

IT IS TIME FOR LABOR TO ACT—

Fight Wage-Cuts With Strike Weapon!

By WALTER WEISS

In the week since V-E day "Assistant President" Vinson and the heads of various war agencies have unfolded to the people their reconversion plans.

The famous "free" press of the United States seemed to feel that, besides the Army's point system and the food shortages (both of which are obviously important to every family), there was nothing else worth playing up in the government's plans except the passing of the brownout, the curfew, and the ban on horse racing.

We believe that workers are deeply concerned about unemployment, wages, prices, and taxes. What did the government have to say about these matters? Nothing that has not already been reported in LABOR ACTION. However, now that the information is fully official, we want to present a review of the whole situation.

Jobs

Perhaps the most significant thing in Vinson's report is his answer to his own question, "What help is available to displaced (that is, by cutbacks—Ed.) workers?"

He answers: "FOR ONE THING (all emphasis in the quotation is ours—Ed.), unemployment compensation is available to released workers in all states. The MAXIMUM payments vary from \$15 to \$22 per week; the number of weekly payments, from about 10 TO 20."

He is able to say "for one thing," but that is as far as he can go. There is nothing for him to add. And he is very careful, you will notice, not to mention minimums.

Unemployment at the end of a year, he believes, will be 2½ millions. Both business and labor leaders scoff at that prediction as definitely too low.

Wages

According to a business reporter (Journal of Commerce, May 10), Vinson said emphatically that the Little Steel formula and all the other criteria of the wage stabilization policy are to be kept. He added that the various economic groups were now in a fair and equitable relationship to each other! Our readers will recall that, according to official figures, corporation profits after all taxes have been averaging twice their prewar level. Vinson considers that fair and equitable.

The Vinson report promises that "every attempt will be made to prevent drastic and unwarranted wage cuts." But cuts of five or ten cents an hour probably wouldn't be considered drastic, would they? As a matter of fact, many workers, thrown out of jobs as the result of cutbacks,

have had to take much bigger wage cuts than that.

The report adds, in a magnificent understatement, that "it will not be possible to assure every workers that his take-home pay will remain unchanged. . . ." It offers one little ray of hope by suggesting that "some increase in wage rates can be adjusted for a shorter work week. . . ." The War Labor Board, however, in a statement that followed Vinson's, put all its emphasis on keeping wage rates frozen where they are, except in cases of conversion to altogether different kinds of work. In those cases, you can safely bet, the changes will be downward. Besides, as workers are laid off, those remaining will be reclassified to fill lower-paying jobs, as well as taking a cut by loss of overtime.

Prices

The line on prices is to be held, too—just as it has been in the past. That is, in words alone. Goods that have been out of production are to come back at 1942 price levels. Naturally, these will be at the highest 1942

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Strike Over Firings at Bethlehem Co.

By JOHN BARNES

LACKAWANNA, N. Y.—More than three thousand steel workers at the Bethlehem plants here are out on strike and indications are that they will be joined soon by the six thousand men still at work, forcing a complete shutdown of operations.

The background for the walkout was laid on Friday, May 11, when the company cut two workers from a limestone crew of eight men, claiming that production cutbacks made such a cut necessary. The following day the crew affected walked off the job. The No. 1 open hearth crew immediately followed suit. In a show of sympathy and solidarity the No. 2 and No. 3 open hearth crews walked out soon afterward. Then the blast furnace workers took the cue and came out solid, bringing the total number of men out to more than three thousand on all shifts.

The company immediately set up the familiar smokescreen, calling the strike a violation of labor's no-strike pledge and charging that the removal of the two workers from the limestone crew was justifiable and more-

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For What?



Frankenstein Candidate For Mayor of Detroit

Richard T. Frankenstein, vice-president of the Auto Workers Union, is a candidate for Mayor of Detroit. He and six other candidates will oppose Mayor Jeffries in the so-called non-partisan primaries on August 7, when the run-off candidates for Mayor and nine City Council members will be chosen. The final elections are held in November.

Jeffries was elected Mayor two years ago against the opposition of the CIO which at that time supported Fitzgerald, a well known member of the Democratic Party. Jeffries' campaign was marked by open hostility to the CIO and by a venomous attack upon the Negro population of the city. Fitzgerald hedged on every question, leaving the CIO without a spokesman in the campaign.

Frankenstein was filed as a candidate by Tracy Doll, secretary of the Wayne County PAC, and several days later was endorsed by the CIO Political Unity Commit-

tee in Wayne County. This unity committee was formed as a substitute for the Wayne County PAC, as a concession to the Communist Party forces in the CIO. The Wayne County PAC, controlled by anti-CP elements, was shelved by R. J. Thomas in favor of the unity committee, consisting of representatives from the CP-controlled Wayne County Industrial Union Council and the former Wayne County PAC.

In addition to Frankenstein, the CIO committee has thus far announced its endorsement of three candidates for City Council:

Tracy Doll, member of Local 154, UAW, and secretary of the PAC in Wayne County.

George Edwards, member of the CIO and at present a member of the City Council, having been elected with the support of the CIO.

The Rev. Charles A. Hill, a prominent Negro.

World Labor Leaders Begging for Admission to San Francisco Conference

By GERTRUDE SHAW

At the World Trade Union Conference held last February in London, the delegates charged its administrative committee with the responsibility of getting representation for organized labor at the various peace conferences.

Following this directive, the CIO invited to these shores the administrative committee of the WTUC—all set for an honored and conspicuous role at the San Francisco conference.

To the embarrassment of Sidney Hillman and Philip Murray, it soon

became plain that the arrangers for the San Francisco conference, had given not one thought to the CIO and their foreign labor guests. First, there was the danger of being left behind for lack of pre-arranged transportation. Second, the union leaders were entirely forgotten in preparing San Francisco hotel accommodations, and the laborites were exiled across the bay to Oakland. Third, not only were the WTUC committee not given official recognition at the big powwow, they had difficulty even in getting standing room at the general sessions.

From the opening of the San Francisco wind-jamming fest till May 2nd, the representatives of organized labor assembled in Oakland, waited patiently—hat in hand—for recognition by Stettinius and the other big shots. Then they began to tug at the coattails of the well-groomed big boys, to call attention to their existence.

The tugging took the form of a demand addressed to Stettinius. This demand for official participation in the San Francisco conference was signed by Sidney Hillman, Walter

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Russia Bids for Colonial Trusteeship, Too

By STEPHEN PARKER

The San Francisco Conference was treated last week to a sudden outburst of concern for the subjugated colonial peoples of the world. The Russian delegation suggested that "international trusteeship" should have as its basic purpose the development of "self-government and self-determination of the colonial peoples." In this they echoed part of an idea advanced by Roosevelt before his death.

Not one word was mentioned about the colonial peoples themselves hav-

ing anything to say about the achievement of their national independence. Instead, the Security Council, of which Russia is to be a permanent member, is to see to it that these objectives are to be carried out. At the same time it should not interfere with the retention and development on the part of the great powers of "strategic areas and bases."

Stalin, Molotov & Co. are now added to the many friends of the colonial peoples. They join the illustrious imperialist statesmen of Brit-

ain—Churchill, Eden, Halifax and Wavell: They too have promised the Indian people, for example, their ultimate independence many times. They have made speeches about it in Parliament. They have sent special committees to India. They have reassured their American liberal friends that this is their aim and purpose. And at the same time they have continued to fill the jails in India and the other colonies with the leaders of the colonial peoples who have been fighting just for that.

The Russian proposal is just an-

Fight Profit Bund With a Labor Party!

The real plans of the government in Washington on reconversion have again been revealed by the report of the Joint Congressional Committee on Internal Revenue Taxation, a report which it is said has already received the tentative approval of President Truman.

The report of this committee calls for refunds to corporations in the amount of \$5,700,000,000, to be obtained by cuts in the rates on excess profits, lowering rates in general and speeding up refunds to the corporations, which have been making the greatest profits in the history of the country. This program is to be carried through in the next two years and is only preliminary to more widespread returns to big business which will come with the defeat of Japan, or even sooner.

The reporters for this program were Representative Doughton, of the House Ways and Means Committee, and Senator George, chairman of the Senate Finance Committee, two well known big business representatives in the Senate and the House. Senator George is the same person who only a few days ago stated that it was wrong to guarantee jobs for 60,000,000 workers, urging that big business must be permitted to take its course to provide employment.

This handout to big business is all the more scandalous when it is remembered that even Mobilization Director Vinson pointed out that the cost of reconversion to big business will be "not

more than \$3 billion," as against business reserves already set aside in the amount of \$20 billion.

Firings and Strike at Continental

DETROIT—With all the arrogance and high-handed arbitrariness of the bosses in the pre-CIO days, the Continental Motors Corp. discharged 48 men last Thursday and followed through on Friday by laying off 1,500 men without as much as a nod in the direction of the union.

These blatant violations of contract are designed to break the strength of Local 280, UAW-CIO, and are but one more episode in the anti-labor offensive the bosses are now waging in Detroit. The 7,000 workers of Continental Motors answered the bosses by shutting down the plant. The strike is being led by the local leadership and, what is most significant of all, has the active support of International Representative McDaniels and Regional Director of the Area Norman Matthews.

The events leading up to the strike action were the culmination of a series of smaller provocations on the part of the management. On May 10, 48 workers were fired, among them a deputy chief steward. The company's reason was that the men refused to farm out to another department. However, the contract specifically states that when there is no work in any department the men can EITHER farm out or go home for the day on no-stock passes. The company refused to give these men the passes. Their right to these no-stock passes is written in the contract in very plain language. But the management was not interested in living up to its contract; it was bent on breaking it. The men were fired. The company knew it was violating the contract but as much as said: "So what! What are you going to do about it?"

An answer came back fast. The discharged men picketed the gates. The Thursday night midnight shift stayed out. Friday the plant was down. Then came the company's attempted solar-plexus blow against the union. Without any notice to the union or to the men involved, without going over any seniority lists with the bargaining committee, the

company refused to give these men the passes. Their right to these no-stock passes is written in the contract in very plain language. But the management was not interested in living up to its contract; it was bent on breaking it. The men were fired. The company knew it was violating the contract but as much as said: "So what! What are you going to do about it?"

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Nor is that all. In addition to the present handout contained in the Joint Committee's proposal and the \$20 billion reserve, big business has piled up enormous profits which are not reckoned in these figures. Profits have increased from the figure of \$4.2 billion in 1939 to \$9.9 billion in 1944, the latter figure now being acknowledged by economists as too low.

If anyone wonders how this is possible, it should be remembered that the government in Washington is a big business government. It is a government of the capitalists and that is why all measures taken by it now, as in the past, favor big business. Thus, while it is doing everything in its power to fatten the profit-bloated monopolists of this country even more, it does nothing to aid labor in the present period of rising cutback unemployment. Nor is it doing anything to prepare for the coming rise of unemployment by the millions, something which is freely predicted by government bodies, economists and business experts of all kinds.

It is clear that what is needed is a fighting labor program to meet the problems of reconversion. To date, the labor officials have been doing a lot of talking and writing. But little or no action has been taken by them. They appear to be more concerned with upholding the no-strike pledge which employers use to break down union standards and to undermine the union movement than with a real struggle for labor's needs.

What is needed is a program for guaranteed employment and guaranteed wages. But this cannot be achieved by playing the game of the bosses' politics or running down to Washington to get insulted by politicians whose aims consist solely of defending the interests of the profiteers.

It means to organize labor around a fighting economic program. It means to organize labor politically to fight for such a program. It means to organize a political party of the workers, a Labor Party which will fight for:

Government planning to guarantee the highest national production and income, a year-around job and a minimum annual wage to all, and a rising standard of living!

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Capitalists Receive Their "Unemployment Benefits"

For those who do not yet understand the meaning of the phrase, "the capitalist government in Washington," the following facts ought to help. LABOR ACTION long ago pointed out that "equality of sacrifice" only meant that labor and poor people have done all the sacrificing, while big business enriched itself during the war at their expense. Labor produced all the wealth in this country which made possible the highest profits in American history.

V-E Day has come and the fruits of the war are being passed around. Labor is getting cutbacks, unemployment and reduced wages. Big business is getting refunds on taxes to swell its fattened reserves. Here is part of a list of big firms and estimated refunds on taxes they have paid.

P.S.—There will be no tax refunds for labor!

	Estimated Post-war Tax Refund	Refund per Share of Common Stock
Allegheny Ludlum Steel	\$3,211,000	\$2.54
American Brake Shoe	1,211,000	1.65
American Locomotive	6,092,000	4.40
American Woolen	2,560,000	6.40
Chrysler Corp.	3,804,000	0.87
Crucible Steel	4,558,000	10.25
E. I. du Pont de Nemours	23,002,000	2.07
Eastman Kodak	10,211,000	4.12
Elastic Stop Nut Corp.	1,006,000	1.46
Endicott Johnson Corp.	483,000	1.19
Fansteel Metallurgical	620,000	2.38
Federal Motor Truck	523,000	1.06
Firestone Tire & Rubber	4,946,000	2.54
General Electric	34,915,000	1.21
General Foods Corp.	2,700,000	0.48
B. F. Goodrich	5,834,000	4.48
W. T. Grant	1,854,000	1.55
Hazel-Atlas Glass	1,984,000	4.57
Hercules Powder	4,442,000	3.28
Ingersoll-Rand	4,506,000	4.49
International Business Machines	6,640,000*	6.08
International Harvester	3,815,000	0.86

*Includes Canadian excess-profits tax credit also.

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Out of the Past "He Died for His Class"

By RUTH PHILLIPS

ON NOVEMBER 11, 1918, the First World War came to a close. This "industrial and commercial war," as President Woodrow Wilson later called it, produced 20,000 new millionaires and multi-millionaires in the United States. It had changed the United States from a six billion dollar debtor nation into a thirteen billion dollar creditor nation.

Among the great corporations which had reaped the spoils of war in the form of smaller profits was the lumber trust. The lumber trust had succeeded during the war, through violence and intimidation, in breaking the strength of the Lumber Workers Industrial Union, organized by the Industrial Workers of the World. One of the few remaining centers of the union was in Centralia, Wash.

Wesley Everest had been one of the organizers of the Lumber Workers Union in the state of Washington. When America entered the war he changed his lumberjack's work clothes for a soldier's uniform. In France, Wesley Everest won several medals for valor. While he fought "to make the world safe for democracy" abroad, his efforts to build economic democracy at home, through his union, were being undermined. The lumber trust, in a campaign to destroy the last vestiges of the union in the state of Washington, symbolically chose Armistice Day, 1918, to raid the union hall in Centralia.

BUSINESS MEN'S VIOLENCE

Wesley Everest, World War veteran, came home from France and went back to his job as a lumber

worker and organizer for his union. Despite the Armistice Day raid, the union was reestablishing itself. The lumber workers were organizing against post-war pay cuts. The Employers Association of Washington was organizing, too. In a bulletin to its members it proposed to "Hang the Bolsheviks," "Put the IWW in Jail" and to "Import Japanese and Chinese Labor" as methods of breaking the union.

"Citizens' Protective Leagues" composed of respectable people who had spent the war at home "earning" profits, were organized. Newspapers like the Centralia Hub, controlled organ of the lumber trust, were spreading hysterical anti-union propaganda. The union issued an appeal to the town's citizens for protection against threats of violence.

One year after the "war to end wars," on Armistice Day, 1919, open CLASS war flared up in Centralia. It was class war provoked by the employers. A parade of the American Legion, led by Warren Grimm, Centralia business man and veteran of the American Expeditionary Forces in Siberia which fought against the Soviet Republic, was staged in the streets of Centralia. This strange parade of business men in veterans' uniforms, organized ostensibly to celebrate the "peace" of 1918, was armed with ropes and guns. As it approached the lumber workers' hall the leaders yelled: "Let's go! At 'em boys!" and the "parade" became an attacking mob.

The workers in the hall fought it out. Four of the "patriotic" mob were killed as the union men fought in self-defense. But the workers

were outnumbered. All were rounded up except one man, Wesley Everest. He broke through the mob and made for the river. He was followed by the firing mob. Unable to ford the river, he faced his attackers and shouted that he was willing to surrender to any properly constituted authority. Bullets continued to come at him. He was seized by the mob.

When he was thrown into jail with his fellow workers he was bleeding and beaten. His front teeth knocked out with a rifle butt. Late that night the lights of Centralia suddenly went out. The door of the jail was smashed. The mob had returned for Wesley Everest, veteran of the First World War for democracy.

Wesley Everest stood and faced his lynchers. He said to his brother unionists: "Tell the boys I died for my class." During that terrible night he was subjected to sadistic tortures, then hanged from a bridge. His lynchers were never brought into a court of law.

Instead seven of his fellow unionists were convicted of murder in the second degree for the death of Warren Grimm, who had been killed in the attack on the union hall. Despite the plea of the jury for leniency, the judge gave the men the full limit of the law—25 to 40 years in the penitentiary. Six members of that same jury later swore under oath that they had been terrorized into handing down a verdict of guilty.

Wesley Everest, fighting for capitalist "democracy" in France, was decorated with medals of valor by a "grateful government." Fighting for economic democracy in his own country, he died a martyr's death.

NEWS AND VIEWS FROM THE LABOR FRONT

Michigan CIO Against Conscription

Does the end of the war with Germany and Japan bring with it a promise of peace for the future? Even the statesmen and diplomats who are paid for their skill in sugar coating an ugly situation can't make it appear so. The features of the dove of peace that hovered over Yalta and now over San Francisco are beginning to look more like those of a vulture every day.

The closer to military victory in Europe that we get, the more feverish seem to be the preparations for the next war. Former Secretary of State, Cordell Hull, in sending his pious good wishes to the San Francisco delegates cautions them that the structure they create there must be one "of constant alertness to danger, of cooperative effort in support of peace and security and freedom and progress, of willingness to compose differences by peaceful adjustment, or readiness to use force, if necessary for the maintenance of peace."

In other words, "the maintenance of peace" becomes synonymous with the use of force. And at the same time that the iron fist in the gloved hand is being displayed at the United Nations parley along with honeyed words and worried looks cast at Russia, Congress has pending a bill for peacetime conscription of seventeen year olds.

A LABOR REPLY

The Michigan CIO News takes up the arguments which have been made on behalf of the bill, one by one and exposes how honey each one

is. Incidentally, there are some people in the labor movement who believe that it is a good way of solving the unemployment problem. The article answers these people as well.

The arguments for the bill run something like this. It will build up the health and morale of our young men, give them an education, remove them from the lists of unemployed, and get some necessary construction done for the good of the country.

"If health is what we are after, let's have a health program, not a war rehearsal," says the CIO article. "Let's have free medical care for children, young people and adults. Let's have full employment with incomes high enough to fill everyone's needs for proper food."

"If education is desirable, let's have an educational program, not a rehearsal of war. Let there be good teachers and adequate funds so that all may have an opportunity to develop. Let there be free college training for those of ability, regardless of income."

"If 'moral fitness' is desired, then hasten the time when young people can establish themselves in industry or business, get married and build a family life, instead of turning the seventeen year olds to the drill-sergeant. This means full employment. Even 'high levels of employment' will not accomplish this for the young folks."

"Now, if forestry or anything else is work that needs doing, the American people have no business

sweating the kids to get it done cheap, nor is there any logical connection between regimentation and planting trees. Forestry is forestry. The way to get it done is for the forestry department to hire foresters. It is an insult to the profession and a slap at all labor to formulate a policy that respectable work of any kind must be made the task of regimented and underpaid workers."

"...we must be careful not to sell out our goal of full dignified employment for the sake of an unworthy substitute. We must resist the temptation to drain off our youth from the general labor market. We must stand up on our hind legs along with the youngsters, sharing from the first the problem which most emphatically will soon be theirs—that of organizing American life as to provide opportunity to all."

"Drafting the seventeen year olds does not solve the unemployment problem anyway. There will be 20,000,000 others wanting jobs—the problem that must be solved."

"If a million youths can be drafted, so can other portions of unemployed workers. Our choice is between free choice of occupation, equal opportunity and jobs for all, on the other hand, or a steady drift toward slave employment on the other."

Continental Motors Strike--

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company summarily inserted little white layoff notices in the checks of 1,500 employees. These men were politely "advised" that they were now on the streets!

DISREGARDING SENIORITY

The company which had been shouting "Production! Production!" which had been working the shop seven days a week; which only a few days previously, on V-E Day, had refused to close down or even to grant passes to many workers who wanted to go home, arbitrarily throws 1,500 men out of work.

Layoff by seniority, negotiation with the union, discussion of possible 40 hour week? That did not interest Messrs. Bosses of Continental. As far as they were concerned, the union was superfluous, and yesterday's "hero" was today's "scab" employed labor.

For Local 280 to have saved itself it was absolutely necessary to repudiate the suicidal no-strike pledge in action if not in words. The pledge had rendered the unions helpless throughout the war. In this latest

provocation of the Continental management, it was so obvious that nothing less than the existence of the local was at stake that even no-strike-pledge-paralyzed international officers were forced to support the strike.

THE UNION MEETING

A mass meeting of the local was held on Saturday morning, May 12. President McKenna forthrightly told the men they ought not go back to work until AFTER the 1500 cut-backed and 48 fired men were reinstated. Matthews and McDaniels, the International officers, spoke and said that the companies had gone too far in taking advantage of the no-strike pledge. They told men not to go back to work, to stay out until all the discharged men were taken back. These International officers, who had so religiously observed the no-strike pledge during the whole time the management had been backing away at the unions, were compelled to change their "go back to work" tune in this case. Now it was the COMPANY which refused to permit the 1500 to go back to work. Call it "cut-

back", call it "lay-off", it was still the old fashioned lockout by another name. The union was ready to go back to work, all 7,000 of them and not the 5,500 men the company chose to keep. It would thus have been impossible for anybody, even an International officer, to tell 7,000 men to go back to work when the company refused to take them all in.

The union's immediate demand before going back to work is the reinstatement of the laid-off and discharged men. If there must be layoffs, it should be carried out according to seniority provisions of the contract and in negotiation with the bargaining committee. However, if this demand is met and the men are reinstated, the union must go further than a mere insistence on layoff according to contract.

IT MUST FIGHT FOR A FORTY-HOUR WEEK WITH NO CUT IN TAKE-HOME PAY

Before ANY layoffs, the work week should be reduced. Going on 40 hours means a wage cut unless the union demands that there be no decrease in the pay check. That is the direction in which the union must fight.

This is not only a fight for Continental Motors workers, it is the fight of every worker in Detroit and in the country.

The Continental company which worked its men seven days a week for over a year when it had its luscious cost-plus contracts should not be permitted to willfully discard the men who made their profits for them. Only militant strike action, if necessary, and the final revocation of the no-strike pledge can finish the fight to its just conclusion.

Detroit workers should give the Continental workers their support. The battle for the reinstatement of laid-off men is their battle. The fight to preserve the union is their fight. The struggle for a 40 HOUR WEEK WITH NO CUT IN TAKE-HOME PAY is their struggle as a FIRST STEP in the direction of a job for every man.

At the time of writing the Continental Local is to present its case at a show-cause hearing before the War Labor Board. Further developments in the situation will be reported in next week's LABOR ACTION.

Layoffs at Highland Park

DETROIT—Three weeks of cutbacks and lay-offs at the Highland Park plant of the Ford Motor Co. have revealed the complete inability of the leadership of both local 400 and the international UAW-CIO to handle the problem. Hundreds of workers, mostly women, with seniority as high as three years, have been laid off, while at the same time new people are hired off the street, and probationary employees, with less than six months seniority, are kept at their jobs.

How has this come about? First, seniority is handled entirely by the company, not by the union. The union has nothing to say about who shall be laid off, who shall bump whom by virtue of greater seniority, or who is eligible for certain jobs. The Ford Motor Co., through its labor relations office, determines all these things. Each department committee-man has a plant-wide seniority list, but he has no way of knowing which people on that list have been laid off and which are still working. Only the company has that information.

Second, lay-offs are supposed to be handled in accordance with a new "interchangeable occupational group" agreement, wherein each worker is placed in a certain group of classifications where he can supposedly exercise his seniority on a plant-wide basis. The tricky agreement states that "an employe . . . shall exercise his seniority against the employe with the least seniority in the group." In the case of almost every woman laid off, the employe with the least seniority in the group has "happened" to be a man working on a job requiring the lifting of 35 pounds or more, which, according to state law, cannot be performed by women. Therefore, says the company, these women were given the opportunity to exercise their seniority, but couldn't qualify for the job, so they were laid off. This, in spite of the fact that there are hundreds of other women and men on lighter jobs with less seniority in the same occupational group.

WHAT THE LEADERSHIP SAYS
The company intends to keep as many "red apples" working for them

as possible. In one instance, they transferred some girls to office work two weeks before the lay-offs, got rid of hundreds of girls with more seniority than the former, then placed their favorites back on, the jobs formerly held by the employees with greater seniority, who are now on the street.

But what about the union leadership. What does it have to say? At first, the local leadership was not much disturbed about the situation, as it involved only women, who have been employed in the plant only since the war. But when the rank and file started protesting, when women started flocking into the union office, the local officials became a little worried.

At a special meeting of all local officers from committeemen up, it was revealed that the union-company agreement was arrived at, not through collective bargaining, but by a company ultimatum. The union, including international representatives, accepted it. When it was proposed that the whole question be re-negotiated with the company, the local president replied, "The company has us over a barrel. They'll only thumb their noses at us."

The only solution offered by the leadership is to take each one of these hundreds of cases through the rigmarole of the grievance procedure, a process requiring 104 days in each case. And during all this time mass layoffs will continue.

A NEW POLICY IS NEEDED

This is the impasse to which the union has been led by the policies of its leadership. The company refuses to negotiate, accepts only those agreements which are advantageous to itself and in turn, disadvantageous to the union. The union has the choice of accepting the company's proposals or nothing. This is not collective bargaining. Why cannot the UAW present a demand to the Ford Motor Co. and say, "Agree to this, or else!" Because the union has no "or else!"

The international leadership is determined to maintain the no-strike pledge even at the expense of its own union. What effective weapon does labor have other than the right to strike? In the face of a firm, union-busting company like the Ford Motor Co., what has the union leadership done? It has developed callouses on

Business Refunds--

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Conscript all war industries! Nationalize the banks, big industrial monopolies and transportation systems.

For a two hundred and fifty billion dollar five-year program to provide decent housing for all, extensive public works, rural electrification and modernization!

For a guaranteed \$5,000 annual income to all workers' families, made possible by a planned rise in the total national income and a thirty-hour maximum work week.

Philadelphia Meeting:

DAVID COOLIDGE
National Labor Secretary
Workers Party
SPEAKS ON:

Post War Plans For Jobs And Security
The Program of the Workers Party

THURSDAY MAY 24th
Admission 25c 8:15 P. M.

Grand Fraternity Hall
1626 Arch St., Room 30

Auspices:
WORKERS PARTY
Philadelphia Branch

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The Business Manager.

Bethlehem Steel--

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over strictly the business of the company. The boss press vigorously took up the same cry.

Union officials, with McNichols and Molony in the lead, began at the same time to try to get the men back to work. Commissioner LaMotte of the U. S. Conciliation Service was also called in when it became evident that, in the words of McNichols, the situation was growing worse.

The leadership called a mass meeting for Monday night, May 14, in an effort to "cool the men off" and to warn them on the idea of getting back into the plant. More than a thousand of the rank and file attended and made themselves heard in no uncertain terms. With the exception of one local official, who was specific in pointing to the no-strike pledge as the basic fault in present union-company relations and urged that it be rescinded, all the speakers were heartily booed into virtual submission.

One after another, rank and files took the floor and expressed militant sentiments over the failure of the steel workers to win the seventeen-cent raise they deserved, the failure of the company to make an honest attempt at collective bargaining and the high-handed company attitude

shown in the removal of the two limestone crew men. They spoke bitterly of the fact that when the union had asked the company why it had not been consulted in a manpower change of this type, the company had replied bluntly that it was none of the union's business!

As official after official asked the men to return so that "things could be straightened out," they were shouted down. There was no sign of back-to-work sentiment at any time during the meeting.

If the men are not back at work by the third shift on Tuesday, the coke ovens will be forced to suspend operations, the gas will be cut next and by Tuesday night the entire plant will be done.

Taking the present mood of those already out, and the sympathies expressed by those still in, it appears that the strike will last at least into the latter part of the week, since no solution is yet in sight.

It seems certain also that the steel workers of Local 2601 are learning that it is the no-strike pledge which leaves them with no international support and aid. That is the real stumbling block and unless it is rescinded, provocative, anti-union action by the company will continue.

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Editorials

No Manpower Shortage Now!

The rise of cutback unemployment began even before V-E Day was officially announced. Since the Allied victory in Europe, cancellation of contracts has increased rapidly, the most important case involving the projected closing down of the immense Willow Run bomber plant.

In Vinson's report on reconversion he announced that there were already one million unemployed and that the number is expected to rise to two million five hundred thousand within the year. All war restrictions on labor have been cancelled in the New York area. Detroit has now been declared a surplus labor area by the War Manpower Commission.

Thus, within a period of a few weeks, the arguments behind the demands for a national service act have been thoroughly punctured. It wasn't so long ago that the Administration and the War and Navy Departments pressed hard for the passage of a slave labor act on the grounds that there was a shortage of manpower and critical war materials.

The fight against such a bill easily revealed

that both arguments were false. There was neither a manpower shortage nor a shortage of critical war materials. The aim of the Administration was to establish a labor draft for the post-war period to meet problems of reconversion through the establishment of a police regime over the American workers. It was a totalitarian measure pure and simple, and the fight of the labor movement made possible its defeat.

Now the whole game is more clearly given away by the cancellation of war contracts and the rise in unemployment. But while the administration was quite ready to try and push through a slave labor act, it is practically frozen in its steps to adopt any kind of program to relieve the hundreds of thousands of war workers now jobless and the millions more to come.

Labor's job is clear. It is to develop a labor program for reconversion such as has been proposed repeatedly in the columns of labor action. To fight for such a program means to build a political party of labor. This will become increasingly clearer as time goes on.

THE WAR IN THE FAR EAST

By **WALTER JASON**

Soon after Russia denounced its neutrality pact with Japan, Washington imposed a radio and press censorship on the subject of Russia's role in the Pacific war. Viewed in that context, the article on China by Harold Isaacs in a recent issue of Newsweek assumes a significant as well as sensational character. For every diplomat in Washington knows that both the timing of its appearance as well as its contents were approved by the War Department.

The timing coincided with the expected arrival of Molotov, just before the San Francisco Conference. The content of the article speaks for itself. The fact that the War Department permits publication of an article by a newspaperman whose views are well known in Chungking and Moscow serves to emphasize the attention it is expected to attract.

When the article outlines China's "bitter fiasco," it is not news to the well-informed. "December 7, 1941, was China's Armistice Day with Japan" is a worn-out cliché in American military circles.

But when the article breaks through the silence imposed on the Russian question in the Pacific and states baldly, "If the Russians, entering the China picture, decide to back the Communists, the stage is set for the first obscure battles of the next world war," this is sensational. For it is the War Department speaking its warning. Moscow knows that, just as it knows who permitted earlier articles in the Army and Navy Journal needling Russia on the eastern front stalemate of a few months ago.

PACIFIC REALPOLITIK

The question of realpolitik in the Pacific is posed likewise. "Will the United States undertake to send a major expeditionary force of its own into China or will it leave the fighting there to the Russians?" More accurately, the question is: Will we have to go through with the grandiose plans for the Pacific which everyone—certainly the Russians—knows we are beginning?

"The target now is the Japanese homeland itself," writes Isaacs. An open secret, but that doesn't end the war, or rather, doesn't complete American plans in the Pacific. It only begins them. Admiral Halsey's article in the Current Collier's outlines them—as well as, indicating the contempt for civilian government expressed therein.

Here is how the strategic picture stacks up in the Pacific, the explanation as to the "why" of the sudden discussion on Russia in the Pacific war only two weeks after the censorship was clamped down. The war against Japan enters its fourth year with everything in America's favor. The tremendous gains against the Japanese are bringing the war to its climax. This, with only a partial employment of American military power against Japan. No need to recount the gains achieved. The last major preliminary for the knockout blows is the Okinawa operation. This campaign reveals fully the glaring weakness of Japan's war machine. Last week Admiral Nimitz announced around 9,500 Japanese killed as against a total of 8,500 or so American casualties, the implication being that the cost in the future battles against Japan would be so great that fullest war effort, vast manpower requirements, etc., were necessary. The "line" is one of pessimism.

JAPANESE LOSSES

But a more careful reading of the casualty statistics tells a different story. The American casualties included Navy losses. The Japanese casualties were those of its land forces alone. Subsequently Nimitz announced 100 Japanese ships were sunk in the "Okinawa period" and over 2500 planes were destroyed. Take these total losses and compare them to total American losses and the figures are nearer 25,000 Japanese to 8500 Americans. In military terms, this is a stupendous loss for Japan. Ordinarily, an invader loses two to one. Two conclusions follow: American military communiqués are presented primarily for political effect, not as accurate military appraisals. Secondly, an invasion of the homeland is assured of victory.

The explanation, of course, rests in the quantitative and qualitative differences between the war machines, each reflecting the industrial potential of the country. In simplest military language, Japan's fantastic losses are caused by the devastatingly superior firepower of its opponent. Only one of America's Pacific fleets and a small portion of its land forces are winning a battle whose strategic importance can hardly be over-estimated. Meanwhile, of course, other fleets and forces re-advance the D-Day of the Pacific. Japan's use of "suicide squads" in the air and on the sea is not an

indication of strength. Rather, it shows that Japan is down to its last resources. Japanese sea power is broken. It retains a diversionary power, but it is totally discounted as a major factor. Japanese air power will soon face the same doom. In six months 1,000-plane daily raids on Japanese home islands and key centers will be routine. Even now, each large B-29 raid has the same weight as 1,000 B-17's!

In land fighting, Japan has achieved its Cassinos, as, for example, at Iwo, and on land in Okinawa. But, even here, losses are in reverse of the ordinary military calculations. Two to one for the defender instead of for the invader. In large-scale battles, even Cassinos aren't possible, as demonstrated in the Philippine campaign.

On the Japanese homeland, full employment of armored forces, artillery, tactical air forces, as well as strategic bombing, doom Japan to a disastrous military defeat, greater even than that of Germany. The Japanese air force is not the Luftwaffe in any respect. Nor is its army comparable to the Wehrmacht.

RUSSIA'S ROLE

Put in terms of statistics, as the military does, a cost of 500,000 American casualties guarantees the total defeat of Japan. Such a loss is the maximum required to exterminate the Japanese military machine. This figure might be much lower. Already Japan has suffered over 100,000 casualties on its mainland from the bombings. A figure of 1,000,000 Japanese killed in the next six months by wiping out their cities is not too high. The blood bath in the Pacific is going to be sickening.

Therefore, the big question in the Pacific, in the calculations of the military, is Russia. The publication of the Isaacs article is a diplomatic way for the world to be informed of it.

While Isaacs only poses certain questions, some answers can be indicated. Russia is already backing the Chinese Communists. The jockeying for position in the next world war has already begun, as is evidenced by the Polish controversy. Naturally, there will be a Yalta for the Pacific as there was for Europe. How else can "public opinion" be satisfied? It will mean no more for the Pacific than it does in Europe today.

LEON de LEE

London, 1945.

Leon de Lee, the heart and soul of the Fourth Internationalist movement in Flanders, has been shot as a hostage by the Gestapo.

Leon de Lee was no leader, orator, theoretician or journalist. He was a simple worker, but one who distinguished himself from millions of others by his comparatively high degree of class-consciousness. If he remained faithful to the revolutionary left wing throughout his life, if he chose the right path at all cross-roads, factional struggles and splits, he did this not from theoretical insight into the social relations, but by his infallible class instinct.

WHAT HE DID

That is how Leon de Lee became a veritable point of concentration around which grouped itself every revolutionary force Flanders could muster, nationally and internationally. He became the living "British Museum" of Antwerp. His room in a warehouse, to which he gave the name "Boekhandel to Proletarier" (Proletarian Bookshop), contained shelves crammed with the ceiling with revolutionary literature in many languages. Not content to make a careful collection of the old-established literature, to lend it and make it accessible to everybody, to sell or give away the current literature—he published, in the name of the Flemish group of the Fourth International, pamphlets by Trotsky and the Flemish papers of the Fourth International, "Klassenstrijd" (Class Struggle) and "De Vierde Internationale" (The Fourth International).

Leon de Lee gave not only his name, but all possible technical help in publishing "Unser Wort," the organ of the German section of the Fourth International, which, in spite of tremendous difficulties, appeared in Antwerp until the outbreak of the war. He took a very active part in the foundation of the German publishing house of the Fourth International, the "Editions de Lee" which, besides a number of pamphlets by Trotsky and Sedov, published Trotsky's most important book, "The Revolution Betrayed," for the German edition of which no other publisher could be found in all the world.

A TRUE COMRADE

Leon de Lee had no office, no nameplate, no publicity, and it was not so easy to get hold of the "publisher." If you wanted to see him, you either had to go in the evening to his kitchen where, after a long day's work, he helped his wife to look after the children or see to the household; or you had to find him at his place of work, a little diamond grinding factory where he was the general handyman. In the yard of his little factory, in the heart of Antwerp, you would call out "Leon" and a little, dark-haired man in dirty overalls would appear. He would at once put aside his tools, a bucket and broom, which he always seemed to be carrying with him, and would listen to your request and give you all the help that lay in his power.

Whoever returns to Antwerp today will find many changes. Where a revolutionary center used to be, there is now a vacuum. But the most saddening thought of all is that the call in the yard of the old diamond factory will forever remain unanswered. There has passed away not an impersonal revolutionary machine, but a truly human revolutionist, the heart of the Flemish working class, Leon de Lee.

Brink.

France Demands Slave Labor

At the San Francisco Conference, the French government, as if bargaining for so many cattle at the market place, put in its bid for two and a half million German and Italian workers for a period of four years, as reparations in kind.

The French delegates at the conference found it difficult to differentiate between their own slave labor plans and those of Nazi Germany, which they so vociferously denounced. From the mouths of the Allied imperialists came the cry of "Down with the Nazis!" but they know well how to practice the methods of fascism. Eagerly following the patterns set by their defeated German counterparts, the French capitalists now look toward a promising future of huge profits and a fettered working class. How better to line the pockets of the coal, steel and railroad magnates than by this guarantee of a cheap labor supply?

Her demands differing in only one aspect from those of her more powerful ally, the Soviet Union, France plans to pay wages to her forced laborers, this trying to evade the accusations of "slavery."

From a citadel of "democracy," the French Minister of Finance and National Economy, René Plevin, justifies the policy: France will offer payment in German marks! It is easy to imagine the fat pay envelopes that these "liberated" workers will be pocketing.

For the German and Italian workers who were forced into the imperialist war and who for so many years suffered under the boot of fascism, this change of masters is no change at all. To all of the European workers, the carrying out of the slave labor plans can only mean the continuance of the unendurable starvation standards of living.

The German workers know only too well what it means to live under fascism. The French workers are seeing their masters employing the same fascist methods. The conclusion is all too obvious. The exploited and oppressed of all nations have common interests. Their interests are in ridding the world permanently of all oppression.

And only the working people can do this job!

New York's Mayoralty Race Is On!

The flags in New York should have been at half-mast this past week. Not only at half-mast, but draped in black as well. Hizzoner Fiorello H. La Guardia announced to an unstartled populace, that he would not be a candidate for Mayor this year.

The Mayor said that three terms were enough. Not that he couldn't be re-elected mind you. The Mayor reassured the electorate that he could be, even on a "Chinese Laundry Ticket". It's only that he ain't so young anymore. And then one might get stale. Oh, and there are other dangers as well, such as getting bossy. So all in all, it's better that he shouldn't get elected again, and so what the hell is the use of running.

As a parting gesture the Mayor launched an attack on his enemies, in his usual picturesque if somewhat limited vocabulary. The "poolroom loafers", "club-room loafers", and just plain unattached and unaffiliated loafers, bums, chislers, tinhorns and such will rejoice, the Mayor assured his audience. But that's hardly a reason to run. And besides, maybe, just maybe, he might not be re-elected.

One category of "loafers", however didn't rejoice. That category was a different type of "loafer". Such as the hard working bankers, straining their guts in the Union League Club, as they bend over to pick up another cocktail. Or maybe complaining about the kind of scotch they're serving these days, what with shortages and all that.

IS IT REALLY GOODBYE?

Their newspapers were just full of praise. The editorial pages of The New York Times, and The New York Herald Tribune were just full of praise. True, sometimes when one reads the editorial pages of these gazettes, one thinks he is reading the obituary columns. They're that interesting at times. But when one reads the fulsome praise that is only reserved for the dead, then one knows that they must be writing about a good, good man.

Anyway, what is gone beyond recall, is gone beyond recall, and now the bankers will have to find a new man to guarantee the interests on their loans. The candidate will have to have a few other virtues as well. For one thing, he will have to be a good listener, and have to know how to say, "Well, we'll see what we can do about that." For there will be a

number of irritating problems for the next Mayor.

The municipal employees for example, have become very pestiferous of late. Can't seem to understand why with the enormous rise in the cost of living, they haven't received much of a raise in salary. La Guardia could tell them, only he isn't running again. Seems like you have to keep the budget in order, you know, or else the bankers will have complaints.

Then until the sixty million jobs come, a lot of Veterans will be asking for jobs. After all, the politicians have made enough promises to them. And the thousands of workers who will be thrown out of work in the process of reconversion may also have the temerity to ask for decent paying jobs. They might not be satisfied with Home Relief any more. It's not so easy to be a Mayor these days. Problems, problems, all the time problems.

WHO WANTS THE PAST?

Easy or not, there are plenty of aspirants for the job. The politicians are scurrying around like so many ants in a beaten up ant pile. Combinations, deals, and maneuvering are a dime a dozen.

First of all there are the Democrats. They haven't exactly been starving in the last twelve years. After all, Roosevelt did throw them a few jobs now and then, and Truman can be guaranteed to throw them a little more. But times may be getting tough, and so every little bit does help.

Right now, they seem to be having differences. Some of the leaders seem to want ex-Brigadier General (and more important) present District Attorney O'Dwyer of Brooklyn. He got to be a General the hard way, but if he resigns as District Attorney of Brooklyn now, it may be hard on Boss Kelley of Brooklyn, and Boss Ed Flynn of the Bronx. 'Cause then there might be a new District Attorney and then there might be an investigation, not that everything isn't honest and strictly on the up and up, but why waste the taxpayers money on investigations?

But Boss Flynn is giving the matter his full attention. At present he's a little tired just having returned from a diplomatic mission where he was compelled to match wits with Stalin and the Pope. It's a little bit of a let-down to worry about a mundane municipal campaign, after extended intrigues in Moscow and Rome. But

Ed is a versatile man, and he'll get around to it sooner or later.

The Republicans are experiencing a rebirth of freedom. A happy world can be happier still, because the Republicans are toying with the idea of running an independent candidate. This is really something. 'Cause then, they won't have to worry every four years about a Mayor who accepts their votes, and then every four years throws his support to a Democratic candidate for President.

STAGE SET FOR DEALS

Then also, a Republican might not be elected, so maybe they can be persuaded to compromise their principles just a little bit, and support an upstanding Independent Democrat, Joseph McGoldrick. Could be, and could be even more if the bankers throw their weight around a little bit. Sometimes little things like that make a difference. McGoldrick made his reputation as a sound "financial

man," in the capacity of La Guardia's Chancellor of the Exchequer.

As if O'Dwyer and McGoldrick didn't have enough support, there are others to lend a helping hand. There are the "independent" parties, who are so devoted to good government. These are the Stalinized American Labor Party, and the not so easily categorized Liberal Party. Both of these groups make some claim to being devoted to the "workingman." The heavens preserve labor from such friends as these.

Their devotion consists of making deals with one or the other of the old line capitalist parties. Run an independent workers candidate for Mayor? Never. It wouldn't satisfy the Kremlinites, on the one hand, or the college professors and ossified trade union job holders on the other.

All in all, it promises to be quite a campaign. The Workers Party will have more to say about it next week, and try to clarify the stale air.

Russian Control of Poland Behind Arrest of 16 Poles

Unable to control the Polish people in any other way, Stalin has returned to his frame-up method. He lured sixteen leaders of the Polish underground to a parley concerning their welfare and activity. And no sooner were they within reach than he has clapped them into prison on charges specially prepared for the occasion.

From the first weeks when the advancing Russian army began to approach the boundaries of Poland, Stalin's intentions were clear. He wanted Poland. He had set up a very carefully devised mechanism for making Poland his. This mechanism was called the Lublin Committee and, though it was made up entirely of GPU agents and Russified Poles, it was to become the Polish "underground." If everything went as planned, and when Poland was "liberated," it was to be his puppet government.

Only a few minor details threat-

ened Stalin's plan, such as the existence in London of the Polish government in exile, which also claimed to represent the Polish underground and the existence in Poland of a REAL revolutionary underground movement, which continued to exist and to fight the Nazis in spite of the greatest hardships. These two bodies were a constant threat to Stalin's dreams of power in Poland. Therefore, in Stalin's own terminology, they would have to be liquidated—and Stalin has been busy for months trying to do exactly that.

First there were the Russian troops, who "liberated" Poland by shooting down or arresting every Pole who was a member of the real Polish underground who would not be Russified.

Recent developments like the arrest of the sixteen indicate that, in spite of Stalin's well-laid plans, opposition to Russian control of Poland is widespread. Trained for nearly six years in how to resist the Nazi invader, it is apparently not difficult to learn how to resist the Russian invader also. And so Stalin had to resort to tricks to call the underground leaders out of hiding, to lure them close enough to be snapped into Russian prisons, to get them out of the way for his Lublin Committee, which has become the "Polish" government.

On March 11, these leaders of the Polish London government and the underground, in hiding from the terroristic NKVD, received written invitations to meet with General Ivanov of the First White Russian Army regarding the emergence from the underground of the anti-Nazi political parties in Poland, and the inclusion of representatives of these parties in the new provisional government called for by the Yalta agreement. A colonel and a general of the Russian army guaranteed their safety "on the honor of the Red Army officers."

Vice-Premier Jankowski of the Polish underground sent emissaries to check the authenticity of the invitation. He also conferred with one of the Red Army officers and told him that as soon as the Red Army stopped arresting and shooting members of the underground on sight, the aforementioned political parties would be perfectly willing to resume open activities. After much maneuvering back and forth, the sixteen leaders went to meet with General

Ivanov. None of them returned, or have been heard from since.

On May 3rd, under pressure at the San Francisco Conference, Molotov finally admitted that the sixteen Poles had been arrested on charges of carrying on diversionist activities behind the Red Army lines, such as operating the radio with which they kept in touch with London.

On May 11, the Lublin government sent a telegram to the U. S. stating that, as the official "Polish" government, they had given their authorities the right to arrest persons "charged with crimes against the Red Army." But they also reserved the right to demand that the sixteen prisoners be returned to them for punishment, since they were guilty of such horrible crimes "against the very existence of resurgent, democratic Poland."

Molotov has left the San Francisco parley, with the representatives of the U. S. and Britain, in order to settle the delicate Polish question in Moscow. In the meantime, Stalin has accomplished exactly what he intended—the weakening of any actual or potential resistance to his own specially-built Lublin Polish government. And he has said quite firmly to his allies: "Hands off!"

The Lublin government is NOT "resurgent, democratic Poland," and in no way represents the Polish republic. It is Stalin's agent, pure and simple, built on the bloody and ruthless extermination of the real resurgent, democratic Poles. The latter were the martyrs dead in the streets of Warsaw in the fight against the Nazis. They were the thousands arrested and murdered by the advancing Red Army. They are the thousands still in hiding from the NKVD. Some of the leaders of the underground are among the sixteen Stalin kidnapped.

What will happen to Stalin's sixteen hostages is a moot point, and Stalin refusing to produce them, and the Lublin government clamoring for their hides as traitors. What has happened and will continue to happen to the democratic and revolutionary workers and peasants of Poland, who want only peace and freedom from all oppressors, whether Hitler or Stalin, is not a moot point. They WERE persecuted, arrested, killed by Hitler. They ARE persecuted, arrested, killed by Stalin. But their struggle for freedom will go on!

Labor Needs Strike Weapon--

(Continued from page 1)

prices, and the 1942 level was already extremely high. Mr. Bowles of OPA, you know, claims that there has been very little increase in prices since May, 1943.

However, says OPA, "our prices must not stand in the way of manufacturers who are anxious to make the products for which the public is so eagerly waiting." Therefore, a manufacturer may add higher labor and material costs to his 1941 price and use the result. IF IT IS HIGHER, instead of his 1942 price. PRODUCTION comes first, you understand, and under capitalism there is no production without good profits.

Meanwhile, price or subsidy boosts are being prepared for the meat, steel, textile and other corporations on the products they are now turning out at profits already very juicy.

How will you pay these higher prices out of a slimmer pay envelope or out of miserable unemployment insurance? You are supposed to have big savings and great piles of war bonds—what the government calls "excess purchasing power." If you really have any of this desirable commodity, remember that you are only a worker, spend your savings,

and get back to normal—that is, into debt.

Taxes

Your tax rate will not be changed at all for the time being. The war must be paid for. Neither will corporation taxes drop except for a small item, estimated to amount to 160 millions in 1946. However, those big taxes, about which the corporations wail, haven't really all been taxes. Some have been "savings," and to aid in reconversion—so that you can have a job, of course—the savings will be returned much sooner than was promised. These payments are estimated to amount to over 5 1/2 billion in the next two years.

The government admits that corporations are already in very, very good financial condition. Still there are exceptions, especially among smaller companies. And it would be very hard to figure out a way to help the small ones and not the large ones. Of course! Of course—The CIO has pointed out, on the basis of government figures, that the manufacturers already have 20 billion dollars in reserve to pay for a reconversion program that will cost only 3 billions. Union leaders have cried out in pain at Vinson's whole program,

which is also Truman's program. (Just a few months ago it was Byrnes' program and also Roosevelt's. The men change. The capitalist program remains.) But both AFL and CIO leaders on the War Labor Board have fervently renewed their no-strike pledge, both for war and for converted industries.

Walter Reuther, vice president of the United Auto Workers-CIO, under very heavy pressure from his rank and file, now "respectfully" suggests and recommends to Vinson a program, good so far as it goes, to keep take-home pay at its present levels and to provide unemployment insurance equal to wages for a forty-hour week.

The Auto Workers have previously proposed programs that go even further than this one. These programs were not worth the paper they were written on, since no method was provided of getting them into effect. The same applies to Reuther's new program. The unions are at present economically and politically helpless. As we have often said, they cannot begin to go forward until they junk the no-strike pledge, quit the War Labor Board, and form their own fully independent political party.

UNRRA: Club Over Heads of Hungry People

By Shirley Lawrence

THERE is formidable evidence, which keeps mounting, in the examples of Italy, Belgium, France, Greece, Yugoslavia, Albania and other countries, that the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration (UNRRA) is strictly an instrument for carrying out big power policies—mainly those of Great Britain and the United States.

UNRRA has failed to function as a supply organization in the liberated areas of Europe, despite its promises of food, clothing, medicines, reintegration of displaced persons, industrial and agricultural rehabilitation and welfare services—this in the face of the most intense and urgent human need.

The war has dragged on for more than five years and conditions among Europe's starving masses grow continually worse, for the effect of the Allied invasion has been to reduce rather than improve the standard of living. About forty million people have been displaced from their homes; hospitals and public services are completely broken down; there are no drugs; transport facilities are reserved for military use only.

It would be interesting, in the light of its failure, to go back to some of the original aims and purposes of the UNRRA.

First of all, it is highly ironic that the UNRRA was set up at its founding conference in November, 1943, as an "international agency, established by forty-four United and Associated Nations to help organize the resources of the United Nations so that all liberated nations may have the same opportunity to relieve the suffering of their people and start rebuilding their peace."

"Supplies and services are to be dispensed on the basis of the relative needs of the population in the area, and without discrimination because of race, creed or political belief; these resources should at no time be used as a political weapon."

Its record belies its principles.

SOME EXAMPLES OF UNRRA POLICY

1. Although the UNRRA was set up as an international agency, the real powers behind it are the combined boards (Combined Food Board, Raw Materials Board, Combined Production and Resources Board and Combined Shipping Administration Board), exclusively Anglo-American institutions, which have the last word concerning the allocation of any commodity which the UNRRA might wish to include in its list for relief.

The power of the British-American combination was understandable, their policies equally so. During the war they have established a virtual monopoly of supplies and shipping. They are richest in foreign exchange and have frozen the funds of many other countries. Together they have power that will be nearly irresistible in the peace negotiations. They propose to keep that power intact until the showdown, the period in which the major post-war political and economic decisions are made.

As it developed in practice, therefore, the pooling and allocating of world resources meant denying the people of the small nations that little relief they asked for. Small wonder that, in these circumstances, most European countries were reluctant to apply to UNRRA for help. It did not take them long to find out that if anything was to be gained it was best achieved by bringing to bear upon the combined boards what little political pressure they could exercise.

France and Belgium remembered that their colonies could be brought into the unpleasant game of power politics as a valuable asset. The Norwegians found it necessary to remind their British allies that Norwegian seamen, at the risk of their lives, brought food, fuel and other comfort to Britain while their own countrymen at home were deprived of the bare necessities of life.

MILITARY ENTER THE PICTURE

2. When the military authorities were charged by former President Roosevelt with the main responsibility for relief, they merely took away from UNRRA the main part of its job.

3. The UNRRA has been steadily increasing its generously paid staff. By now its personnel in Washington, London, Cairo and other capitals of the world includes several thousands of employees, most of whom are busily engaged in kicking their heels.

At the same time, millions of Europeans are going without the necessities of life. They are starving and dying. An American member of the council of the UNRRA stated that "every tenth man or woman you pass on the streets of Rome would soon be a corpse, and the same is true for Greece, parts of France, Belgium and Holland."

Thousands of people in the liberated areas have become convinced that once again, as after World War I, food is being used as a means to political ends.

During his visit to Italy last year, Prime Minister Churchill, was pressed for an increase in the Italian bread ration. That was at the time when the Italian votes in America had to be taken into consideration. Soon after the American election, the rations were again reduced.

4. UNRRA will receive contributions of foreign exchange from member countries, but it can spend these funds only with the prior approval of the donor country.

5. UNRRA may aid in relocating displaced persons, but must first negotiate for the consent of the country where they are and the country to which they want to go.

6. There has remained a consistent blind spot on the question of relief for India, because of British pressure, from the time of the terrible famine in India when reports were coming in daily of the death of many thousands of people from starvation and plague. Newspapers were reporting instances of black market hoarding by Indian princes in collaboration with the British administration.

FOOD AS POLITICAL WEAPON

7. The distribution of food in Greece was stopped because of the EAM's armed resistance to former Premier George Papandreou's régime and in order to bring pressure on the revolutionaries.

8. The trend of American foreign policy represents a similar attempt to win control of parts of Europe by hypocritical expression of sympathy for national independence and by relief handouts. In Italy, where the U. S. has been most brutal in its attempts to stifle any expression of the masses for national independence, and in Belgium, where American troops were used against striking workers, American foreign intervention is as direct as is the British.

9. The role of Russia, in refusing to let UNRRA enter Yugoslavia or Poland, except on its own terms, should be understood. If food is to be a club over the starving people of Poland, Stalin wants the club to be in his hands, which explains why UNRRA was forbidden to enter Poland until the Allied powers came to terms with Stalin on Poland, giving in to his plans to reduce it to a Russian colony.

It Can't Be Said Often Enough—

The German Workers Are Not Guilty

By M. HOWARD

There was a time when German people were just like other people. They were—at least the common, ordinary people among them—victims of Nazism, of the rule of a class and a party devoted to militarism and dictatorship with a fanatic zeal. They were people who wanted only peace and food and security, like any other people. And it was common, everyday knowledge that they had been harried and hounded by a fiend named Hitler, and his henchmen, until there was little left of either peace, food or security for them.

Their children had been taken from them, trained in youth camps and schools to idolize the Fuehrer and the bestiality that he stood for. The people themselves, if they weren't Jewish, might be allowed to live, providing they kept their mouths shut, pretended to like what they saw around them, what was happening to their families, their neighbors, their own lives. If they were Jewish they were confined to ghettos, starved, beaten, barely allowed to live, providing they were among the fortunate few who were not thrown into concentration camps or herded onto some death train that disappeared silently into the night, forever.

But, no matter who they were, they were only ordinary people, and they were the FIRST victims of Nazi brutality. Not all of them, to be sure, but by-and-large the great mass of them. They had a reputation as a people with a great socialist and radical tradition. They hated lack of freedom, as all people hated it, but they had been ground down under the iron heel of fascism. Therefore they deserved the sympathy and the help of all freedom-loving peoples.

CAMPAIGN AGAINST THE PEOPLE

Gradually, in the months since the Allied armies have been drawing nearer and nearer to the heart of Germany, all of this has changed. Now that German soil is actually overrun, one of the vilest and most vicious of slander campaigns has been launched against those same German people. They are, suddenly, down to the most innocent child in the street, criminals extraordinary. They are "smarling," "sneering," "naturally arrogant hordes" who "wielded the whip hand for so long!" They are accused, en masse, of every crime committed by their rulers.

Probably the least crime of which these innocent, much abused and long-suffering people have been accused is that of what Orville Prescott, in the New York Times, calls "guilt of witness—not protesting, not trying to prevent crimes" in which they had no part. And yet in his own paper there are almost daily reports of attempted mutiny in

various cities of the Reich. There is Regensburg, where a great crowd gathered in the main square of the city to demand the death of their Nazi governors—only to have their priest and their leader knocked down and beaten by SS troops before their eyes, and hanged as a terrible example of the annihilation that would meet any spread of this popular uprising of the people.

There is Breganz, where disorders are reported among the citizens, and civil war between members of the Hitler Youth and the people of the city.

There is the Swedish report that German sailors had engaged in bitter fighting with Storm Troopers in Rostock after a mutiny. And the reports that whole companies of German marines had mutinied in Kiel. To be sure, not all of these reports may be entirely authentic. Equally certain is the fact that there are other instances of civil war, mutiny, rebellion, that have never been told, that have never reached any neutral source from which they could be reported.

WHO IS RESPONSIBLE?

We do not claim that much-publicized atrocity stories, NAZI atrocity stories, are not true, or even that they are much exaggerated. Undoubtedly a great many of them are, terribly and horribly, true. But they are what we have called them—NAZI atrocities. Not, as they have suddenly become in the bourgeois press, GERMAN atrocities. They were planned and executed by NAZIS, FASCISTS, HITLERITES, who needed them as a weapon with which to bludgeon the German people into submission and silence. The corpses that are being dug up in the death camps now, the scientific slaughter-houses for human beings that NAZI criminals worked out and caused to be built, are not only the corpses of Jews and Russians and Frenchmen and prisoners from all the other countries that Hitler over-ran. They are also the corpses of the fathers, brothers, sisters, relatives and friends of these same ordinary German people who have so recently become criminals of equal guilt with Hitler. Far from protesting, not trying to prevent crimes (as they are accused), here are the corpses of Germans who did protest—and who were arrested, tortured and murdered for their protest!

We should be impressed by these atrocity stories now coming out of Germany. The pictures of death camps that the Signal Corps has brought into every motion picture theater, the shocked stories of the congressmen sent over to "investigate," the stories that are in every daily paper—these should impress us deeply. They should show us why there has been, in all these years, no revo-

lution in Germany. They should show us the reason for the distrust and fear written on the faces of the German people who watch Allied armies overrun their country. These are people whom brutality has stepped roughly on, who have been beaten and starved and murdered, as well as propagandized, for the last decade. They are not criminals; they are the people against whom crimes have been committed!

There are criminals in the Reich—there is no doubt of that. Criminals who deserve as brutal treatment as they have meted out, or caused to be meted out.

First there are the members of the SS, the Storm Troopers, the Gestapo, the Hitler Youth, the trained and schooled murderers who are, in all probability, far beyond the reaches of re-training and re-schooling. More than that, there is the vast spiderweb of the Nazi Party officials and petty officials and hangers-on—all the henchmen and hangmen of Hitler's organization—all the tiny links in the chain of brutality, murder, dictatorship that is Nazism.

But, most important of all, there are the German industrialists, the German big business men, the German capitalists, who supported and maintained Nazism for the profits and the prestige it gave them, for the chaos and revolution it saved them from. And there are the French, British and American capitalists who poured money into German coffers through cartels and international business organizations.

These are the criminals—the criminals whom the working class of the world, TOGETHER WITH THE GERMAN WORKING CLASS, should recognize and punish. Because German workers were the FIRST victims, does not make them any the less victims—certainly does not make them co-criminals.

German, Austrian, Czech, Polish, French, Norwegian, Danish, Italian—whatever their nationality—it was the people, the working class, who were always the victims of fascism and nazism. It is they who will continue to be the victims unless they recognize their international solidarity and strength, and put it to use.

The German people, well versed by now in dictatorship, will not be fooled for long by this imposition of one dictatorship in place of another. American workers should not be fooled by a government which cries aloud "democracy" at home, and imposes dictatorship on workers in Germany, to make them pay for the crimes of their rulers.

Now is the time to declare our solidarity with the German working class—against dictatorship, whether fascist, or "democratic" capitalist—forward, to the freedom of all the people of Europe!

Russia Bids for Colonial Control--

(Continued from page 1)

ocracy," they, the ones who have the most to gain by freedom and democracy, are completely denied the benefits of it.

The Russians are now trying to assure them that at some time in the future, if only they will be patient and wait, the altruistic Allied powers will deliver them from their bondage.

These are the very same powers that have kept them in bondage. In the name of what rhyme or reason can they be expected to free them from their yoke?

A POWER POLITICS GAME

The truth of the matter is that the entire dispute over trusteeships is only another part of the game of power politics. Britain and, to a still greater degree, France have been immeasurably weakened by the war. The retention and complete and ab-



solute exploitation of the colonies is a life and death concern to them. Therefore they oppose anyone else moving in on their territory. And they have good reason to be frightened. For there are others who eye their rich colonies in Africa, the Near East and Asia enviously. The United States is one of these powers.

Having emerged from the war as the strongest world power, the United States still feels incapable of unilaterally taking actions that might indicate the existence of concerns other than of the most moral character. Russia's proposal can lead to the formation of a bloc with the United States. The United States has been using the trusteeship formula from the very beginning as a means of broadening the degree of

its economic penetration of the world. Now it can have an idealistic coloration. Russia can hope to win the same support of the United States in its own penetration of eastern and central Europe. But Asia. Here is an area charged with dynamite.

None of the powers in the world today are interested in the freedom of the colonial peoples. Colonies are an integral part of the capitalist structure of exploitation. From the colonies they derive enormous profits and dividends. The colonies are a

perpetual source of cheap labor, cheap raw materials and rich and exclusive markets. And even if these weren't major considerations, and of course they are, they still wouldn't be in favor of the liberation of a single colony.

ALL EXPLOITED SHOULD UNITE

For the struggle of the exploited peoples in the colonies is only part of the greater struggle of all humanity to achieve freedom and socialism. The workingman in every country in the world—be it the United

States, Britain, Germany or Japan—has a vital interest in seeing to it that all forms of colonial exploitation are abolished. They have an interest in seeing to it that all of these backward countries, backward because their imperialist masters have kept them that way, receive their full and unconditional independence.

Once, when Russia was a revolutionary power, before it had degenerated to the rule of the Stalins and the Molotovs, it understood this. It never called on the capitalist powers to liberate its colonies. It knew that anybody who told a single colonial that this was possible was only an enemy of the cause of national independence and the rights of all peoples to self-determination. It knew that suggestions of this type could only serve to sow illusions, and to

Reaction in Greece Grows

It happened recently in the cities, villages and islands of Greece.

Members of the government's National Guard set fire to the offices of the workers organizations and destroyed the printing presses of the newspaper Popular Voice in the town of Agrinion.

Twenty-eight lawyers who had been defending EAMites in court were arrested by the Athens police. They were released after several hours of grueling, coercive cross-examination.

In the town of Mesologgi, 300 citizens suspected of active republican leanings were arrested.

On the island of Cephalonia the Quislings were set free from prison and went around terrorizing the population.

The same commander who served under the Quisling, Ralli, was left in command of the island of Zante.

In the village of Levidi, in Arcadia, the resistance leaders have been forced to flee to the mountains to save themselves from the reactionary terror.

The labor press revealed that the royalist army officers are organized in a "Military League," whose chief purpose is to force the monarchy back on Greece should the people vote against it. The royalist press boldly admitted that such a league does really exist but that its function is to protect the country against "communism."

Royalist officers who collaborated with Hitler's command and who still hold high posts in the government have launched a terror campaign in the outskirts of Athens.



decapitate the fight of the people for their right to independence. But that was the Russia of Lenin and Trotsky, and this is the Russia of Stalin.

The peoples in the colonies themselves, in alliance with the workingmen in the advanced countries, are the only force that can achieve their independence. No alliances or series of alliances among any of the powers can serve as a substitute. The colonial peoples must develop the powerful forces that already exist in their own countries. They must see that their interests are one and the same with the workers of all countries. Only in this is there any hope for their future.

Labor Leaders and UNCIO--

(Continued from page 1)

Citrine, Louis Saillant and M. Tarasov, respectively of the United States, England, France and Russia.

"We believe that the 60 million workers whom we represent must be given a voice in the determination of the historic issues which your conference is called upon to decide." Thus modestly did the laborites—still hat in hand—state the case for labor. The demand concluded with a mild threat—but so mild a threat—"that the workers whom we represent would find it difficult, indeed, to understand the refusal of your confer-

ence to give their representatives an official consultative status so that their views on these crucial questions might be effectively presented and fully explored."

If anything has been done up on Nob Hill about the Oaklanders' demand for recognition at San Francisco or about their two amendments, that fact has not been blazoned in headlines. In fact, careful reading of the New York press reveals no word of news on either topic.

Thus have the representatives of 60,000,000 organized workers in thirty-five to forty countries of the world,

taken it on the chin—the blows being handed out by the imperialist statesmen of the Big Three. It is a humiliating spectacle, this begging to be recognized.

And the liberal reporter I. F. Stone writes in The Nation: "To be quite frank about it, the conference, for all its glamour, is a meeting of pretty much those same old codgers to whose fumbling we owe World War II. . . . Given the same men, the same parties, the same social

systems, can one expect a different result?"

These are the "old codgers" before whom labor representatives stand—hat in hand—at a time when labor's responsibility is to take leadership—to blaze the trail to a new social system. But these labor representatives begging at the backdoor of the imperialists are themselves old codgers with antiquated ideas of class collaboration. If the world is to be saved from even bloodier wars and a lapse into utter barbarism, labor will have to project a new courageous leadership.

Sinarquistas: Fascist Party in Mexico

By John MacDonald

MARGARET SHEDD, an author and student of Mexico and other Latin American countries, has written an article in the April Harper's magazine on the Sinarquistas. They are, as is quite evident from her analysis, the fascists of Mexico. It is hard to understand, then, why she hesitates to call them fascists. She says that they object to the term and call it "unfair," and she thinks perhaps they're right, for the movement is more complex than just old-fashioned fascism. (It would be enlightening to know just exactly what Mrs. Shedd considers fascism to be.) With this body blow she proceeds to analyze the Sinarquistas (we won't call them that naughtily name "fascist") with completeness.

If a person who understood fascism's direction and motivation thoroughly were asked to draw up a program for a fictitious Fascist Party in Mexico he could without any trouble draw up the program of the Sinarquistas. There might, of course, be variations in method and appeal but in all other things our fictitious program would parallel beautifully the program of the Sinarquistas as Mrs. Shedd reports it.

Before we begin to look at Sinarquism we should like to emphasize a point of Mrs. Shedd's that the movement is a very important thing to know about, for the future of South America hangs under its threat just as, of course, the future of North America hangs under a similar threat. And we know that Mexico exerts a strong influence on her neighbors to the south.

WHAT IS THIS MOVEMENT?

Sinarquism is a well armed movement which does not call itself a party because it doesn't believe in using established means to come to power. An essential part of its doctrine is "jeje," a mystical term meaning "Feuherprinzip" or principle or leadership. This semi-mystic property is an important part of any fascist program. Here is the "national idea," the heroic martyrs of Sinarquism, the celebrations which combine a worship of tradition—the church, the hero Herman Cortes, the Virgin of Guadalupe and many others—all with propagandistic appeal typical of fascists everywhere promising every group and class what they want.

Mrs. Shedd gives some fine examples of their slogans: "Compesina, la tierra sera teyva"—"Peasant, the land will be yours! Yours only, as a woman is yours. For the politico? No! For the exploiters? NO! For this you have fought? For this you have bled? This is strong talk for a peasantry enslaved through the centuries dating from Cortes, the Spaniard who brought "civilization" to Mexico, who arrived and found a higher civilization than his own but with two major deficiencies—gunpowder and Christianity. So gunpowder was used to make Christians out of the people and incidentally to relieve them of a regrettable excess of gold found in their shrines and temples.

In place of the German fascists' famed program of twenty points, Sinarquism has a sixteen-point program promising all sorts of social reforms. This is quite paradoxical with the fact that they repeatedly and consistently oppose such reforms, not only with words, according to Mrs. Shedd, but occasionally with sticks and stones and threaten with a large and well organized army.

TURNING THE CLOCK BACK

Another avowed purpose is to liquidate the Mexican revolution of the past generation. This "revolution" may surprise many readers familiar with Mexico's recent current history. What they consider revolution was the cautious land reform that former President Cardenas began. This they have resolved not to reform but to demolish!

To have complete fascist trappings we must have scapegoats, and the Sinarquistas, not to disappoint us, have set up the usual ones. They are primarily the Communists and the Jews, with two more peculiar to a Latin country. The latter are the "imperialist Gringo" (too much competition with their own imperialism) and the Protestant missionary.

Here we have the Sinarquistas whom Mrs. Shedd doesn't like to call fascists. Let us recognize them for their threat to the smallest reforms, as a strong and potentially stronger threat to this continent. They represent the most backward and reactionary elements in Mexico today, with a program that is coldly logical and calculated to enrich the landowners and capitalists at the expense of the peasants and workers.

JACK PIERCE

Member of Workers Party—Active Trade Unionist Fell in Action on Okinawa Island, April 7, 1945

It is with a sense a great personal loss that we announce the death of our comrade, Jack Pierce of Philadelphia. He joined the Workers Party at the age of 17, was an energetic and aggressive militant in his shop and trade union. His happy-go-lucky nature made friends for him everywhere.

Jack's activities were cut short in February, 1943, when he was conscripted to fight in a war which he had opposed with might and main. He entered the Army with the rest of his generation, knowing that only those who share its burdens could contribute to their understanding.

After serving in specially dangerous assignments during the Philippines campaign, he was again thrown into action on Okinawa. It was here that his active young life was snuffed out in the heat of battle at the young age of 21.

Jack expressed his determination to carry on the struggle for a new and warless world in a recent letter with these words: "After this war, damn it, nothing could possibly seem as important to me as the getting back to fight for a new society to end war for all time."

We salute this young warrior for working class liberation. The only monument which we can build to him will be a world of socialism and international brotherhood.

Members of the Philadelphia Branch, Workers Party.

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