

# Post-War Full Employment -- FDR's Plan Vs. Workers Party Plan

Five Years of War Costs to U. S. Government, 1941 to 1945	\$288,800,000,000.	Workers Party Proposal for Five-Year Program of Public Works, Housing, Etc., to Help Assure 60 million Jobs and Plenty for All	\$250,000,000,000.
Five Years of all WPA, Relief, Etc. Expenditures by U. S. Government, 1936 to 1940	\$14,951,159,000.	FDR's Budget Proposal to Assure Post-War Full Employment for One Year	\$3,000,000,000.

By SAM ADAMS  
The budget message delivered two weeks ago by President Roosevelt is the kind of report made to Congress which most people pay little attention to, in the belief that it is one aspect of government which does not really interest or affect them much. But the contrary is true.

The budget message sets out the moneys the government plans to spend in the following year, outlines the different categories for which expenditures are necessary, and reveals in general some of the important aims of the Administration.

The budget message, like others delivered by Roosevelt, is a war message, for its main preoccupation is with financing the war. Many people know that the cost runs into hundreds of billions of dollars. Few know exactly how much it costs to run the war each year, and what effect it has upon depressing the living standards of the people.

There are several important aspects to the message. Since the U. S. entered in the war in 1941, \$288,800,000,000 has been spent on the war alone, resulting in the highest taxes ever paid by the American worker, and a declining standard of living in the midst of a period when everyone is working.

This means the U. S. has spent \$72,200,000,000 a year. This is more than \$515 for every man, woman and child in the country.

It has spent this money for means of destruction at the rate of more than \$199,013,000 per day, or more than \$8,292,000 per hour.

Despite these huge sums, and a rising government debt of over \$200 billions, for which the future generation will pay by sweat and toil, big business, the corporate interests of the country, haven't been squawking very much.

This is interesting because it wasn't very long ago that the business interests raised a terrible howl about government expenditures for relief and WPA projects which Roosevelt demanded in fear of the terrible consequences that would ensue if half the population were allowed to starve.

Big business, the monopolists of the country, the reactionary senators and representatives and the yellow press screamed away at relief and WPA projects because they would eat away at their wealth at a time when industry was at a standstill or shut down altogether. Our graph shows how pitiful a figure was used for relief in contrast to the war billions—only \$14,951,159,000!

The reason why big business says little or nothing about the giant war expenditures is because many of these expenditures go in to make up the greatest profits in the history of American business. Despite all their moaning, they know this to be the fact. (Continued on page 2)

## LABOR ACTION

FEBRUARY 12, 1945

A PAPER IN THE INTERESTS OF LABOR

ONE CENT

# ON WITH THE FIGHT AGAINST MAY BILL

## UAW Leadership Call Upon CIO to Leave WLB

In a sharply worded resolution forwarded to CIO President Philip Murray and President Roosevelt, the executive board of the United Automobile Workers at its recent meeting in New Orleans called upon the CIO to pull out of the War Labor Board.

The resolution, printed in the latest issue of the "United Automobile Worker," declares that "long and costly proceedings before the WLB to which labor has patiently been a party must now be deemed time-wasting, meaningless rigmarole."

### A RAP AT FDR

Voicing the sentiments of thousands of workers who have long known the anti-labor character of the WLB, the resolution states further: "To what purpose shall labor present its cases to the board when the board has no authority to act?" This is a reference to the recent de-

The UAW executive board's resolution reflects the open revolt against the WLB's intolerable stalling tactics and its pro-corporation stand in crucial tests on the part of the union's vast rank and file. Here the growing influence of the Rank and File Caucus in its gallant fight for the abolition of the no-strike pledge may be seen quite markedly.

The top leadership of the union, facing increasing evidence of "insubordination" and non-observance of its belly-crawling, union-busting policies, is reacting to this pressure in the most direct fashion. The militant atmosphere in the ranks has become so hot in recent months that this latest decision to get off the WLB might well be interpreted as an effort to stem the mounting avalanche against the no strike pledge. The timing of the resolution is more than accidental.

## UAW Rank and File Issue Paper

We have just received the RANK AND FILER, published by the National UAW-CIO Rank and File Steering Committee. It is the group which is leading the fight against the no-strike pledge in the referendum currently taken in the auto workers union.

This is the first issue, but it gives promise of turning into a lively, fighting spokesman for the militant unionists in the UAW. The number contains an attack on the labor draft, an article on the backers of the no-strike pledge, a reprint of the excellent leaflet calling for repeal of the no-strike pledge issued by the Rank and File Committee some weeks ago.

It features the Rank and File Program of progressive unionism, and is edited by a committee of Art Hughes, Larry Yost and Johnny Zupan.

As a rank and file paper, it calls upon all progressive unionists to support it financially. We think there is no better cause for a unionist than to support this paper. Their address is: The Rank and Filer, 1127 Rutland St., Detroit 10, Michigan.

cision in the Montgomery Ward case in which the decisions of the board were held to be merely "advisory."

Concluding with an undisguised, firm rap at President Roosevelt (the first by a leading CIO union in many years), the resolution declares that the President "cannot escape fully responsibility for the present inaction and indecision" of the WLB, calling upon him to ditch the old board and create a new one with clearly defined authority.

In view of President Roosevelt's established determination to make his fourth term his most openly reactionary of all, on both the international and domestic fronts, it is difficult to ascertain precisely what kind of new board the UAW executive board expects FDR to create. Since the functioning of any governmental agency based on the principle of compulsory arbitration and the prevention of real collective bargaining depends on the general economic policies of the government, it is evident that a new board can be nothing but a duplicate of the old.

Can the UAW possibly be for the creation of a board which will maintain the infamous Little Steel formula? Or one that will continue to follow Stabilization Director Vinson's (FDR's) ban on "fringe" adjustments such as the guaranteed annual income, severance pay, rectification of inequalities in wage rates for equal work and bonuses for night shift workers? The issues are fundamental and the creation of a new War Labor Board will only extend the labor injustices visited upon the trade unions with the Roosevelt wartime administration.

A more propitious moment would have been immediately after the WLB and the President shelved the joint report of the CIO and AFL on the real rise in the cost of living since 1941. But the UAW and the national CIO submerged the vital, immediate interests of all their members to help the fourth term campaign of President Roosevelt. They wrote out a blank check for the President (although Philip Murray "staked his life" on revision of the wage freeze) and concealed from their members the true anti-labor character of the Roosevelt policy and platform.

Now the UAW has clearly told the President to "deliver the goods" or it will summon labor to destroy part of the structure of the Administration's "labor policy of home-front unity." Even the dullest trade union official is now aware that this policy has all but wrecked the trade union movement—in addition to setting ominous precedents against collective bargaining in the post war period.

### FORWARD TO END "PLEDGE"

Better later than never, however. Having seen this much, light, the UAW and the CIO should open their eyes a little wider and resolve to get off the WLB—AND STAY OFF. It is the responsibility of the rank and file of the UAW and the CIO to make this stick. Abolition of the no-strike pledge would give them the power necessary to enforce their demands.

Imagine the future of the trade unions when and if the rank and file "counts ten" over the prostrate bodies of the WLB and the no-strike pledge! (Continued on page 2)

## The Big Three Meet to Decide Who Gets What

With hundreds of Russian divisions pounding toward Berlin in the East and a new American and British offensive steadily building up in the West, the doom of German arms is being sealed. For that very reason, the meeting of the Big Three, of Roosevelt, Stalin and Churchill, assumes enormous importance for the

ernment in Germany through his Free German Committee under the Junkers and Communists.

Churchill wants a balance of power in Europe. He cannot get it except by agreement with Stalin because England does not have the power to enforce such a plan.

The United States wants an open door in Europe certain that with her economic might she can hold sway over the Continent. That is why Roosevelt has been publicly non-committal about so many of the events which have taken place in recent weeks, Italy, Belgium, Poland and Greece.

Those who believe that Roosevelt has no foreign policy are talking through their hats. American foreign policy opposes any domination of the Continent either singly or jointly by England or Russia. This is a major and crucial issue at their meeting.

On Germany, it is apparent they have some agreement. The details are

lacking, but one thing is certain, they will destroy the German nation, not by destroying the German capitalist ruling class, but by enslaving the German workers.

While their differences are sharp, they have one area of agreement; the U. S., England and Russia are agreed on suppressing any rebellion of the



OUT FOR THE "OPEN DOOR"



OUT FOR ALL HE CAN GRAB



WANTS HIS CUT, TOO

peoples of the whole world, and most directly for the peoples of Europe.

Long before this meeting was scheduled, political relations between the powerful Allies were deteriorating. As their military fortunes improved, as their armies advanced into one country after another, the really important questions of imperial domination of the Continent became immediate.

The Atlantic Charter, to which Great Britain, the United States and Russia subscribed, was a dead letter from the very beginning because none of the powers really meant to do what the Charter announced: grant real freedom to the peoples of the world and their right to national independence.

The acute question which divides the Big Three is, who is going to dominate Europe. Stalin already has a head start. He long ago incorporated the Baltic States into Russia. He dominates the Balkans, Poland and most of Eastern Europe. And now he is prepared to set up a puppet gov-

## No Little Steel Formula for Big Business!

In order to get its wage increase, big business didn't have to wait for someone to thaw out a frozen Little Steel formula. According to the latest report of the Securities and Exchange Commission, sixteen groups of industries making war goods increased their 1943 profits ten per cent over 1942. And that was after they had paid their taxes.

The Wall Street Journal reports that this year big oil companies will have small profit records, showing only an 18 per cent increase over 1943.

We have heard a lot of talk about how industrialists are "working for virtually nothing" during these days of war. It simply isn't true. They are making the biggest profits in their history. In addition, our tax laws have been so arranged that if their profits fall off after the war, they may call on the Public Treasury for refunds totaling between \$22,000,000,000 and \$28,000,000,000.—From Labor, official publication of the Railroad Brotherhoods.

## Hard Peace Means It's Hard on Workers

By WALTER WEISS

On February 2 a New York Times correspondent reported from London that a "hard peace" is to be imposed on Germany.

A plan drawn up by Allied experts would not quite reduce Germany to a mere nation of farmers and cattle-herders. Yet it would strip her of key industries and transport services to a far greater degree than had generally been expected in recent months. For years to come, Germans are to be kept on a standard of living lower than that of the neighboring nations whom they plundered.

In strange contrast to this tough report have been complaints from prominent members of the Allied War Crimes Commission that their governments, both British and American, were sabotaging plans to try important Nazi war criminals. The governments, of course, have issued denials, insisting that only the meth-

ods of bringing the guilty to justice were in dispute.

On the surface, the contrast may seem strange. Actually, it is neither strange nor is it new.

### BOOSTING COLLABORATION

In "liberated" countries, the Allies have for many months been preventing the punishment of collaborationists, of those who worked hand-in-glove with the Nazis against the underground forces. This is so well known that by now it is hardly necessary to mention cases.

Did not the American government put pressure on de Gaulle to spare notorious French collaborationists? Roosevelt and the State Department had hoped to establish these very people as the direct rulers of France.

Did not Churchill and the British government insist that little King Victor Emanuel and, later, his big son Humbert remain in power? Are

they willing to listen to the demands of the Ethiopians, who wish to try Marshal Badoglio for his well known war crimes?

Did not Marshal Stalin rush to be the first to recognize Marshal Badoglio's government, when the latter was Premier of Italy? Does not Stalin, through his French Communist Party, back the policy of his ally de Gaulle for a slowing up of the purge of collaborationists? The French tools of Butcher Stalin, having turned about-face at the command of their master, now fear that the purge is "proving occasionally contrary to the spirit of justice of our people" (New York Times, February 3).

We pass over events in Greece, Belgium, Poland, Hungary, Romania and Bulgaria.

And in Germany itself? The New York newspaper PM in a London dispatch dated January 30 reported that of three hundred city

officials in Aachen, fifty-seven were registered Nazis, while in Stolberg eighty-five out of eighty-seven were Nazi Party members. As in Italy, the Allied Military Government (American) explained that there were no competent substitutes.

The big-shot industrialists commonly did not join the party. They told their underlings to join, while they furnished the financial backing. This too is well known. The present Lord Mayor of Aachen, according to PM's report, is Herr Oppenhoff, who was director of a plant which made parts used in the construction of V-1 and V-2 weapons.

The Russians report proudly (AP dispatch of January 31 from Moscow) that their troops pass by in haughty silence poor German farmers who try to be friendly. Yet Stalin has not been too proud to woo, for his Free German Committee, captured German generals—the big land-owning

class, who are the very embodiment of the Prussian spirit. One of them, the evil Marshal von Paulus, commander at Stalingrad, refused to join up until the July attempt on Hitler's life but finally yielded to Marshal Stalin's patient understanding.

Some people see, or say that they see, in all these facts nothing more serious than mistakes of judgment. Or, in the case of Roosevelt, bad advice from his subordinates. Or, in the case of Churchill, a split personality. Or, in the case of Stalin, just some tricks by which he is fooling all of us.

These lame explanations have been exploded time and again in LABOR ACTION.

The true explanation has been admitted, sometimes more openly and sometimes less openly, by the Big Three themselves. They are determined, above all, to prevent social (Continued on page 4)

The drive of President Roosevelt, the War and Navy Departments and the Administration to enslave American labor for private profits gained headway with the passage of the May-Bailey "work or jail" bill in the House. To assure these forces control over this reactionary, totalitarian measure, the House voted to place manpower in the hands of Selective Service.

Behind this latter action was a considerable amount of skullduggery and double-dealing engaged in by the War and Navy Departments which had already agreed with the Senate Military Affairs Committee that control over manpower be lodged in some civilian body.

The Senate Military Affairs Committee, which is now holding secret hearings in preparation for the adoption of the House labor draft act, made public the fact that the War and Navy Departments had done a "double-cross job" on them. According to Senator Johnson of Colorado, the Army and Navy first agreed to civilian control over manpower and then behind the scenes worked to turn such control over to the military.

This struggle in the Senate, House, War and Navy Departments, and President Roosevelt's Administration, however, is a family quarrel over how best to institute a National Service Act, and not to prevent a draft of labor for private profits. It cannot, then, have much importance for American labor, because the main problem and obstacle to overcome is the National Service Act itself. This means the entire labor movement must be mobilized in a gigantic campaign to defeat the efforts of "labor's friend" in the White House to enslave America's workers.

**LABOR MOBILIZES**  
The CIO and AFL are now preparing their forces for this drive. The AFL Executive Council, meeting in Florida, is organizing a nation-wide campaign of its affiliated unions to defeat the "work or jail" bill in the Senate.

AFL President William Green has wired officers of 108 international unions, 1,000 central bodies and state councils to join in this campaign. This directive was accompanied by a sharp attack on efforts made by the Administration to carry through its totalitarian aims.

**CP FOR DRAFT**  
The CIO is also organizing its own campaign, but with less vigor. The weakness of the CIO fight against national service is due, however, to the fact that the Communists and their fellow travelers are hampering the fight.

The Communist Party supports the labor draft. Its representatives and (Continued on page 2)

**SEE Page 4**  
**BEHIND THE JONES-WALLACE FIGHT**  
By MAX SHACHTMAN  
Nat'l Sec., Workers Party

(Full story next week.)

By David Coolidge

MASS ACTION: LABOR NOTES WRITTEN ON A CROSS-COUNTRY TOUR

All-Round Jim Crow

A Negro civilian and a white soldier went into a Negro restaurant in Denver to eat. The proprietor of the restaurant consulted some Negro MP's present and then came to the table to ask the white soldier if he was a white man. On receiving an affirmative reply the proprietor said: "I can't serve you in here. It's Army orders. White soldiers can't eat in restaurants in this neighborhood and Negro soldiers are not to be served in restaurants downtown."

The white soldier sat it out hungry while the Negro civilian finished his meal which he had already been served. The MP's said that these were their orders from the commanding officer of the camp. The only exception to that rule is that the white MP's in this area may eat in Negro restaurants. I did not learn whether or not Negro MP's may eat in downtown restaurants. The excuse given for this particularly obnoxious Jim Crow practice by the Army bureaucrats is that there have been fights between Negro and white soldiers in public places.

This, of course, is only one small part of the general practice of Jim Crow in the Army and Navy. Of course it would not occur to Roosevelt, Congress, the Army and Navy that the best way to stop white and Negro soldiers from fighting each other when they meet is to get rid of Jim Crow. If Negro and white soldiers and sailors are in the same organization, eating together, sleeping together, working together and playing together in camp, they will not fight each other when they meet in cities outside the camps.

If the government stops heaping insult and degradation on Negroes in the armed forces, then there will be less tendency for white and Negro soldiers to fight among themselves

when they meet. It is the Jim Crow Roosevelt government which is solely responsible for this situation.

A Cop Negotiator

While I was in Chicago there was a strike of 500 machinists at the plant of the Goss Printing Press Co. The company charged that the men struck because ten women had been hired to perform an operation which the strikers claimed should be men's jobs. The union officials say that the strike was not called against the women because of their sex but because the company was paying the women below the top scale for the work. The women were paid \$1.25 an hour for work which was below the rate paid men for the same work.

What interested me about this strike was the fact that Capt. George Burns, head of the "police labor detail," sat in on the negotiations along with a federal labor conciliator. It wasn't reported just what this cop was there for. I support he was representing "law and order" or the "public." Chicago has an international reputation for "law and order." The press did record that Capt. Burns did submit a plan for settlement of the strike. He suggested that the women be kept but that they be given jobs outside of those units claimed by the men. The captain perhaps feels that women should confine their machinist activities to the family washing machine.

There was a time when workers understood that the place for a cop during a labor dispute was pounding the pavement and not in the negotiations going on between the union and the company. That is, if he could find nothing more lucrative, such as collecting graft from dives or shaking down gangsters.

Denver and Wallace

I have just read in Denver's Rocky Mountain News that the Wallace sup-

porters have switched their tactics. They will support the George amendment and submit to the demand of the "foes" of Wallace that the RFC be divorced from the Commerce Department.

Wallace says new and small businesses are "the lifeblood of free enterprise." His opponents say that Wallace wants to use the Commerce Department to introduce socialism into the United States.

This would certainly be an easy way to get socialism. It might be called socialism without tears. It might even appeal to Norman Thomas and get his full support. Presumably Philip Murray, Hillman and the other CIO Wallace devotees would be for the socialism which Wallace would cause to sprout in the Department of Commerce. This probably has something to do with the decision of the friends of Wallace to agree to take the RFC out of the department. If they can only get Wallace confirmed this will be proof that God's in His heaven and all's right with the world. The 60,000,000 jobs will be guaranteed. The war will end sooner and eternal peace will reign throughout the earth. Price rises will be curbed. The Little Steel formula will go into Henry's Commerce waste basket. The Smith-Connally Act will be revoked and the National Service Act will be defeated.

Wallace is the key to the situation today since Roosevelt has already been elected. That was what Roosevelt had in mind when he refrained from supporting Wallace for Vice-President. He was holding him for the Commerce Department post, the 60,000,000 jobs, little business and 1948.

Labor should understand these things before it is too late. First thing we know, Wallace will get mad and go back to his Iowa pigs and corn. There where will the labor movement be?

NEWS AND VIEWS FROM THE LABOR FRONT

Cleveland Union Needs Own Local

By STANLEY PAXON

CLEVELAND—At the last membership meeting of Cletrac employees of the International Association of Machinists it was voted to have their own local in the shop. Cletrac employees have always belonged to Locals 233 and 439 of the IAM and a few workers are members of the Federal Labor Union.

Local 233, to which the majority of Cletrac workers belong, is an amalgamated local, with more than 6,000 workers, representing eighteen or nineteen different shops. These shops are located in all parts of the city, some being on the west side and some far out on the east side. Some of the shops are as far as nine or ten miles from the downtown union office, where the union's meetings are held.

The two largest shops, Parker Appliance and Cleveland Tractor, are this distance from the union office, making it well-nigh impossible for the great majority of the members to attend the bi-monthly meetings. This is especially true now that there is gas rationing and workers are not allowed gas to drive to union meetings. This is also one of the reasons why the regular monthly meetings of Local 233 are so poorly attended. (Usually less than one per cent of the membership attended and all too often not even a quorum of twenty appear so that a meeting can be held.)

The second reason why so few attend the meetings of the local is that shop problems cannot be taken up at the meetings! The reason given is that a shop problem at Cletrac or Parker Appliance does not concern the other shops in the local. The reasoning has some truth in it. But why bother to have local meetings if shop problems cannot be taken up? The present local meetings serve one

purpose primarily, i.e., to pass the bills, mainly those of the officers' salaries and office expenses. A waste of time to attend such meetings, especially if you have to travel nine or ten miles to get there.

NO DEMOCRACY

Another glaring fault in Local 233 is the viciously undemocratic manner in which the vote was taken at the time of the annual election of officers. About a year ago the IAM took a vote on whether the members wanted to stay in the AFL. The vote was taken in the shop, where every member had a chance to vote. The IAM bureaucrats can be very democratic when they need the support of the members. (Although the vote was overwhelmingly in favor of dropping out of the AFL, we are still in. The vote served but one purpose—to give the IAM bureaucrats a club in their jurisdictional dispute with the Carpenters Union.)

But try and have the vote taken in the shops when local officers are elected! Oh, no, brother. Come on downtown if you want to vote then. Local officers are very secure when the vote is taken downtown. Maybe not so safe and secure if all the members have a chance to vote. And none knows it better than Matt DeMore, Joe Reddish & Co.

All these faults could be corrected with a local of our own. And not only could they be corrected but additional advantages would result.

- 1. With a hall and office near the shops, more members could attend regular and special meetings.
2. We would have our own finances and treasury. (At present we are helpless from a financial standpoint, having to depend on the generosity of Local 233 for every dollar we get, and that's not much.)
3. To have our own local would be a tremendous step forward in ridding ourselves of the utterly conservative leadership of Local 233.

Hard Peace --

(Continued from page 1)

revolutions. They fear that the workers may get control of the European governments and prevent the substitution of Allied imperialism for Hitler's. They stand in terror of the possibility that revolutionary ideas may spread and topple their own régimes at home.

The forces that they fear Stalin calls Trotskyism. Churchill, who has been warning of great dangers to world capitalism and to the British Empire in almost every speech for years, rails constantly against Trotskyist communism. Both he (in talking about Greece) and his ex-envoy describe Trotskyism (that is, workers' government) as an evil even worse than Hitlerism. American spokesmen, such as Cordell Hull, have more commonly warned of "disorder" and "anarchy," but they mean the same thing.

The workers of Europe do not want to return to the pre-war situation. They feel that they, certainly not the collaborating capitalists, can bring democracy, peace and security. This description of the aspirations of Europe's masses is commonly admitted by reporters for the American capitalist press.

To thwart the realization of these aspirations of the people, the Big Three protect and bolster up the capitalists and the old-time politicians and their Stalinist allies in the working class—by every means, not least of all by the force of arms.

REAL CRIMINALS FREE

This does not mean that there have been no trials and convictions of "war criminals" at all. There will be more. But, so far as the Big Three can accomplish it, the capitalists and big landlords behind the Nazis and Fascists will escape and will continue to be the rulers, although subject to the directions of one or another of the great Allies.

For Hitler's gang and Mussolini's gang and in particular for their pow-

erful backers, the "hard peace," which they fully deserve, will not come except through working class revolutions.

But would such revolutions spare the imperialist war criminals, who were Hitler's "enemies"? Would they spare men who could honestly say about Hitler: "If our country were defeated, I hope we should find a champion as indomitable to restore our courage and lead us back to our place among the nations." (Churchill, November 17, 1937.)

Would they spare those who said of the fascist system:

"One may respect or hate Hitlerism, just as any other system of political views. This is a matter of taste." (Stalin's paper, Izvestia, October 9, 1939.)

The Big Three do plan a "hard peace," but only for the workers of Germany and the rest of Europe.

PLANNING SLAVERY

The German workers, unlike Churchill and his friends, neither helped nor hailed Hitler's rise; they became slaves under his rule.

Now it is planned to make millions of them slave laborers in Stalin's paradise, while the rest work to pay off reparations to the other Allies. Stalin's friends, the Nazi generals, and their friends will live in moderate comfort.

Even for American workers a hard peace is promised—a peace that is no peace. Harry Hopkins, in whom Roosevelt confides most fully, says: "We must accept a new and tough concept—: compulsory military training for every boy at 18, perpetual armies of occupation in Germany and Japan. That is all he says now. More will come later."

The world will be one great armed camp—if these plans are not upset. That is the lasting "peace" which the imperialists of all nations have to promise us. It is certainly a hard peace.

Negotiating Merry-Go-Round, or

Why Unionists Get Gray

By R. HARRIS

Have any of you kind readers had the opportunity of sitting in on war-time contract negotiations? No? Then perhaps this little story of a more or less typical negotiation will entertain you.

After the contract committee has drained its gray matter of all good ideas to incorporate into the new contract and the contract has been approved by the membership, the negotiating committee is selected. The committee then arranges for the first meeting with the company officials.

On the night of the meeting, the committee members file into the company offices and are met with open-armed hospitality by the president and the company and his stooges. The president then proceeds to make some pleasant remarks concerning the weather and other odds-and-ends. The field representative, who is the chairman of the committee, replies in a similar vein.

The field representative then says something to this effect: "I'm sure, Mr. Blank (the company president) that we will get along well this year. I know that you want to be fair with your employees and we want to be fair with you. As you know, the union has given a no-strike pledge to our Commander-in-Chief and we intend to keep it."

Mr. Blank smiles sweetly as he passes cigars to the committee and says: "Yes, Mike (the representative) I'm sure that we will get along very well. Also I want to congratulate you on your strict adherence on the no-strike pledge. It has kept production (spelled: p-r-o-d-u-c-t-i-o-n) flowing and has done wonders for our (Blank's) war effort."

After the above pleasantries (which generally take about forty-five minutes) the union and the company get down to business.

DOWN TO BUSINESS

The union proceeds to read its demands to the company. The company officials sit back silently and occasionally a little smirk brighten

their otherwise dull faces; especially when something funny like a wage increase is being requested.

When the union finishes reading the proposed contract, the company officials ask a few intelligent questions like: "Where are we going to get the money?" or "Don't you think severance pay is unfair?" After the above questions are put, the company says: "We must have some time to study these demands." (They have known what the demands were for weeks.) The meeting then breaks up and a date is set for the next one.

At the next meeting the company presents a counter-proposal, which is last year's contract—only worse. The union then tells the company that this proposal will be presented at a special meeting of the local for a vote. At the special meeting, the rank and file vote unanimously against the counter-proposal of the company.

The negotiating committee informs the company of the vote at the next meeting and pleads with the company to bargain. The company refuses to budge. The case is then sent to the National War Labor Board. At this point about a month has been consumed. The old contract has been extended and the rank and file are very unhappy.

Here is where the union does its damndest to acquire the patience of Job. The WLB has the case and everybody knows what that means. It means at this point one thing: delay, delay, and more delay. Later in the story we will see that it means another thing and that is: no favorable settlement for the union.

After about eight, ten or twelve months the contract comes back from the board with some half-heated recommendations, most of which call for renewed bargaining with the company.

MORE MEETINGS

The union arranges for another meeting with the company. At this meeting it is obvious to a careful observer that time has taken its toll. There are a few more gray hairs in

the assembled group. The lines in the faces of the participants have deepened and there are creaking bones where there were none before.

Mr. Blank addresses Mike: "Mike, you have seen the ruling of the board and I have seen it. Now I'm convinced that the board doesn't want us to make any of the changes you are requesting. The board wants things to remain very much as they have in the past." Mike is forced to agree.

A meeting is then called for the rank and file to vote on the "new" contract. The membership hears the contract read and finds that it isn't "new" at all. Those who are listening closely may detect a few changes but the changes are always minor—very minor.

After the contract has been read, some rank and file takes the floor and says: "We oughta strike." Immediately there is a hubbub from the floor. Others take up the cry: "We oughta strike." Mike then rises to his feet and says: "Men, your union has given a no-strike pledge to our Commander-in-Chief. Our union and our boys are depending on us to keep that pledge." Mike says much more. He begs, pleads and sobs. His voice runs up and down the scale. He sings the mournful song of surrender to the big bosses and their war effort. In the end he sits back exhausted; having given his all to break a budding strike.

The vote is then taken. The men agree to accept the "new" contract, for they too are exhausted by all this waiting.

The lesson to be learned from this little story is two-fold. First, take back the no-strike pledge so that you have a weapon; a weapon that will force the big bosses to "give"! Second, withdraw union representatives from the War Labor Board, so that they will be stopped from taking part in the farce of "settling labor disputes" which is being enacted daily in Washington!

UAW against WLB--

(Continued from page 1)

Genuine collective bargaining at last. The full power of the organized working class finally brought to bear against the corporation chisellers and the "free enterprise" pirates! Great labor victories such as those won in auto and steel in the pre-war years! No more WLB run-arounds and Roosevelt wage freezes!

As Walter P. Reuther, vice-president and GM director of the UAW, put it in August, 1944:

"Every time we have a dispute, a dispute which before the war could have been settled in a few minutes or a few hours, the corporation sits back and says: 'Take it to the WLB.' We tell them that recourse to the WLB would mean long delays. They reply: 'That's too bad. The WLB is a New Deal agency; it's your agency.'"

Every word correct except the last three. The WLB never was labor's agency. The labor leaders who sat on its panels and gave it aid and comfort for three years are the misrepresentatives and misleaders of labor. The corporation lawyers and "impartial" public members who dominated it in the interests of the employers were aptly called "zombies" by John L. Lewis.

The UAW resolution is only the first blow in the battle. Let every union in the country follow suit. Labor would like nothing better than to roll up its sleeves and face the arrogant corporation profiteers in an equal fight. Labor has a few scores to settle—and it can settle them in record time if it throws off the shackles placed upon it by a pro-corporation government and boss-minded trade union officials.

Yes, We Know! In defending the international trade union "unity" conference in London, Jack Tanner, president of the British Amalgamated Engineering Union, said: "The AFL says that the Russian unions are not free. But the truth is that the function of Russian unions differs from that of unions in Britain and America. They are organized as producers, not as wage slaves."

Post-War Plans --

(Continued from page 3)

In addition to presenting the budget for the war, Roosevelt also projected a plan for 60,000,000 jobs, which everyone wants and attached to which is a proposal to provide the sum of \$279,000,000 for the year 1946. One and a half billion goes for a federal public works program, and another billion dollars is for federal aid to highways. The total budget for such a thing is \$3 billion. This meager sum (again in contrast to war expenditures) is to provide additional employment for those whom private industry, or "free enterprise," cannot absorb.

POST-WAR PLANNING

No serious plans are prepared by the capitalist ruling class and its political administration in Washington to provide for the overwhelming majority of the people. Instead we get a lot of pap about "free enterprise," lower taxes for corporations, rebates to the monopolists and Roosevelt's honeyed plans for keeping employed sixty million workers!

The Roosevelt budget message reveals the mentality of the capitalist politician. It shows that he, like the rest of his class, plans with profits in mind at all times. The total sum of \$3 billions for public works, road building, etc., would hardly pay for ten days of the cost of the war. His program is a capitalist program. Hundreds of billions of dollars for war and destruction! Pennies for security and human lives!

In sharp contrast to this capitalist program of starvation, the Workers Party and LABOR ACTION present a program which calls for: A \$250 billion five-year federal public works program to provide jobs and relief to the unemployed.

This is a modest sum. It is only \$50 billions a year; far less than the war budget.

Every government expert admits that housing for millions is substandard. Other millions of people actually face a shortage of shelters. Many parts of the country are without electricity or means of power. Roads and communications are sadly in need of repair and extension. And these are only a few of the things that can be done.

There is the matter of improving the health and physical condition of millions of people. The draft demonstrated the sad physical condition of so large a number of American youth.

Most of the people in the country suffer from inadequate medical care. A real program would provide for such necessary care.

Most Americans do not complete their education. Our program would provide for that, too!

These are only a few of the many things that can and should be done.

The President's plan is no plan at all. It merely emphasizes that for him, as for the rest of his class, the ideal is:

Everything for war! As little as possible for peace!

The Workers Party program is a modest step on the road to securing sixty million jobs and plenty for all. To secure such an adequate program of public works, an independent Labor Party is necessary. One of its first planks would deal with adequate public works.

Roosevelt has shown his hand. His contemptuously meager "plan" is doomed in advance.

Labor must break with Roosevelt and form its own party to secure—PLENTY FOR ALL!

Local New York, Workers Party, presents the first of a series of

SUNDAY NIGHT FORUMS

RECONVERSION--FULL EMPLOYMENT OR POST-WAR DEPRESSION?

Programs for Reconversion and the Post-War Prospects of American Labor—The Real Significance of the Wallace-Jones Dispute—A Real Program for Full Employment

Hear:

V. JENSEN

Contributor to Labor Action

Sunday, February 18

Council Room, Irving Plaza

8:15 p.m.

15th St. and Irving Plaza

You Can Buy Labor Action and The New International at SAN FRANCISCO: McDonald's Book Store 867 Mission St. Golden Gate News Agency 81 Third St. Fitzgerald's Newsstand 4th St. near Market CHICAGO: Ceshinsky's Bookstore 2730 W. Division St.

PHILADELPHIA MEETING Lenin, Liebknecht, Luxemburg Memorial Meeting Sponsored by Young Labor League Time—8:15 P. M. Date—Sunday, February 18 Place—1105 Walnut Street

L. A. Business Manager's PRESS ACTION by Sol Rayo

The impetus from our sub drive continues to bring subs into the LABOR ACTION office. In the last three weeks 335 new readers have been added to our lists.

Many of the Labor Actionists keep plugging away at their shopmates and friends. We want to sound a warning and an appeal to all LABOR ACTION supporters not to lie down on the job, now that our campaign is over. There still remains that friend, contact or fellow worker in the plant from whom you intended to get a sub. Don't relax. Get it now!

The spreading of the ideas of LABOR ACTION is an all-year-round proposition. Our motto is similar to the Post Office's: "Neither wind nor rain nor storm shall stay our messengers from the swift completion of their appointed rounds." Don't

slip up on any opportunities to get new readers of LABOR ACTION. Don't stop thinking of ways to get new readers.

Out in Minnesota, one of our supporters is going great guns. We want other readers to catch his spirit and enthusiasm. He writes: "For your information, LABOR ACTION is going over strongly with our Range workers. The moment we catch our breath, I think that we can work up a subscription campaign and really sell this great paper. It is simply tragic that we haven't got a thousand subscribers up here so we could use the paper for a base to start an organized attack on the vicious labor draft."

The letter was signed "Yours for more Labor Action."

From the looks of things, the "tragic" fact is going to be changed.

# Report of Greek Events

We reproduce below the excerpts we promised from a special report received from Greece written at the time of the battle between the Greek anti-fascists and the British imperialists. Next week we shall print another first-hand account of the fighting in Athens from another report written at the time.

Dear Comrades:  
The revolt of the Greek anti-fascists was definitely not a planned affair. The people were simply fed up with the dilatoriness of the government, in which the EAM, too, had its representatives. EAM in the past had the strength to seize power. It had many opportunities. It had time in which to consolidate its position. But it simply followed the "no-strike" line. It didn't want to disturb the equilibrium of Teheran.

The people are tired, sick and starving, but a bold, revolutionary stroke would have been supported. It has been the pressure from below that forced the decisions of the top leaders. It was only the will of the people which forced the EAM ministers to stand firm on their refusal to disarm the ELAS (military wing of the EAM—Ed.) until the monarchist and fascist armies were also disarmed. It was the people who spontaneously

Greece. But since last fall they have been falling in line with the Teheran slogans. Even now, during the revolt, the lies they tell to the people are unbelievable, even when they want to keep a tight hold on the leadership of the mass movement.

But, all in all, the Greek Communist Party, like its counterparts the world over, is not Communist. And even though it rides high at the moment—it has members in all the top spots of ELAS, EAM, EPON (youth section of the EAM)—it cannot be said that Greece will go Communist.

### WILL GREECE GO "COMMUNIST"?

At the moment it is "fashionable" for youth, as well as their elders, to belong to the Communist Party. But some of the youth are already starting to leave. The program is not revolutionary enough to attract them. Even the newspaper of the agrarian party is far away to the left of the Communists.

The paper of the "Archeo-Marxists," Greek revolutionary socialists known as Trotskyists, is in circulation. They support the ELAS. They oppose disarmament of the ELAS. They attack the Communist Party of Greece because it joined the exiled government.

started the present revolt. If the top leadership had been able to prevent it, I am sure they would have done so. But once under way, and once its magnificent strength had been demonstrated, the leadership had to take command, or the revolt would have gotten out of hand.

### NATURE OF GREEK COMMUNISTS

The Communists who "control" EAM resemble our American type, but with some differences. Due to the Nazi occupation, their contact with the Comintern was haphazard, intermittent and underground. Their paper, for example, still carried the slogan, "Workers of the world, unite!" They have suffered imprisonment, have been tortured, have been exiled. They have suffered with the workers and peasants. Some of them, out of touch with the new party line, have always preached a workers' and peasants' government, dictatorship of the proletariat, etc.

That is why the line varies all over

In order to build itself a following, the EAM had to make a lot of promises which are not being lived up to. The people want these changes. Even the most lethargic say they haven't suffered and fought merely to return to the period of 1934-40.

The Communists cooked their own goose the moment they decided to be good and play ball with the government in exile. When the latter returned to Greece, it was too much for the EAM. The government had the machinery and technique of ruling in its hands, and it was abetted by the fascists and monarchists, all anxious to chop down the leftists. But the EAM in my opinion, stoked the social awareness of the Greek masses. Many of the youth in particular object, saying: "You're making too many concessions!"

The Communists, now that they have gotten in line, are not able to stifle this awakened social consciousness.

It will burn fiercely for a long time to come.

# One-Tenth of the Nation

By J. R. Johnson

How have Negroes fared in industry during the war years? The United States Department of Labor in the January issue of the Monthly Labor Review gives the latest data.

### THE STATISTICAL PICTURE

There are today no fewer than five and a half million Negro workers in the United States. And there are 700,000 in the Army. Thus the war has caused an unprecedented social upheaval among the Negroes in the United States which must have had, indeed is already having, profound effects on their political future.

Meager as are the statistics offered by the Department of Labor, they indicate certain significant trends.

Between 1940 and 1944 the number of Negroes employed as skilled craftsmen, foremen and regular "operatives" in factories rose from 500,000 to 1,000,000. There seems to have been up-grading to some substantial degree, but the great masses who entered industry entered and have remained as unskilled laborers.

The miserable status of Negroes in the United States is shown by the fact that though the number of Negro men working as proprietors, managers and officials increased, during the war period, by fifty per cent, the total number in April, 1944, had not yet reached 75,000.

Seven Negro women out of ten employed in 1940 were in domestic service. The proportion had changed little by 1944. Only instead of being domestic servants, more Negro women are beauticians, cooks, waitresses, etc. This may seem a small gain; in

reality it means a change from that of personal dependence and personal subordination which has been characteristic of the social existence of Negroes and Negro women for so many decades.

For women also there have been noticeable shifts from farm labor to work in the factory. This, for Negro women, is like entry into a new world. A great process of social education is here taking place.

### MORE OPPRESSED WORKERS

True, both men and women remain at the bottom of the industrial ladder. Of the clerical and sales forces of the country, ninety-eight per cent remains white. Of the professional, proprietary and managerial group, ninety-five per cent remain white.

A further breakdown would infallibly show that the Negroes are represented almost exclusively in the lowest of the lower brackets.

The greatest gains are the opening up of jobs to Negroes as semi-skilled workers, principally in factories.

That is the shameful truth. That is the "equality of opportunity" offered to Negroes in U. S. democracy at the highest peak of capitalist prosperity and capitalist need. But this very crime is one powerful source of the forces which will overthrow capitalism. The Negroes as a mass have little cause to love American capitalist society. Segregated and humiliated, they are thrust by capitalism into the masses of the unskilled and semi-skilled.

These, however, form the most powerful concentration of forces in the country, whose objective position

is such that they are bound, sooner or later, to come into mortal conflict with the system as a whole. In this category of workers the Negroes have found a place, educating themselves, learning and teaching class solidarity with white workers, through the discipline of capitalist production and the struggles of the unions.

In April, 1940, there were 3,000 Negro women in the metals, chemicals and rubber group of industries. In 1944 there were 150,000. In April, 1940, there were 60,000 Negroes in government service. In 1944 there were 200,000. In each case there was an increase of nearly 150,000. The numbers are equal. But as a social force, as elements in the class struggle, as part of the great army which is being steadily welded together for the ultimate phases of the conflict between capital and labor, the 150,000 women in heavy industry are ten times as important as the government typists, petty bureaucrats, super-janitors, etc.

### CAPITALISM PREPARES NEMESIS

Thus the very degradation of the Negroes in capitalist society places them in situations where their ingrained resentment can find expression, valuable not only to their own emancipation but to the emancipation of society as a whole.

Historical law works in contradictions. The anger which all socialists feel at statistical proof of the social status of Negroes should be accompanied by careful examination of the Nemesis which, here as in so many other fields, capitalism prepares for itself by its injustice and its crimes.

# WORLD POLITICS

By REVA CRAINE

## Stalin Grooms Von Paulus?

Roosevelt, Churchill and Stalin are at the present meeting somewhere in Europe in an attempt to come to some agreement regarding the Allied partition of that continent. Of central importance is the question: What to do with Germany, and which of the Allied powers is to do it? As his armies move on toward Berlin, Stalin is indeed in the strongest position to put into effect his ideas on the subject. In the days of the agitation for the opening of the second front, Molotov, Russian Premier, had warned that he who gets to Berlin first would decide the fate of Germany. Stalin is seeking to make good this threat.

If Germany is "liberated" by the advancing Russian army, if Hitler's government is "overthrown" in this way, what will replace it? Will the German people be able to establish their own government? Will they be able to go after the hated Nazis and capitalists who brought them into the war and to the brink of disaster? Will they be allowed to purge their country of every trace of the detested fascist régime? Knowing what the Allied attitude has been to the Italian, French, Belgian and Greek people—not to mention the Polish people—there is no reason to believe that the German masses will fare even as well.



### THE REAL ALLIED POLICY

The policy of the Allies is to make Germany "pay for the war," that is, make the German people pay. The people must be held responsible for the crimes of Hitler. The most rabid proponents of this policy are the Russian rulers, whose spokesman, the writer, Ilya Ehrenburg, recently declared that the Russians are coming to Germany, not as liberators, but as conquerors.

Stalin wants to make Germany pay by confiscation of whatever industry is left in that country after the continual bombings and raids. He wants, moreover, at least ten million German slaves. The chastisement of the German people must be complete, and the anti-fascists among them will be marked for the severest punishment. Ehrenburg's reply to a question on what the Russians would do about a revolt of the German people who would "overthrow Hitler and welcome the advancing Red Army with appropriate banners," was, "Those would be the first people we would shoot."

Up to this point there is agreement on the part of the Big Three with regard to Germany. On the question of the three-way partition of Germany there may not be that much unanimity. Now that the practical settlement of the German problem appears to be at hand, the Russian interests become more clear. Whereas Anglo-American imperialism would benefit by the dismemberment of Germany, in that a rival or potential rival would be put out of the way, Russian interests dictate the maintenance of a Germany sufficiently strong to act as a buffer against the other two Allied partners. Russia desires a weakened, but not crippled Germany, one that is friendly, peaceful and "safe," i.e., safe to the Russian ruling class.

### RESURRECTING THE JUNKERS

The Kremlin has prepared for its policy through the establishment of a committee which it is rumored will be introduced as the provisional government for Germany. When the Russians turned back the Germans at Stalingrad, they not only reversed the European military situation, but captured a group of German generals who have been worked over into a Union of German Officers who have been acting with and for the Russians.

In addition, there is the Free German Committee, which is composed of some of these Junkers and loyal Stalinists. The committee is headed by General Walther von Seydlitz, who was a commander in the German Sixth Army, which surrendered at Stalingrad. Seydlitz is an old-line military man, comes from an old aristocratic family, is a descendant of Bismarck and has been in the army since 1908. He served his class under the Kaiser, under the Republic and under Hitler. Up to Stalingrad, he was a loyal German militarist. Now he serves his class in what he considers to be the best way, under Stalin.

In addition to the German generals, there are the Stalinist henchmen headed by one William Pieck. It is already being spoken about quite openly that Stalin is moving to install the Free German Committee as the provisional German government, which will be headed by Field Marshal von Paulus. He too was captured at Stalingrad, but it took him over a year to leave Hitler. Since then he has become a renovated Junker. Italy had his Badoglio—Germany will have its von Paulus.

We see then that it would be a mistake to take too seriously the Russian contention that all Germans are guilty, hopeless, incapable of changing. At least some "good" Germans have been found. They are the Junker generals who believe that Hitler has lost the war and that the best way to save German capitalism and German Junkerdom is to abandon Hitler, call off the war and establish "law and order" in Germany. In return for the privilege of doing this, they have become friends of Stalin.

On the other hand, Stalin sees in a government headed by these people a way of "preventing" civil war in Germany, that is, revolution, which might not stop merely at the overthrow of fascism, but which might make possible the victory of the German working class over capitalism.

### BEHEADING A REVOLUTION

We are sure that the Russian secret police have ways of winning over German generals. What is most important is that on the very basic point of what is to be the role of the made-in-Moscow provisional German government there is complete agreement and unity of interests between the generals and the Russian bureaucracy. There is to be no democracy in Germany, there is to be no free government, no independent workers' movement and organizations and, above all, no revolution. The new régime is to be a totalitarian one, without Hitler. In this aim Stalin has found the perfect instrument, the German army staff.

As one of the "free" officers stated in a radio broadcast: "Our first task is to save the lives of these German soldiers, to save them from the certain and useless death to which Hitler leads them daily. Our second task is to cleanse the besmirched honor of the German officers' corps. The third task is to act as a preventative against the civil war which Hitler will be faced with."

Not one word—and how could there be from this source?—about the restoration of those rights which fascist rule has stamped out.

# UNRRA: Imperialist Weapon

By JESSIE KAAREN

If the name of UNRRA (United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration) were to be changed to PF (Political Football), it would at least have the merit of having an honest title, if not an honest aim. UNRRA is following the footsteps of its "illustrious" predecessor, the Hoover food relief administration which was formed after World War No. 1. Each new incident reveals that it is strictly an instrument for carrying out imperialist policies, mainly those of Great Britain and the United States, more particularly the latter.

The following quote from the London correspondent of the New York Times serves to illustrate the point: "Mr. Churchill has intervened with bullets in Athens to bring relief and FREE elections to Greece, according to his own statements, but Washington would reverse the program, giving relief priority and, it is believed, proposing joint supervision of elections to be held later." (Emphasis mine.—J. K.)

In plain English, that means that while the English have to intervene with bullets, the United States can still afford to get the same results by distributing food.

### ALLIED DIFFERENCES

These divergences between America and Britain and between both these nations and Russia must be properly understood. Nothing is further from the truth than to suppose that the United States proposes to act as the humanitarian deliverer of a starving people.

The trend of American foreign policy in recent months represents an attempt to win control of Europe by relief handouts and by hypocritical expressions of sympathy for national independence. In actual practice, as has been shown in Italy, where the United States has been most brutal in its attempts to stifle any expression of national independence, and in Belgium, where American troops were used against striking workers, American foreign intervention is as direct as is the British.

In addition to refusing to let UNRRA enter Yugoslavia, except on its own terms, the Soviet Union has blocked UNRRA from entering Poland. And the reason? "It is believed here that beyond the military situation in the south of Russia, delaying accessibility to Black Sea ports, the completion of Soviet political arrangements with the Lublin government, only recently accomplished, may have been a factor in the delay in granting shipping facilities."—(New York Times.)

The Daily Workers confirms the animosity that exists between Russia and the Allied powers in control of UNRRA. It tells about the anti-Russian bias of American officials and it also intimates that relief may be used as a political weapon, just as it was after the First World War.

If food is to be a club over the starving people of Poland, Marshall Stalin wants the club to be in his hands.

That 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 Poland to a Russian colony.

### WORSENING CONDITIONS

Meanwhile conditions among Europe's starving masses grow continuously worse. The effect of the Allied invasion has been to reduce rather than improve the standard of living. The war has dragged on for five years now. A conservative relief worker's estimate made in 1943 is that about thirty million people have been displaced from their homes. The figure is probably much higher now. Hospitals and public services are completely broken down. There are no drugs. Transport facilities are reserved for military use only.

Each country that has been invaded by the Allies is held in such a vise of military bureaucracy that it is impossible for local relief organizations to get started. In 1943 the death rate in Greece was eight times higher than in pre-war days. In Holland, the adolescent death rate in 1941 was 43 per cent above 1939. In Marseille in the same year, the infant mortality rate increased by 41 per cent. In Italy, it is estimated that about 50 per cent of the population is afflicted with tuberculosis.

All these are very fragmentary figures and only indicate in a small measure, how appalling the devastation in Europe really is.

A report from Istanbul, Turkey, by Joseph Levy of the New York Times tells of the unbearable predicament of the Bulgarian Jews at the present time—Jews who have been released from German concentration camps to starve in "freedom." Bulgaria is being ruled by a Russian military regime working in conjunction with a Bulgarian cabinet which is made up in equal parts of former Bulgarian fascists and Communist ministers.

"The situation of about 45,000 Jews is deplorable and desperate. They are homeless, shoeless and starving. They are existing, not living, under the most unsanitary conditions, three or four families sharing a dingy little room which is unheated and without windowpanes.... "So desperate is the situation that it is no exaggeration to state that at least 25 per cent of them are anxious to leave the country and go anywhere. But the 'sympathetic' government at the instigation of the Communist Minister of the Interior, Anton Ygoff, has banned all Jewish emigration from Bulgaria."

Harking back to that same conference in 1943, the Indian delegation there was prevented from bringing the question of relief for India before the assembly, because of British pressure. It was the time of the terrible famine in India when reports were coming in daily of the deaths of many thousands of people from starvation and plague and newspaper men were reporting instances of black market hoarding by Indian princes in collaboration with the British administration.

# Defeat May Bill - -

(Continued from page 1)

fellow travelers in the CIO are fighting the policy of the organization. Through the Daily Worker, the Communists carry on a steady barrage of propaganda in favor of the May-Bailey bill. Their trade unionists do the same thing inside the union movement. In New York they even visited congressmen and asked them to vote for the bill, thereby implying a split in the CIO on this very important and crucial issue.

The labor leaders find it difficult to understand why Roosevelt insists on passage of the slave bill, especially so late in the game. They feel betrayed after having supported him so completely in the elections, but they are themselves to blame.

Roosevelt has been kicking labor around for a long time, but never so brazenly and completely as he has since the war began. He has taken everything from labor and given it nothing. And one of the most important reasons why he has been able to do this is because the labor leaders have been so subservient to him. Without the subservience of the labor officialdom, Roosevelt would not have dared to proceed with the many anti-labor measures he has introduced as policy. Feeling doubly secure in his labor support, he proposed the slave act.

### NO MANPOWER SHORTAGE

But the labor movement would err if it believed that Roosevelt has done this because there is a manpower shortage or a critical shortage of material. The labor representatives and government officials, not excluding the brass hats, have proved beyond a shadow of doubt that there is no manpower shortage or critical shortage of war goods. What they have shown is that there has been a great deal of bungling at the top in Washington. They proved that there was planlessness, incompetence and mismanagement at the top.

No, Roosevelt's demands for a National

Service Act grows out of the world needs of American capitalism. Roosevelt is preparing for the post-war struggle for the domination of the world by American big business; to take care of any domestic difficulties which will arise from large-scale unemployment.

He is preparing now for the conflicts which will occur between the American rulers and the British and Russian rulers over control of Europe and Asia, the colonies of the world and the international market. He is preparing for a period when American arms will be used to prevent the struggles of the peoples in Europe for genuine democracy, freedom and security.

That is why it is mandatory for American labor to carry on the fight against the labor draft, to fight against its own enslavement and the enslavement of the peoples of the world.

It cannot relax in this fight, otherwise it will face an anti-labor offensive, a union-busting campaign that will be all the more difficult to defeat.

The headquarters for this campaign against labor is Washington. Its chief organizer is Roosevelt.

## LABOR ACTION

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# New York Meeting

## The Allied Partition of Europe

HEAR:

MAX SHACHTMAN  
National Secretary, Workers Party

ON

POWER POLITICS AND THE CONFERENCE OF THE BIG THREE  
... WHAT IS TO BE DONE WITH GERMANY ... THE FATE OF A  
PARTITIONED POLAND ... THE WAY OUT FOR THE EUROPEAN  
PEOPLES

Sunday, February 25  
at 8:15 P. M.

Beethoven Hall  
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Auspices: Local New York, Workers Party

All Welcome Admission 25 Cents Bring Your Friends

From Gestapo to GPU

The Story of the "Liberation" of Poland

By JONATHAN STONE

Lublin in Poland was the site of one of the largest Nazi concentration camp-slaughter house crematoriums. It was also the original stamping ground of the "provisional government of the Polish Republic."

What is this institution that proclaims itself the "official" and "legitimate" governing body of the Polish nation (what is left of it)?

It started out in February of last year as the Union of Polish Patriots. The head of this Union was Wanda Wasilewska, whose husband was then Vice-Commissar of Foreign Affairs of the Soviet Union and is now Foreign Commissar of the "independent" Ukrainian Republic.

In addition to being a correspondent for the Red Army and a deputy to the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, she was for a time general secretary of the Polish Communist Party.

Later it blossomed forth as the Polish Committee for National Liberation, which took over the job of ruling Poland for Stalin.

WHY THE NEW RULERS

The purpose of the new government is to preside over the liquidation of the Polish nation, to paraphrase Churchill's quaint terminology, and reduce it to vassalage, completely dependent upon Russia.

For instance, the notorious Curzon

Line agreement, whereby Russia incorporated into a Greater Russia the eastern half of Poland, which Pilsudski had seized, both Poland's ruling class and Stalin disregarding the wishes of the people, met with their approval and acquiescence.

Aside from this geographical destruction, there was the committee working hand in glove with the Stalinist bureaucracy in the slaughtering of the magnificently heroic working class of Warsaw.

Another link in the same chain was disclosed in a UP dispatch on January 20 which (reporting what was put out by the Polish Press Agency—the official organ of the provisional government) stated that

"Judges and prosecutors had arrived in the newly liberated cities of Lodz, Cracow, Kielce and Radom to supervise a purge of traitors and German agents. The Polish provisional government denounced General Bor in a proclamation, asserting that his 'provocative uprising in Warsaw and later surrender of arms considerably aided the Germans.'"

Judging from this communication, we can see that these Russo-Poles have adopted a rather broad definition of "traitor" and "German agent"; one which obviously includes all the leaders of the Warsaw uprising and those connected with them in other cities. These judges and prosecutors will continue the work as was done by the Germans most efficiently at Warsaw.

WHO ARE THE LEADERS?

Presentation of a few actors from the cast of characters in this puppet show will be instructive in that it will show how unrepresentative of the Polish people "their" government is. For instance, the President, Boleslaw Bierut, has been a member of the Polish Communist Party for the past twenty years and, according to the Polish Telegraph Agency (official organ of the London Poles), leader of the Polish section of the Comintern, and later under another name as head of the Polish division of the GPU.

Shizyszewski and Drobowski are admitted Communists.

In addition, this set-up has attracted to it many reactionaries like Stephen Litauer, who proclaimed his allegiance. He was the former director of the Polish Telegraph Agency.

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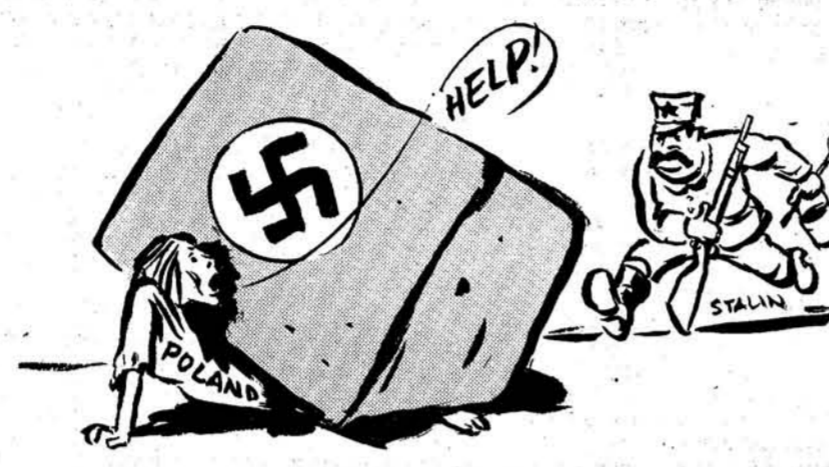
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Judging from this communication, we can see that these Russo-Poles have adopted a rather broad definition of "traitor" and "German agent"; one which obviously includes all the leaders of the Warsaw uprising and those connected with them in other cities. These judges and prosecutors will continue the work as was done by the Germans most efficiently at Warsaw.

WHO ARE THE LEADERS?

Presentation of a few actors from the cast of characters in this puppet show will be instructive in that it will show how unrepresentative of the Polish people "their" government is. For instance, the President, Boleslaw Bierut, has been a member of the Polish Communist Party for the past twenty years and, according to the Polish Telegraph Agency (official organ of the London Poles), leader of the Polish section of the Comintern, and later under another name as head of the Polish division of the GPU.



At press time, reports from London reveal that for many Poles, especially the militant fighters of the underground movement, the expulsion of the German invader and the arrival of the Russian, has meant the exchange of one concentration camp for another.

Belgian Workers Force Pierlot Out

While at the time of his writing, no parliamentary vote has been taken, the Pierlot Government in Belgium is finished. Premier Pierlot, up to now kept in power with the aid of British and American arms over the opposition of the majority of the people, announced that his cabinet was resigning.

Good riddance! The tide of dissatisfaction of the majority of workers finally engulfed this government of Belgian big business, Nazi collaborators and yes-men of the British. Pierlot's government-in-exile merely transferred its office

exploitation of the Belgian workers who were kept on the job by Nazi bayonets. They demanded that these industrialists be compelled to disgorge their bloody profits. But the Pierlot government was made up of many of these Nazi collaborators and it stood firm against the people.

The people demanded an improvement of their working conditions, a reduction in the cost of living, a raise in wages. They demanded bread, coal and butter. But they got none of these from the regime.

WHAT BELGIAN WORKERS WANT

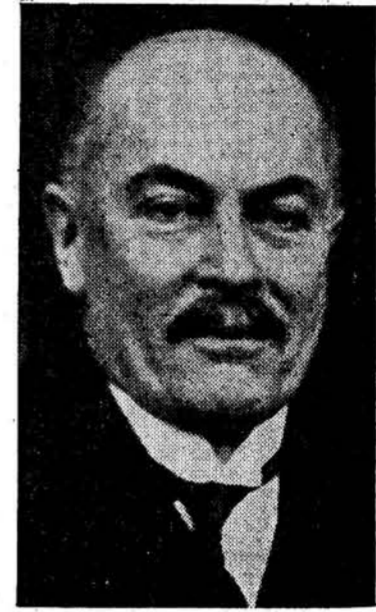
Their patience gave out and the heroic Belgian miners, the most militant section of the workers, have walked out on strike. We are proud to note that according to the N. Y. Times, "the Trotskyist Communist Revolutionary Party" is in the forefront of the fight of the Belgian miners.

It is impossible to tell what kind of government will replace the reactionary Pierlot. But if it is the same kind of regime, that is, regime committed to retaining the privileges of the Belgian capitalists, of retaining the profit system over the backs of Belgian's worn-out, hungry, and impoverished workers, it will face the same determined opposition of these workers. The struggle will not end.

SOCIAL CHANGE IN ORDER

There is something more fundamental involved in the present dispute at the top. The opposition in the government knows the situation in the country is bad. They think by forcing the resignation of Pierlot they will satisfy the demands of the masses. But they will be making a big mistake. The Belgian workers will not rest until they have brought about a change in the country—a social change which will end their exploitation, their poverty and starvation. They will fight on until they obtain genuine freedom and democracy through their own rule.

This is the real essence of the situation in Belgium.



EX-PREMIER HUBERT PIERLOT

from London, where it had been for four years, to Brussels. It had no real standing with the people.

WHAT PIERLOT DIDN'T DO

Upon its return, it failed to punish the collaborators. It insisted upon disarming the resistance movements. It refused to carry out any economic, political or social changes demanded by the masses. Therefore its days were numbered.

The people demanded the punishment of Belgium's industrialists and financiers who profited during German occupation by an intense ex-

They're Against Even 65 Cents an Hour!

There is a great to-do in the country over Senator Pepper's bill which would establish by law a national minimum wage of sixty-five cents an hour. As compared to wages paid to millions of workers in this country this looks like a formidable proposal. Is it? Let us see.

A sixty-five cents an hour minimum means \$5.20 for an eight-hour day. It means \$26.00 for a forty-hour week. A magnificent sum, isn't it? Just think of how American labor will roll in wealth with such an income!

No wonder the National Association of Manufacturers and the Chamber of Commerce of the United States are fighting mad.

Behind Jones-Wallace Fight

PART II Below: The Wallace Program

PART III Next Week: The Workers' Party Program

By MAX SHACHTMAN, Nat'l Sec'y, Workers Party

We have seen what forces are behind Jesse Jones and what he represents. We have seen what the objections of the big capitalist spokesmen are to the nomination of Henry Wallace to the post of Secretary of Commerce. Now let us look into the program put forward by Wallace himself.

Wallace calls for peak production, guaranteed by the government. He calls for a job for every worker and a guaranteed annual wage, for adequate housing, education, health care, and taking care of the sick and aged. These objectives embody the aspirations of every worker, especially those who have gone through years of unemployment, who fear years of unemployment to come, but who have also witnessed the capacity of American industry to produce on an unprecedented scale—if not for peace, then at least for war.

But merely to state these objectives is not enough.

For example, the New York World-Telegram of January 26 is not far from right when it says:

"Henry Wallace testifies for a post-war America of more houses, clothing, cars, education, recreation and all the other 'good things of life.'"

"He's for higher wages, fewer hours of labor and lower taxes."

"As who isn't?"

In his San Francisco election campaign address, even Thomas E. Dewey spoke up in favor of jobs for everyone.

The United States Chamber of Commerce, the organization of big business, has written down a goal of 50,000,000 jobs in peacetime. The Committee for Economic Development, another big business organization, has presented a report which speaks of a peacetime employment figure of 56,000,000.

WHAT IS THE REAL QUESTION?

There is no lack of big figures, big promises, imposing goals. What is lacking is a clear-cut answer, suitable to the needs of the working people, to that decisive question of questions:

HOW?

How is labor to be assured jobs for all, an annual minimum wage, a high standard of living, peak production and all the other things required for security and abundance?

The conservatives, the reactionaries, the Thomas Deweys, the National Association of Manufacturers, the Chambers of Commerce and the like answer the question by saying: Leave it to "free enterprise."

They add only this: The government must limit itself to helping "free enterprise."

That is why they never raised the slightest objection to the

government, through agencies such as Jesse Jones controlled, pouring billions of federal dollars into the treasuries of "free enterprise," that is, of the big corporations and monopolies.

WALLACE, CAPITALIST PROPAGANDIST

In his statement before the Senate Commerce Committee on January 25, Wallace said:

"The basic function of your government in taking care of any such slack in jobs is to see to it that private enterprise is assisted until it can absorb this slack."

In his speech at the testimonial dinner given him in New York on January 29, Wallace replied to those who are against his nomination:

"What these people don't realize is that in fighting me they are fighting you and millions like you to the third and fourth generation. Without realizing it they are fighting against the survival of capitalism and free enterprise. The time has come to fight back."

By his own words, Wallace takes his position fundamentally on the same grounds as the National Association of Manufacturers and the Chamber of Commerce. In fact, he insists that his way is the only way to insure the "survival of capitalism and free enterprise." He declares that the "basic function of your government" is to assist "private enterprise."

But, as we have already pointed out, "free enterprise" has already undergone its decisive test—AND IT FAILED! It revealed itself a bankrupt.

Before there was a CIO, before there was a Roosevelt Administration, or even a Wallace in the Vice-Presidency, "free enterprise" PROVED that it could not provide jobs and a decent standard of living for all, PROVED that it could not get industry going at a high rate of production and that it could not solve the problem of mass unemployment.

After there was a Roosevelt Administration, there were, it is true, doles and some social legislation under labor pressure, but with all the assistance that the government gave "free enterprise," in accordance with what Wallace calls its "basic function," industry was still sick and mass unemployment was still with us.

UNDERWRITING THE PROFITEERS

The ONLY time "free enterprise" was able to reach a new height in production was when the country was plunged into war and its economic life reorganized to produce the means of death and destruction.

The elementary conclusion that any intelligent person would draw—unless he was rendered incapable of doing so by his own economic interests or by distorted thinking is that "free enterprise" is no longer good for anything but mass destruction.

How, then, does Wallace propose to proceed to "make American capitalism and private enterprise work in the same great manner in peace as it has worked in war"? Here is the essence of his answer, again from the statement he read to the Senate Commerce Committee:

"In a nutshell, then, if we are going to have remunerative jobs for all, we must have an expanding private industry capable of hiring millions more men. I propose that the government do its part in helping private enterprise finance this expansion of our industrial plant. It will be privately owned, privately operated

and privately financed, BUT THE GOVERNMENT WILL SHARE WITH THE PRIVATE INVESTOR THE UNUSUAL AND ABNORMAL RISKS WHICH MAY BE INVOLVED IN GETTING STARTED."

There is the Wallace solution to the problem. There is his answer to the key question: "How?"

WALLACE'S FREE ENTERPRISE

Suppose a shoemaker had a method of making shoes which resulted in every pair or half the pairs that left his bench being useless for wear. Would the solution lie in keeping him on the job and supplying him forever with more and more leather? You might propose to make a doctor out of him or a bookkeeper or retire him on a pension, or anything else in the world, but you would be mad to keep him at the business of making shoes, and madder still if you kept furnishing him with more good leather to ruin.

But that is substantially what Wallace proposes! The more incapable "free enterprise" proves to be in providing such elementary things as jobs and decent living standards, the more government funds should be put in its hands.

The closer it comes again to national disaster with the capital at its disposal, the more capital the government should supply it with.

WHY, IN HEAVEN'S NAME, WHY?

SOMETHING ABOUT MONEY

In fact, according to the Wallace plan for "making capitalism work" the more clearly "free enterprise" shows all these things the more it should be rewarded, assisted, subsidized and propped up. The more devastating the social results of its "mismanagement" of the capital it has—the more capital the government should give it to "mismanage."

Profit, we were taught in school, is the reward of hard work, the risks of capital, and satisfying the needs of consumers.

Profit, says the new Wallace school of defenders of capitalism, is the reward guaranteed and granted by the government to the owners of industry when they show they cannot satisfy the needs of consumers, cannot give work to all, cannot take "risks," cannot keep production up—cannot do anything except stretch out a bankrupt hand for government subsidy.

Where is the government to draw these loans and subsidies and guarantees from? Again arises the question, "How?"

At the Senate Commerce hearing, the following dialogue took place:

"Senator Tobey: Mr. Wallace, last October, in reading the Washington Post, there came to my eye an article telling about a statement made in Muncie, Ind., in the course of political debate. There you made this statement, and I would like to read it to you:

"Mr. Wallace said: 'After the war we can buy twice as many automobiles as we did in the past. We can buy twice as many refrigerators. To make these things possible we need only the money.'"

"As to where the money will come from, you answered: 'From a man who will do more than give the green light to Wall Street.'"

"Did you refer to the President? Whom did you refer to?"

"Mr. Wallace: I was referring to Franklin Delano Roosevelt when I made the statement."

"Senator Tobey: Where is the money coming from to buy twice as many refrigerators and twice as many automobiles as we had in the past?"

"Mr. Wallace: The money is coming from men fully at work, at full wages."

To the question, "How will money be obtained?" Mr. Wallace answered: "From Roosevelt."

HOW ROOSEVELT AIDED BIG BUSINESS

But Roosevelt was in office as President of the United States, with greater power than ever before enjoyed by the Chief Magistrate, for twelve years, the most part of them peace years. For four of those years Mr. Wallace was his chief lieutenant, occupying a post far more important than that of Secretary of Commerce. Mr. Wallace has not failed to emphasize time and again that he is merely stating Roosevelt's own program, namely, "sixty million jobs and an Economic Bill of Rights."

But in all the years during which Roosevelt and later Roosevelt plus Wallace had more than fair opportunity to put this program into effect, what happened?

The profits of Big Business kept climbing year by year, finally reaching astronomical proportions in the war period. It was under Roosevelt, and under Roosevelt plus Wallace, that Jesse Jones flourished in the RFC, the same Jones who Wallace now says was the patron of the big corporations, the same RFC which Wallace now says should be investigated by Congress.

There was no Economic Bill of Rights.

There was no guarantee of a job, no annual minimum wage, none of the aims that Wallace now sets forth was realized.

There was no solution to unemployment—the Roosevelt Administration's own Bureau of Labor Statistics says that there were eight million unemployed in this country as late as the spring of 1940.

If all blessings is to come from Roosevelt, the man "who will do more than give the green light to Wall Street," what reason is there to believe that they will gush out tomorrow more richly than they did yesterday—twelve years of yesterday?

If the "money is coming from men fully at work, at full wages," why were they not fully at work at full wages in the eight years of Roosevelt and the four years of Roosevelt plus Wallace?

What will Wallace change basically if he administers the government or part of it so that in the years to come men will be fully at work at full wages?

There will be no basic change. Given Wallace's fundamental position, there can be no basic change.

But a basic change is precisely what is urgently needed—

If there is to be planned, high-peak national production;

If there is to be a job guarantee for every worker and a guaranteed annual wage;

If there is to be security and abundance for the common man. How that is to be attained requires not merely the statement of these great objectives. It demands an answer to the question, "How?" It demands, in a word, A PROGRAM OF ACTION. It demands an answer to the question, "WHO is going to carry out the program?"

In the final, concluding article on the subject, the program and answers given by the Workers Party will be dealt with in detail.

