on subservience to the "liberators"-for the first time in perhaps years some hundreds of poor people have tasted a bit of sugar, fruit, cheese, meat or bread made of real flour. These were not gifts from the "liberators" to the starved Roman poor. What happened was that women, workmen and children decided to eat from the stocks horder by the black

marketeers for the exclusive use of the rich. There is a dire scarcity of food in devastated Italy. What food there is, is played around with by profiteers on the black market. This condition prevailed under Mussolini and the Nazi, and now under the allied "liberators." There are, of course, official prices but they are observed even less than official OPA prices here. For example, sugar officially is 15 lire a kilo; actually it is 700 lire. Officially olive oil is 39 lire a liter; actually the black market price is 650 lire. Butter should cost 40 lire

a kilo; the black market price is 750 to 800 lire. So on December 7th a thousand housewives, children and a sprinkling of men started to help the police enforce official prices. Those who had money forced the storekeepers to accept official prices for their merchandise. Then the inevitable occurred. Those who had no money helped themselves to food anyway. Soon many of the chiselers, frightened by the actions of the people, "voluntarily" offered their goods at official prices and even for nothing. The same thing happened on

When the chief of police in Rome was asked the cause of this quest of hungry people for food -ealled a "riot" by those who have enough to eat -this official had the good grace to answer simply: "HUNGER!" So at least on December 7th and 8th some poor Roman citizens had a bite to eat.

December 8th.

it was supporting the Vichyites in

But what about the world security

There was the pact of mutual as-

There was the mutual pledge be-

There were pacts between Russia

A Socialist Review of 1944

Greetings to the Conventions of the UAW-CIO and UMWA-

Freedom we Fight for"

Stalin Recognizes the Fascist Badoglio!

How About Your Friends Survey Proves Survey Profits 1940-1943

How About Your Friends Survey Proves Survey Profits 1940-1943

Profits and Steel Profits 1940-1943

No-Strike Pledge

Republication of the UAW-CIO and UMWA—

A New World Must be Bottle

Republication Candidate Militarism For Post-War Use

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SOCIALISM

Fighting Conversed to the UAW-CIO and UMWA—

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Fighting Conve

By MARY BELL

If one scans the headlines of the past year, they seem a hodge-podge of events, with little rhyme and less reason to them. As the year began, the railway workers and steel workers were taking strike votes; the Italian people had overthrown Mus-

solini and were being Amgotted. Later occurred the invasion of Fortress Europe. for which the world had been holding its breath in horrible expectation. The French people, aided by the Allies; expelled

the Germans. A half dozen labor conventions were held in this country throughout the year, and the announcement was made of more than half a million American casualties in the course of the war. The year has ended in a new, bigger, deadlier battle on the Western front in Europe, with new heaps of twisted metal and torn bodies.

A year is an arbitrary division of time and a short one, reckoned by the span of history. But since this is the era of machine production, mass output, motor-driven transport, jet-propelled planes and rocket bombs, events occur rapidly. And it seems particularly fitting at the close of 1944 to assess the important events of the year from a SOCIAL-IST point of view.

The locomotive of history, according to socialists, is the struggle of classes. Today, in capitalist-imperialist society, it is the struggle of the working class and the "little people" of the world for security.

Let us examine this struggle of the workers to better their existence and attain security.

S. L. Avery Spells Slavery

Battle on the Home Front

Over-all employment was still pretty close to the wartime peak. Unemployment was at an all-time low. But wages were way out of line with prices. Part of the class struggle was a battle of statistics. labor maintaining the cost of living had risen 45.3 per cent, the Bureau of Labor Statistics that it had risen only 23.5 per cent.

But the President's directive had frozen wages to the famous Little Steel formula, by which they were not permitted to

rise more than fifteen per cent over a 1941 average! Those antilabor forces who ranted about the "wealthy war workers" stubbed their toes over the hard fact that 40 per cent of all American workers

still make under 65 cents an hour, Senator Pepper's recommendation for a minimum

Of all the proposed freezes, only the wage and job freezes, those which lower the standard of living of the working class, held.

(Readers of LABOR ACTION know that there was one exception to the 'hold the line" of the wage freeze. That was in the upper brackets, among the captains of industry. Alfred P. Sloan, of General Motors, received \$200,000 for his year's work, or slightly under \$100 an hour, on a forty-hour week. Some will say that prices went up for Mr. Sloan, just as much as for the sixty-fivecents-an-hour factory worker.)

which garnered ten billion dollars of profit during the year, according to the report of the Truman Commit-The wage freeze for workers held

The over-all profits of industry for

1943 were announced in 1944. World

War II proved a mint to business,

for one reason only. Labor in 1944 celebrated the black mass of the third anniversary of the no-strike pledge, given originally by the top leaders of the unions over the heads of the membership.

WLB and the No-Strike Pledge

The corollary of the no-strike pledge, the War Labor Board, has become renowned throughout the labor movement as the cemetery of all labor disputes. When Van Bittner of the CIO was asked about the possibility of speeding up War Labor Board procedure, he replied with a contemptuous summing up of labor's attitude toward FDR's brain-child: "You can't de-louse a louse."

The rank and file of labor became restive under the pledge, the high cost of living, long hours at no greater real wages, exhortations to speed up, to "sacrifice," etc. The high peak of this dissatisfaction came at the UAW convention, where the ranks voted to submit to a nation-wide union referendum, the question of whether they want to retain the nostrike pledge. This action signified a mistrust of the leaders who gave the pledge and a strong sentiment against the pledge.

The struggle of the working class Labor Politics and meant in other unions a struggle against the leadership, which was suffering from no-strike-pledgitis. These included the straight, old-fashioned, rock-ribbed type of Sherman Dalrymple, whose own local of the United Rubber Workers expelled him for a period when he went too far in firing and fining men for company-provoked walkouts.

Opposition was mobilized against the Stalinists (the label was changed on the bottle, but the Communist Political Association is still poison to the working

class) in the shipbuilding union, the electrical workers and others. The Communist bellwether in the NMU, Harry Bridges, nominated himself for the least

popular man of the year by proposing a permanent no-strike pledge. Since the unions were manacled, big business had a field day, not merely in the realm of profit-taking,

but in a real offensive against the labor movement. The knight of this crusade was Sewell L. Avery, who pays his employees \$21 a week, who has managed to defy the War Labor Board for over a year and who has provoked a strike in the citadel of labor in Detroit, where even the local labor leaders are forced to support the picket lines.

Reimbued with courage due to the business offensive against labor and perhaps realizing the government was more serious in crushing the left (the leaders of the Socialist Workers Party, who spent the year in prison for opposition to imperialist war) than the right (the assorted Bundists, whose prosecution has not yet been completed), such rabble - rousers as Father Coughlin and Gerald L. K. Smith took to the air and activity

Reconversion

Labor did the usual thing politically in 1944, i.e., supported Roosevelt, but NOT in the usual way. The CIO Political Action Committee, organizationally independent from the Democratic Party, was born. Its prominent role in re-electing Rooseveli sed a question which unionists to run society not for profits, but for are still mulling over: If labor can

do so much wth a political organization of its own, what could it do with its own program and genuine labor candidates?

Michigan brought forth a form of a Labor Party, the Michigan Commonwealth Federation, with a labor program. This organization, however, crossed class lines on Election Day and its evolution is still in doubt. The soldiers' right to vote was curtailed by the failure of Congress to pass on a uniform federal ballot.

The first crack in the employment structure appeared at the very beginning of the year and was followed at intervals by others. We refer to the shock of the Brewster cutback, followed by others in Buffalo aircraft, National Tube, steel, etc.

The slogans of the sit-in of the Brewster workers dramatized the plight of millions of workers to

We've got the tools, We've got the ability, We've got the experience, We've got the will, But we ain't got the work!

In anticipation of the usual postwar depression and the growing cutback unemployment, labor became concerned in 1944 with full employment. Roosevelt was moved to promise sixty million jobs. But the pronouncements of capitalists gave the lie to any fulfillment of a promise by a capitalist politician to achieve that

Ten million unemployed are normal, say the capitalists. In other words, except in time of war, when the factories and farms are used mainly to create goods of destruction, the U. S. must have a permanent depression. That is, if "free enterprise" - the system Roosevelt is pledged to uphold-remains, the days of apple-selling, ploughing-under and WPA will return.

They will return unless labor draws the lessons of the year 1944, and all previous years of capitalist exploitation, and forms its own political party, with its own program, peace, plenty and security for all!

The International Scene

Domestic anti-labor, pro-capitalist politics were carried abroad.

Despite propaganda to the contrary, the overthrow of Mussolini proved that most all Italians except the capitalists and upper classes were opposed to fascism, and were merely waiting for the opportunity to overthrow it.

The armistice imposed on the Italians grants to the Allied powers the right virtually to select the Italian government, despite the proclamation of the Four Freedoms and the Atlantic Charter.

The French people, too, showed their hatred of Nazism by helping to oust the invader. But no elections have yet been held in France. A usurper, General de Gaulle, has proclaimed himself leader of the French people, with Allied backing. Despite the aspirations of the people which he voiced prior to returning to France, such as expropriation of the monopolies and greater representation of labor, these have been unfulfilled, the Nazi - collaborators have not been wiped out, and France continues through him the exploitation of 10,000,000 colonial Arabs.

Again, in flagrant violation of the asserted principles of this war, Poland became a

vassal to Russia. She was marked as part of the Russian sphere of influence at Tehe-State Department

has agreed to this division of the spoils. Other parts of the Balkans, incluing Romania, where even the anti - Jewish laws remained intact,

fell to the Russians in this second redivision of the world.

If the Atlantic Charter was torn and riddled before, it was buried in

Athens at the end of 1944. Here the ELAS, military organization of a people which had never compromised with fascism and which was on the side of the United Nations, was forced to fight the British for the right of self - rule. Britain imposed a government which repre-

sented no one in Greece save a handful of royalist reactionaries to maintain her hold on one of the outposts of her empire.

In Greece, Stalin too sees another neighboring state, with the possibility of a Mediterranean port, so valuable to trade, that would be a fitting jewel in the new Russian Empire.

And Roosevelt has acquiesced in these imperialist acts

To the end of United States imperialism, Roosevelt has studded the new State Department with eighteencarat millionaires, including Stettinius, formerly associated with J. P. Morgan and steel interests and Clayton, cotton broker, who did business with fascism.

As for the solution to the war and international ills, it remains the same as for domestic unhappiness: the forward march of all laboring and exploited masses, to eliminate the profiteers, the war makers, the class oppressors.

Socialists are for genuine national independence for the liberated countries, and a workers' government.

British "Democracy" in Greece



Justice: Two Kinds

ican Nazis and anti-Semites for conspiring against the U.S. Government came to a close last week when Judge Eicher, who conducted the trial, died. It will probably never be reopened.

The New York Post reported that, according to a high government official, the trial would be dropped if a mistrial were declared. The twentysix fascists are planning to cause a mistrial by refusing a substitute judge, making it necessary to select a new jury as well as a new judge before the trial can start again.

The Department of Justice is reported to be "reluctant to resume the tedious presentation of all the evidence." The reluctance of the Department of Justice will permit the twenty-six fascists to go scot-free.

The trial up to now has been a farce. Elizabeth Dilling toured the Midwest addressing America First meetings while on trial, Lois de Lafayette Washburn, who come into court heiling Hitler, later disappeared from the courtroom. Others went to work for different corporations which kindly provided them with jobs WHILE THEY WERE ON TRIAL FOR SEDITION!

The attitude of the Department of Justice in this trial is interestingly different from its attitude in the case of the eighteen members of the So-

The trial of the twenty-six Amer- cialist Workers Party who were tried and convicted on framed-up charges of conspiracy and sedition, despite the protests of organized labor and civil liberties organizations. There was no "reluctance" on the part of the prosecution in this labor case to present "evidence," which consisted mainly of excerpts from books by Karl Marx, which can be obtained at any public library.

When the eighteen get out of prison, they will be on every employer's

The treatment of the two cases, one against avowed fascists, the other against revolutionary socialists, is symbolic of the class justice meted out by courts and the government.

The trial of the twenty-six fascists and the attitude of the Justice Department are not without precedent in the history of trials of fascists by "democratic" capitalist governments. In democratic pre-Hitler Germany, Nazis brought to trial were treated with the same "tenderness." It is well known that Hitler served a "jail sentence" under conditions comparable to a visit at the Waldorf-Astoria.

The fascists in every country have connections with big business and friends in the government so that they are immune from effective prosecution. The fiasco of the trial of the twenty-six native fascists should indicate to the labor movement that it cannot rely on the government, or on anybody but itself, to fight American

ATTENTION, CHICAGO READERS!

UNITED PROTEST MEETING

AGAINST BRITISH RULE IN GREECE!

HANDS OFF GREECE

Let Them Choose Their Own Government!

SPEAKERS

MAX SHACHTMAN Nat'l Sec'y, Workers Party

VIRGIL VOGEL Young Peoples Socialist League

MAYNARD KRUEGER Nat'l Chairman, Socialist Party

C. B. COWAN Revolutionary Workers League

Sunday, January 7th, 7:00 P. M., Garrick Hall, 64 W. Randolph St.

Auspices: UNITED PROTEST COMMITTEE

WORKERS PARTY YOUNG PEOPLES SOCIALIST LEAGUE

SOCIALIST PARTY REVOLUTIONARY WORKERS LEAGUE

Churchill in Greece

(Continued from page 1)

may have about a really free and independent Greece. If Sophoulis had been permitted to become Premier, even though he too would be a puppet, the Greeks would have felt that it had been accomplished through their own actions. And tomorrow, when Sophoulis showed that he was no better than Papandreou, the Greeks would have remembered how they got rid of his predecessor. Churchill, of course, understood all this, and that is why he refused to permit Papandreou, one of his puppets, to resign.

POWER POLITICS

British control of the Mediterranean also means bringing Turkey completely into the British orbit. In the days when the Soviet Union was led by Lenin and Trotsky, Turkey could behave like an independent nation, knowing that Soviet Russia had no expansionist aims, and would even aid her if some of the big powers attacked her. Today that is different. Turkey is being crowded on all sides, and she will seek allies. Whoever controls the Mediterranean will have a real inside track in this alignment.

Britain also fears Russian expansion into Macedonian Greece in search of a Mediterranean port or two, This explains the great game of bargaining between Churchill and Stalin over Poland and the Balkans. Churchill publicly told Stalin: "You

take Poland, but let me have Greece!" Where does the U. S. fit in this picture? American imperialism is against any European blocs which would inevitably be directed against her. She wants a Europe dependent on American capitalism. This would be, more profitable for American in-

These are the reasons behind Churchill's and Eden's Yuletide trip to Greece. They are panicky. Their imperialist partners, Russia and the U. S., are awaiting the chance to break the British hold on this prized possession that they have been milking for 120 years.

dustry and finance.

The Greek people, however, did not fight German fascism and British imperialism in order to trade them in for the rule of American capitalism or Stalin's GPU. For the time being, the Communist Party in Greece is riding high, but its fall will be inevitable. For in crises such as these the policy of the Greek Stalinists will reveal their betrayal at great speed.

Next Week:

THE VANISHED ATLANTICE CHARTER By Albert Gates THE CARTEL MYSTERY

By V. P. Jensen A DICTIONARY FOR WORKERS By Stanley Grey