

# BIG THREE PARTITION EUROPE

WE SAY—

Labor Must Form an Independent Labor Party

# LABOR ACTION

WE ARE FOR—

A Guaranteed Annual Wage For All Workers

FEBRUARY 19, 1945

A PAPER IN THE INTERESTS OF LABOR

ONE CENT

## Reactionaries Attack Briggs Local 212

DETROIT—The capitalist daily press in Detroit has opened an all-out assault on the progressive Briggs Local 212 of the United Automobile Workers Union. This is to be expected. Local 212 has long been in the forefront of the progressive movement within the UAW and is one of the spearheads in the campaign to revoke the no-strike pledge and to revive fighting union policies.

The pretext for this latest anti-union campaign is the recent walk-out by members of Local 212 in protest against new violation of the union contract by the company. This strike was provoked by the manage-

See Page 2 for Leaflet of Briggs Local 212

ment, which insisted upon assigning men at the rate of 97 cents per hour to jobs which are supposed to pay \$1.17. Part of the company's plan, according to statements in the press by Jess Ferrazza, president of the local, is to sow confusion among the local's membership during the forthcoming union elections.

The Briggs company, backed up by the press, is anxious to get rid of the progressive leadership of Local 212. One of the plant officials, Dean Robinson, threatens the firing of thirty to forty of the leaders of the union, allegedly for "provoking" the strike. Ferrazza's draft board has called him up for induction despite the fact that he has been deferred because of his important union post.

Apparently only those union leaders who kow-tow to the employers remain in the good graces of the draft officials. Emil Mazey, president of 212 before Ferrazza, likewise found himself summarily drafted after fighting honestly for the rights of the members of his local.

The anti-union campaign was opened by the Detroit News with a front-page banner headline which shoved all the war news into second place, announcing in bold letters "31st STRIKE SHUTS BRIGGS."

The article informed its readers

that since Pearl Harbor there were thirty-one "major and other" strikes at Briggs. As the days went by this figure was revised upward after prompting from the publicity agents of the company. On February 8 the figure became 160. This is what the papers and the company agree upon at the time this article is written. What it will be by the time this appears in print is anybody's guess.

All these "official" strike figures are phony. It is the habit of all companies to inflate the figures of wartime strikes for public consumption. Every time a man gets into an argument with his foreman and goes home in a huff or even if he goes home without going through certain involved red tape through oversight, another "strike" is chalked up against the union.

The Briggs company, like all the big corporations, is growing rich on this war. Are there indignant editorials in the capitalist press? No; these are reserved only for use against the unions. The Briggs management, like that of all the big corporations, violates its contract, refuses to settle just grievances and thereby provokes strikes. Where are the screaming headlines? Reserved for use against the unions.

There is only one possible conclusion to be drawn. The boss press and the Briggs officials are out to "get" the union because they don't like its progressive policies.

All CIO members with even an ounce of self-respect will stand 100 per cent behind Local 212.

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### BEHIND THE JONES-WALLACE FIGHT

By MAX SHACHTMAN  
Nat'l Sec., Workers Party

# Power Politics Reigns!

## The Yaltese Double-Cross

By ALBERT GATES

Power politics met in Yalta, Crimea. Power politics was represented by the United States, Russia and Great Britain in the persons of President Roosevelt, Dictator Stalin and Prime Minister Churchill, the great chiefs of state.

The Big Powers met to decide the fate of Europe and the whole world. The power of American arms and production, the power of Russian armies and their occupation of the eastern half of Europe, the declining power of the British Empire—these things dictated the decisions reached at Yalta. Thus these decisions, compromise or otherwise, are at best provisional.

Any change in the relationships of power and arms will accordingly change the decisions reached by the Big Three. For the time being, however, they stand as a monument to the imperialist solution of the world problems. There was not one fresh breath of the spirit of genuine democracy, peace and security. What the representatives of the great military powers of the world decided was how to reinforce their present positions and to prevent any upset in their plans to defeat their economic, political and military rivals.

The decisions will be implemented by meetings of their several commissions, their foreign ministers and finally by the forty-five other nations regarded as members of the United Nations, although subordinate ones to be sure. For the latter purpose, a conference is called for April 25 in San Francisco, where the principal job of the "United" nations will be to ratify the decisions arrived at by Roosevelt, Stalin and Churchill.

What was achieved at Yalta?

### Germany:

The powers made decisions on the military prosecution of the war with concerted offensives to bring the war to a speedy end. They then went on to lay their plans for the joint occupation of Germany, the destruction of its industries, its military power, the Nazi government and party, and to dismember the country. Germany will be made to pay for the war through reparations and through the enslavement of its people, in their majority the German working class. France, relegated to a second-rate power, was invited to help enslave Germany.

Stalin long demanded his ten million slaves. Yalta endorsed this demand. Thus, the German workers, who have paid with their blood, sweat and tears, and their very lives for the rule of Hitler, which enslaved them with the aid of the imperialists of the world and the capitulation of the Stalin to fascism, are now to pay additional indemnities for the crimes of their rulers. Yet, the crime of their rulers are the crimes of all the ruling classes of the world.

It is doubly interesting to note that nothing whatever was said about the German financial and industrial ruling classes who financed Hitler and put him into power. No plan was devised by these three organizers of chaos about the coal, steel, chemical, munition magnates and the financial wizards of Germany who put Hitler into power to destroy the labor movement and fight this war in their interests.

No, how could they? This class in Germany is the same kind of class which rules in Britain and the United States, and the one with whom Stalin has done so much business. The capitalist rulers of the United Nations dare not punish their capitalistic partners-in-profit in Germany, lest the peoples of the world get the notion to punish profiteers of the world and achieve their real freedom.

The Big Three, however, will punish the long suffering people of Germany who have lived under the lash and knife of German fascism. Behold the lib-

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## IT CERTAINLY CAN HAPPEN HERE!

By CARL DAVIS

### 1 Thunder in the Senate

The May-Bailey "work or jail" bill, passed by the House in response to President Roosevelt's request for a National Service Act, is now before the Senate Military Affairs Committee. The Senate committee is presently holding secret hearings on the bill before reporting it out. These come after a report that the Senate committee had agreed on the House bill and would send it to the senior legislative body to be voted on.

Now it has been revealed that a sharp fight took place between the Military Affairs Committee and the "brass hats." The House passed the May-Bailey bill with a proviso that manpower control be lodged in the Selective Service. There was much opposition to this aspect of the bill, particularly in the Senate. It was then that the War and Navy Departments reached an agreement with the Senate committee to turn over control of manpower to James F. Byrnes, or any committee he selected. The Senate committee then voted the bill favorably.

The Senate Military Affairs Committee did not oppose the labor draft for private profits on principle, although many members of the committee did not agree that it was urgent. They said they were responding to the demand of the President. But between the passage of the bill in the committee and its formal presentation to the Senate some shenanigans had taken place.

The "brass hats" turned around and through several of their supporting senators had the bill turn manpower control over to Selective Service. A terrific howl came from committee members, more notably, Senators O'Mahoney and Johnson. They charged that the Army had double-crossed them!

The committee then decided to hold hearings, which it had previously agreed to forego, and to hold these hearings in secret. New testimony is being taken, supposedly in secret, although Assistant Secretary of War Patterson made public his evidence in favor of a labor draft as part of the

pressure campaign to force it through the Senate.

But the senators, fully cognizant of labor and mass opposition to the bill, are taking their time. The majority of them are reported opposed to national service, especially in view of the Allied advances on the military front.

### 2 Why Does FDR Insist?

Many of the senators publicly question the need of a labor draft in view of the situation on the military front. Labor leaders who have punched holes through the Administration propaganda and lies about the manpower shortage, ask similar questions. If there is no real manpower shortage, and no shortage of supplies and munitions, which the brass hats admit have been produced in abundance, why do Roosevelt, the Administration, the War and Navy Departments insist upon it?

The answer is not difficult to trace. The truth is that manpower and supplies and munitions were never the real reasons why Roosevelt and the military wanted a National Service Act. Certainly it isn't the war with Japan that will still be fought after the defeat of Germany, because American imperialism has been able to fight on both fronts without a labor draft. Then why?

American imperialism is preparing for a great post-war struggle for the economic and political domination of the world. The Administration and the ruling class it represents need totalitarian measures to assure a greater control of the country in preparation for economic dislocations at home after the war, and the same kind of totalitarian control to make it more effective to carry out its world aims of subjecting the economies of all other countries to it.

A free labor movement and a relatively free working class fighting for its own economic existence at home against mass unemployment and a declining standard of living, as well as a big business offensive against unionism, will make it difficult for American imperialism to effect its world aims, which depend on a peaceful home front.

If this seems a little difficult to grasp at first glance, remember this: the closer the war comes to an end in Europe, the more determined is Roosevelt to get a labor draft. And remember this too: A labor draft is not only for the duration. It will extend for as long as the Administration thinks it necessary. The time to fight the labor draft, then, is not after it is passed, but right now before it is a law of the land. Once it is a law, it will be doubly and trebly more difficult to get rid of it.

### 3 PAC Is Still Silent

It is a good thing to see the AFL, the Railroad Brotherhoods and the CIO organizing a stronger opposition to the labor draft for private profits. Labor is powerful enough to wage an effective struggle against labor slavery à la Roosevelt. But it is interesting to note how totally quiet and inactive is the PAC in this whole tremendously important fight over the National Service Act.

There is hardly a peep out of this important subdivision of the union movement, which gave up millions of man-hours, hundreds of thousands of dollars, and tremendous energy to elect Roosevelt on the false theory that he was labor's candidate. The PAC is also very quiet about the many senators and representatives it elected who support or have voted for the slave bill. As a matter of fact, the majority of legislators elected by PAC influence, activity and money support the labor draft.

We surmise that one of the reasons for the silence of the PAC is sheer embarrassment at seeing all the professional politicians it supported, from Roosevelt down, act as instruments to enslave the American working class.

There is a deep lesson in all of this. Labor should get into politics, but independent politics, that is, independent labor politics, through its own party and its own program. End the frightful sham of tying labor to the political machines of capitalist political parties and candidates who betray labor the moment they get into office.

## London Labor Conference Echoes Big 3 Imperialism

By SAM ADAMS

The World Trade Union Conference now meeting in London was initiated by the British Trade Union Council, one of the pillars of the International Federation of Trade Unions. To it were invited all the unions of the world—or at least a great part of them—including Russia's so-called unions, which are neither free nor unions, and the CIO, previously barred from the IFTU because of the opposition of the AFL.

The British TUC called this almost all-inclusive conference a political affair, and considered its deliberation to be merely advisory, having in mind a subsequent inclusion of the CIO and the Russian "unions," into the IFTU. It raised this question at the executive council meeting of the International Federation of Trade Unions, only to meet with the stern rebuff of the AFL delegations which, although their attitude is generally reactionary, especially on the matter of the CIO and industrial unionism, are certainly mainly correct in their position on Stalin's Russian "unions."

The conference, reportedly representing fifty-one countries and 50,000,000 unionists (counting Russia's 25,000,000 "unionists"), is just what the British originally intended it to be: a political gathering which has

little in common with genuine unionism or its international promotion and unity. Here are the main topics of discussion:

### WHAT THEY'RE DISCUSSING

1. Germany, and how to enslave the German workers to make them pay for the crimes of their capitalist rulers and the capitalist rulers of all other countries who aided Hitler and the Junkers to destroy the German labor movement.

2. Recognition at the conference of Russian dominated "unions" from the Lublin Committee in Poland.

3. Recognition of newly-formed unions in formerly occupied countries where Stalin's agents have seized control.

4. The organization of a new trade union international composed of all unions, the CIO and the Russian, thus forcing the liquidation of the IFTU. Behind this demand stands Russia and the CIO delegation headed by Hillman (whose politics parallels the international communist line) and containing innocents like R. J. Thomas and Stalinist fellow travelers like Joseph Curran and Albert Fitzgerald.

The Russian representatives and their Stalinist aides from other countries really dominate the conference. Only Citrine's strong opposition prevented the conference from seating the Lublin, Yugoslav and Italian delegates. R. J. Thomas rushed into this dispute with his customary tear-jerking plea for unity, and proposed to turn over the question to the credentials committee. That solved this dis-

pute for the moment.

On the matter of Germany, the conference took the extremely reactionary, Van Sittartist view, that German workers should be enslaved to pay reparations to the Allies for the crimes of their fascist rulers. Here the Russian view dominated, although it had no real opposition. The British unionists hold to the same position, and to the everlasting shame of the rank and file of the CIO, their leaders endorsed this imperialist idea of making the people pay for the crimes of their rulers.

What has actually happened on this point is that the "labor leaders" of these various countries adopted the policy of the imperialist rulers of their countries. They showed in London that they were really acting as "labor lieutenants of capitalism." It took a conservative labor leader like William Green to correctly denounce this action of labor unions supporting labor enslavement!

### FOR NEW WORLD BODY

The real pressure for a new international trade union federation came when Sidney Hillman arrived at the conference and really put the heat on to liquidate the old IFTU and substitute it with a new outfit, one that cannot fail to be controlled by the Russians and thereby reflect the Stalinist political line.

When the British objected that the conference was called by them for advisory purposes, the delegates voted for the American proposal to

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# Revoke No-Strike Pledge

We gave up the right to strike.

Our leaders asked us to do this in the name of equality of sacrifice. They assured us that the winning of the war requires more than these sacrifices on the part of labor. They said that bankers and manufacturers would have to give up something too. Then they drew up a program that looked nice on paper. We fell for this program and then we set the example by giving up the strongest weapon labor can possibly have—the right to strike. What did the bankers and manufacturers give up? Well, look at the balance sheet below:

### What They Promised

**STOP RISING COSTS**—There should be an immediate and rigid freezing of prices of food, rent, clothing and other necessities of life.

**END ALL WAR PROFITEERING**—All corporate earnings over three per cent to revert to the government. The shocking evil of exorbitant corporation "bonuses" and salaries must be ended.

**ADJUSTMENT OF WAGES TO MEET INCREASED LIVING COSTS.**

**SALARY LIMITATION**—By legislation, no individual or family should be permitted to receive in dividends, salaries or from other sources incomes of more than \$25,000 per year.

**SAFEGUARD BARGAINING**—Management will not be permitted to take advantage of our no-strike pledge to stall on grievances.

**POST-WAR SECURITY**—The government must plan to provide adequate jobs after the war.

### What Actually Happened

The cost of living has risen 45.3 per cent between 1941 and 1944.—(CIO News, July 17, 1944.)

Manufacturing profits, before taxes, are conservatively estimated as 15 billion dollars in 1943. 15 billion dollars represents nearly five times the 1939 figure.—(CIO Economic Outlook, March, 1944.)

The War Labor Board is carrying out a definite policy of stabilizing wages within 15 per cent above the January, 1941, level.—(William H. Davis, WLB National Chairman.)

	Annual Executive Salaries
Eugene Grace, Bethlehem Steel	\$537,724
Thomas J. Watson, Int. Bus. Mach.	425,000
John B. Howley, Northern Ordnance	400,000

(Many others could be mentioned)

Those of you who know how Briggs bargains are asked to fill in your own comments here.

No provision whatever is made to guarantee jobs after the war. But Briggs and other corporations are guaranteed profits in the form of tax rebates for two years after the war.

This balance sheet speaks for itself. It shows plainly that the workers came out on the short end in the no-strike deal. Workers don't want to strike. They don't want to interrupt war production. BUT THEY WANT THEIR GRIEVANCES SETTLED!

## Vote "No" on Referendum

Issued by Officers and Members of Local 212, UAW-CIO



## Out of the Past

LEADERS OF AMERICAN LABOR I: EUGENE V. DEBS

Unmentioned in the official history books is the name of Eugene Victor Debs. The American capitalist class would like to see his name forgotten. But the writings, speeches and work of Gene Debs have been recorded by the workers' movement; and every new generation of American workers will learn and be inspired by what he wrote, said and did.

Gene Debs was born in Terre Haute, Ind., in November, 1855. When he was fourteen years old he went to work in a railway shop. His first job marked the beginning of a life devoted to the fight of the American workers for a better life. He joined the Brotherhood of Firemen & Enginemen and in a few years became secretary of the union, editor of its paper and an indefatigable organizer of railway workers.

### BECOMING A SOCIALIST

In 1885, he was nominated and elected by the Democratic Party to the Indiana State Legislature. There he spent one term, making futile efforts to put through legislation favorable to the workers of his state.

When his term was up he told his brother Theodore that he was through with politics. But Gene Debs was not through with politics—he was to be passionately involved in politics. What he was through with and disgusted with was capitalist politics, which he had seen in operation in the Indiana State Legislature.

Back at his old post as secretary of his union, Debs soon made a decision which was to change his life. Convinced of the ineffectuality of craft unionism, he left his well paying job with the brotherhood to organize an industrial union of railway men—the American Railway Union. The ARU led the great Pull-

man strike, which was broken by employer violence and federal troops.

When the strike was over and lost, Debs went to jail for six months for having defied the injunction issued against the strikers. The Pullman strike and his term in jail were the first stages on Debs' road to socialism.

He wrote of these experiences: "I was baptized in socialism in the roar of conflict."

Before he took the step which was to make his name synonymous with



EUGENE V. DEBS

socialism in the U. S., Debs was attracted in 1896 by the eloquence of William Jennings Bryan and the Populist movement. But he soon saw that Bryan's panacea of "free silver" would solve no problems for the American working class.

### A LEADER OF LABOR

In 1897, no longer a young man, he stepped with both feet into the camp of socialism. He organized the Social Democracy of America, which was to become, in 1900, the Socialist Party of America. Under its banner, Debs ran for President in that year, polling 100,000 votes. By 1912 the party,

with Debs as its candidate, polled 897,000 votes.

In those twelve years, Debs' eloquent advocacy of socialism had been heard by workers all over America. Everywhere, he was acclaimed by the poor and down-trodden. He became their representative, their fiery champion.

When war broke out in Europe in 1914, Debs wrote: "I am opposed to every war but one; I am for that war with heart and soul, and that is the world-wide war of the social revolution."

He continued his opposition to war when America entered the conflict in 1917. The threat of imprisonment did not deter the sixty-three-year-old Debs from speaking and writing against American plutocracy which had dragged the people into an imperialist war. In 1918, he was tried, convicted and jailed for his anti-war stand.

### DEBS, THE REVOLUTIONIST

Debs had hailed the Russian Revolution of October, 1917, as "the great hope of the human race." On trial, he defied the jury by proclaiming his solidarity with the Russian Bolsheviks.

Debs ran as the presidential candidate on the Socialist Party ticket for the last time in 1920, while still in jail. Almost one million Americans voted for the revolutionist in Atlanta Penitentiary.

In 1921, he was released from prison, an old man, his health permanently undermined by his three years in prison. He died five years later, strong to the end in his conviction that "in due time the hour will strike and this great cause triumphant—the greatest in history—will proclaim the emancipation of the working class and the brotherhood of all mankind."

over to the scene to question the snapper. The man was only just dead but the company was mainly interested in something else. They wanted to make sure that his time was stopped.

Thanks for your stand with labor. Give us a good write-up. I'll see that the men will read same. Keep up the good work.

Todd Shipyard Worker.



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## NEWS AND VIEWS FROM THE LABOR FRONT

# Two Letters From Sharecroppers Reveal Living Conditions in S. E. Missouri

To all labor organizations, labor newspaper editors and friends of the labor movement:

We hope that the year 1945 will bring you greater success than the years past, and that cooperation will be stronger than ever before.

It is displeasing to us, the members of the UCAWA-CIO, who had our union busted almost three years ago by our own international president, because of our struggle for thirty cents per hour for cotton chopping and forty-five cents per hour for tractor driving. That we, due to the action of our president, were left as a prey for the big landowners and operators, as well as for the two agencies of the government, the FSA and the WFA. And that all the new year has brought to us is a slap in the face by those mentioned above.

Those that received the hardest slap were among the people who live on the ten labor centers in Southeast Missouri. The very first day of the new year brought them a \$1.00 increase in rent, known to them (the people on these ten centers) as "up-keep."

While the people, though divided, were trying to fight down the rent raise, another happy greeting came. This one was that the projects or centers would go back to the FSA, the first agency to possess them, and had loaned, rented or leased them to the WFA. They would, by orders from the Congress of the United States, be sold to the highest bidder.

### EFFECTS OF THE CHANGE

Such a greeting from the exercising officers has brought much uneasiness to the occupants of these centers. Already they are financially stranded,

due to the fact that they have been out of work since November, 1944, and will have no work here until the last of May, 1945. This work lasts for three to five weeks, and then nothing again until September, 1945. The WFA had begun to eliminate some of this do-nothing business by transferring the people from one agricultural center to another during the vacant season here, but that will also end with the change of agencies.

Most of the laboring people of Southeast are conscious of the trick that's being pulled off on them. But the destruction of the union has allowed the trick to work. We know full well that the landowners and operators are at the bottom of the whole thing. They take everything we make as sharecroppers and when the government tried to help us out a little with parity and rental checks, they drove us off the farm. We went to the roadside in 1939 as we had no other place to go. So the government tried to help us again by building a few houses for us to sleep in.

### "JAP AGENTS"

This worked very well for them in 1941, as they were able to get their work done for 12 and 12½ cents per hour. But in 1942, when we asked for the small sum of thirty cents per hour, they said: "No, you are Jap agents, Trotskyites, and the like."

Not a single year has passed since then (1942) that these double-profitting operators haven't tried to work some kind of trick on the poor farm people.

Without a union, 1944's labor cost these money-makers \$4.00 per ten-

hour day for chopping and \$5.00 to \$5.50 for tractor driving. This, of course, was due partly to the labor shortage, and one boss's trying to get his work done first. But, oh boy, how it gave them a headache.

We also understand that they have a representative and we don't. We know that they have been able to play the white worker against the black worker, and get a lot out of it, but that won't go on forever.

Already, the white and black workers are out in the cotton harvest together. Some of the white are weak enough to be fooled, but just a few. There is no difference in the cost of white and black workers. No difference in the housing of white and black workers. The only difference that can be seen is the color. The difference that hurts is the difference between a group of class-conscious workers and a group of racial-fooled workers.

### BLACK, WHITE SUFFER ALIKE

If the black worker is thrown out of a home, the white worker goes out, too. If the FSA sells, as it is said they will, white and black workers, men, women and children, will all be on the road again looking for homes.

Every worker, regardless of race, color or national origin, is asked to share with the workers of Southeast Missouri the lowest paid workers of all the country, on the best land in all the country.

We urge you to take up this matter in your own immediate locals and help us fight to save our homes, the only ones we have. Many of us have

large families and could not support them in a city, and the cotton kings have not changed.

A Southeast Missouri Laborer.

ESSEX, Mo.—Watch out for Southeast Missouri this year, sharecroppers, renters, day workers. The bosses want the slave bill passed. Well, it was showed Monday what they will do if it was passed to work or fight and do what you are told.

One of the bosses jumped one worker here Monday and said: "I don't have a Negro tell me what I got to do." The man he was fighting told him he was going to use his stalk-cutter. So he got mad and hit the man. Then his older son hit the boss. Well, that's how come so many men are leaving the farm.

They set on you all the time and they don't want to pay much. They pay still only two or three dollars a day. Meat is still thirty cents a pound and lard thirty cents. And you can't get much of either one.

Well, men, we have got to fight like hell right here and fight hell out of the man that we see don't work. Let someone know what you can do. What one can do all can do, if they talk things over. Why don't we poor workers get together? The bosses want to drive labor off the farm this year. So you better let them know how you stand.

One thing I know, there won't be enough labor here. So I guess that is why they want to get mad at what is here.

So things is getting bad here for the working class. Get on the firing line.

John Jones.

# Big Three Meet and Partition Europe--

erals of England and America, the trade union leaders of the same countries and the totalitarians of Russia cheering the enslavement of the German masses, while their capitalist rulers go scot free for their crimes!

The German workers will be relieved of the slavery of fascism, only to have it replaced by the slavery of occupation and foreign rule! This is the third peace! This is the so-called democratic peace!

### Poland:

Poland, the nation whose independence was violated by Germany and Russia in 1939, and over whose destruction the Second World Imperialist War began, the Poland which has been fighting in the war for more than four and a half years, was doomed by the action of the Big Three.

The conferees at Yalta decided to recognize Stalin's demands for the dismemberment of the country. It granted to Russia all of Poland east of the Curzon line. It decided to compensate Poland with territory taken from Germany, an act which will require that the Big Three underwrite this grab of Eastern Germany and East Prussia.

The conferees recognized Stalin's hand-picked Lublin Committee as the provisional government of the New Poland, except that it shall be broadened to include Poles from abroad! Which Poles? Naturally, no Poles who have opposed Stalin's occupation of the country or his demands—only those who are tractable and will accept the present "compromise."

The Big Three read out of existence the reactionary Polish Government-in-Exile, now residing in London, a government which it recognized, housed and supported up to the very eve of the conference in Crimea. This legal Polish government, insofar as Poland had one, was not consulted about the decisions. It was told that its fate would be—not directly—but through the public announcements made of the conference decisions.

### "FREE" ELECTIONS

Oh, yes, the conference decided to hold "free" elections to determine the future government. These elections will be supervised by the Big Three, where, as one paper put it, the Russians will be in a minority of one! What hypocrites!

The Germans have already purged Poland of its most heroic people in the territory which occupied it. Stalin has purged Poland of its most heroic people in the area under his domination. The Lublin Committee which he

organized has waged a campaign of terror against all its opponents since it has been in power.

And now they will run a "free" elections to select the new government. The impartiality of the elections will be determined by the fact that the Big Three will have a commission present on which Russia will be a minority of one! This is a farce too tragic for laughter.

In all of these deliberations, the people, the Poles, the White Russian and Ukrainian minorities are not even consulted. The Big Powers have decided on the basis of arms and their separate interests, not the interests of the people.

### N. Y. TIMES

Listen to how the venal and hypocritical New York Times sets aside any objections to the deal made on Poland. In an editorial of February 14, it writes:

"Meanwhile... the Polish Government-in-Exile, functioning in London, insisted that it had no mandate from the Polish people to surrender any part of Polish territory and that Russia was attempting to force a settlement of the whole question by unilateral action."

"That was true before the Yalta conference met. It is now no longer true."

The fact that Britain and the United States assented to Stalin's machinations in Poland, now makes it a just and legal action, according to the great minds on the Times editorial staff.

The Times goes on to say:

"The solution proposed at Yalta is a Three-power plan, supported not only by Russia, but by Britain and the United States. To be sure, the Polish Government-in-Exile had no hand in this decision (to be sure). But the fact remains that the decision was made in the name of the three Powers which alone are capable of defending the integrity of Poland against a renewal of German aggression."

tion, and by the three Powers which will once more have to bear the brunt of the fighting in case such a threat develops."

Thus, in a single paragraph we are told that only the Big Powers can decide the fate of all small countries.

That this war, which is not yet over, is incapable of any lasting solutions, since the danger of the same war, or a similar one will arise after the close of the present.

### Jugoslavia, Balkans, Baltics:

The action of the Big Three on Poland is hardly different from its actions elsewhere.

They understood the power of Tito, Stalin's hand-made Marshal in Jugoslavia. To be sure, they made a little compromise, by agreeing on a Regent in place of King Peter, and added a few gentlemen from the London Jugoslav government, but the fact remains that it is Tito's government, which is another way of saying this is Stalin's stamping ground.

The conference did nothing about the Balkin situation, which Stalin dominates. This problem will presumably be solved at another time. It was equally silent on the Baltic States (Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania) which Stalin has long since incorporated by force into the borders of Russia. Being practical gentlemen, the Yalta traders decided to forget all about it.

Nor was anything said about Russia's machinations in Iran, which suddenly dropped out of the news.

### Atlantic Charter:

With the cynicism which characterizes all imperialists, the Big Three then announced that they reindorsed the Atlantic Charter, that is, reindorsed a document which has been torn to shreds, which was never applied in practice, which President Roosevelt found it possible to joke about, and which is violated every day of the war.

They re-endorsed the Atlantic Charter after the incorporation of the Baltic States into Russia without the consent of the people, after the rape of Poland and a solution to the problem without consulting the people, after the seizure of territories by Russia without consulting the people or giving them the right to decide their fate, after Churchill made clear that the document had no application to the imperialist possessions of the Empire! The hypocrisy of the imperialists has overflowed the cup long ago.

The United States got a foothold on the European Continent. But more than that, it obtained a letter of credit in the form of Russian participation in the Pacific struggle. There is no doubt that agreements were made for Russian assistance in the war against Japan. There is no doubt either that the division of the spoils has already been decided in principle. This will be clearer in time.

These, in brief, were the main decisions of the Big Three meeting in the Crimea. It was a gathering of imperialists deciding the fate of the world. It had nothing whatever to do with the future peace, freedom or security of the world. It had a great deal to do with power politics, the divisions of the booty, future markets, territories, spheres of influence and profits. Above all, history will record that the seeds of the Third World War were planted in Yalta.

# Readers Take the Floor...

### Letter from a Todd Worker

Editor, LABOR ACTION:

I have read your paper over two years now. I would like to see something about Todd Shipyards, Brooklyn division. Here is something to print.

We are supposed to have safety men on the job, but we rarely see them until after an accident happens.

Sunday morning, January 15, at 1:45 a.m., six men were working on a scaffold, removing a propeller from a ship when the propeller slipped and swung in an arc, hitting the scaffold and killing one man instantly by breaking his neck. Another man died in the hospital several hours later from internal injuries and shock. Four more men are in serious condition in Long Island College Hospital. Their time was stopped when they left the yard.

The enclosed clipping tells of a tinsmith who was killed on December 23rd, just before Christmas. He was found dead at the bottom of a hold. He was missed at 10:30 a.m. and his body was found at 1:30 p.m. When the news got out the company sent a special investigator hot-foot

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The price list which appears on the back cover of the January, 1945, issue of The New Internationalist was printed in error. A number of the books are no longer available, and some of the prices are incorrectly quoted.

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LABOR ACTION BOOK SERVICE  
114 West 14th Street  
New York 11, N. Y.

# First-Hand Account of Britain's War on Greeks

October, 1944.

Dear Friends: What is unreeling before my eyes in Greece reinforces these thoughts:

- (1) This war will be lost by Hitler, Roosevelt, Churchill and also Stalin. Leon Trotsky will win.
- (2) The world is not made up of "good" and "bad" peoples—Allies and Germans—but rather of rich and poor. The rich live well under all regimes. The poor always suffer.

## POWER AND SUFFERING

Yesterday was the anniversary of the Italian attack against Greece. It is a national holiday, so that all parties came into the streets to demonstrate.

I saw power in the streets, the power of the people. Mind you, there is no government, there is no army, there are but a handful of police. The ELAS represents by far the largest military force in the country.

The sufferings of Greece during occupation by the Germans can be seen by the drawn lines on the faces of the women and girls on the street. (You expect such expressions on the faces of soldiers or toil-worn charwomen, but not on the young girls.)

But not all of Greece suffered. The wealthy sections of the town still present the aspects of wealth. People are well-dressed. You can see the curtains and draperies from the streets. They still have their doormen to usher them into their homes! Expensive food is plentiful. Shops are displaying more daily. (Perhaps the worst privation one of these "ladies" underwent was a pinch in the backside from a commandant at a full dress ball.)

But in the poor sections of Athens you can walk blocks without seeing one whole pair of shoes. Those one sees have obviously been worn through the German occupation and probably some time before. Clothing is patched. Thin faces and hollow chests are walking statistics of tuberculosis. Starvation stalks in the large heads of children on emaciated bodies.

December, 1944.

The arguments for British armed intervention are that in order to insure a "free" election, no part of the populace can be terrorized by an armed group. Therefore, the British will disarm the ELAS, escort the Rimini Brigade into Greece, set up a national militia of anti-EAM guards, and hold a "free" election!

Today a "vote" is being taken in the working class section of the city—from Spitfires and dive-bombers.

## EAM THE MAJORITY

Two events come to mind that are indicative of what a genuinely free election would mean. Both point to the overwhelming superiority of the EAM.

One occurred in North Africa after the entire Greek army was placed under arrest for their uprising. In the presence of British guards (the only ones present having arms) and Greek officers, the Greek soldiers were allowed to choose to go to Italy. Those not so desiring would be kept under arrest. Ninety-five per cent preferred to remain under arrest. That was the position of the EAM.

The other event was the demonstrations here. Only the EAM put on demonstrations. Only it dared show its strength, which was enormous. When the Rimini Brigade entered, the rightists tried to make a showing. They had not one-twentieth the paraders or spectators of the EAM. They fear to allow an honest ballot. They're taking the vote today with bullets, but you can't raise the standard of living with a Tommy-gun....

As I wrote before, yesterday I saw the machine-gunning by the British RAF. Today, they

are making a repeat performance. Only today the British Broadcasting Corp. sends out the statement that the planes were dropping leaflets. They lie. I saw the dives and the machine-gunning yesterday and today.

I know the part of town on which they fired. It is a slum, home of the poorest workers of Athens. It is one section of the town which the Germans never bothered during the four years of occupation.

I have heard a few British expressions of disapproval for the actions of the officials.

## ELAS CONTROLLED GREECE

After the shootings on Sunday, the funeral, held on Monday, was quiet. On Monday afternoon, there was sporadic fighting in the outskirts of the town. The ELAS captured most of the police stations in the Athens-Piraeus area.

Tuesday, the British brought in tanks and heavy armor to aid the Greek police and government troops. They arrested ELAS reinforcements coming in from outside the city. On Tuesday, it appeared that soon the ELAS would have all of Athens.

It was hoped that the Papandreou resignation would bring a stop to the fighting, since a liberal member of the EAM had accepted as premier. A wire from Churchill broke up the compromise. The old fool, Papandreou (even the British admit his incompetence), reneged on his resignation and he was shoved into office to the accompaniment of shelling of the workers' quarters.

Today is the fifth day of fighting and the ELAS is being slowly pushed back to the suburbs of the city. This entire thing was planned. Under the guise of relief, the British sent heavy troops into Greece. Perhaps the Greeks, who pushed the Italian invader out, will again push the new invader out.

If ELAS loses, they will undoubtedly take to the hills, and fight from there. Four years of fighting, two months of freedom, and then to fight again.

It is ten days since the fighting began. The role of the Communists resembles their role in Spain. However, they are probably more numerous in Spain. That is because the movement is one of action, and the Communists, being vicious and organized politically, come to the fore.

However, I am convinced that the EAM had no intention of taking power. Their stiff fight is being forced by the people.

Today, ten days after the start of the struggle, the ELAS controls all of the country, and four-fifths of Athens. The Greek and British government forces control one-fifth of Athens.

The ELAS achieved this much without a plan to seize power. Only after the fighting had started did they bring troops in from the mountains. If they had planned to control the government, they surely would have had troops here prior to the outbreak of the fighting.

## A FIGHT TO THE END

Some of the British soldiers fight listlessly and have asked me: "What the hell is it all about?" The ELAS lets the British prisoners go free after disarming them.

The British had originally planned to feed the Greeks. But when the ELAS showed it had no intention of surrendering, the plan was called off. "We will starve them into surrender," they said. Even milk deliveries to babies is forbidden.

How will it end? I think in order to defeat the EAM the British will have to send in about as many troops as the Germans required to dominate the Greeks. I do not know if the Allied military forces can spare enough for the job. It is a delicate matter, also involving the attitude of Russia as well as the attitude of the U. S.

## THE ONLY GUARANTEE OF LASTING PEACE

# Let the People Decide!

By JOE LEONARD

The only foundation upon which a lasting peace can be built is that of free, democratic nations based on the rule of the people—in the first place, the working class, making up the majority of society. Hitler has proved this principle in reverse by trying everything but freedom and democracy in the nations he occupied. He proved that it is impossible to keep Europe peaceful with one of the finest armies in history, a most capable secret police, the most systematic planning and the aid of plenty of fifth columnists. He tried crushing all resistance, as in Poland. He tried carrying away the able-bodied men as slaves, in France. He tried being "nice" in Denmark. He worked through Quisling, in Norway.

Hitler only succeeded in uniting the people of the conquered countries against him. He did not get peace in the countries he conquered, he did not get a united Europe. He got sabotage, assassination, guerrilla warfare, perpetual threat of revolution.

## THE FASCIST ERRORS

Let us learn a lesson from Hitler's mistakes: foreign troops of occupation policing a country to "preserve order and peace" will achieve neither order nor peace. If Germany is partitioned and over-run by American, British and Russian soldiers they will succeed in justifying Hitler to millions of Germans who hate him today. They will only succeed in keeping alive a fanatical German nationalism which otherwise would die with the break-up of the Nazi Party.

We have seen what happened in Italy already. Who was it who drove out the fascists, hunted down every Blackshirt, demanded that anyone who had supported Mussolini (Badoglio included) must be swept out of office? It was not AMG you can be sure. It was the Italian people. "Commentators" had filled volumes with how, for twenty-two years, all the youth of Italy had been

taught fascist ideas, how impossible it was to expect any real antifascist opinion after all that indoctrination. Balance! It was the AMG leaders who protected the Badoglio government from the people, even forbade the people to hold demonstrations.

AMG refused to expel from office hundreds of petty bureaucrats who had supported Mussolini for years, although the people demanded that this elementary first step toward democracy be taken. Even today the elementary democratic rights of the Italian people are denied by the "liberators" of Italy. Who will believe that in Germany the AMG will crush the Nazi Party and give democratic rights to the people?

## REAL FOUNDATION OF PLAN

The only foundation upon which a lasting peace can be built is that of free, democratic nations, a condition capitalism cannot create. A concession to this idea was granted in the Atlantic Charter, but that document has been betrayed by its authors ever since.

It was the same in the First World War.

In 1918 the Allies swore they would hang the Kaiser. But it was the Germans themselves who sent Wilhelm packing to Holland. Several months previously the German high command had told the Kaiser the war was a flop, warned of revolution. But it was the mutiny of the German sailors at the Kiel naval base who touched off the revolution that forced an armistice and an abdication a few days later.

Not long ago we heard that a German colonel had thrown a bomb at Hitler, that the German high command wanted an armistice. The story may or may not be true, but it calls to mind the significance of disaffection among those at the top. Stalin has succeeded in winning over enough German officers to form a "Free German Officers' Committee." There are officers who, getting off the sinking Nazi ship, see hope of preventing "chaos" (that is,

revolution) in Stalin's not-so-red Army.

At the end of 1916 the Russian nobles saw that Russia was bleeding to death. They killed Rasputin, plotted a palace revolution against the Czar. The plot never came off but the task of overthrowing the rotten leadership, Czar AND nobles, was accomplished just the same.

The Russian nobles wanted to save their privileges in Russia by throwing the Czar overboard before the people did it. The German generals want to save their privileges in Germany by throwing the Nazis overboard before the people do it. The Russian nobles and the German generals got along well enough with the leader when things were going well. It is not the leader they want to save the country from. No, it is the people that the country must be saved from. They think: "Cut off one rotten twig before the people chop down all of us."

Much hard-to-get paper is being used these days to discuss how "we" are going to educate Germany after the war. Mind you, "we" wouldn't learn anything from anyone who tried to teach us with a club in his hand; but the Germans, they're different. Then there's the question of what we're going to teach them. How to run the country without unemployment? We can't answer that one ourselves! How to keep all the factories producing goods for the people? How to avoid inflation? How to get rid of race prejudice? How to eliminate poverty and slums?

The question isn't only how we're going to teach them, or what we're going to teach them, but also who's going to teach them?

It seems that the Italian people learned more about what to do with fascists while they were suffering under Mussolini than the AMG has learned to this day. The Germans, too, are writing on lamp-posts (which make good galloping): "Pick your Nazi now, there won't be enough to go around."

## WORLD POLITICS

By REVA CRAINE

### Imperialist Big Three

The Big Three have met, conspired and plotted the division of Europe. Each of the three jockeyed for the most advantageous position on that continent for each knows that control and domination of the world lies through control and domination of Europe. They also know that the success of their plans is contingent upon many factors, most important of which is that the people of the continent quietly acquiesce and accept their decisions and "settlements."

The decisions were real enough. The imperialists will get what they are after, the power to exploit the European masses. To these masses, however, they have presented a reiteration of the principles of the Atlantic Charter, or, at any rate, one of these principles—"the right of all peoples to choose the form of government under which they will live." The Big Three pledged themselves to assist the European peoples in achieving this, even undertaking to "facilitate" the holding of elections.

What this promise is actually worth has already been demonstrated in those countries that have been "liberated" and where the people have been trying to put this principle into practice.

### Struggle in Belgium

In Belgium, the Pierlot government, which had been imposed upon the Belgians and propped up by British and American tanks, fell because of complete lack of popular support. As Premier, Pierlot had disarmed the Belgian resistance movement, protected the collaborators, of whom the people wished to be rid of (the 100,000 arrested as collaborators, 12,000 have been sentenced and ten executed), maintained high prices and low wages.

Popular dissatisfaction with this policy forced Pierlot from office. He did not even wait for a vote in the Chamber of Deputies. In his speech he blamed the situation in the country on the failure of the Allies to implement their promises of food deliveries to the hungry populace. The puppet reproached his masters. But he had fulfilled his duty—he disarmed the people—and when he was no longer able to hold them in check, he had to go.

The new government, headed by the so-called socialist, Van Acker, has announced that it will continue the policies of the Pierlot regime. The communists and socialists who entered this government are going to try to make these policies more palatable to the Belgian people, but this cannot work for long, since in Belgium, as in every country in Europe, obtaining the barest necessities of life—food and shelter—requires drastic social changes, beginning with a purge of the collaborators, who, in the main, are the wealthy industrial and financial classes.

The Belgian miners, most oppressed and exploited section of the working class, are out on strike. From the start, the socialist and Christian Union leaders tried to get them to return to work. In the Charleroi district, the Revolutionary Communist Party (Trotskyist) is active in the strike, urging the workers to maintain their ranks and spread the strike to other districts.

### Italian Partisans

In northern Italy, still occupied by the Germans, Italian partisan groups have been fighting heroically to liberate their country. When the Allies considered that the offensive in Italy would clear the Germans out very quickly, they urged the partisans on, even supplying them with small amounts of arms and munitions. They also dropped from airplanes royalist officers who were to place themselves at the head of the partisan troops.

When the winter standstill on the Italian front set in, the Allies cut off all supplies to the partisans and advised them to go home. The Italian partisans have no home to which they can return, since these are in the hands of the Germans. They have no jobs waiting for them. To return to their native villages is tantamount to surrendering to the Germans.

The heroic partisans chose to remain in the hills and fight as best they can, exposed to the hunger and cold of the open country. They have been left to the mercy of the Germans. This does not in any way conflict with the Allied policy toward "liberated" Italy, since the smaller number of self-liberated Italians, the smaller will be the "trouble" from them one day when "free" elections are permitted.

### Democracy: Allied Type

The promise of democracy by the Big Three, the promise of free elections, takes on the same pattern in every country "liberated" by the Allies. First—before anything else is even considered—comes the disarming of the resistance movement, of the people who fought and helped drive the Nazis from their lands.

Examples: Greece, Belgium, France. Where they cannot be disarmed, they are left to be killed by the Germans. Examples: Warsaw, Northern Italy.

Second—strengthen the reactionary regimes, support and prop up the monarchies; protect the collaborators. This is called "restoring internal peace." Then, when it can no longer be helped, permit an election and "facilitate" it to make sure that it goes right. To date, of course, no such elections have been held anywhere in Europe.

The European people have shown that they will not accept this without fighting back. This is the obstacle—plus the assistance given by the working people of England and the United States—that will yet upset the plans of the Big Three for the partition and domination of Europe.

# Labor "Shortage" Exposed

NEW YORK (WDL)—The Army's colossal scheme to gain full power over civilian economy by faking a manpower shortage and shackling labor with a draft is dramatically exposed by Aaron Levenstein in the forthcoming March issue of Common Sense. The economist's article is another voice in the chorus of labor, church and civil leaders who are supporting the fight of the Free Labor Committee of the Workers Defense League, of which Levenstein is a member, against the May-Bailey "work or jail" bill, now under consideration by the Senate.

Levenstein uses the Army's own figures to show how the military fabricated the manpower shortage, but he fills in the empty spaces which the Army, Navy and War Manpower Commission deliberately avoided. In quoting the Army's need for 900,000 draftees and 700,000 civilian workers, the economist calls attention to the credit side of the ledger, quoting A. F. Hinrichs, chief of the Bureau of Labor Statistics, who said in a radio forum on January 16:

"Senator Brewster just gave you gross manpower requirements, 900,000 men and women for the Armed Forces and 700,000 men as a maximum

figure for production, but it is very important to distinguish between your gross and net requirements. The armed forces are returning men to civilian life as well as taking them out of it. Some industries are contracting while others are expanding. Your net requirements are in the order of 1,000,000, not 1,600,000.

So Levenstein chalks up on the forgotten credit side the following figures:

Normal adult population growth	500,000
Available by layoffs	300,000
Seasonal workers made available	100,000
Employable Army returns to civilian life	400,000
Navy enlistments of 17-year-olds	150,000
<b>Total available</b>	<b>1,450,000</b>

By any mathematical calculation, therefore, the total shortage was not more than 150,000 or 200,000, Levenstein asserts. Hinrichs himself announced on January 16, 1945, that the net requirement "this next year and next six months is a smaller increase in the size of the labor force than we had had at any time in the last four to five years."

# One-Tenth of the Nation

By J. R. Johnson

Revolutionary socialists have made it a basic principle to refuse to support candidates of capitalist parties. Even when Harlem rallies around a candidate like Councilman Powell in the legitimate desire to have a Negro represent them in Congress, the revolutionary party refuses to support this representative of the Democratic-capitalist Party.

## PROMISES—AND DEEDS

Powell has gained a great deal of notoriety in Harlem by promising to answer the slanderous abuse of the Negro people by Senator Rankin and other Southern Negro-baiters in Congress. The violent attacks upon the Negro people constantly made by the Southerners in Congress have as their special purpose the task of covering with disgrace, with shame, with humiliation, the masses of the Negro people so as to maintain hostility between Negroes and whites. The New Dealers and other "progressive" congressmen never reply in kind to these anti-Negro diatribes. They sit and take it because politically they are closely allied to the Southern senators and secondly, it is not their business, as they see it, to defend the Negro people. Powell promised that he would put an end to this state of affairs.

He goes to Congress and, as usual, Senator Rankin opens up his usual anti-Negro assault. Every one was looking to hear a militant reply from Powell. Powell said nothing.

His excuse was that his colleagues in the Democratic Party had told him that he had a great career open to

him in the House on behalf of his people and that his first speech should be constructive. It is strange that these same colleagues have never been able to persuade Rankin to shut his mouth about the Negro people. Yet they had no difficulty in shutting up Powell at a time when he could have signaled his appearance in the House by serving notice to the Southern Bourbons that in the future on the question of Negroes they would get as good as they gave.

Was this merely an accident? Not at all. A few weeks ago the May-Bailey bill to draft labor came up in Congress. Now every Negro knows that a bill of this kind hits not only the labor movement in general but Negroes in particular. In the South especially it places Negro labor more than ever at the mercy of the state governments which use the war and such legislation to keep Negroes in the lowest possible positions at starvation wages, all under the slogan of "defense of democracy."

## AGAINST AMENDING MAY BILL

While the bill was on the floor, Representative Charles Clason of Massachusetts introduced an amendment which, in words at least, opposed discrimination against any workers because of race, creed or color. Up to his feet came Congressman Powell in order to make his first constructive speech. He spoke against the amendment! He called it a "cheap partisan trick to play upon racial prejudice in order to defeat a bill which should stand or fall upon its own merits."

The House was astonished. The liberals, weak brothers at best, had the ground cut from under their feet. Immediately after Powell's speech, Congressman May moved that the debate be closed and a vote be taken. The Clason amendment was defeated by 148 votes to 113.

A survey of the Negro press shows a general opinion that there was a possibility of the amendment being passed until Powell made his "constructive" speech. It gave the liberals just the opportunity they wanted to drop the whole business. Senator Rankin was seen, patting his colleagues on the back and congratulating them upon this new recruit to the anti-Negro forces in the House. Rankin and Powell walked up the aisle side by side in order to cast their vote against legislation aimed at Negro discrimination.

## JUST A CAPITALIST POLITICIAN

Harlem and the Negro people as a whole are in an uproar over this betrayal. Powell has been doing some vigorous explaining. He convinces nobody and even the Negro Labor Victory Committee in Harlem which worked so hard for his election has condemned him. Powell afterward voted against the bill on the score that it was totalitarian, thereby making still more inexcusable his vote against the Clason amendment.

That is the inevitable conduct to be expected from these capitalist politicians, whether they are white or Negro.

## The London World Labor Conference--

(Continued from page 1)

establish a continuations committee. Thus the dupes in the CIO fell right in with what the Stalinists want. The fact that Hillman emphasized that the new body shall be democratic will not affect Russian control. They have their share of zealots in the CIO present in London. The French representatives are loaded down with Stalinist-Communists. In addition, there is Lombardo Tole-dano, Stalinist leader of the Latin American union movement, to assist when necessary.

What is happening in London is that the international Stalinist movement has finally broken through its world trade union isolation. With the impact of the war it wormed its way into the very center of an embryonic trade union international. This will merely pave the way for its further infiltration into the unions of all

countries to represent there the interests of Stalin's Russia against the true interests of world labor.

You will then see the international no-strike pledge, boss-labor collaboration and anti-labor policies at work. The Communist Party and its trade union representatives do their dirty work here. Now it will be blessed with the formal approval of an international trade union body, in

which the short-sighted and politically naive CIO leaders played a stellar part.

The World Labor Conference is not yet over and its final decisions are still to come. The present acts are still provisional. But great damage has already been done.

Our next article, therefore, will contain a complete resumé of the London conference.

## IN NEXT WEEK'S ISSUE:

Concluding Article on the Jones-Wallace Fight

By Max Shachtman, Nat'l Sec'y, Workers Party

Further Analysis of the Big Three Meeting at Yalta

By the Editor of Labor Action

New York Meeting

# The Allied Partition of Europe

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## Daily Worker Whooping Up Conscription

By Mary Bell

That weathercock for the Bureaucrat of All the Russias, the Communist Political Association, has endorsed and is beating the drums for universal military training.

Their attitude could have been predicted. It was natural, inevitable, foreseeable, ineluctable. Just as they labeled the war aims of the U. S. government "imperialist" and opposed all preparations for a war against the Stalin-Hitler combine in 1939-40, now they are the loudest yea-sayers for any measure—the no-strike pledge, the May-Bailey slave labor bill and peacetime conscription—which will aid the Russian-Allied combine.

There is nothing new in their arguments in behalf of conscription. They wish to train all the young men, not merely of the United States, but of Britain and Russia as well, in the arts of killing in order to assure—peace!

### A MENTAL CONSCRIPT WRITES

"After the experiences of the last decade it should be clear to all thinking people that this United Nations organization will need the backing of military organization," writes Robert Thompson in the Daily Worker of February 4. "In fact," he continues, "it will require the support of an effective monopoly of the world's military strength and it will require this until such a time as the last vestige of fascism has been wiped out and the peace is so firmly established that there no longer exists danger of its being broken."

Military preparedness never guaranteed anything but war. Look at Germany and all the European nations which had compulsory military training for their youth. Observe the effect of military training on German youth. Yet the Communist Political Association would Prussianize all youth of every country.

Militarism is not a curative for war. It is one of the causes. In a class society the army is used to protect the interests of the ruling class. Today the ruling class is the capitalist class—the profiteers of big business, including the armaments manufacturers and the munitions makers, the direct beneficiaries of war.

Our conscript army will be used to further the interests of the capitalist class—abroad and at home. Abroad, to secure and hold other people subject to our economic domination. At home, to send against striking workers or bonus marchers.

The Communist Political Association is in the van of strike-breakers today. And if it were to occur that the permanent no-strike pledge advocated by one of their spokesmen, Harry Bridges, were enacted, they would no doubt call for the sending of the army against all strikers.

### THE "GOOSESTEP"—MENTAL AND PHYSICAL

The "goosestep" is the symbol of the bodily slavery that goes with militarism. When the commander calls "Attention!" the conscript straightens. When the commander says "Forward!" the conscript advances. When he says "Fire!" the conscript shoots. All young men are trained in the same way—to act like robots, to take orders, to act without thinking.

More serious than the physical slavery of military training is the mental slavery which accompanies it. It induces in all the spirit of unquestioned obedience, so aptly expressed by Tennyson:

"Theirs not to make reply,  
Theirs not to reason why,  
Theirs but to do and die."

It is fitting that the Communists, who have induced in Russia and throughout the Communist International an attitude of blind, unquestioning obedience, should not hesitate to proclaim universal compulsory military training.

The labor movement, however, even the official leaders of the AFL and CIO, have taken a stand against peacetime conscription. That is fortunate, since the working people are the victims of military training. They are the ones who are killed at home by their brothers in uniform in labor disputes. They are the ones who are sent abroad to kill their working class brothers of other countries.

### The Army Wanted to Hang Him—

## The Case of Pvt. Henry Weber

By JOHN STEWART

Private Henry Weber, a conscientious objector and member of the Socialist Labor Party, was sentenced to be hanged by a court martial board of Camp Roberts for refusal to bear arms. Then, in response to public protest, his sentence was changed and he is to be "confined at hard labor at such place as the reviewing authority may direct for the term of his natural life." He is to be dishonorably discharged, forfeit all pay and allowances due or to become due.

### AN EXCEPTION MADE OF WEBER

The crime of Henry Weber? He objects "to shouldering a gun for the purpose of killing human beings," according to the statement made by his wife and confirmed by leaders of his party. His wife had not even been informed of the death sentence of the Army. Such is the military "mind!"

It looks as though the fascist-minded military tribunal which convicted Private Weber over-reached itself in his case. According to Ernest Besig, American Civil Liberties director in San Francisco, their "records show that the Army, instead of hanging men in such cases, has actually given them honorable discharges."

Arnold Petersen, national secretary of the Socialist Labor Party, revealed that similar cases of conscientious objectors who were members of the party were sent to conscientious objectors' camps, or given non-combatant service in the Army, or released. There was no difference in their behavior from Weber's. Weber had informed his draft board and his officers of his beliefs.

LABOR ACTION and the Workers Party do not adhere to or agree with the idea of conscientious objection. It is no solution nor any means to a solution of the problem of the mass murder that is war. We believe it is the capitalist system which breeds war, and that we must have a new

government of workers in order to eliminate war. But we do defend the rights of those who do believe in it.

We are unconvinced that the industrialists who sent armed thugs and police and the National Guard to shoot down men who were merely trying to organize labor unions which would get them a little more bread, or the down payment on a radio for the workers, would sit idly by while the workers voted themselves into the government.

Nor do we think fascism—domestic or foreign—can be eliminated, save

by the workers. And it will be eliminated by the workers in struggle, since struggle is the condition laid down by the fascists themselves.

Wars—whether imperialist, as the present world conflict has been amply demonstrated to be by the power grabs in Europe; for national liberation, as exist on the part of the conquered peoples of Europe trying to free themselves from Nazi oppressors or Allied "liberators"; or class wars, like the Russian workers' overthrow of Czarism in 1917, or the constant now-peaceful-now-violent war that goes on daily in every country

between exploiter and exploited—all wars are the outgrowth of capitalism today.

Therefore we oppose conscientious objection or pacifism. But we abhor and protest the punishment of Private Weber and we join forces with all progressives and those in the labor movement who are working for his acquittal. For Private Weber's position is a reaction against the brutality of imperialist war. It stems, even if we think his mode of conduct and the program of his party wrong, from a knowledge that this is a war fought in the interest of the profiteers.

There should stand indicted before all society, not Private Weber, who does not want to kill his fellow men, but the brass hats and the military big-wigs who enforce such a code and discipline in the Army that will hang a man for not wanting to kill.

It should be recalled that while the reactionary military jury which handed out the death sentence to Private Weber was meeting, in the Allied "liberated" countries of Europe there still roamed scot-free, and in some instances in posts of government (Aachen, Stalberg and Roetgen) fascists who represent the type of system the war is supposed to eliminate.

It should also be recalled that while a death sentence or life imprisonment can be given to Private Weber for his individual refusal to participate in mass murder, our central government has refused to make mass murder of an individual, that is, lynching, a crime.

It should also be recalled that the kind of justice and discipline given to Private Weber by Army officers is the kind that Roosevelt and our representatives in Congress would hand all of labor over to—by the passage of the National Service Act.

Those interested in the cause of labor should protest the treatment of Private Weber, too.

### A READER WRITES ON THE CASE

February 7, 1945.

Editor, LABOR ACTION:

You no doubt have much more accurate and detailed information than these meager clippings, but I just want to be sure that LABOR ACTION takes up this matter at once. I feel unable, for lack of time, to try to write an article or even printable letter myself. But as a discharged soldier who so constantly and deeply felt as Private Weber must have, I am keenly interested in the case. Obviously it is not a matter simply of discipline, but of Weber's socialist and revolutionary views.

According to a radio report tonight, the sentence has been revised to "life imprisonment at hard labor." All of the socialist and labor movement must take up an affair like this and fight it all the way through to Weber's freedom. We must shout on every street corner a comparison of the treatment of this socialist worker with the treatment of the avowed fascists in the notorious sedition trial, with the treatment of the collaborators in European countries, with the treatment of great corporations convicted of, and others notoriously

guilty of, selling defective war goods to the government.

A poor worker whose socialist convictions lead him to refuse to submit to a discipline that will train him in the systematic murder of his fellow workers of some foreign country—quite possibly even the revolutionary workers of Europe—is sentenced to hang or to hard labor for life. The great capitalists, who live through the war in unimagined luxury while the masses sweat and bleed and suffer in a thousand ways, these great politicians and captains of industry whose only function in society is to set the world stage to bring about the war and, then, to drive labor to the slaughter with military and labor drafts—to the accompaniment of the sickening stench of the gaseous "patriotism" they emit in every article and every time they open their mouths. These elements of the top of social-social scum—these are the ones who deserve such a sentence, "Hard labor for life," and I mean HARD.

It would be the only possible just treatment of the whole class of great capitalists who are responsible for the mass misery and death athwart the world. R., San Francisco, Cal.

## Latest Moves in Tresca Case

NEW YORK—Warning against giving possible undue weight to the statements of Ernest Rupolo (The Hawk), convicted gunman, in connection with the Carlo Tresca murder mystery, has been sounded by Norman Thomas, chairman of the Tresca Memorial Committee.

Rupolo is reported to have given the Kings County authorities "information" connecting Vito Genovese, alleged former New York gang chief, with several killings here, including that of the editor of the militant anti-totalitarian journal, Il Martello (The Hammer).

Genovese is now under arrest in Italy, where he had been serving as an interpreter for Col. Charles Poletti, Allied Military Government regional head, and is being held for extradition at the request of the New

York police.

Mr. Thomas pointed out that Rupolo's story was open to question because he told it in an attempt to gain leniency when facing a long prison term.

"It is gratifying to know," Mr. Thomas said, "that as a result of pressure exerted by a large number of Tresca's friends, District Attorney Frank S. Hogan's office is again, in action on that case, and that witnesses, both old and new, are being examined about their knowledge of Carlo's political conflicts."

"With that resumption of activity, Genovese's name has been directly linked with the Tresca crime. In a recently published story (in the New York Sunday Mirror), it was stated that Rupolo had 'branded Genovese as the prime mover' in that killing.

An earlier story (in the New York Post) asserted that Mr. Hogan was investigating a report that Genovese had arranged the Tresca murder at the bidding of Mussolini and his son-in-law, Count Ciano, later executed at Il Duce's command.

"Certainly every friend of Tresca will wish that all clues be followed to the end, but it is to be hoped that this Rupolo story about Genovese will not be accepted to the exclusion of other clues, unless it can be conclusively verified.

Tresca was killed in the New York dimout on January 11, 1943, at Fifth Avenue and 15th Street. On January 11, 1945, at a memorial meeting in Webster Hall, more than 1,200 persons, in a unanimous resolution, criticized the District Attorney's office for delay in solving the Tresca

crime. That resolution re-emphasized a charge by Norman Thomas that fascist sympathies had been shown in the past by one of Prosecutor Hogan's assistants long connected with the Tresca case, "in which fascists and ex-fascists, as well as communists, are under suspicion."

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The Business Manager.

## War Crimes: No Punishment For Guilty

By Jessie Kaaren

The War Crimes Commission set up by the Allied powers fifteen months ago is having its wings clipped. The resignation of its British chairman, Lord Cecil Hurst, a few months ago and the dismissal of the American representative, Herbert C. Pell, two men who are outspokenly for setting up an international court to try fascists and collaborators, are straws in the wind indicating why, as military victory approaches, it becomes embarrassing to retain these two men. The main preoccupation of Allied statesmen right now is how to keep the European masses in check.

In Italy, the Allies have forbidden any trials that would compromise the monarchy or Marshall Badoglio, with whom the Allies signed the armistice. In fact, when the former chief of staff of the Italian Army, General Roatta, was brought to trial last November, Premier Bonomi, the Allied stooge, suggested that the Italian War Crimes Commission be abolished altogether. This caused a crisis in the commission, which ended with the resignation of Count Sforza, its chairman, and so the prosecution of fascists became weaker than ever.

The hypocrisy of the Allied statement on the subject of punishment to Hitlerites is one more blow to those people who took it seriously and to those who also took the Atlantic Charter at its face value. On November 1, 1943, Stalin, Churchill and Roosevelt had this to say: "Let those who have hitherto not imbued their hands with innocent blood beware, lest they join the ranks of the guilty, for most assuredly the three Allied powers will pursue them to the uttermost ends of the earth and deliver them to their accusers in order that justice may be done."

Instead of delivering the Hitlerite butchers to their accusers, however, Allied statesmen are busy searching hard for a legal formula to protect the Hitlers, Himmlers, Goebbelses, Ribbentrops and their lesser cousins.

Hackworth, of the American State Department, in answering the criticism over Pell's dismissal, says: "It's an extremely difficult problem and we have not come to any agreement on how it should be approached."

### PROTECTING THE RULING CLASS

There is even talk of "the immunity of sovereigns," a device used by kings centuries ago. Something like that formula was resurrected after World War I to protect Kaiser Wilhelm and other German warmongers. There was also a War Crimes Commission at that time—a commission which had 3,000 German war criminals brought before it, but which convicted only six.

General de Gaulle also has warned the French people, many of whom have taken justice into their own hands, that "moderation" is necessary in judging those who worked for the Vichy government because they thought this was the best way to serve their country.

The Dutch Minister of Home Affairs, broadcasting from Allied-occupied Holland, defends "those well meaning and well-intentioned Dutchmen who have failed to find the right attitude toward the enemy." This brought on such a storm of protest from the Dutch underground movement, which is right now in the midst of a heroic fight against the Germans and which has suffered such terrific losses, that the Minister had to be dismissed by the government in exile.

### POPULAR JUSTICE NECESSARY

No international court as set up by the Allies, whether it be of the type requested by the Allied War Crimes Commission or some other watered-down version, would be capable or willing to purge Europe of its reactionaries.

The way to justice is exemplified by the five months old railway strike in German-occupied Holland which may lead to the withdrawal of troops there, in the opinion of the Christian Science Monitor correspondent. In some cities in France, where the resistance movement is intact and where it has not been weakened by de Gaulle and Stalinist betrayal, trials even today are swift and sure and they get rid of the right people.

Whatever purging of fascists is done in the months to come will be in exact proportion to the pressure exerted by the workers politically.

# Behind Jones-Wallace Fight

## Part III The Program of the Workers Party for the Post-War Period

By Max Shachtman

The fight between Jesse Jones and Henry Wallace over the post of Secretary of Commerce boils down to this:

Jones and those he represents want the RFC and, for that matter, all other government institutions, run by the big monopolists or their direct agents. That is what he means by his boast that the RFC "is being run by business men, by men experienced in business, by men who haven't any ideas about remaking the world." It is his idea of how to maintain the bankrupt system of "free enterprise," that is, of capitalism.

Wallace is no less concerned with maintaining this bankrupt system. Indeed, he insists that his way is the only way of saving it—and it must be in a pretty bad state if its defenders have to speak of "saving" it, of "insuring its survival." He differs from Jones by his declaration that:

"The real issue is whether or not the powers of the Reconstruction Finance Corporation and its giant subsidiaries are to be used ONLY to help big business or whether these powers are ALSO to be used to help little business and to help carry out the President's commitment of 60,000,000 jobs." (My emphasis—M. S.)

### SMALL BUSINESS HAS ALREADY BEEN RUINED

Mr. Wallace is a little bit too late with his talk about helping "little business." While the big corporations and monopolies have grown enormously strong and wealthy under the administration of Roosevelt and Jones and Wallace, literally tens of thousands of "little business" men have been wiped out completely.

The strengthening of the big monopolies and the weakening or destruction of little business and the middle classes is a NATURAL process of capitalism. Jones, and big business men like him, do not want to halt this process. Wallace, and defenders of "free enterprise" like him, cannot halt it.

"Prior to this campaign," said Wallace at the January 30 dinner in his honor in New York, "progressives have been 'long' on words and 'short' on action."

That is also true! And it is true not only "prior" to a campaign but after it. It is the role of these self-styled progressives and friends of labor: Many words, many promises; no deeds, no action.

By words and promises, Wallace seeks to enlist the middle classes and especially labor in support of himself, of Roosevelt and of policies which have brought about the systematic deterioration of their economic and social position in the country. These are the facts. They are admitted by Wallace himself. And facts speak louder than words.

The same holds true, as we pointed out last week, about Wal-

lace's references to "the President's commitment of 60,000,000 jobs" and Roosevelt's "economic bill of rights."

For twelve years, Roosevelt plus Wallace had all the opportunities they needed to fulfill promises made. The balance sheet of these twelve years is clearcut and incontestable:

In peacetime, they failed to guarantee top national production, a job, a high standard of living, security and abundance for the workers of the country.

They got the industries to work at top speed ONLY in wartime, ONLY to produce what is needed to destroy life—not to maintain it.

Wallace can no more wipe out these two powerful, significant facts than he can palm off the exclusive responsibility for them on Jesse Jones. All of them are jointly responsible—all of them whose primary concern is with maintaining the system of "free enterprise" with the inevitable result of growing inequality, growing suffering for the people, increasing destruction, and multiplying crises.

Wallace is lavish with words and promises. We have said that we agree entirely with the idea of a guaranteed annual wage for every worker, with a guaranteed annual minimum wage, based on maintaining national production at its highest peak. What Wallace fails to answer, in putting forward these ideas, is the all-deciding question of "How?" This is the question that the Workers Party, in drawing up its program, has dealt with openly, directly and concretely.

### WORKERS PARTY SHOWS THE WAY

In its program, the Workers Party starts with two fundamental ideas:

Every worker has the right to a year-round job, with a guaranteed minimum annual wage to provide a high standard of living and security.

The achievement of this aim requires national, over-all government planning to assure this right which the enormous productive capacity of American industry has proved to be possible and practical.

Are these ideas wild-eyed dreams or can they be realized in life? If they can be realized, what specific steps must be taken to begin with?

It has been established as a fact beyond debate that the system of "free enterprise," in spite of the fact that it was subsidized, given money and loaned money, and helped in every other way by the government, did not succeed in providing the masses of the people with a decent standard of living and security.

In 1939, before the outbreak of the World War, there were less than 45,000,000 workers in industry, on the farms and in the Army,

That means there were something like 15,000,000 without work or a guaranteed income. In 1939, there was a total national production of goods and services of less than 100 billion dollars.

Only the war made possible a change, and it has been a sensational change.

From 1939 to 1943, the total national production rose from less than 100 billion dollars to well over 188 billion dollars, or almost double. The total employment, however, rose by only about twenty per cent. In other words, an increase in the number of workers by one-fifth resulted in an increase in production of almost twice what it was in 1939.

These figures give us only part of the picture of what the United States CAN produce. To make the picture more complete, it is necessary, for example, to take into account the fact that something like an additional 11,000,000 workers are available in the persons of those now in the armed services. It is also necessary to take into account that about half of what we produce is sheer economic waste. The government is now the market for almost fifty per cent of the national production, which is devoted to war purposes, that is, to destruction and self-destruction.

### WHAT ABOUT THE POST-WAR PERIOD?

When the war is over, this "customer" will pretty much disappear. The government will no longer require the war goods it now purchases to the tune of between 85 and 90 billions a year, which is about half our national production.

What will happen to the industries? What will happen to the jobs of millions of workers now employed in war production? What will happen to the hoped-for jobs of the millions of demobilized veterans?

The Workers Party declares that national industrial production can not only be maintained at its present level but raised considerably. We say that it can and must be maintained and raised so that the people may enjoy the good things of life in abundance and security. Every thinking worker will ask himself, if he has not already done so:

Why is it possible to organize the economic life of the nation at top production levels for war and destruction, but not for peace, prosperity, life and liberty?

The Workers Party replies: It is both possible and necessary to organize, planfully, our economic life in peacetime for prosperity and security.

The full responsibility rests, or should rest, upon government. We are told that the war must be fought because victory is in the interests of the life, liberty and pursuit of happiness of the people. Our opinion of the war is entirely different, since we hold that it is an imperialist war and not a people's war. But let us grant for

a moment the truth of what we are told. Is it not significant that the conduct of the war is not left to "free enterprise," but is taken over by the government? The elementary interests of the people demand a guarantee of an annual job, an annual wage, a high standard of living. That, too, is the task and responsibility of government.

### WHAT GOVERNMENT MUST DO

The government must therefore guarantee, in the first place, a job for every worker the year around and an annual wage. The minimum wage for every worker should not be below \$2,500.

On the basis of a planned rise in national production, the minimum annual income of every worker's family—averaging four persons—should be fixed for the time being at \$5,000 a year.

The bankers and big corporation bosses, who make hundreds of thousands and even millions of dollars a year and live in purple luxury, will raise their hands in horror at such "exorbitant" proposals. But the worker knows that an income of about \$100 a week is not high at all if his family is to live—not in luxury—but in comfort. Whatever criticism is to be made of these proposals is not on the grounds of exorbitance, but on the grounds that they are modest. The Workers Party looks upon them only as a modest beginning. The 1943 total national production of 188 billion dollars, which can be raised with ease, shows how realistic is the proposal for a \$5,000 annual family minimum income for the approximately 35,000,000 families in this country.

Our technological progress in the last few generations has been tremendous. One man can produce today what it took a dozen or several dozen men to produce decades ago. Remember that our national output almost doubled in four years with the addition of only one-fifth more workers. That is good. That, in itself, is progress. What is bad, fundamentally and thoroughly bad, is the fact that neither the income nor the working week has conformed to this progress.

We need and we can easily have a maximum thirty-hour working week for all. That, too, is only to begin with. Technological progress should not be made at the expense of the workers, exclusively for the benefit of the tiny capitalist class. The more we are able to produce, the shorter the time it takes us to produce it, the shorter the working week should be. A thirty-hour weekly maximum is already possible and necessary.

How is a high national level of production to be maintained? If things are left to "private enterprise" we will go back to the 1939 level of less than 100 billion dollars, with millions of unemployed, and we will go back to worse than that. And it will happen sooner after the close of the war than most people believe. (The concluding article of this series will appear next week)