

DEFEAT "WORK-OR-JAIL" BILL!

Shadow Boxing Over Mont'y Ward Dispute

By ALBERT GATES

Judge Philip Sullivan, sitting in the Federal District Court in Chicago, handed down a decision in the case of the government's seizure of the Montgomery Ward plants, which denied the President's right to seize the company's properties.

The judge contended that Congress gave no such authority to the President and for the President to act legally in this instance would require a special law by the legislature.

A VICTORY FOR PROPERTY

He was acting, the judge stated in effect, in defense of the Bill of Rights, protecting life, liberty and property.

Sewell Avery, union-busting head of Ward's, hailed the decision as a "victory for labor." He meant, of course, a victory for such high-priced "laborers" as himself.

The labor leaders are stunned by this decision. They defiantly denounce the judge's ruling, quite confident that the Supreme Court will overrule the District Court, since the government has already announced its intention to appeal the decision.

This may well be true, because the Supreme Court has a substantial corps of presidential supporters. Precedent is what the court makes it. In general, the court has been in accord with the President's views and may rule in favor of the government under the precept that there is a war going on, that an emergency situation exists and that the President has the general powers to act the way he did in the Ward case.

HISTORY OF THE WARD DISPUTE

Just exactly what happened in the Ward dispute? The United Retail Clerks won election after election in the Ward plants. Despite these victories, Avery and his gang refused to recognize the union. The WLB made several long-postponed decisions on wages to the extremely low-paid Ward workers. The company refused to accept these decisions. It claimed that the WLB had no authority to enforce its decisions; that Montgomery Ward was engaged in war production and therefore was not liable under the emergency war powers of President Roosevelt. For over two years Ward has been kicking the union around, while the latter patiently waited for Roosevelt, the WLB and the Directors of Economic Stabilization to do something.

While the government piddled around for the same period, the ever-patient union called a nation-wide strike at the Montgomery Ward plants, climaxed by the great struggle in Detroit, which was supported by the United Automobile Workers, including many of their officials. Faced with this mass strike, the militancy of the workers, and the rising tide of opposition to the no-strike pledge, which makes unions the easy prey of the union-busting corporations, the President ordered the seizure of the Montgomery Ward plants and directed the Army to operate them.

What did the owners of the company lose? Their business went on; their profits were guaranteed (this, of course, is most important). Attorney General Biddle made it clear that he intended no "punitive" measures against Avery and other company officials. They were to be treated as hard-headed business men who just happened to have a quarrel with the government.

Quite a difference between his action against Avery and his treatment of the coal miners, who were prosecuted and jailed under the Smith-Connally Act. This important difference in the conduct of the government is entirely lost sight of by the labor leaders. Yet here is the key to the government's real attitude toward capital and labor. On the one hand it operates a company, guaranteeing the profits, dividends and salaries to its owners; on the other hand it prosecutes and jails striking miners fighting for their lives.

SHADOW-BOXING

As the case is developed, the legal arguments on both sides will be long, technical and involved, evading the real problem of the rights of labor as against the rights of capitalist property. Everything else, whether Ward's is a "producer" or "distributor," whether it is engaged in "vital war work" or not, is beside the point.

What is puzzling and what confuses many workers is why Roosevelt, who is admittedly a capitalist in thought and action, ordered the seizure of the Ward property and thus precipitated the decision of the lower court. The answer is to be sought in the whole domestic situation.

Roosevelt organized his war program on the basis of winning the support of labor to the war or, at least, keeping it from opposing the war. He knew, as every capitalist knew, that without labor nothing can be produced—there would have been no war production. There would have been idle machines with a lot of bloated big business men sitting around not knowing what to do.

Under this program, capital gave up the lock-out, for which it received from the government a guarantee of profits—the highest in the history of American business. A fair trade—all to the advantage of the capitalist owners of industry! They have enriched themselves from the war. Labor is not even holding its own.

WHY FDR ORDERED SEIZURE

But labor is restless. It is fighting back. It wants to break the crippling no-strike pledge. It wants to thaw out the wage freeze. It wants to battle the union-busting corporations. The President knows this. But he will not change his program; he will not interfere with the profit system or the profits of his class.

His seizure of the Ward properties can only be explained by the fact that it is a sop thrown to labor to make it seem as though the President is truly "impartial." It was a step taken to draw fire away from his demand for a National Service Act to enslave labor through a draft in the interests of private profit. It was a step to draw attention away from the fact that he will do nothing substantial to change the Little Steel formula or the wage freeze.

The law and the courts under capitalism exist for the purpose of maintaining inviolate capitalist property and the profit system. These were not touched at all in the Ward case. The whole fight was an intercapitalist dispute between a capitalist administration and one of its opponents. The labor movement would be making a serious mistake if it staked everything on the courts. Labor needs to rely upon its own strength, its own power, the vast forces of the organized union movement. Therein lies the surest road to success.

LABOR'S COURSE

Even if the Ward case is eventually won by the government, it will not be a labor victory, especially in face of the many losses labor has already suffered at the hands of the Roosevelt Administration, which is acting on the basis of "law."

There is another aspect of the judge's ruling to which attention must be directed. It is the rising dictatorial powers of the President. It emphasized the true meaning of the labor draft as exhibiting the growing trend toward totalitarianism under "labor's friend" Roosevelt.

The clearest lesson of the whole case is that labor is being taken for a ride in supporting capitalist politicians and capitalist administrations. Labor's surest road to success is through the independent political organization of the working class into a Labor Party to fight for governmental power. To do this, it must have a program which would defeat the anti-unionism of big business, the no-strike pledge, the wage freeze, substandard wages, war profits and bloated millionaires living on the backs of millions of workers.



Copperheads of the Labor Movement

The scene depicted in the above cartoon is not strange at all. It shows Roosevelt and reaction riding Earl Browder, personifying the Communist Party, all of them desperately seeking to impose a labor draft on the American workers.

Browder is in the right position. He represents everything that is rotten in the ranks of the working class. His Daily Worker has already publicly endorsed the National Service Act demanded by Roosevelt. His Communist Party is carrying on a nation-wide agitation for the labor draft, while the AFL and CIO are waging a powerful struggle against it. Only this week, this foul organization and its Daily Worker came out in support of the vicious anti-union "work or fight" May-Bailey bill.

Through its agents in the New York Industrial Union Council, the Communists have advised New York representatives in Washington to support the bill. In this way all the reactionaries who are pulling for the passage of the "work or fight" law are heartened in their campaign.

Every worker should remember this traitorous conduct of the Stalinist-Communists. They are the watchdogs for every piece of reactionary anti-labor legislation which emanates from Washington. They are the advocates of a permanent no-strike pledge which would cripple the unions. They literally scab on workers fighting for their lives and their unions (Montgomery Ward strike).

The Communist Party is the most insidious influence in the CIO and AFL, representing not the interests of American labor but of Stalin's Russian bureaucrats, whose agents they are.

Allentown: Guinea Pig for Labor Draft

By WALTER WEISS

Law or no law—and Congress has not taken final action yet—"national service" (the labor draft) is being put into effect.

Last week reporters poured into Allentown, Pa., to see the latest developments in forced labor, American style. Carrying out the policy laid down by Roosevelt, "Assistant President" Byrnes recently ordered War Manpower Commissioner McNutt to tighten up the "voluntary" manpower regulations. The WMC chose Allentown as one of several testing grounds for the new scheme of the Administration.

"VOLUNTARY" COMPULSION

All the reporters agreed that there was nothing at all voluntary about the system. It is definitely less voluntary than the purchase of war bonds, if you get what we mean. "We already have a labor draft," said the correspondent of the New York newspaper, PM.

Employers in non-essential industries are told to release certain workers, on whom the WMC puts the finger. These workers are then given

the choice of jobs in one of a very few "critical" war plants.

If they refuse, and are unable to convince the WMC that they have a good reason, they remain unemployed. As you see, nobody is forced to work. Of course, men within the proper age limits may be put into the armed forces. And, as McNutt pointed out some time back, in most states unemployment insurance is denied persons who refuse "suitable" employment. There is nothing more useful than a few little stimulants to the volunteer spirit, is there?

ENFORCED PAY CUTS

The men tapped for "service" are going into the supposedly big-money war plants. Yet the Associated Press reports that they averaged ninety cents an hour on their old jobs and will begin at 78½ cents on the new ones. The Little Steel formula works in reverse under this wage-cutting system.

In one case, a discharged veteran of this war, aged forty-seven, is taking a cut from \$1.02 to sixty-five cents. He expects "financial problems."

Another man with five children, aged from four to eleven, has been earning \$41 a week in a brewery. He is sure that the pay cut he will suffer at essential Bethlehem Steel will be "tough." Because of its shipyard business, Bethlehem, even more than other steel companies, has been coining blood-money.

Why not offer wages that will attract real volunteers? Roosevelt says that would cause inflation. Bethlehem is glad to agree. Having added recent OPA price rises to already swollen profits, the company now receives a further favor from a benevolent government—cheap forced labor.

UNIONS NOT CONSULTED

Local union leaders, according to PM's correspondent, are becoming panicky. They make these charges:

1. That none of them, not even a member of the WMC management-labor committee, was consulted about the draft.
2. That seniority was completely disregarded by the WMC.
3. That foremen, supervisors and office workers were untouched.

Communists for Slave Bill; All Labor Forces Fight It

At press time last week, the May-Bailey bill, embodying Roosevelt's ideas on a national labor draft, still contained the clause which would destroy the closed union shop. This clause would permit labor draftees to go to work in a union shop without joining the union.

While this clause was omitted in order to prevent certain death when the bill was finally reported out of the House Military Affairs Committee, debate is just beginning in the House on this very feature. The bill was further sweetened up to allow for easier passage by proposing guarantees of seniority for labor-draft transferees.

However, every union spokesman who has attacked the bill knows that its language is vacuous enough to allow the draft boards power to smash strikes by penalizing the industrial draftees involved in a labor dispute with jail sentences up to five years or fines up to \$10,000.

Others would add more saccharine to the unpalatable May-Bailey concoction by inserting a "pro-labor" clause: elimination of racial and other forms of discrimination in applying the draft.

But this, too, is under fire by the staunchest supporters of the new slave act, the Southern Democrats. Said Representative Graham: A. Barden (D., N.C.): "I intend to vote for this bill unless it accumulates too many warts in the shape of FEPC (Fair Employment Practices Committee—Ed.) and so forth."

Organized labor in all its far-flung sections is united from top to bottom in its mighty opposition to national servitude for private profits—with one single exception—

The Communist Political Association, of course!

This megaphone for the Bureaucrat of All the Russias, Joseph Stalin, came out full blast for the May-Bailey bill.

In New York City, the Communists in the unions kicked over the traces. Without consulting the national leadership of the CIO, they sent delegations from CIO locals and the Greater New York Industrial Union Council to representatives from New York urging them to approve the bill now under debate.

It is nothing to Stalin's Communists that labor's representatives have proved ten times over the government's bungling of the manpower situation, the boondoggling and labor hoarding on the part of industry, or the fact that this totalitarian piece of legislation is aimed at the heart of labor.

All that matters to them is the shackling of the whole of Europe by Stalin (under the name of liberation, of course). To that end they are also willing to shackle American labor.

"It would be the final unequivocal answer to the hopes of the Nazis and Japanese that we may become soft-hearted about this war, and that they can get from us a negotiated peace."

Thus spoke FDR on the necessity for a labor draft. Let R. J. Thomas, president of the UAW-CIO, answer him first: "If we adopt the methods of our enemies in order to defeat them, we will have lost an important, perhaps the most important, battle for freedom from tyranny."

Exactly! To use the labor draft as an excuse to defeat fascism is fraud. It merely emphasizes that the war is not a war against fascism. You can already hear Goebbels screaming that the "plutocratic democracies" have

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Ceilings on Livestock Hike Meat Prices For Consumers

By SUSAN GREEN

Some weeks ago, when the butchers of New York City threatened to strike unless something was done about getting them meat, the bombastic Mayor promised that every retailer charging no more than ceiling prices would get meat to sell. The black marketeers turned their backs so as not to laugh in LaGuardia's face.

These gentlemen, who have made such a good thing for themselves out of the war, know how the black market in beef has expanded and become an established war business—a war business with the earmarks of a monopoly, in spite of the so-called controls exercised by the OPA, WFA and other alphabetical combinations.

Now, some weeks later, the Mayor of New York still talks big. But NOT to the black marketeers. He shouts at the housewives to "conserve" meat by observing meatless Tuesdays and Fridays, and by eating left-overs on Mondays—as if this is something new! Millions of housewives have had to observe also meatless Wednesdays, Thursdays, Saturdays and even Sundays because there hasn't been any meat at the prices they can pay!

However, the recent uproar about the meat situation had other results besides La Guardia's little joke about "conserving" meat. The "friends of the people" made it known that something must be done. What they wanted done was to place a ceiling on live cattle prices. They claimed, these "friends of the people," that retail ceilings on meat could not be maintained because there were no

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Exactly right. But why is it that the workers' hands are tied? Why aren't corporation profits limited to, say, five per cent on invested capital? In fact, to go a step further, why aren't the war plants drafted? Surely, in a genuine war for freedom, there would be no blood profits at all, but abundant production and well paid, willing workers.

The answers to these questions are perfectly clear. The workers' hands are tied by the no-strike pledge, so that they cannot even protect what they had at the war's beginning. The first absolutely essential step in defending labor's living standards and freedom is to tear up that ruinous pledge.

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This will be not only an economic but a political step. It will mean a political break with the Roosevelt Administration. If labor then breaks with all other capitalist politicians as well and proceeds to build its own party, it will be possible to move forward—to curb and later to eliminate the profiteering monopolies. Only along this road can freedom and abundance be secured.

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By David Coolidge

MASS ACTION: WLB AIDS DALRYMPLE; THOMAS, NO-STRIKE PLEDGE

By DAVID COOLIDGE

DETROIT—Aside from the snow and standing in line to get one package of some unknown brand of cigarettes, Detroit seems to be concerned mainly with the no-strike pledge referendum, the affair at the plant of the United States Rubber Co. and the appointment of Henry Wallace as Secretary of Commerce.



"FINE 'EM OR FIRE 'EM" DAL

The latest outrage in the scandalous anti-union move instituted by Sherman Dalrymple, president of the United Rubber Workers, in the U. S. Rubber affair, is the decree of the WLB that the company must check off the \$12.50 fine imposed by the stupid and reactionary Dalrymple but also \$8.00 which reinstates the men in the union. This is so fantastic as to be unbelievable.

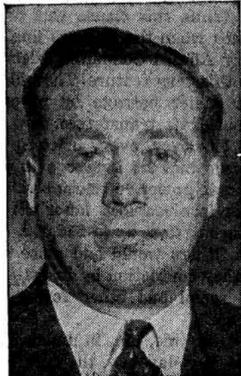
The company refused to pull the cards of the men because, it is obvious, with the rubber "shortage" it was necessary to retain every man at work. This refusal of the company backed the blunderheaded Dalrymple up against the wall. He had no way to get at these men. Then the WLB came to his aid and ordered the company to withhold the money and hand it over to Dalrymple. Since the WLB also is interested in the rubber "shortage" and in doing a favor for friend Dalrymple, this little board of capitalists, stooges ("public" members) and labor captives takes a step to keep the men in good standing in the United Rubber Workers.

The situation is complicated by the fact that some of the men are now members of the Mechanics Educational Society (AFL) and the UAW. This means that three unions have members in this plant, with the contract held by the URW. It also means that the workers there have a three-way fight on their hands: against the company, Dalrymple and the WLB.

The whole matter could have been handled far better and more effectively if in the beginning these men, who were victimized by the unscrupulous Dalrymple, had paid the fines under protest and called on the international membership to come to their aid for an all-out and unrelenting struggle against Dalrymple inside the URW. They will get nowhere blundering off into the MESA and the paper AFL union.

It is certainly not too late to begin now to pick up the broken bits and organize throughout the international for Dalrymple's scalp. At the next convention he should be kicked out without ceremony and without compromise. Anyone who gives Dalrymple any support whatsoever must be shown that such a position means destroying the union.

There is plenty of time to organize for throwing out Dalrymple and his whole gang. These workers should go quietly and efficiently about the business of organizing this campaign. Every decent and militant worker throughout the country should be drawn in. To defeat Dalrymple means to have more votes at the convention than can be mustered by this reactionary and ignorant bureaucrat. The way to get those votes is to begin now so that the men elected to the convention are committed to a decent, democratic and militant union program. Any man committed to such a program will never support



CHANGE OF LINE?

Dalrymple. At the same time workers in the URW committed to this program will remain in the URW and carry on the struggle against Dalrymple.

There is some talk in the press reports from New Orleans that R. J. Thomas has or is in the process of changing his position on the no-strike pledge. The Detroit Free Press reported that Thomas made the statement at a press conference that he is strongly in favor of retaining the no-strike pledge today but that he could not be sure today what his position will be at the end of the war with Germany.

Addes remains for the pledge without reservation or without making any distinction between the war against Germany or the war against Japan. Reuther has some queer position of maintaining the pledge for the war industries but not for the non-war industries.

There is really no difference between Thomas, Addes and Reuther on the no-strike pledge. All three of them are for the maintenance of the pledge and for bowing low before Roosevelt and the capitalist bosses. They are not in full agreement as to how the belly-crawling shall be done but all three of them are openly pledged to Roosevelt's program of keeping the working class down on its knees.

Reuther's talk about war industries and non-war industries is pure fake-

ry. All industries are war industries today. War is a national and international phenomenon. The war is an activity of capitalist society as a whole. The whole ruling class—bondholders, the government, manufacturers of war goods and manufacturers of non-war goods—participate in the war as a class and profit as a class.

The whole working class is affected by the war, that part of it in the war industries and that part in other occupations. Being affected by the war is not determined by such considerations as whether or not one is working on tanks or nursing bottles. Also, one's attitude cannot be determined by such considerations. In time of war, whether or not one gives a no-strike pledge, supports such a pledge or abides by it, should be determined by what one decides as to the kind of war it is and the effect the pledge has on the welfare of the unions and the working class.

If we take only the effects of the pledge on the welfare of labor, as is already known by the workers out of their own experience, there is enough to win every worker against this pledge and induce every UAW rank and file member to vote against it in the referendum.

Even a worker who is gullible enough to believe the capitalists' tale about fighting for democracy will not fail to understand that the ruling class and its government has demon-



THE DOUBLE-TALKER

strated in practice that it is not a war for democracy.

As the war proceeds, democracy is more and more curtailed. What is democratic about the National Service Act, in which it is proposed to fine any worker as much as \$10,000 if he refuses to remain in or go into a factory to toil and produce profits for an exploiting capitalist employer?

Every time a labor convention reaffirms the no-strike pledge Roosevelt and his government follow through with another and more reactionary proposal smelling of totalitarianism. While labor sleeps and amid the beatings of Philip Murray, the artful dodger of Reuther, the mush-headed throbbing of Thomas and the Stalinist trickery of Addes, Roosevelt feels his way slyly toward a two-point post-war program for the working class: conscription for a post-war imperialist army and conscription for the factories of the capitalist employers.

NEWS AND VIEWS FROM THE LABOR FRONT

The Seamen's "GI Bill of Rights"

By E. BOREAS

When Admiral Land of the War Shipping Administration offers the merchant seamen a GI Bill of Rights, the boys in dungarees have ample reason to regard the offer with the utmost suspicion.

When the seamen ask for a Bill of Rights, that is one thing. Goodness knows they deserve it. As a group they have suffered a greater percentage of casualties in the war than the Army and Navy combined. Of all civilians the life of the merchant seaman most approaches that of the men in the armed forces. It is not very pleasant and, despite all the lies, it doesn't even pay well. Admiral Land and the big bosses he associates with have seen to that. After their elimination of port bonuses and their reduction of the bonuses in the war zones, a seaman is lucky if he can average \$150 a month. The "heroes in dungarees" are no "pay-triots." That is the monopoly of the ship owners.

In his wisdom, born of bitter experience, the seaman eyed the benevolent admiral's tinsel-wrapped present at the proper distance and with considerable caution. After dousing the thing with lots of water and poking it a few times with a long stick, the Christmas wrapping was torn away, to reveal a booby trap in the form of a plan to regiment further the merchant seamen.

ADMIRAL LAND'S PROPOSALS

Admiral Land's GI "gift" was surrounded by seven other proposals. The gist of these is: the unions to supply information about their membership to the companies and the government recruiting and manning organization, tighter selective service controls, more government and less union attention to beefs (in other words, less attention to beefs), and freezing of seamen on coastwise vessels by elimination of the right to sign off in any safe American port. This right was won by the American seamen and incorporated into law after years of hard fighting.

The unanimous repudiation of thousands of members of the Sailors Union of the Pacific and the Seafarers International Union of the booby-trap proposals shows where the seamen stand on the issue of government regimentation. However, powerful forces are arrayed against the workers in the maritime industry. The shipping magnates, the War Shipping Administration, the RMO, the admirals and the Coast Guard have already more than one foot in the door. They will keep

pushing until they break the union barriers down and impose upon the seamen straight-jacket uniforms that will take them out of the class of civilians and subordinate them to the military.

That is the plan that will be pressed to completion before the war is over, before the immense powers that they now have are terminated. To defeat the aims of these reactionaries is the task of the entire labor movement. Unless this is done the foothold gained by them in the maritime industry can lead to totalitarian trampling over labor in the other industries.

LAND GETS HELP

The reactionary agencies that the seamen confront in everyday life has taught them who some of their ene-

emies are. However, they are still deluded about certain "friends." Many seamen, for example, think that Roosevelt is a "friend of labor." But who gives the orders to Admiral Land if not Roosevelt, the Commander-in-Chief? The Stalinist leaders of the National Maritime Union promoted a terrific campaign for the re-election of President Roosevelt. Their paper, The Pilot, or the "Pile-It," as many seamen prefer to call it, supported not only Roosevelt but every scheme to regiment the seamen. In that they are consistent. When they go for a new line, they go for it whole hog.

Because Stalin has become a good friend of Wall Street, the Communist go down the line to fasten the American workers to the chariot of imperialism and try to persuade

them that their interests are identical with those of the sixty families who run America and own and control most of its wealth. The NMU pie-cards sit up all night figuring out profit schemes for the ship owners, expansion of their shipping business and an impossible increase in the exports of big business.

If the American plutocrats become pessimistic at times, they hasten to cheer them up with the most optimistic post-war prosperity charts. If the ship owners are worried about possible labor trouble, the Stalinist leaders are there to extend the no-strike pledge into the post-war period. Forgotten are all the elementary notions about profits at the expense of labor, about the bankruptcy of big business, which leads to ever greater crises and wars. The imperialistic interests of Stalin demand the circulation of a vicious fairy tale, and who can do that better than his conscienceless stooges in this country?

SAILORS ARE RESTLESS

Is it so strange then, that the recipe for Admiral Land's booby trap appeared first in the columns of the "Pile-It"? The truth is that Curran & Co. go even farther in what they openly propose. One of the planks left out—for the moment, of course—by Admiral Land is the NMU proposal for a national pool of seamen subject to government orders. That would really put finis to the union hiring halls.

The NMU leadership plugged this scab proposal at the November 10 industry-wide conference which Admiral Land called and at which he hoped to get agreement from the unions for his booby-trap proposals. The boycott of the conference by the Sailors Union of the Pacific and the opposition voiced there by the representatives of the Seafarers International Union very likely prevented the putting over of the central manpower pool. How the rank and file of the NMU feel about their treacherous leaders came out at the conference when Curran crudely sputtered:

"Our members complain about belonging to a dictator organization. We must have Uncle Sam step in and enforce the rules."

That admission is encouraging. It's about time the rank and file seamen of the NMU got after their little Joe Stalins, who find it perfectly natural to enlist the power of the state against the interests of the workers.



Joe Hill, Labor Martyr

Out of the Past

By RUTH PHILLIPS

Joe Hill was a man with a talent for writing songs and a vision of a better world for the working people of the world. Joe was an organizer for the IWW and he turned his talent for music toward writing songs of freedom and protest.

In 1914, Joe Hill was in Utah, organizing construction workers. He was the leader of a strike at the Utah Construction Co. Like most of the strikes led by the IWW at that time, it was won by the workers. One day, after the strike was over, Joe was arrested in Salt Lake City, charged with the murder of a grocer whom he had never seen or heard of before. It was a crude frame-up, an obvious attempt to get rid of Joe Hill, who caused trouble for the employers wherever he went.

Joe was tried and convicted. The case was appealed and lost. Meanwhile the case attracted nation-wide attention. Defense committees sprang up throughout the country. Thousands of protest letters and telegrams were sent to the Governor of Utah. So obvious was the frame-up that even President Wilson appealed to the Governor for clemency.

Protest meetings were held all over the country and in cities in foreign nations. But in spite of the protests of people everywhere, the Governor of Utah carried out the wishes of the real rulers of that state—the employers.

Joe Hill was executed by a firing squad in the yard of Utah Penitentiary on November 17, 1915. Joe Hill's body was buried in Chicago. The huge funeral procession was really a demonstration of protest.

There is a song about Joe that begins, "I dreamed I saw Joe Hill last night, alive as you and me. Say I, but Joe, you're ten years dead. I never died, said he."

Joe Hill, that is, what he stood for, fought for, and was judicially murdered for, has never died, and the memory of Joe Hill is forever fresh in the songs he wrote. "There is Power in the Union," "Pie in the Sky," "Shall We Still Be Slaves" and all the other songs he wrote are sung today by workers all over America, sung by many who do not even know Joe Hill's name but who, through his songs, know his spirit.

Meat Profiteers Get O P A Help--

(Continued from page 1)

ceilings on livestock. So Washington obliged. A ceiling has been placed on livestock. The official price for cattle is set at \$18 per hundredweight.

If you think that is going to put a steak on your broiler, you don't know the "friends of the people" in and out of Washington. It is indeed beyond argument that someone is going to gain by the so-called ceiling on cattle. But not you! Then, who?

First of all, the cattlemen—which is another way of saying big business getting rich out of raising cattle. The public has the impression that the new ceiling means a cut in cattle prices. Banish the thought! Current market prices were around \$15-\$16 per hundredweight. The \$18 level has given the grubbing cattle growers a price boost of over 12 1/2 per cent. This brings cattle prices up to DOUBLE the pre-war levels. So the cattle growers, even if they go legitimate, have cause to rub their hands in glee.

But now who is that raising a holler? Why, the slaughtering and packing firms—those poor, exploited ones whose profits have gone skyrocketing during the war. Did anyone think that Swift and Wilson and Armour and Cudahy and their ilk were going to pay \$18 a hundredweight for livestock instead of the \$15-\$16 cur-

rent before the ceiling? True, their profits could stand it—but can you imagine capitalists taking a cut in profits! So what happened?

Immediately government subsidies to the big packing houses are increased. Are you surprised at the word "increased"? You didn't perhaps know that the government has all along been paying a cash subsidy to the profit-glutted meat packers ranging from fifty cents to \$1.45 per hundredweight. Well, it has—out of the money we cough up in taxes, as we go. The \$18 ceiling on livestock, the packers see a new opportunity to squeeze more out of the government treasury, and the government comes across with raises from 66.7 to 100 per cent in its subsidies.

In other words, the rich packing houses will get from the government—free, gratis and for nothing—\$1.00 over every hundredweight of grade A meat and \$2.45 on every hundredweight of grade AA meat. You see, there is no shortage of elastic in stretching the profits of big business. That occurs only when it comes to stretching wages to meet the cost of living.

Thus have the "friends of the people" indeed brought benefits to the "best" people by setting the price level on cattle at \$18. But how about us, the working people? Does this

latest move help put a roast in our pot? The answer is NO!

You may have got the notion that the ceiling was put on cattle so that ceilings could be enforced on retail meat prices—as they were, which were high enough. However, what will now happen is this: Retail ceiling prices will be raised. It is estimated that the increase will average four cents a pound on all cuts of meat—such as it is these days. This has been done for us, the working people!

And even so, there is not going to be an equitable distribution of meat. The New York Times, anxious not to raise a fuss, because of the war effort, don't you know, still finds it "difficult to understand how the new program provides a solution for the conditions which have led to the unsatisfactory meat situation.... It is improbable that this new program will eliminate the black market for meat."

The fact is the black market won't even be touched by this so-called

new program, which increases profits for cattle kings and packing house profiteers, and prices for working class consumers. Why? Because, as Business Week put it, black marketing of beef has settled "down into an established, mature business." Why? Because, as the above-mentioned bright weekly put it, black market operators are solid citizens long established in the meat trade and "with good reputations."

What's to be done? LABOR ACTION pointed the way long ago. The working people are THE ONLY ONES who can help the working people. Only the strongly organized ranch, slaughter and packing house workers can break the backs of their bosses by demanding control of livestock and meat distribution BY COMMITTEES OF THOSE WORKERS. And only the organized housewives can do the neighborhood policing, picketing and boycotting which will force the retail trade to shun the black market. It is up to the working people!

Greek "Unions" That Support the British

By JIM SIKOKIS

The organized attempt by British propaganda to give the impression that the working class of Greece is really behind General Scobie and the Plastiras government by having a delegation of "union leaders" hail Scobie and Churchill, turned out to be a fiasco.

The International Transport Workers Union in London announced that no such unions ever existed in Greece and that it never heard of the people mentioned as its leaders.

When the correspondents from the United States in Greece could not find the offices or the union halls of these organizations, they demanded that the British office in Greece give them some address to look up. They

were given the address of a Mr. Krokos, leader of the "Oil Workers Union," who had spoken of the "solidarity of the working" people of Greece with the aims of the British authorities.

SOME "UNION!"

They found Mr. Krokos' office was being shared by another organization, of which he is a member—the Holy Phalanx.

The "Oil Workers Union" does not exist, but the Holy Phalanx is really an organization. It was organized by army officers with the aid of the British during the German occupation. One of its jobs was to carry on sabotage against the Germans, but its main task was to beat the EAM in taking over Athens and in perpetuating "Greek-British friendship." It never carried on any activity against the Germans and, as a matter of fact, it collaborated with them on many occasions. It aided the British forces in the recent massacre of the Greek workers and its membership is now increasing with former fascists. That is the "union" Mr. Krokos represents.

What comes after January 24 is difficult to tell. The committee of British trade union leaders which is going to Greece to investigate the situation will force the British military stoges in Greece to be a little more careful. The actions of the Plastiras government will of course be controlled by Churchill, but not as flagrantly as in the past few weeks.

The Plastiras government may sit down and negotiate with the ELAS or it may insist that all the civilian hostages be turned over to it before negotiations begin.

Labor Draft--

(Continued from page 1)

forced labor. What then can the anti-fascist German workers hope for from their conquerors, who use totalitarian methods also?

The bigwigs of capital have never ceased the fight against labor. They have secured, through "labor's friend in the White House," the no-strike pledge, the wage freeze, the job freeze, lifted price ceilings, guaranteed profits at an all-time high, no freeze of salaries in the upper brackets, etc., etc. Their faint opposition to the labor draft is therefore understandable. They've got what they want. They're not asking just now for "all this and heaven too." It might cause unnecessary trouble and unnecessary government intervention and regulation of industry.

Labor must carry this fight against

the work-or-jail bill through to a final victory. It must tear out the blinders of "Roosevelt is labor's friend." It must go forward on the high road of clear-cut, independent labor politics. The labor draft was the first fruit of the "Draft Roosevelt" program of the inept labor leaders.

The million-headed rank and file of organized labor has the power. It must demand: DRAFT CAPITAL, NOT LABOR! Labor has produced an overabundance of war goods. It has carried the load of Roosevelt's war program. What has capital done? A lot of bungling, for which it has received and is receiving guaranteed profits. So let's DRAFT CAPITAL, NOT LABOR!

To assure this, labor must have its own INDEPENDENT LABOR PARTY.

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LABOR ACTION PARTY

SATURDAY, FEBRUARY 24

8:00 P. M.

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New York Workers Party School

Winter, 1945

THE DEVELOPMENT OF AMERICAN CAPITALISM

ALBERT GATES

Editor, Labor Action

REVOLUTION AND COUNTER-REVOLUTION, 1918-1939

MAX SHACHTMAN

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Editorials

Roosevelt Has Been Kidding Labor About Granting Wage Increases

No one will deny that Roosevelt is a "clever" politician. Just observe the way he corrals the support of the labor leaders with his "winning smile" and endless promises, while actually he does everything in his power to prevent labor from achieving its most important aims. It is a grim joke indeed that, having failed in obtaining congressional support for his seven-point "equality of sacrifice" program, he did make the wage freeze and the Little Steel formula the law of the land.

His Directors of Economic Stabilization, first Byrnes and then Vinson, applied Roosevelt's law to the letter. They did not permit any wage increases which, in their opinion, would upset stabilization (another fine word for big business profits). The WLB was formed for the express purpose of waylaying labor's wage demands and doing a hatchet-job on the unions for a President who appointed them.

The net result has been that the cost of living, which Roosevelt promised to keep down, has long ago passed the level of the Little Steel formula. It has, as a matter of fact, risen to over forty-five per cent above the formula. Labor's demands for wage increases to meet this rise have reached only the deaf ears of Roosevelt and his servants.

PROFITS, NOT WAGE INCREASES

In the case of the textile workers, in an industry which pays sub-standard wages, the WLB proposed a new minimum wage of fifty-five cents an hour. Vinson, who has final say in such matters, okayed this proposal but emphasized that he would

not grant any increases above that amount! Instead he proposed the adoption of an incentive pay system, the net result of which would be to increase the enormous war profits of the textile barons.

In the meantime, Philip Murray, who staked his life on a revision of the Little Steel formula (evidently FDR led him to believe that it would be hiked upward) addressed another of his complaints to the President, citing the terrible situation so many workers find themselves in as a result of the wage freeze.

FDR INSULTS LABOR

How does FDR reply? In the same insulting manner he always adopts when addressing labor. Why insulting? Because he actually says nothing concrete in his replies, offers nothing to labor, and declares it his firm intention to maintain his present policies. But he does write patronizingly to labor's representative about inflation and how labor and he really agree in principle, etc. Then, of course, follows the usual formula: *I will study the WLB report on prices, wages and inflation and will then decide!*

In the meantime, however, labor suffers from a continuously rising cost of living, with the wage freeze successfully tied around its neck like a halter.

The moral, we think, is clear. *No reliance on Roosevelt, the capitalist politician. Labor's representatives should get off the WLB, graveyard of labor's wage demands. Rescind the no-strike pledge. It is a one-sided pledge that will destroy the labor movement.*

"Furlough": A Picture of Life in Fascist Germany

By SYLVIA MERRILL

Franz Hoellering, in his novel, "Furlough," has performed a courageous task. In the face of the propaganda campaign for a hard peace for Germany which followed the Roosevelt-Churchill-Stalin demand for unconditional surrender, the author of "Furlough" has written an eloquent story of the sufferings and resistance of the German people under Hitlerism.

"The German people must pay for the war, and they don't mean only in dollars and cents. Who are to surrender unconditionally? Who are to be made slaves (the Russian formula)? Who will be the victims of the dismembered and de-industrialized Germany? Who are to be made to suffer unto the seventh generation? Why, the people, of course! And who are these people? Hoellering shows us.

STRATA OF NAZI SOCIETY

Hans, a Nazi youth fighting on the Russian front, shoots a comrade who curses the war, steals his furlough papers and goes home. This act, a contradiction in this patriotic youth, who should desire to fight on, is sub-consciously motivated by a desire for security and human warmth and kindness. Leni, his girl, is the antithesis of the horror he is living through. Through Hans we get an insight into every strata in German society.

We see the Nazi Party officials with their doubts about the possibility of victory and desire to save their necks and their privileges and easy living. We see their fear of the more staunchly Nazi of their cohorts; the SS men, whose brutality and corruption are so apparent in their decrees against the black market, which continues to flourish because, undoubtedly, they are getting their cut.

There is Von Kraus, typical of the big industrialists living on their estates, privileged, building up their investments abroad in case they should have to flee; ready to compromise, because if the Russians conquered "he would become a commissar, his knowledge would be indispensable, but after his experiences with the Nazi Party, that was not his taste. On the other hand, if the British and Americans came first and their system survived, the question would be how to link up with them, how to unite with them in the most profitable way, dividing the spoils with them, if necessary, but remaining the master on the bridge."

The aristocrat puts it most clearly in her conversation with the big industrialist who has attained a high place in the Nazi state machine by virtue of his early support of their movement:

"Ten years ago we, and you, placed the criminals in power. Why? Because we felt ourselves too weak to suppress the people any longer. They reached for our privileges and we did not want to give them up, though we had no right any more—if we ever had—to keep them. We armed bandits and gave them prestige. They terrorized the people into war through which we hoped to save ourselves. It was a great plan; it seemed to work. But now we know—it has failed."

And the workers, whom Hans sees intimately through his family. They have been turned into people whose sole function is production for the war machine. Work and sleep and eat, if you can get the food, is the level of existence. Leni has

been turned into an old woman by the grueling work and vicious speed-up. But the greatest change is that she has become an oppositionist while Hans has remained a Nazi.

While the brutality and efficiency of the Gestapo has created silence among the workers and precluded any resistance movement that can function in a coordinated manner, forcing opponents of the regime to isolated acts of heroism and sporadic outbursts here and there, a growing hatred has caused men and women to raise their eyes and seek for some sign in his neighbor's. They help the war prisoners, the Jews, put sand in the machines as conditions become unbearable. But there is no mass action yet. Each effort to break through the wall of terror results in victims for the Gestapo.

AWAKENING RESISTANCE

Even the staunch Nazi, Hans, is forced to continue the duplicity of action occasioned by his first act of stealing the furlough paper. Once he is away from the front, where it is "kill or be killed," he must proceed to live. In order to do so he must buy soap on the black market, lie to his Nazi Party SS leader about his thoughts, his most human emotions; about the fact that he was in the priest's house the same time that the woman arranged for the dropping of anti-war leaflets on the crowd; and so on endlessly. His every act is in contradiction to his professed beliefs. But he cannot tear himself from his Nazi ideas which give him some hope and fight, to turn to nothingness.

Leni realizes that words will not convince him. Action will. She sacrifices her life so that Hans becomes a deserter and fighter against the war and fascism. In a crowded railway station she calls out to the soldiers not to go to the front. "Fight your real enemies, the Nazis. Down with war! Down with the Fuehrer!"

These are the people to whom the world must look to put an end to fascism. The Big Three offer them only continued horror.

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GREECE:

GOLDEN GOOSE FOR BRITAIN

By JIM TANAKOS

The determination by Britain to keep a stranglehold on Greece, come hell or high water, is due not only to the strategic importance of Greece to the British Empire, but also it is a matter of pounds and shillings.

When Prime Minister Churchill's policy on Greece was being debated in the House of Commons on December 19, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, Sir John Anderson, announced that \$185,000,000 had been lent by the British to the Greek government during this war. He also informed the House that in addition to these loans another \$71,000,000 in market loans had been borrowed by the Greek government during the last three years.

Sir John may have been trying to convince the members of the House that this was definite proof that the Churchill government and the British bankers were really friends of the Greek people. And then again perhaps he was trying to show them that unless a British puppet government holds power in Greece, these and previous interest-bearing loans may be lost.

We are sure that the latter explanation is the correct one. The entire history of the British bankers and their governments in their relation to Greece has been that of forcing puppet governments on the Greek people to guarantee the continued exploitation of that unhappy country for the British bondholders.

EXPORT OF BRITISH CAPITAL

The import of British capital into Greece began during the Greek War for Independence in 1821. Before the close of that war, Greece owed to the British bankers the sum of \$15,000,000, although she had actually borrowed ONLY ONE-THIRD that amount. When the war was over the British bankers made more loans to Greece at interest rates as high as 8.19 per cent and at a discount rate ranging from thirty to forty per cent below par value on each issue. This means that the Greeks were charged for the entire amount of the loans but received only sixty to seventy per cent of the loans. The rest was pocketed by the British bankers for their "risk" in underwriting the loans.

But even these deductions were only a beginning. It does not mean that even the sixty or seventy per cent of each loan ever reached Greece. The London bankers would not relinquish the money until in-

surance (from their own companies) at high premiums was taken out on the loans and paid for by the Greeks. In addition, interest on the loans had to be paid in advance, and agents of the British bankers received huge commissions from the Greek governments for raising the loans.

SQUEEZING THE GREEKS DRY

Between the years 1825 and 1898, the various Greek governments borrowed \$400,000,000 from the London bankers. How much of it they actually received, can be figured out on the formula above. These loans have been paid off since then—SEVEN TIMES—in the form of interest, carrying charges, etc. Nevertheless, the entire debt is still owed to the British bankers to this day.

During the present century the London bankers have continued making loans to Greece on a similar basis.

Modern Greece, up to 1935, according to the last available figures, set aside each year ONE-THIRD of her total income for servicing the loans. This means that of all the money from taxes, tariffs and duties of various forms and from government monopolies that the Greek government collected each year—it turned over ONE-THIRD of it to the British bankers just for interest and insurance on the loans. There was little money left after each payment was made, so more loans were necessary, and the Greek people were squeezed some more.

The setting aside of one-third of the country's total income each year continued even during the worst depression years of the 1930's. At that period the British bankers were either refusing to pay their own debts throughout the world, or when they did pay they paid off in devaluated currency, for they were off the gold standard. But these same British bankers refused to permit Greece to pay off on the same ratio in devaluated currency. They forced Greece to pay in gold!

Not satisfied with exploiting the Greek people only through "national debts," the British bankers, together with Greek capitalists, opened banks in Greece. The poor farmers were charged interest rates ranging between twenty and twenty-four per cent on mortgage loans, and thirty-six to fifty per cent on personal loans.

British capital also crept into Greece by financing railroads, battleships and various other projects. These in themselves repre-

sent one of the most sordid pictures in imperialist finance.

MONEY FOR ARMY AND NAVY

The money that the Greek government did receive from the loans went mainly into the support of an army and navy, which were alternately used by the British and the Greek capitalists. The British, for their imperialist aims and the Greek capitalists for their own hopes of extending the boundaries to get people they could exploit, for the pickings back home were pretty scarce after the British bondholders got their annual cut.

To pay these fantastically huge sums to the parasites in the "City" of London, the poor people of Greece have been weighted down with poverty and taxes.

That is one of the things the Greek people have been fighting against these last few weeks. That is why one of their first acts, as soon as the British Embassy opened in Athens after the Germans were driven out, was to hold a demonstration in front of the Embassy to protest against these back-breaking loans.

But the British bondholders have other ideas, and their man Churchill is carrying out their ideas.

WHY GREEKS FIGHT

Hitler plundered and starved Greece. The people are destitute and do not even have primitive farm implements to work the land. But the British Foreign Office recently presented a memorandum to the Greek government, demanding that it "safeguard the rights and securities enjoyed by external loans and to protect the general interests of the bondholders" and to "maintain unchanged the rights, privileges and conditions of service which have applied to the government loans since 1898."

This is what Churchill and his class are fighting for in Greece. The Greek people have fought heroically against imperialism. Now it is up to the working class in England to take up the fight. Prime Minister Lloyd George was thrown out by the British workers, and it was his actions in relation to Greece that forced the issue. Winston Churchill was Lloyd George's partner at the time, but he was able to worm his way to power. The working class in England must clean house, and this time not just individuals—but the whole of Churchill's class.

GE Cartel Plots Show Need to Draft Capital, Not Labor

By V. P. JENSEN

A government suit accusing the General Electric Co. and its subsidiary, the International General Electric Co., with conspiring in international cartel agreements to restrain trade in the manufacture and sale of electrical equipment, was filed last week by the Department of Justice. These companies were charged with agreements, dating from 1919, with six companies in England, France, Belgium, Germany, Italy and Japan to divide the world into marketing areas, eliminate competition and exchange patent and trade processes on an exclusive basis. These agreements covered such articles as generators, transformers, switch gear, motors and electrical home appliances.

At a press conference, Wendell Berge, Assistant Attorney General in charge of anti-trust prosecutions, indignantly thundered that without these cartel agreements the capacity to produce electrical equipment here would have been greater when the war started. The suit pointed out that GE companies (like the Electric Vacuum Cleaner Co., the Edison Electric Appliance Co.) entered into agreements with the AEG (the German company) not to sell in German territory. And AEG agreed not to sell its products on the U. S. market for lower prices since this competition would have meant a lowering of prices on electrical appliances here.

WEEK'S UNDERSTATEMENT

Berge said that the government was particularly anxious for action because GE planned to enter into similar agreements with other countries. After this burst of energy for the record, Berge subsided somewhat as he admitted that he did not know whether the suit against the cartel GE would proceed or be postponed by request of the War and Navy Departments on the ground that it might interfere with the war. As to the prospects of the company making settlements and concessions outside of court, Mr. Berge announced himself "not sanguine."

"Not sanguine" is the understatement of the week. GE, knowing full well that the War and Navy Departments have protected them from anti-trust action on several occasions, are hardly likely to make "concessions" to a bothersome, if ineffectual, Department of

Justice. Department records show that suits against GE in connection with tungsten carbide and incandescent and fluorescent lamps have been suspended.

The government case against GE on tungsten carbide is particularly interesting. Few items are as important to American economy as machine tools. The best cutting edge for machine tools is made from tungsten carbide. In 1928, General Electric entered into a cartel agreement on patents with Krupp Works of Germany. Before the cartel was organized, the price in the United States was less than \$50 a pound. After it was formed, the price of tungsten carbide rose to as high as \$453 a pound (more than the price of gold) in the United States, although it never rose above \$50 a pound in Germany.

Although these agreements were on file with the Department of Justice, the defenders of free enterprise did not wake up until 1940, when they found themselves with a war threat and a tungsten carbide shortage on their hands. A suit was filed against GE in 1940, confirmed in 1941, but then the Attorney General acquiesced to a request for the postponement of the trial by the War and Navy Departments.

CANT RELY ON SUIT

Underpaid GE workers would do well to remember these facts the next time they hear patriotic exhortations from company and union officials at ceremonies where the company gets the Army and Navy "E" for excellence in production. In fact, underpaid workers throughout the country whose increased taxes are paying for cartel profits, would do well to consider whether it is their demands for a living wage or profiteering cartel demands that cause "shortages for the boys over there."

Ironically enough, Mr. Berge proceeded from his press conference to the Washington Club, where he made a stirring speech on "The Challenge of Cartels." This shadow-boxing performance impressed no one except perhaps wishful-thinking PM readers. Cartelists, though perhaps slightly annoyed by Berge's buzzings, let their brass-batted office boys in the War and Navy Departments brush off this pest.

Labor must not be lulled by Berge's rolling phrases but must insist upon prompt public action in the suits against the profiteering cartels.

Detroit Workers Hear Shachtman on Imperialism

DETROIT—An overflow audience at Labor Action Hall on January 12 heard Max Shachtman, national secretary of the Workers Party, lash out against the plans of British, Russian and United States imperialism to subjugate the people of Greece. The meeting, called by Branch 1 of

the Detroit local of the Workers Party, was held to protest British intervention in Greece.

American workers, in addition to their desire for justice, have a special interest in protesting Allied imperialist intervention in Greece. First, they are producing the tanks

and arms being used by the British against the Greek ELAS and, second, the victory of imperialist reaction in Europe will strengthen reaction against American labor at home.

A question and discussion period concluded the meeting.

WORLD POLITICS

By REVA CRAINE

French Resistance Movement

The French resistance movement has been divided into two major organizations. The one known as the Front National is Communist (Stalinist) dominated, while in the other, the Mouvement de Liberation Nationale (MLN), the Socialist Party predominates.

At its first national congress, concluded last week, the MLN concerned itself with two problems: the adoption of a political program and a decision on the question of unity with the Front National.

Its political resolution coincided with the recently expressed objectives of the French Socialist Party, which calls for a "socialized form of economy" to be realized through the socialization of banks, insurance companies and public utilities. Of course, this program is to be carried out some time in the vague future, since the congress pledged itself, for the present, "to support General de Gaulle's government in its war effort and in its work for the restoration of French greatness through economic and social liberation." We indicated last week what de Gaulle's work of economic and social liberation is worth in practice.

VOTE ON THE MERGER

On the proposition that the MLN merge with the Stalinist-controlled Front National, the congress voted in the negative by a vote of 250 to 119. The delegates voiced some very just suspicions about this proposition, and when a delegation from the Front National lingered in the hall to listen to the speeches, shouts of "Leave! Leave!" were heard from the gathering.

The Stalinists have been trying to "unify" the resistance movement for some time. At first blush, this seemed like a very good and reasonable suggestion, but as proposed by them it is obvious that this is a move calculated to bring the entire resistance movement under Stalinist domination and control and to make its policies prevail. The Stalinists represent the greatest totalitarian danger in the labor and resistance movements and it was against this danger that the delegates of the MNL spoke out.

Recently, when it was announced that elections were to be held in France, the Stalinist press immediately started an agitation that only one slate, representing all the parties in the resistance movement, be put up. They hoped to obtain places on the slate for many of their own members and sympathizers, not only through their own party channels, but in disguised form in the representatives of the other parties. This would save them the embarrassment of appearing publicly, on their own platform, before the masses of the French people. It would at the same time prevent other political parties from putting forward their programs and criticizing and attacking the Communists.

STALINIST "DEMOCRACY"

The French electorate would be confronted with only one list of candidates and they would have the choice of voting for or against. This is the way "elections" are held in Stalin's Russia and Hitler's Germany. For in those countries there is but one party, the party of the dictator, and one program, the program of the ruling class. Such elections are called plebiscites, in which the people have no way of expressing what they want.

The French Stalinists are eager to "unify" the resistance movement in order to bind it to their newly adopted friendship program, which dates from the recent truce signed by Stalin and de Gaulle. During the Nazi occupation, the Stalinists waxed very radical and participated actively in the underground resistance. Their influence among the French working class grew rapidly as a result. For a time after the "liberation" of France they continued this apparently left-wing policy. They were very critical of de Gaulle, demanded a stern policy of punishment for the collaborationists, insisted upon democratic rights, improvements in the living conditions of the masses of people and denounced de Gaulle's decree ordering the FFI to disarm. This policy was designed to retain their popularity with their followers and, what is more important for the henchmen of the Kremlin, to pressure de Gaulle into an alliance with Russia.

As soon as de Gaulle, whom they had been attacking violently, signed up with "dear, powerful Russia," this agitation ceased. Thorez, the leader of the French Stalinists, has ordered his party to assist de Gaulle in the disarming of the resistance fighters. His party tried the device of "unification" of the resistance movement in order to retain the popularity it had achieved in its "radical" days and to compel subservience to Russian political needs on the entire movement.

At least some of the delegates to the MLN congress saw through this ruse. One of them from Marseille declared that he opposes unity with the Front National not because the Communist Party was revolutionary, but, on the contrary, because of "the fact that the Communists have lost their revolutionary character and forgotten their duties as members of the resistance."

The rejection of the unity proposal by the MLN is a good sign. It is an action against the attempts of the Stalinists to totalitarianize the resistance and workers' movements in France. What the people of France need more than anything else is the opportunity to work out a correct political program. This is possible only if there is freedom to establish their political parties and to listen, read, discuss and agitate freely for their ideas. In this way it will be possible for all political parties to present themselves before the working class to be judged in words and actions, and for a revolutionary party to be established and built. The Stalinist attempt to prevent this suffered a setback by the action of the MLN congress.

Stalinism in Italy

The desire of the Stalinists to introduce their type of totalitarianism in the form of "one party" (which they naturally will seek to dominate and control) manifested itself in Rome a few days back. In Italy, it is possible to publish a newspaper only if permission is first obtained from the government, since it controls the supply of paper. Most of the working class papers are still published illegally, under the most difficult and harassing conditions, as a result of this control.

The government's authorization of a dozen more daily newspapers in Rome brought forth a blast from the Communist paper "L'Unita," which urged not the expansion of the freedom of the press, but rather the reduction of dailies to one paper for each big city, to be issued by the Committee of National Liberation.

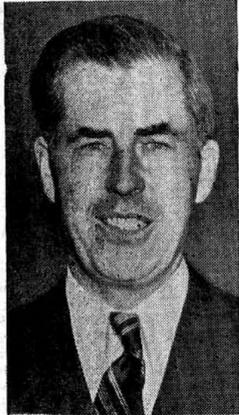
Behind Jones-Wallace Fight

By MAX SHACHTMAN

A furious fight has broken out in Washington over President Roosevelt's nomination of Henry Wallace to replace Jesse Jones as Secretary of Commerce.

The entire country is intensely interested in the fight and its outcome. It is hard to recall a case in which so much passion and partisanship have been aroused over the question of changing the personnel of a leading government position.

On one side, the side of Jesse Jones, are almost all the outstanding reactionaries in the country, all the extreme conservatives, all the big monopolists and their spokesmen, all the big newspapers.



On the other side, the side of Henry Wallace, has been mobilized almost the entire official labor movement. Unions and union leaders are trying to flood Washington with urgent appeals that the Senate confirm Wallace for the post.

Labor's interest in the fight is understandable and entirely justified. Every thinking worker knows that what is being thrashed out in the dispute between

Jones and Wallace deals with some of the most fundamental problems facing labor today and tomorrow.

Henry Wallace says: "It is not any petty question of personalities, but a question of fundamental policy, a question of the path America will follow in the future." That is absolutely right.

HENRY WALLACE'S CREDO

Henry Wallace says, about the George bill to take control of the Reconstruction Finance Corporation and other financial institutions away from the Commerce Department, that his so-called "lack of experience" is just so much talk and "this talk does not fool me or the American public." That is also absolutely right.

Henry Wallace says that the basic question is economic democracy, that we must "remember that political democracy is at best insecure and unstable without economic democracy." And that is absolutely right, too.

And Henry Wallace is still absolutely right when he says, as he did in his statement before the Senate committee which held hearings on the George bill:

That we must start with a program, a plan:

That the program must guarantee the right of every able-bodied person to a useful and remunerative job in the industries or shops or farms or mines of the nation;

That the program must guarantee the maximum utilization of America's vast productive capacity so that we reach the highest level of production and the highest national income;

That the program must guarantee a decent standard of living to all, and a guaranteed minimum annual wage;

That the program must guarantee a decent home to every family, adequate medical care for all, the right to a good education for our youth.

That the program must guarantee adequate protection from the economic fears of old age, sickness, accident and unemployment.

Whatever else may be wrong with Mr. Wallace's views, on the points cited above he is utterly, incontestably right. We have maintained these views ourselves at all times. We maintain them, no matter who else voices them.

These views express what is easily possible in this country.

They express also the hopes and longings of the working people, the people who have not until now enjoyed any of the rights spoken of by Henry Wallace.

That is why so many workers have such deep feelings that Wallace is their champion, their spokesman, their leader.

And that is why the fight over his appointment has divided the nation into such clear class camps as has not often been seen in this country.

But inasmuch as we have joined Mr. Wallace at least in agreeing that this is not a fight between personalities, but a fight over fundamental policy, the first thing that must be done is to make clear what the fundamental policy is, and what "path America will follow in the future."

PART 1 Appearing Below: Issues in the Fight Over Wallace and Jones

PART 2 Appearing Next Week: An Examination of Henry Wallace's Program

We have also agreed that labor has a stake—a big stake—in this fight. It has a stake in its own interests. It is not interested in the fight from the standpoint of the interests of big business, of the big monopoly capitalists. If it did, it could just as easily, or more easily, take its place in support of Jesse Jones. If it does not do this, it is because it suspects or fears or opposes the big capitalists who support Jesse Jones. It wants its own interests protected. In other words, labor is taking its position in this fight as a class. It may not be fully aware of this fact, but it is a fact nevertheless.

Let us examine this point by looking into the side of Jesse Jones.

JESSE JONES, BIG BANKER AND CAPITALIST

Behind Jesse Jones stands big American capitalism. Behind Jesse Jones stand the big bankers, the big industrialists, the masters of the economic life of the country. Behind Jesse Jones stand the united reactionaries—the reactionary Republicans, the reactionary Southern Democrats, the reactionary newspapers, the labor-haters, the union-busters, the open-shoppers, the sweat-shop idealists.

Why not? What harm has he ever done them? What has he ever done except serve them well and faithfully?

Jesse Jones is himself a banker. He is so reliable a reactionary that Herbert Hoover himself, while President, first appointed him to the Reconstruction Finance Corporation; President Roosevelt, to prove that he is a staunch friend of big business, kept Jesse Jones in that position, made that position even more important and powerful, and finally elevated Jones to the cabinet, as Secretary of Commerce.

The powers acquired by Jesse Jones under the Roosevelt Administration were little short of autocratic. In his own words before the Senate committee, he said that the RFC "can make loans in any amount, for any length of time, at any rate of interest, to anybody."

Why is big business supporting Jones? Because of the way he made "loans in any amount, for any length of time, at any rate of interest"—and because he did not make these loans to just "anybody."

In the years 1932 to 1939, of all the loans made by the RFC, four per cent of the total were for loans under \$10,000, twenty-six per cent of the total were for loans between \$10,000 and \$100,000, whereas seventy per cent of the total were for loans of more than \$100,000. In a word, most of the loans went to big business, to the large corporations, to the monopolists.

Jesse Jones does not want anyone in control of the vast RFC empire—*thirty-three billion dollars' worth* of it—who does not enjoy the complete confidence of big capital. Here is how he put it, delicately, before the Senate committee:

"I still think that somebody with a proved business experience of an extended nature is needed in charge of the RFC and its multiple organizations. It is bigger than General Motors and General Electric and Montgomery Ward, and everything else put together, and you don't hear much about it because it is being run by business men, by men experienced in business, by men who haven't any ideas about remaking the world."

Right! Why should Jesse Jones and his fellow capitalists have any ideas about remaking the world, when the world they live in is one where seventy per cent of the loans made by the RFC go to big corporations to help them out of economic disasters into which they have gotten themselves with their system of "free enterprise," and, above all, where "you don't hear much about it because it is being run by business men," that is, by the corporations themselves and their representatives? It is their world. They want to keep it the way it is. They don't want it remade. But if the seventy and more per cent of the people, the working people, are to live like decent human beings, it must be remade.

PRESS ATTACK ON WALLACE

The New York Times, the chief spokesman for "free enterprise," does not want the world remade, either. It is also for Mr. Jones. It is against Wallace. Why? Isn't the government, and all its institutions, supposed to serve the interests of all the people? That's what it says

in the Constitution! The people, and by that we mean the working people, who make up the overwhelming majority of the population of the country, have no confidence in Jesse Jones. None of them has spoken up for him to amount to anything. Rightly or wrongly, they have confidence in Wallace. That is not good enough for the Times. It is not good enough because Wallace does not have "the confidence of the business and financial community, of whose proper and legitimate interests he would, as Secretary of Commerce, be the special guardian." (January 23.)

The New York World-Telegram, another faithful spokesman for "free enterprise," is also opposed to Wallace and champions Jones in his place. Why? The World-Telegram has decided to tell the truth—to tell the brutal truth. "The brutal truth," says its editorial of January 23, "is that private business, large and small, is suspicious and afraid of Mr. Wallace. . . . An indispensable qualification for a Secretary of Commerce, we think, is that he should have the confidence of business and industry. Mr. Wallace just doesn't."

Let us grant that "business"—meaning big capital—does not have any confidence in Henry Wallace. Let us grant that Jesse Jones is right in saying the same thing.

But why should we have any confidence in big business?

All the reactionaries behind Jones tell us, along with Jones himself, that unless business men are in charge of the Department of Commerce, everything will go to the dogs. Big business will "lose its faith." It will be "frightened." It will stop production and trade. There will be no jobs, or very few jobs. Especially will this be the case if labor has anything to say in the government. "Mr. Wallace is the leader of the most radical groups in America," said Senator Byrd of Virginia. "He is the close friend and co-worker of Sidney Hillman and the extreme elements of the CIO."

Just keep labor, or anyone even friendly to it, clear away from government, and everything will be all right. Business will flourish. Jobs will be there a-plenty. Prosperity will be enjoyed by all. The economic life of the country will bloom like a sturdy plant. IF—labor is kept out of control, and everything is "run by business men, by men experienced in business, by men who haven't any ideas about remaking the world."

Who really believes that?

WHAT HAPPENED UNDER HOOVER

Under the Hoover Administration, everything was run by business men. There was not even a CIO in existence. Labor did not even have a fingernail in the government. There weren't even any strikes to speak of. There was no Henry Wallace in or near the government; no Franklin Roosevelt; no "extreme radicals" or radicals of any kind. Just business men, big business men, and they were everywhere, and controlled everything.

RESULT: The biggest economic crisis in American history.

RESULT: The biggest financial and industrial collapse ever known in this country.

RESULT: The biggest army of the unemployed we have ever seen here.

RESULT: Hoovervilles, starvation, apple-selling, unameliorated suffering by millions.

The business men continued in control. The crisis, the collapse, the mass unemployment also continued. "Free enterprise" had ideal conditions and ideal opportunities to show that it meant security, prosperity and progress for the people. It failed. It showed only one thing: *its bankruptcy.*

ROOSEVELT DIDN'T CHANGE MUCH

But that was not the case under Hoover alone. It was not fundamentally different under Roosevelt.

Roosevelt set out to make the system of "free enterprise" work in his own way. It is true that with the aid of the RFC and other government institutions, many of the big corporations were put back on their feet. They began to make profit all over again. But the basic problem remained unsolved.

Up to the beginning of the Second World War, that is, after seven years in office, the record of the Roosevelt Administration showed that there was still no security, no prosperity, no progress for the people. There were still millions upon millions of unemployed. There were no jobs for them, no decent standard of living, and no hopeful prospects.

Roosevelt tried to patch up the bankrupt system so that it could breathe a bit again. He could not and would not solve the basic problem.

It was only after the war broke out, and the United States entered it, that the problem was "solved" by Roosevelt.

Factories began working at full blast. Even new plants were put up on a grand scale. Millions of unemployed got jobs. Millions more were drawn into industrial life for the first time.

It only served to prove that the bankrupt system of "free enterprise" could "function" on a high level—

ONLY for war, but not for peace.
ONLY for the destruction of life, but not for the preservation of life.

ONLY to produce the means of destruction, but not to produce the means of life and the means of enriching life.

"Free enterprise" and the business men had their chance under Hoover. They couldn't even complain of "government restrictions" in those days.

"Free enterprise" and big business had their chance under Roosevelt. They did complain about "government restrictions," it is true.

But it is under these "restrictions" that they began making their big profits again. It is under these "restrictions" that they have been making their fabulous blood-profits since the outbreak of the war. What are they complaining about?

In both periods, "free enterprise" and its Jesse Joneses proved bankrupt—incapable of assuring work, decent living standards, security and progress to the masses of the people. The most they could do was to guarantee fat profits to the big corporations, the monopolists, the bankers, the capitalists.

The "business men" have no confidence in Henry Wallace, they say.

But why should labor have any confidence in the business men?

And why should labor have any confidence in what the business men defend so passionately and violently, the system they call "free enterprise"?

What labor needs, what labor wants, are the things Henry Wallace is talking about:

A government that will planfully assure a year-around job for all, at high wages, with a decent standard of living, assurances of good education, medical care, protection of the old and sick, all based on the highest planned industrial production.

What labor would like to know is why the government can use the greatest powers to bring production to unheard-of peaks for purposes of destruction—war—but cannot use such powers to produce for the comfort and well-being of the people in peacetime.

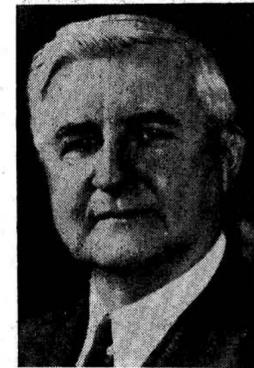
Labor says: To hell with all this talk about "free enterprise" and "control by experienced business men" if all it means is no jobs and no security; if all it means is breadlines, apple-selling, low wages and long hours.

Labor is not interested in the banker-talk of the banker-pet, Jones.

It is interested in Henry Wallace's program.

So are we. But for that very reason, let us examine that program more closely. Let us see if it really provides a solution to our problems, an answer to the ardent hopes of the people. Let us see if it really offers a way out. If we do not make this close examination, we may find that in reacting violently against the cynical and cold-blooded friends of the bankers and enemies of the workers, we have stumbled blindly into a camp which is not very much better.

We want to examine, as our main point, not only the program Henry Wallace sets forth, but what he means to do to realize it. That is our next job.



N. Y. Anniversary Meeting for V. I. Lenin

NEW YORK—The twenty-fifth anniversary of the death of V. I. Lenin, leader of the Russian Revolution and of the Russian Bolshevik Party, was commemorated here with a meeting of two hundred workers in the Irving Plaza.

Max Shachtman, national secretary of the Workers Party, told the audience that the monument of Lenin's achievements is the living and powerful concept of a Bolshevik Party. Lenin's outstanding contribution was the creation of a remarkable revolutionary instrument, a party of disciplined, thinking, self-sacrificing workers and intellectuals which suc-

cessfully led the Russian workers in the world's first successful socialist revolution.

Without such a Bolshevik Party, Comrade Shachtman reminded the audience, there would have been no October Revolution, and unless the working class once again creates such a party, the revolutionary trends and movements of the international working class will be fruitlessly dissipated. Pointing out that in the United States the Workers Party carries on the best traditions of Lenin and Bolshevism, Comrade Shachtman concluded his speech with an appeal to friends and sympathizers to take their place within the ranks of the

party, to fight for peace and socialism.

The meeting concluded with a showing of the documentary film, "From Czar to Lenin" with a commentary by Max Eastman. The film, a collection of authentic newsreel shots from both Bolshevik and Czarist sources, gives a graphic and moving account of the world-shaking events from the time of the fall of the Czar through the February revolution until the time the Bolsheviks took power and kept it, defending the revolution from the armed assaults of world imperialism by the magnificent fighting of Trotsky's revolutionary Red Army.

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THE LABOR DRAFT-Industrial Slavery

Sunday, February 11

8:15 P. M.

Labor Action Hall

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