ONE CENT

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

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### Miners, 700, Need Lest We Forget - - UAW Was Born in Struggle A Labor Party

By DAVID COOLIDGE

The regular biennial convention of the United Mine Workers of America will convene in Cincinnati on September 12 to 21. The UMWA has had a unique history and today occupies a unique place in the organized labor movement.

For decades the miners were members of the American Federation of Labor, the outstanding example of industrial union

organization in the AFL long before the formation of the CIO.

It was the miners' organization which led the fight inside the AFL for industrial unionism and later made the first cash contribution toward the beginning of industrial union organization. Not only this, but the miners also furnished the leading corps of experienced organizers for the new Committee of Industrial Organizations.

John L. Lewis, the miners' president, was the first president of the CIO and remained at its head until the fall of 1941.

Today, however, the UMWA is an independent organization: outside the AFL, where it was affiliated for fifty years, and outside the CIO, to the formation of which the miners made the largest single contribution. This means that there are today virtually three trade union organizing centers in the United States: the AFL, the CIO and the UMWA, with its District 50. The somewhat abrupt proposal made by Lewis in January, 1942, for unification of the three organizations was rejected by the AFL

and the CIO, in part through the intervention of Roosevelt (who selected a six-man board from the AFL) to ter the UMWA's application to return to the AFL was turned down with the statement that the terms demanded by the miners were not acceptable to the AFL.

The coming convention of the UMWA is the first since the wave of militant strikes of 1943 which the miners carried through. There will be many things coming up in the convention in connection with these strikes, the results and the benefits gained. The final results are not in yet. Lewis pointed out in his "Not Guilty" article in Collier's Weekly recently that the miners are still owed \$18,000,000 in back travel time pay by the operators. Also, there are many other grievances yet unsettled, as can be seen in the recent strikes

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### **Workers Party Salutes Labor Union Conventions**

By MAX SHACHTMAN

National Secretary, Workers Party The Workers Party is a national labor political organ-

ization, but it is not a trade union. LABOR ACTION is a national labor paper, but it is not the organ of any

Why, then, do both the Workers Party and LABOR ACTION concern themselves with the affairs of the American (and, for that matter, the international) tradeunion movement? Why, indeed, do they devote ninetenths of their time and activity to the work and problems of the trade union movement? Why are they so much, interested in the "internal" affairs of the unions, as well as the relations of the unions to the employers

These are questions that any trade unionist may legiti-

mately ask. They deserve a simple and clear-cut answer. The occasion of several important CIO union conventions, and especially now the convention of the UAW, which is the most important of all, is a fitting one for

In the first place, the Workers Party, as its name inplies, is a working class organization through and through. By this we mean that it stands first, last and always for the working class, for its immediate interests and for its historical interests. In every fight labor engages in, regardless of who "started" it or what mistakes labor may be making, the Workers Party is one hundred per cent on the side of the workers and opposed to their class enemies, the capitalists and the capitalist govern-

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### **Auto Union Faces Very Grave Crisis**

By BEN HALL

"The UAW faces one of the greatest crises in its history," said R. J. Thomas in ordering the striking Chrysler workers of Local 490, UAW-CIO, back to work.

It is this crisis that will confront the ninth annual convention of the United Auto Workers Union when it opens at Grand Rapids on September 11.

What is the origin of this crisis?

Thomas and his lieutenants, concerned above all else with currying favor with the Roosevelt Administration, place first responsibility upon the "undisciplined" rank and file of their



Not So Long Ago, Nor Far Away

own union, who are goaded into one "unauthorized" strike after another in a desperate attempt to defend their own union. They thereby blame, not those who have created the crisis, but those who try in the only way familiar to them, to overcome it.

The real danger to the union comes from the big monopolists, who are arrogantly whittling away the rights of the union in the shops and who seek to demoralize its membership by an unending series of provocations, all in preparation for a mighty offensive to destroy the union once and for all. and to restore open shop rule. In this

campaign they have many powerful

The big corporations are aided by the Democratic Party's representatives in Congress of the reactionary Southern landowning class and by the anti-union Republican Party, who together spearheaded the drive to put over the strike-breaking Smith-Connally bill and who are ready with a barrage of extreme anti-labor legis-

They are aided by the Roosevelt Administration, more subtle and far more clever than the open reaction-(Continued on page 3)

By CARL DAVIS

The month of September marks the end of the fifth year of the war and the beginning of the sixth. Already Second World War has outlasted the first by a year and while the signs indicate the end of the road for Germany in Europe, there is still a great war taking place in the Pacific which is destined to last for some time after the European phase

What the war has meant in terms of the slaughter of human beings, of military personnel and civilians, in destruction of property and wealth and in the dislocation of the lives of tens of millions of peoples, is impossible to tell now.

Science is organized and chained to the war machine, with the result that the most devastating weapons of destruction are devised to slaughter human beings. The good that science can do to elevate the living standards of a whole world is subjected to the control of the profit-greedy capitalist classes of the great powers.

Gigantic weapons of destruction are not the sole invention or property of the Germans; they are part of the war machinery of all countries. They reveal how capitalism devours the people during war just as it devours them in peacetime through unemployment, low wages, poverty, starvation and an exceedingly low standard of living. Milions die a slow death in

peacetime as a result of this system. Millions die quickly in wartime from more direct means. But the net result is the same.

At the beginning of the war, the people were told that this time, for sure, it was to be the last war. Yes, said the statesmen, the same thing was said in 1914, but this time we really mean it. If we can lick Hitler, Mussolini and the Emperor of Japan, we will be in a position to have a lasting peace.

President Roosevelt and Prime Minister Churchill have had many conferences. They announced that the Allies were really fighting a war for "Four Freedoms." The Atlantic Charter was going to prevent war in the

future because it would guarantee the rights of all countries to freedom and all people to a livelihood, to real honest-to-goodness free speech, free press, national independence, etc.,

But that was in the beginning. There isn't much reference to the Atlantic Charter and the Four Freedoms today, when it is clear that the Allies are fighting a victorious war.

No, war is going to be permanently avoided. We shall, say the spokesmen of Allied imperialism, try to prevent war for at least the next generation. Now all discussions center around peace plans! And what peace plans!

Naturally the main problem is Ger-

many. What shall be done about this country? Here Allied policy reveals that it has learned nothing from the war, but that its approach to the whole question is one of revenge. Revenge against whom? The fascists of Germany? Yes. And the German people, the millions of German workers? Them, too! But not the German capitalists, the real rulers of the country.

The pack is led by Stalin, who helped betray the German workers and paved the way for Hitler's rise to power. The ruling classes of America and Great Britain are right along side of him. They plan to divide up the great German nation, to prepare

(Continued on page 4)

### Join the Drive for 4000 New Subs for "Labor Action"

With this issue LABOR ACTION opens its second annual subscription drive. Our goal this year is 4,000 subs by December 15-and we'll go over the top if all our readers and friends pitch in and help us!

Those of you who read this paper regularly know that we are more than a newspaper. LABOR ACTION is a weapon!—a fighting weapon of labor in its struggle for existence, for ultimate victory over the forces of



reaction—for the victory of a program of socialist world peace and plenty for all.

LABOR ACTION is the only political newspaper in the country that has consistently fought for the interests of the working class-industrial, agricultural and white collar workers alike-regardless of race or re-

It has been in the forefront of the movement to abolish the no-strike pledge, that suicidal policy that has brought labor to its greatest crisis in three decades.

It has exposed the machinations of the War Labor Board, the war administration and Congress in their efforts to hamstring and harrass the labor movement by edict and legislation.

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sands of workers who are not yet regular readers or subscribers, to enlist them in the growing army of class-conscious workers in the fight for political, economic and social freedom.

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### NEWS AND VIEWS FROM THE LABOR FRONT

### Ford UAW Delegates Fight No-Strike Pledge

DETROIT - As the eighth national convention of the United Auto Workers-CIO opened in Grand Rapids this week, eleven of the fifteen delegates, elected by the membership of Ford Local 400 (Highland Park plant) to represent them, were pledged to carry on a fight against the no-strike pledge on the convention floor.

Under the slogan, "Scrap the No-Strike Pledge," this group, headed by Carl Bolton, vice-president of the local, and Ben Garrison, former president, conducted an energetic campaign to convince the 12,000 workers of Local 400 that now is the time to take back labor's only weapon-the right to strike.

The majority of Ford workers do not need much convincing that the no-strike pledge must be rescinded. They are completely fed up with the do-nothing policy of their union in the face of repeated and insulting provocations on the part of the company, long known as the most antiunion company in the auto industry.

During the past year there have been frequent walkouts and stoppages in the plant, in a desperate attempt by the rank and file to put pressure upon their union leadership to "do something" about their grievances, but all that the officers, both local and international, have had to tell them is "Go back to work-we must uphold the no-strike pledge."

#### ON THE BANDWAGON

So unpopular is the pledge today in Highland Park that all the opportunist office-seekers of Local 400 are pushing each other over in their haste to jump on the bandwagon and

scrap the pledge, including several who only one month ago were its firm upholders, like the Johnson brothers, who refused to run on a slate against the pledge, and William Oliver, recording secretary, who voted at the state CIO convention to maintain the pledge, but is elected one month later, pledged to the membership to fight against it.

Even the Stalinists, who last month advocated "Strict adherence to the no-strike pledge," this month dared only to say, "Fight to give the workers in the shop a vote on the no-strike pledge." It is significant that the PRESIDENT of the local, Herbert Hindmarosh, one of the outstanding proponents of the pledge. failed to win election as a delegate.

In a leaflet entitled "Why We Should Scrap the No-Sstrike Pledge," the delegates explained why it is necessary to untie labor's hands NOW if the UAW is to survive. "The Ford Motor Company uses the no-strike pledge as a club to beat labor over the head," they say. "Since the entry of the U.S. into the war, big corporations, aided by the War Labor Board, have withdrawn one concession after another from the unions, reducing collective bargaining to a mockery.... A deliberate anti-union drive, spearheaded by the Ford Motor Co., is under full sail."

#### A TIME TO ACT!

"At all Ford plants, committeemen are suspended, placed on probation, or discharged without regard for the union; contract provisions are violated and ignored, workers are reclassified or shuffled from depart-

selves at the same work at reduced wages; dozens of persecutions are invented-speed-ups on the job, withrawing of chairs from departments, timing of workers who go to the wash room-all aimed at a war of nerves against the union membership.

Time for action has come!!!"

The United Rank and File slate, which included several Stalinists, proposed that the workers in the shop be given the right to vote on the no-strike pledge. Then they proceeded to attack those who oppose the pledge-"We have sacrificed for three years to win public opinion-Don't let the 'Zoot-Suit Mickey Mouse Sweater Boys' (referring to those candidates who wore sweaters in the shop bearing the slogan 'Scrap the No-Strike Pledge') stab the GI Joes in the back, now that the war is almost won."

In other words, these people say they are willing to give the workers the right to vote on the no-strike pledge, but anyone who votes against it is betraying the soldiers. This is the same reactionary argument advanced by the anti-labor boss press, which wants to see the union movement smashed by the time the war

The Rank and File candidates continue: "If the no-strike pledge should become an issue at the convention, we will fight for a referendum vote of the rank and file membership on this question." These words reveal their true intentions. If this slate were elected, they would not even raise the question of the no-strike

pledge at the convention, important as they recognize it to be.

#### CAMOUFLAGE OF PRETENDERS

Only if the no-strike pledge should become an issue will they fight for a referendum vote, and they will do this only to prevent a definite defeat of the pledge at the convention. No referendum vote was necessary when the no-strike pledge was given by the brass hats of the union and IM-

POSED upon the ranks. Why is it necessary to have such a vote in order to rescind it? Actually, the people who ran on

this slate intend to fight to maintain the pledge which strangles labor, but in order to win some votes they pretend to be great democrats who want to give the rank and file a voice in this important question.

The eleven delegates who are opposed to the no-strike pledge are also pledged to fight for an independent Labor Party. They say:

"The War Labor Board, the job freeze, frozen wages and class taxation have all been forced upon us. For labor to have bargaining power to protect its interests and get representation where LAWS are made, it must have a political party of its own. Labor must have an Independent Labor Party!"

#### SUPPORT THE MCF!

In Michigan, the nucleus for such party has been developed in the Michigan Commonwealth Federation (discussed in previous issues of LA-BOR ACTION). If they mean what they say, these delegates have the responsibility, not only of voting for

an independent Labor Party at the convention, but of supporting and building the MCF.

Although the members of Local 400 clearly expressed their opposition to the no-strike pledge, they are generally dissatisfied with all their leaders, including the ones for whom they vote.

"Too much politics" is the most frequent criticism. By this is meant that there are too many people in positions of leadership who are interested in fighting, not for progressive unionism, but for personal advancement.

In the face of the terrific onslaught of the company against the union, Local 400 must have a firm, militant leadership which will carry on a fighting program, supported by the rank and file, to strengthen the union and regain the workers' rights in the

### FDR OK'd Business Refund, Silent on Kilgore Bill

During the Senate debate on the Kilgore-Murray bill to liberalize unemployment benefits (the bill was decisively defeated), Senators Kilgore and Downey pointed to the huge tax refunds which corporations look forward to receiving in the two years following the war. At present there is a fund of twenty-eight billion dollars (and, if the war continues another year, said Downey, it will be forty billion), all of which may conceivably be turned back to corporations to safeguard them from losses and even to keep their profits up to normal. "Normal," said Kilgore, means eight per cent on invested capital,

The two senators insisted that they were not opposed to this generosity, but felt that workers too ought to get a few crumbs.

Senator George, sponsor of the bill to keep unemployment benefits as they are (which easily passed in the Senate), is also chairman of the committee which formulates tax bills. Feeling that he was under attack, he replied that he and his committee had not originated the idea

In came from the Roosevelt Administration, he said, through Randolph Paul of the Treasury Department. Of course, George didn't oppose the idea, since he thought it was good.

Nobody in the Senate called George a liar.

In other words, Roosevelt, who now says that he has not yet formed an opinion on proposed unemployment compensation bills, supported the corporation refund proposal. So did most Republican and Democratic congressmen. Yet most of them are unwilling to make even small concessions to the workers.

## Company Provokes Hudson Strike

#### By STAFF CORRESPONDENT

DETROIT—The past several months have been trying ones for workers in the three plants of the Hudson Motor Car Company. While there has been no real collective bargaining ever since the deliverance of the nostrike pledge by labor's "leaders" to the government, there has been a concentrated effort on the part of the Hudson management to harry the union on all fronts. In particular. there has been an onslaught on the steward system in the plants, with intent to disrupt and destroy the

backbone of the union in the shop. Last month the rank and file in the shops countered a lockout of the chief stewards with a threatened walkout, thereby forcing the company to uphold the contract - but only under threat of strike.

Since that time, the management, instead of having learned a lesson. has done its utmost to provoke a walkout, through any number of underhanded tactics.

#### GRIEVANCES IGNORED

The accumulation of a thousand petty grievances over the months of July and August was an indication of trouble ahead, but management saw fit to ignore it.

Late in August, the management. suddenly bursting with patriotism, decided there was altogether too much loafing on the part of women. To remedy this in the main plant, two plant protection women, whose normal occupation is to look pretty, mored in the shop that two stewards swing swagger sticks and occasionally

escort a visitor into the plant, were assigned to patrol restrooms. These two females began to tour the plant, entering restrooms and driving the girls from them with threats, and on occasion with their swagger sticks.

These women, obviously acting under orders from E. A. (Little Caesar) Taylor, manager of the Hudson plant, continued their activities for several days, while resentment among the rank and file grew. The same thing was also occurring at the Bomber' and Gratiot plants, but the situation never grew as tense as at the main

#### MANAGEMENT WARNED

The stewards requested that management order a stop to these activities. In many cases women workers had been ordered into the restrooms by foremen to keep them from being spotted standing idle on the floor because of some mistakes on the part of supervision. In other cases, women were barred from the rest rooms before they could even enter them, regardless of need or cause. As tension mounted, management was warned to beware of the consequences.

Finally, driven to desperation by the refusal of management to bargain on this and other grievances which had piled up over the months. the workers shut off their machines and left the shop.

A terrific furor ensued. Management went about crying about "radicals" and "agitators" and it was ruwere in line to be fired.

Claude Bland, president of Hudson plant and began negotiations with management. After several hours, the union representatives returned from the negotiations with instructions to the stewards to get the workers back into the shop. Management had allegedly offered the union to negotiate its grievances.

#### THE OLD RUN-AROUND

Most of the rank and file members of the union were against a return to work until something concrete had been achieved. In order to appease the "hotheads." Bland extracted an agreement from one of the high officials of the corporation to remove the plant protection women from the restrooms. But most workers felt this was an insult, inasmuch as there were many grievances which were more important than this. However, under the pounding of the leadership, the stewards agreed to return the following day.

The next day, negotiations began between the union bargaining committee and management. After a whole day of negotiations, the stewards were informed that nothing had been settled. And so they were forced to go back into the shop and tell the rank and file which had just been pressured into going back to work that "nothing has been accomplished."

There the matter stands today. "Nothing has been accomplished." True, several more disgraceful tricks, such as docking girls for going into

Long Island City, obtained the check-off and maintenance of membership from management last year after a long period of bargaining, they won a real victory. Maintenance of membership made for the security of the union in the

the Sperry Local of Brooklyn and

face of a company only too willing and anxious to assume a union-busting role, and the check-off assured an efficient and systematic method for the collection of dues. Despite the fact that most people

considered maintenance of membership and check-off a victory, they did object to the leadership's proposal for the commencement of dues collection before any contract with the company had been signed.

#### JOB EVALUATION IN ABEYANCE

The union started collecting dues over a year before the contract with the Sperry management was signed. Sperry workers started paying dues as of April, 1943, and to this day they have yet to receive a raise based on job evaluation—a plan which is still before the War Labor Board. Several weeks ago, at the SECOND

membership meeting held in Local 450's history, the executive board, represented by Seymour Alberts at that time union secretary, began agitating the membership about the union's lack of funds. Alberts urged that union members begin circulating petitions for the purpose of amending the constitution to allow for a raise in dues. (To readers who may be puzzled by the last paragraph— other workers, cannot live on talk.

amended by the circulation of petitions, which must gather at least 300 signatures, and which are then recommended to the executive board, which in turn recommends it to the stewards' council, which at long last refers the question to the member-

Sperry Workers Got 5 Cents-

So Leaders Ask Dues Hike

#### DUES RAISE-FOR WHAT?

This appeal was followed by a series of articles in Shop News, the union newspaper, in which the membership was informed that the union was operating at a loss at present and that the union dollar doesn't go as far as it used to. Since no enterprising union membership turned up in the shop with a petition calling for the amendment of the constitution, the steward's council voted the circulation of such petitions to raise the dues \$1.50 a month.

Naturally, a union leadership which has given the membership no services whatsoever in return for its dues payments, would not and could not explain that its requested increase would be allocated exclusively to increasing its own physical comfort!

The union dollar doesn't go far enough—that is the reason given for the proposed raise in dues. The union has been in existence at Sperry for nearly two years. In that time Sperry workers have received - one five-cent raise. That is all! For the rest, there has been much talk about job evaluation - but no action - no concrete sign in Friday's pay envelope - and Sperry workers, like all

An AFL-CIO panel recently reported to President Roosevelt and the WLB that the cost of living has gone up 45.3 per cent since the Little Steel formula was instituted in January, 1942. Sperry workers' wages, including the magnanimous five-cent raise, are still close to the 1942 level. The Sperry Gyroscope Company still pays among the lowest wages in the industry of this area.

The executive board says that the union dollar doesn't go far enough. And what of the worker's dollarhow far does that go? Or does the union leadership pretend to believe that Sperry workers don't live in the world of higher priced food, clothing and rent?

However, Sperry workers, like all other workers, do live in this world. They eat, dress and pay rent to the tune of 45.3 per cent more than they did before January, 1942. Their pay envelopes have yet to expand. If the union's dollar hasn't stretched, that is doubly true of the membership's

#### RAISES SHOULD COME FIRST!

A general membership meeting must be called to discuss and reject the suggested amendment to raise the dues. Every union member in the shop should turn out at that meeting to make himself heardheard in discussion and heard and felt in the voting. The membership's answer must be-no raise in union dues! A raise in wages - and then consideration of the dues problem.

### Rubber Barons, Press, WMC Gang Up On Rubber Workers

#### By BILL FORD

AKRON, Aug. 14-All available evidence here points to the fact that the rubber barons are now engaged in a gigantic conspiracy in an attempt to confuse, undermine and silence the voice of militant members of the United Rubber Workers of America prior to their international convention in September. -

The rubber companies understand fully that "their man." Sherman H. Dalrymple, dictator-president of the URWA, may well be on his way out of office for having betrayed the interests of the union by his policy of expelling workers who have gone on strike in defense of their interests. Only recently William Jeffers, exrubber boss and president of the Union Pacific Railroad, told a banquet here: "He (Dalrymple) is the kind of labor leader you industrialists can well uphold." But the rubber industrialists already knew that well!

#### PRESS OPENS DRIVE

During the past week the New York Times carried long reports from a special reporter sent to Akron to get the "dope" on the rubber situation. Larded in with alleged facts on the direct necessity of increased military tire production to equip a mobile invasion army in Europe, this reporter dragged in as much antiunion propaganda as possible, designed to "inform" the country at large of the "terrible" tactics of militant unionists.

He was shortly followed up by a blast from Westbrook Pegler in his

usual scabby fashion, bewailing the fact that tire workers police their piecework standards effectively against "pace - setters" who try to speed up their individual production beyond the worker-established limits of daily production.

Army production officers are financing a propaganda drive costing thousands of dollars, which displays a slogan on downtown streets and in factories reading: "Make America Say, Akron OK." All of this has been designed to lead up to the proposal which has now been put forward by the War Production Board and the War Manpower Commission and which is being discussed here this week with union representatives.

This proposal asks that for ninety days-no less! - a moratorium on union seniority clauses be put into effect, to facilitate intra-plant transfers of workers to tire-building operations. Further, that workers turn out more tires during this period than their self-imposed daily limits permit, thus allowing the few "hogs" and pace-setters to sweat themselves to death and to act as a lash to spur everybody on-back to the old preunion days of keeping your nose on the grindstone.

#### A SLICK PROPOSAL

Of course the proposal makes mention that this should not be construed at all as being a permanent change! But anybody over the age of two knows well that the rubber companies, who look on the war as an excellent time to cripple the unions, would take the fullest possible advantage of such a sacrifice on the part of their workers. In the chaos which would develop among the men themselves, if this proposal were accepted, the companies would lose no time in playing off worker against

The Akron Beacon Journal roars daily: "Nothing can be permitted to stand in the way of maximum tire production." It needles "certain" local unions of the URWA with not cooperating and even encouraging preservation of piecework production limits. It claims these locals want to keep the limits on so that in the postwar period they can return to the six-hour day, preserving the eighthour pay!

#### UNION MEN, ON GUARD! If so, their stand does them and

the labor movement credit, in LA-BOR ACTION's opinion. The rubber workers have had a great deal of experience with their capitalist employers' and governmental agencies' interference with their union demands and standards. There is not the slightest reason why the unions should permit themselves to be squeezed and bulldozed on this point, even though government and Dalrymple bureaucrats wheedle or

Future issues of LABOR ACTION will deal with these and other convention problems of the URWA.

the restroom, have been tried by Local 154, UAW-CIQ, went to the management, but in the line of settlement of grievances-"nothing has been accomplished."

#### AN ISSUE FOR WHOLE UAW

No, this short "wildcat" strike was not much of a help to the rank and file. They were merely indicating to the company that they were fed up with all this stalling. The solution to this problem lies

with the delegates to the UAW-CIO

convention in Grand Rapids, when

the issue of the no-strike pledge comes to the floor for debate. If the delegates from Hudson Local and all other locals wish to go back to their shops with real power in their hands to settle grievances, they will vote to SMASH THE NO-

national union the country over. The count on labor has reached "nine." Has labor the energy and fighting heart to pick itself up off the

STRIKE PLEDGE-as a united inter-

## **UAW Local 280 Bans Incentive Pay**

280, UAW-CIO, of Continental Motors Corp., demonstrated once again their opposition to its incentive pay

candy - coated piecework scheme had been sneaked into the plant about ten months ago against the majority vote of the union membership at two successive meetings. To this day the shady "deal" that took place is not clearly understood, although most men suspect a few incentive-loving Stalinists in the shop and the War Labor Board outside as the chief connivers.

Last month the militant action of a section of the shop forced the issue once again. A referendum was held in which the old form of incentive pay and a newer, more innocentlydressed proposed plan were both voted down.

On the discussion that took place in Local 280, two leaflets were put out by some progressive militants. They pointed the finger at the Stalinists and exposed them for the boss-serving production whips that they are.

These leaflets also proved by solid facts and figures how "incentive" had overwhelmingly increased the profits of Continental Motors, as against a piddling increase in workers' pay. They ripped the camouflage off the

DETROIT - The members of Local new sweat-shop technique and argued for the elimination of piecework. The authors of these leaflets pointed out what LABOR ACTION has often stated. Incentive pay is a club the bosses use to break the solidarity of the men in the shop. Department is set against department. group against group, production against non-production. Instead of combining to fight for hourly increases for all, they are split among themselves over unequal division of

#### MEN GO "FISHING"

This was shown to be true at Continental Motors Corp. Among dozens of grievances and localized antagonisms throughout the shop, the most outstanding was the friction between production and non-production workers. Under a very confusing schedule which few even pretended to understand, the production workers were making dollars while non-production men were making nickels. The former wanted to keep incentive as it was. The latter to change the division of the bonus to give them a quarter share. The friction and discontent mounted until last month, when matters came to a head. Nonproduction workers went on a collective "fishing trip" for three days. Many workers should learn how effective such fishing trips can be, for the "fishing" was excellent! Their hook, line and sinker had caught a "whopper" in the form of an immediate referendum vote on incentive pay. The final vote between no incentive pay at all and a new and "better" form of incentive resulted in a defeat for piecework, 1429 against, 1262 for.

The closeness of the vote indicates that a large percentage of Local 289 do not yet realize the direction which the fight for higher wages should take. It is not that they are not aware of the evils of incentive. Their vote was a reflection of a feeling of helplessness in the face of the President's wage freeze and War Labor Board on the one hand and labor's no-strike pledge on the other. A frequently expressed attitude was: "Sure, incentive is no good. But what can we do? It's the only form of wage increase the War Labor Board will approve. There is no other way right now."

WAGE INCREASE VS. BONUS For any worker to adopt this attitude is to play right into the bosses' hands. THEIR WLB encourages incentive pay. (In fact, many Continental workers are pessimistic about whether the WLB will approve the elimination of incentive). THEY

pay. When workers are made to feel that the only way to wage increases is the bonus pay-scheme, that is the way the capitalists sing "Hallelujah!"

For the other way, the only direct way, is one which scares the guts cut of the capitalists.

Why can't the workers do anything? Because they were chained hand and foot by the no-strike pledge, given to the government by their (mis)leaders. With no weapons to ward off attack, it's no wonder labor is kicked around and rolled over a barrel by the capitalists. On occasion, when workers do take the wheel away from the driving bureaucrats and take a holiday or go on a "fishing trip," results are fast and good. Not years of deliberation by one WLB which after that time emits a pipsqueak of regret that it "grant" (grant, mind you, as if it were not deserved by labor) a few cents an hour. Workers' holidays produce results. One thing the capitalists know well-no workers, no profits. And that is the only kind of talk they understand.

#### LOCAL 280'S ROAD AHEAD

Local 280 should join with the other Detroit locals in a firm resolution to rescind the no-strike pledge. The majority of the local wants to rescind as does the majority of all the UAW. The local membership must therefore attend its meetings regularly and light a match under the seats of a smug and inactive local leadership.

With incentive defeated, Local 280 should join with the progressive rank and file movement in the UAW in a fight against the Little Steel formula and demand an end to the mockery of having labor members on the anti-labor War Labor Board; demand the rescinding of the no-strike pledge. The mere possession of labor's only weapon, the strike, will overnight transform labor from a bound servant to an upright freeman, fighting for his rights.

The Continental workers saw what a small "fishing trip" accomplished. The blindest should be able to see what the threat of a whaling expedition would do!

#### Readers Take the Floor. pression. I wonder if he will tell us in British sterling pounds I have to what causes a depression?

#### A Farmer Chides **Hoover and Dewey**

Old man farmer is a laborer, works like hell from morning till the sun sets. Farmers don't have any homes, just a place to work. The old hens starting to lay, eggs coming down to floor, feed bumping the ceiling. Well, Dewey says he will fix everything all right for the farmer. Well, Mr. Hoover did a very good job, he saved us a lot of work. Seventeen million people didn't have to cook only one meal a day, providing they could get something to cook. Dewey said it took a war to end Roosevelt deO. T., Durham, Mo.

P.S. - Find enclosed 30 cents for you very soon, I am LABOR ACTION.

#### New Zealander Salvages, Subscribes

Editor, Labor Action: I found your weekly in a wastepaper basket and had a look. I was amazed to read such beautiful articles and got so much interested that may I take an opportunity to ask you to send me a copy of it every

week. Please let me know how much

remit for the yearly subscription of your magazine. Hoping to hear from C. G., Wellington, N. Z.

How About a Sub

#### Flood, Jamestown? Dear Sir:

I like to come in contact with your paper, LABOR ACTION. I send you this clipping and twenty-five cents for a six-month sub. Send me the paper and if your subscription price is higher, just let me know.

J. V. D., Jamestown, N. D.

### Here is a Fighting Program for the UAW Convention --

(Continued from page 1) aries, which has avowedly replaced

the now abandoned New Deal with "Dr. Win the War"-a phrase designed to make more palatable the program of job-freezing, wage-freezing and the Little Steel formula, exand War Labor Board run-around.

And they are aided by a retreating union officialdom, headed by Thomas, Walter Reuther and George Addes, who, despite the differences among them, unite to stick a knife into the rank and file every time it acts in self-defense, suspend their local officers, and give the go-ahead signal to the companies for the firing of union militants.

As though this were not enoughthe capitalist owners of industry are setting aside billions in post-war reserve funds, accumulated from their even greater billions of blood-stained war profits. This is its war chest against a labor movement which dur-

For Big Business

A CIO report in June, 1944, showed that the cost

of living since 1941 had risen 45.3 per cent. Workers

are now paying 70 per cent more for food, 76 per

cent more for clothing, 63 per more for house furnish-

cent more for clothing, 63 per cent more for house

furnishings, 15 per cent more for rent, 15 per cent

more for fuel and 23 per cent more for "miscella-

neous." The OPA is a farce. Profiteers are uncon-

trolled, black markets flourish. Prices are still going

revising the Little Steel formula to conform to the

above facts. President Roosevelt completely silent on

CIO-AFL joint report on cost of living increase, re-

jects labor's demand for end of the wage-freeze, de-

clares his "stabilization" program a huge success.

Securities & Exchange Commission reports net

working capital of corporations AFTER taxes up from

24 billions in 1939 to 411/2 billions in 1943. AFL survey

shows corporations profits up 329 per cent before

taxes. U. S. Department of Commerce figures deter-

mine wartime increase in corporation swag at 149 per

cent AFTER taxes, reserves and "contingency pro-

bosses paid themselves anywhere from 50 to 200 per

Thomas J. Watson, Int'l Business Mach., 425,000

NO Little Steel formula on THEIR salaries. Sala-

Senate ditches anti-poll-tax bill. Roosevelt silent

on measure, doesn't even recommend "cloture" (lim-

Amendments to the Price Control and Stabiliza-

tion Act virtually destroy OPA. Bankhead amend-

ment passes, allowing price increases on work clothes

and cheaper cotton goods. Violators of price ceilings

may obtain "stay of proceedings" writs, injunctions

against enforcement, etc. FDR signs bill and praises

Congress for passing it—AFTER CIO's Phil Murray

pleads for a veto, warning that the bill only "main-

tains the pretense, not the practice, of price control."

unemployment benefits of \$25 weekly to family men

for two years (only if legitimately jobless) trans-

portation expenses for migrated workers to return

to their homes and vocational training for demobil-

ized war workers. Adopts George "states' rights" post-

war starvation bill, which leaves state unemployment

House rules out companion bills to Kilgore meas-

ure, demolishes George bill in favor of additional re-

Senate defeats Kilgore-Murray bill for post-war

Treasury Department reports on salaries for 1942:

visions." Corporation profits still on the upgrade.

Wages still frozen.

cent more than 1940; a few:

ries still going up.

Eugene Grace, Bethlehem Steel

Alfred P. Sloan, General Motors

P. W. Litchfield, Goodyear Rubber

itation on filibustering) to the senators.

War Labor Board continues its year-long stall on

ing the war finds its wages frozen while prices rise, and which after the war faces mass layoffs and unemployment.

That is the real cause of the crisis in the UAW. What program can the UAW adopt

orbitant taxation on wage earners to meet the crisis and emerge from it with renewed power and vigor? The brass hats of the union cling

frantically to two dogmas: 1. Uphold the no-strike pledge and 2. Support the Roosevelt Administration by building the Political Action Committee of the CIO and oppose the formation of a genuine Labor Party. These stultifying precepts must be abandoned.

Every worker who has been active in his union for more than a day, every committeeman and every steward knows by now that when the union officialdom surrendered the right to strike the unions became impotent, unable to enforce their contracts, and helpless in settling impor-

The Real Score for 1944

200.800

175,000

rank and file has been and is compelled to act without and against their own top leadership in hundreds of "unauthorized" walkouts.

In most cases, these stoppages, isolated and sporadic, attacked by the Thomas-Reuther-Addes combine and persecuted by the War Labor Board, end without victory for the workers and succeed only in making the management hesitate only momentarily before the next provocation.

The Communist Political Association is the most vicious strike-breaking outfit inside the labor movement. It put out a feeler to discover how far it could go with reactionary policies when Harry Bridges announced publicly that he favored retention of the no-strike pledge in the post-war period. The CPA pulled in its horns when this proposal met with the unanimous condemnation of the en-

At the Michigan state convention

For the Workers

tant grievances. Aware of this, the of the CIO, the Reuther faction introduced its usual resolution endorsing the no-strike pledge, but this time it felt constrained to repudiate Bridges, condemning those "inside or outside the labor movement who propose to continue the no-strike pledge in time of peace."

#### CHANGE THE COURSE

Why repudiate the pledge in time of peace? Obviously because it disarms labor. But is labor not equally disarmed NOW? Of course! Reuther himself knows it. During the recent strike of Chevrolet Local 25, he said: "Collective bargaining in too many plants has become collective begging." And months ago the officers of the UAW announced publicly: "In entire sections of the industry . . . collective bargaining is being denied our workers." There could be no clearer statement of the direct results of the no-strike pledge.

Why not withdraw the no-strike pledge NOW and do away with "collective begging"? Reuther, Addes and Thomas will explain for the thousandth time that we are now engaged in a great "war for democracy" and that nothing must interfere with its progress. The boys in the foxholes don't strike, etc., etc.

Supporters of LABOR ACTION realize that the slogans of "democracy," "freedom," "national liberation" in this war are deceitful camouflage to hide the real aims of the ruling capitalist class. But, of course, there are scores of thousands of UAW members who are not yet convinced of this and who hope that somehow the war will further the fight against fascism and advance the cause of democracy.

Democratic rights are justifiedly cherished by all working men. That is the reason why we cannot permit our unions to become weakened and destroyed. The first act of victorious fascism has always been the destruction of the right to strike and with that the complete wiping out of the trade union movement.

The aim of the big corporations NOW is the crushing of the UAW and the undermining of our democratic rights. That is why THE FIGHT FOR DEMOCRACY BEGINS RIGHT HERE AT HOME!

Referring to the General Motors Corporation, Reuther charged: "It is becoming increasingly apparent that the corporation is using every pretext to weaken and undermine the UAW-CIO in the hope of destroying its power in the post-war period."

The same is true of the Ford Motor Company, which in Windsor, Ont., tried to revoke its contract with the UAW, and of the Chrysler Corporation, which at a WLB hearing said it was willing to deal with the union after the war "if they are here."

#### END NO-STRIKE PLEDGE

. If the companies are NOW "undermining" the union in order to "destroy its power" and if the no-strike pledge ties our hands, then is it not clear that we must revoke the pledge to counter this attack? No, says Reuther! And he explains: "We do not feel that the showdown with General Motors Corp., which must come sooner or later, should be fought under circumstances and in an atmosphere favorable to the corporation."

Reuther has things upside down. If we go through the entire war period bound by the no-strike pledge-and how long the war will last no one can say-we will then permit the company to fight out the battle when it is strongest and we are weakest-"under circumstances favorable to

would permit his army to be cut to pieces, battalion by battalion.

According to Reuther's defeatist

formula, we passively allow the corporations NOW to undermine the unions-by firing the best militants, by refusing to settle grievances, by ignoring the contract, and by provoking isolated sporadic partial walkouts which can very easily be smashed. What this is leading to we all know-the slow dissipation of the strength of the unions and the gradual demoralization of the membership. Hundreds of workers, especially those who have been in unions only since the war, put the blame for all the petty persecutions visited upon them not where it really belongs, on the companies and the Thomas-Reu-

the corporation." He is a general who ther-Addes leadership, but where it ery thinking worker wants to dedoes NOT belong-on the union itself. The companies carefully nurture this error. The Reuther - Addes - Thomas policy leads to the undermining of the union!

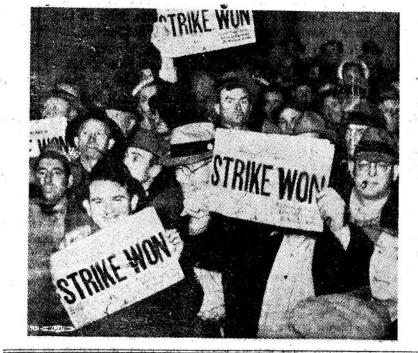
> In the post-war period we face unemployment and job shortages. NOW, however, many companies are desperate for labor. When did a long line of unemployed outside a factory gate become a circumstance favorable to labor?

Yes, we still may win that battle, even under the worst circumstances. but it will be a far bloodier, more costly and more drawn out battle than what we need face.

The time to revoke the no-strike pledge is NOW.

No worker likes to strike. But ev-

"We Did It Before . . ."



fend his union. When other methods fail to protect the union and working conditions, he is compelled to strike.

Those who propose to rescind the pledge do not favor a "wild spree" of strikes, but insist that the defense of the unions be taken up in a systematic plant - wide and companywide basis to reinvigorate the union movement and put an end to company provocation.

The restoration of the right to strike is of first importance, but that step must be supported and defended by other measures.

Behind the employers stands the notorious War Labor Board.

If workers are on strike, insists the War Labor Board, it will not consider their demands. Just as the employers reject every union demand and jeer: "What are you going to do about it?," so the WLB folds its arms and orders despotically: "Go back to work or we won't talk, and what are you going to do about it?"

And if you are "reasonable" and don't strike, the WLB will consider your demands in due time - at its leisure-and then reject every important demand on pretext of fighting inflation through the Little Steel

The WLB is not an impartial public board, but a "War Bosses Board"; its decisions and decrees are those of the big capitalists and their lawyers. Labor representatives, captives of the employers and of the pro-boss professors, who use the nom de plume of "public representatives," make diplomatic protests, propose resolutions which are rejected, and accomplish nothing. To expose its anti-labor nature to all, we must insist-Let all union officials GET OFF THE WAR LABOR BOARD.

To defend the right to strike and to be free of the dictates of the WLB, the labor movement must organize its own independent Labor Party. That is a subject discussed elsewhere

### Workers Party Greets Unions--

(Continued from page 1) In the second place, the Workers Party is a socialist and international-

ist organization. It works for the establishment of a socialist society, that is, a society organized without class division or privilege or rule, and operating exclusively for the benefit of the producers of wealth, the men and women who work with hand and brain. Such a society, we believe, is possible and necessary. It is an inevitable successor of the bankrupt system of capitalism under which labor-

is now exploited and oppressed. Such a society of free men, living and working amid abundance and in security and peace, can be established only by a workers' government which lays the foundations for it. A werkers' government is simply a government ruled by the workers in their own interests, and not in the interests of a handful of capitalist monopolies.

We cannot even think of such a government except as one established by the organized working class, certainly not as one established "in its name" by a minority which does not enjoy the support of organized labor.

The organized working class today is the trade union movement. Without the agreement and active support of the majority of this movement, any hope of a workers' government, to

say nothing of socialism, is an empty dream. We therefore say openly that the winning of this support for socialism is the main aim of the Workers

But the struggle for socialism is not merely for something far-off. It is a fight for the best interests of the workers NOW, as well as tomorrow. Why? Because if these interests are not defended today, there will be no working class movement tomorrow capable of fighting for its highest and noblest goal-complete freedom.

We of the Workers Party simply aim at having the workers take over complete, democratic control of the unions. We want to see a thoroughly militant and aggressive working class policy adopted in the unions, so that labor no longer truckles to the bosses and their government, but fights them consistently with the aim of establishing its own government.

We urge a radical break with all capitalist politics in the unions (which is the kind of politics the labor leaders are now carrying on) and the adoption of working class politics, beginning with the formation of a national Labor Party, completely independent of the two capitalist par-

Naturally, the trade union leaders, the bureaucrats and the Stalinists do

workers throughout the ranks of la-

bor: Don't support either of these

two capitalist parties. Don't throw

away your vote. "But there is an

election coming," you reply, "and we

must vote for somebody." That is

what we have been taught by the

capitalist politicians and the capital-

ist employers; that we have to vote

for their candidates; that if we don't

vote for their hand-picked candi-

dates, then we throw away our vote.

not like our program and the educational work we conduct. That is why they fight so bitterly against our ideas and even lie about them. Therefore, we are compelled to fight against them and their harmful activities. That is why we are compelled to speak up clearly and boldly about all important union problems and ac-

These problems are not the private affairs of bureaucrats, but of the whole working class, which we are part of. And we permit ourselves to say that we are a million times more a part of the working class and the labor movement than are the capitalists and capitalist spokesmen with whom the present labor leadership works hand in glove and whom they always invite to union conventions for speeches and "good advice."

Always with the workers! Always in support of the workers and their struggles! Always with the union movement! That is the position of the Workers Party.

That is why we invite the attention of the most militant union men to an examination of our program and our work, and to affiliation with our party if they are prepared to join the great, world-wide fight for the free socialist society of tomorrow.

# Miners, Break with Mine Owners' Parties -- Build a Labor Party!

(Continued from page 1)

benefits where they are today.

actionary deletions.

and stoppages in eastern and western

The .1943 strikes of the miners had the most stimulating effect on the labor movement. These actions by the UMWA created great enthusiasm among the most militant and aggressive workers in the CIO unions. These strikes, coming as they did at the time when the AFL and CIO leaderships were most vociferous in their support of the no-strike pledge, demonstrated to the ranks of labor that here at least was one labor union that did not intend to accept the no-strike pledge as an eternal principle of the labor movement, or to cringe before an anti-labor WLB.

#### A WELCOME MILITANCY

The Workers Party and LABOR ACTION enthusiastically welcomed this militant action by the miners and their great organization. LABOR ACTION supported the four strikes of 1943 without qualification and without reserve. In fact, LABOR AC-TION, so far as we have been able to learn, was the only labor paper in the United States (aside from the UMWA Journal, of course) which gave full and unqualified support to the miners in these struggles right from the beginning.

LABOR ACTION understood the issues involved and the justice of the demands the coal diggers were making. Furthermore, and just as important, we know what kind of union the UMWA is. We knew that if their demands were not met the miners would lay down their tools and remain away from the mines in the most disciplined and loyal manner. This they did in 1943 on four separate occasions. They should have had the most enthusiastic support of the whole labor movement.

#### ORGANIZE THE SOUTH!

Another field of organizing which the UMWA with its District 50 could take the lead in is among the agricultural workers in the South. Here are the most miserably exploited workers in the United States, black and white. They want to be organized. They would be among the most loyal and courageous workers in the whole labor movement. The UMWA could render a great service both to these workers and to the labor movement if it should begin to organize these agricultural workers, sharecroppers and tenant farmers in the

The UMWA convention will have up for consideration the continually recurring contention over the matter of autonomy for the districts. For some weeks past, Ray Edmundson of District 12 has been carrying on a campaigr in connection with the autonomy issue. LABOR ACTION has already expressed its opinion on the matter of autonomy and of the Edmundson "revolt." We said that we believe that all the districts should have autonomy, as this is understood and practiced in the UMWA. This should be the rule and not the exception. We can understand that at times, in the interests of union welfare it necessary for the international board to assume control and administration of a subordinate section. But such administration should be temporary and only for the purpose of protecting the local, the district and the international. As soon as this has

In general, we believe that the lift-

been achieved, autonomy should be

administrators is undemocratic and quite often extremely reactionary. The trade union movement can only make genuine progress by the most

enlightened and democratic proce-

we do not intend that these observa-

tions shall serve as an endorsement

of the Edmundson campaign. While

we are for full democracy in the

UMWA and all other union,s, we are

a little suspicious of the Edmundson

movement. We would like to know

just to what degree, if any, the Dem-

ocratic Party nationally and in Illi-

nois is involved and whether or not

the Stalin-Browder Communist Po-

ing of charters, the suspension of litical Association is crawling inside union officers and the appointment of the pants leg of some of the Edmund-

#### THE POLITICS OF REACTION

All of these things are important, but the biggest issue that will come before the UMWA convention is the As LABOR ACTION said before, political issue. Lewis and the UMWA two capitalist parties.

Journal have already come out in

support of the Republican Party and

Dewey. Lewis and the editor of the

Journal pretend to see in the prom-

ises of the Republican Party platform

something of value to the working

class and organized labor far supe-

rior to anything which the Demo-

Lewis evidently believes what the

Republican platform says about it

cratic Party has to offer.

opposition to the freezing of wages and its protestations on labor front trends of the Roosevelt government. This is certainly a very naive and we might say non-political manner for the leader of a great organization like the Miners Union to render or withhold political support to either of the

#### A Strike Threat Won This—The Miners Retained the Habit

In his stand, Lewis is fundamental-

other labor leaders. He and Hutche-

son go to the Republicans. Tobin and

Party offers nothing to labor, do we

intend the inference be drawn that

the miners and the rest of labor

should support the Democratic Party?

When we say that the Republican

Murray go to the Democrats.

ORGANIZE LABOR'S OWN PARTY We don't have to vote for the candidates of the Republican and Democratic Parties, the two capitalist parties. We can organize our own party, a LABOR PARTY, and vote for our own candidates; labor's candidates selected from the ranks of labor and under our own control.

The fact that we have not organized our party yet is no reason for supporting the capitalist parties. We can start today attending to our own political business as workers, Important labor conventions take place before the November elections. We can start in these conventions with resolutions for independent working class political action and a Labor Party. .

PAY RISE, 40-HR. WEEK, RECOGNITION; For the railroad workers' paper, Labor, and the UMWA to chastise the CIO Political Action Committee for chasing after Roosevelt and themselves go chasing after the Republily neither better nor worse than the can Party and Dewey, is no answer to the anti-labor policies of the Roosevelt government.

> The miners cannot settle the labor problems of the day by mere adverse criticism of the CIO and AFL. In the political field, where all important questions must be answered today, the UMWA is not one step in advance We do not. We say to our fellow of the AFL and CIO. This is a serious

matter for such a militant organization as the UMWA. Here we see tremendous and outstanding militancy on the one hand and appalling political backwardness and indifference on

#### A GREAT CHOICE FOR MINERS

The choice for the miners and labor is not the petty bickering that goes on in our ranks among the leaders as to which capitalist politician we have put into office, but for all of labor to decide to get rid of the whole crew of boss-dominated capitalist politicians. Not whether to vote for Roosevelt or Dewey, but to reject and repudiate both of them; the parties which they represent and the capitalist masters whom they serve.

A mass party of labor is the answer. The miners took the lead in militant trade union action. They took the lead in breaking away from the outworn practices of craft unionism and established the industrial union movement. Let them break from outworn political action, from subservience to capitalist political parties and candidates. Let them take the lead in forming labor's own independent party: a national Labor

> **GET INTO THE NEW SUB DRIVE** NOW! - TODAY! See Page 1

### Editorials

### The High Cost of Cost of Living Surveys

how much the cost of living has actually risen, the National Industrial Conference Board, research agency of big business, crows that the score is four to one. Four investigations prove that the Bureau of Labor Statistics is right or almost right and only the CIO-AFL study shows that the official figures are way off.

The four "good" investigations were made by the American Statistical Association, the Bureau of Labor Statistics itself, the Conference Board and the Mitchell Committee of so-called expert economists.

We suggest that all investigators with spare time now devote themselves to the official cost-of-living index for farmers, which the Bureau of Agricultural Economics of the Department of Agriculture issues. As previously reported by the labor investigators and by this paper, the index for farmers agrees almost perfectly with the labor report and shows a rise in costs about twice as big as the BLS figures

from December, 1940, to March, 1944. BAE and labor investigators report 45

Apparently BAE officials have become alarmed about their index. According to the Wall Street Journal, important financial daily, in its August 29 issue, the BAE believes that a major reason why their index is so high is that farmers buy "low price items," in which the most drastic increases have taken place.

Some explanation, huh? What do work-

Here's still another cost-of-living study to investigate. A reputable research organization in California finds that a single working woman in that state, who in the period from 1939 to 1941 needed \$1,100 to live on a minimum budget basis, now needs \$500 more (New York Times, August 30). This is an increase of 45 per cent. Where have we heard that figure before?

We believe that the above will give in-

In the great battle of investigations over admit. BLS reports a 23 per cent rise vestigators plenty to do for some time to come. But what are the unions going to do? Are the union conventions going to authorize more of these never-ending investigations? Satisfy themselves with endorsing the labor investigations? Send delegations to the President? Or are they going to take some real action at last?

#### LABOR ACTION A Paper in the Interests of Labor

Published Weekly by the LABOR ACTION PUBLISHING ASSN. 114 West 14th Street New York 11, N. Y. (Third Floor)

September 11, 1944 Vol. 8, No. 37 ALBERT GATES, Editor T. R. COBB, Asst. Editor

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### The Sixth Year of 2nd World War --

a peace that will make the infamous framers of the Versailles Treaty appear as Good Samaritans.

Will this guarantee a future peace? Is it helping now to cut the ground from under Hitler at home? No, it is doing everything to keep the German people welded to a regime which it hates, because it fears just as much the prospects of Allied and Russian

Can the Allies keep a nation of sixty to eighty millions split up into fragments? Won't it awaken the strongest feelings for national unity and independence? Of course, it will. But the Allied policy is one calculated to take revenge on a people who had the fascist regime foisted upon them from above, from the very classes which rule in England and America, the capitalists.

The capitalists of Germany, the financiers and industrialists, paid for Hitler, arranged for him to become Chancellor and helped the victory of his party which never had won a majority support in the country and which at all times had the whole German working class against him.

But Hitler was hailed by the capitalists all over the world, because he

movement, the workers' political parties, and saved the profit system in Germany.

Great Britain, the United States, with Stalin's complete support, are determined to prevent any social change in Europe. They have declared that they will seek to prevent any overthrow of the present industrial and financial classes of Germany. In other words, they will do everything in their power again to prevent the German masses, the workers and the poor peasants from asserting their will in establishing a true government of the people, a workers' givernment, of genuine peace, freedom and security

This was the policy pursued in Italy, where the action of the workers was a direct factor in aiding the overthrow of Mussolini. Once Mussolini fled. Allied policy in Italy made use of the despicable monarchy and its fascist and semi-fascist henchmen. There, too, the main Allied policy was to prevent the rise of the militant labor movement and the workers from taking power. Instead, all the remnants of the old liberals, who didn't know how to fight fascism when it arose, and those who were

showed the way to defeat the labor living "quiet" lives under Mussolini, were resurrected to rule Italy.

> France, too, saw a movement of the people in the underground which participated, actively in the war against the German oppressors. The partial liberation of Paris by the organized Parisian underground was an example of the heroism, organization, devotion and skill of the most advanced section of the French working class. In France, as elsewhere, the Allies are determined that these movements shall not get out of hand, shall not bring about any social change benefitting the people.

The advance into Rumania, this

time by the forces of the Red Army. disclosed that Stalin pursues the same policy as the Western capitalist powers. No social changes, no interference with the barbaric regime of King Michael, who silently permitted the slaughter of workers, Jews and peasants—all in the interests of the Rumanian landlords and profiteers. It has been reported that the Red Army, in those areas of Rumania which they conquered, refused to interfere in the rule of the existing government, even to the extent that anti-Semitic laws were permitted to

The Allied imperialists are desperately afraid of the intervention of the people, of the workers' rebellion. of the socialist revolution which would uproot the profit system and establish a system of production for use, for the improvement of the lives of the people; a system which would guarantee peace by eliminating the competitive struggle for markets and raw materials, for profit; a system in whihe genuine equality would replace the inequalities of capitalism with its unemployment, its poverty, its murderous, futile and endless

And what will have been achieved after such a victory, after the great slaughter? The reestablishment of conditions which can only lead to the outbreak of a Third World War, for which all the powers are now preparing even before this one is over.

One can see that there is no real hope for future peace except through the abolition of capitalism which is the evil breeder of fascism, miltarism and war. The sole hope for humanity, the hope of civilization, lies in the establishment of a socialist society of production for use, of genuine freedom and equality. Socialism alone can prevent a Third World Slaughter.

# S.W.P. Acted Coy on the Negro Question at M. C. F.

Editor:

A report on the recent convention of the Michigan Commonwealth Federation appears in the August 12 issue of The Militant. For narrow sectarian and partisan reasons, the author of that report omits any discussion of at least two-thirds of the important question in dispute at the convention, although he finds ample space to give us a brief history of the MCF and to list the officers elected at the convention in detail.

In the same issue of the paper, another writer, Charles Jackson, under the heading, "The Negro Struggle," discusses that plank in the MCF platform referring to the Negro which demands that segregation and discrimination be made a criminal offense. Jackson writes:

"The flatfooted demand for laws making SEGREGATION OF RACES by any public institution, private business, organization or individual a CRIMINAL OFFENSE is the fulcrum of the entire race question. (All emphasis by Jackson.)

"A program must include this demand if it is intended to really pull up racial oppression by its vicious roots. Halfway platforms which take a few noisy steps but do not reach this balance point will not tip the board to the other side.

There was a heated and lengthy discussion on the Negro question at the MCF convention and the above plank making Jim Crowism a criminal offense was the final victory of that discussion. Despite the importance of this question and despite the vigorous debates, John Saunders, who wrote the report on the convenmake clear to The Militant's readers that this matter was discussed. Worse still, he does not even mention at all the Negro question or the plank on the Negro in his entire report. Yet Jackson considers this plank "the fulcrum of the entire race question."

A simple oversight? No. a deliberate omission! And this is only one such omission.

At the convention (reported in LABOR ACTION of August 14) a motion was made to insert a demand for "full social, political and economic equality for Negroes" into the declaration of principles. This proposal was voted down on the ground that a strong statement on the Negro question belonged in the platform.

But the platform, reported out later, did not propose to make Jim Crowism a criminal offense. It proposed what Jackson might call a "noisy step"—to make Jim Crowism "illegal." (As everyone knows, it is

#### A Letter on Poland "The Militant" DIDN'T Print

(A reader, Darwin Deen of San Francisco, sends us a copy of a letter he wrote to The Militant, spokesman of the Socialist Workers Party. For its own embassarring reasons, The Militant did not print the letter. We do so gladly-Editor.)

San Francisco, Cal., July 27, 1944. The Militant, 116 University Place, New York, N. Y.

I note with interest your report on Poland under "International Notes" in the July 15 issue of The Militant.

You state that "Poland has an underground labor movement which, according to the best information on the subject, is class-conscious to the highest degree." What you then proceed to quote from the Polish underground paper "Gwardia Ludowa" seems to bear this out. The instructions that this paper gives to workers' fighters' detachments and commanders of these units to "inculcate in members the consciousness that they fight not for another's privately-owned means of production but their own socially-owned factory; they must conquer the factories for themselves..." is an inspiring message in the best socialist tradi-

Then you go on to say that "the Polish workers will surely not fight to get possession of the factories just in order to turn them over to the Polish exploiters-neither those in Poland who are collaborating with the Nazis, nor the émigré section which has attached itself to the reactionary Polish government-in-exile. Poland's underground labor movement has been greatly inspired by the military victories of the Red armies of the Soviet Union, because they associate the Soviet Union with the great October Revolution which expropriated the Russian capitalists and landlords. They are anti-Stalinist but pro-Soviet."

The above is a significant and highly important statement. What proof can you give me that the revolutionary Polish workers who are anti-Stalinist are hailing and draw their inspiration from the victories of the Red Army when they are acutely aware of the despotism that awaits them also from the source and from the Polish émigrés of the Polish Committee of National Liberaiton who are today in Moscow and who will follow in the wake of the victories of the Red Army?

This is one group of counter-revolutionary émigrés that you fail to mention. Are not they also preparing to wrest from the Polish workers the factories which the latter wish to socialize? These Stalinist émigrés represent a major threat to the socialist aspirations of the Polish workers. And what will establish their stranglehold on the Polish workers? Precisely the victories of the Red Army in Poland. It is therefore inconceivable to me that anti-Stalinist revolutionaries in Poland can hail the victories of the Red Army. Could you if you were in Poland? Again I ask proof regarding this state of mind of the Polish Workers.

"illegal" to park near a fire hydrant but not a "criminal offense.")

As a result of the previous fight on the Negro question, the committee agreed to make the change which is the "fulcrum of the face question."

Why was The Militant's report silent on this? Because every classconscious militant knows that it is his elementary duty to fight for racial equality and because the main supporters of The Militant's policies maintained a despicable silence all through this crucial discussion.

The fight was made instead by those usually denounced by The Militant as "petty bourgeois adventurers." Truly embarrassing for Saunders. "R-r-r-evolutionaries" are silent on the race question while "petty bourgeois adventurers" deal successfully with "the fulcrum of the entire race question.

So embarrassing that Saunders, on this and other questions, maintains a profound and prudent silence on what really happened at the MCF convention.

### Defeat of the Kilgore Bill Poses a \$64 Question

By WALTER WEISS

Knowing that a great wave of unemployment is rapidly approaching, all the labor organizations united in support of the Kilgore-Murray bill for liberalizing unemployment benefits and making them uniform throughout the nation.

It was an extremely modest bill, far too modest really to meet the needs of the workers and the demands of the coming crisis. An unemployed worker would receive for as long as 52 weeks three-fourths of his average wartime earnings but not more than \$35 a week. Only one worker in eight could qualify for this top amount. Not only would his average earnings have to be at least \$48, but he would also have to have three dependents. An unmarried worker would have been entiled to a maximum of \$20.

As Senator Kilgore explained in debate, the man who was lucky and hit the jackpot for \$35 would be able to afford one-third of a new suit a year for himself and similar luxuries in clothing, food and shelter for his family.

#### PRESS UNITED AGAINST WORKERS

The newspapers and most of the senators, however, could not find words harsh enough for the Kilgore bill. It would bankrupt the Treasury, they said, and-worse yet-make us a nation of loafers by making unemployment "blissful." Actually, of course, they feared that it might offer some moderate obtascle to the post-war wage-cutting drive that is being planned by industry.

Kilgore and his handful of followers were willing to compromise. Make the maximum (except for ex-servicemen, who could still get \$35) \$25 and the minimum \$8,

they offered. This too was flatly rejected. The senators did not care to commit themselves directly on Kilgore's proposals. Parliamentary procedure limited the actual voting to the "conservative" George bill, which was adopted with only nineteen negative votes. A few of the nineteen were senators who wanted no bill at all.

The George bill was a so-called "states' rights" bill. It left the amount and duration of benefits to the individual states. Most states pay a maximum of \$15 a week, the highest being Connecticut with \$22. In general, a worker receives half of his previous earnings, provided this sum does not exceed the maximum. Minimums run about \$7, in many states less than that, in Alabama \$2. In most states benefits can last no more than 16 week. The best state in this respect is California with 23 weeks.

During the Senate discussion President Roosevelt said not a word. Neither, of course, did Governor Dewey, that great champion of states' rights.

When the George bill had been passed by the Senate and sent to the House Ways and Means Committee. "Assistant President" Byrnes, as he is commonly known, recommended that it be "liberalized" by fixing a maximum payment of \$20 and a maximum duration of 26 weeks. Liberal newspapers, like PM, charged that Byrnes was sabotaging the President's plans for a better postwar world, but the President himself, having spoken through Byrnes, continued to say nothing.

The House committee proceeded to take out what little guts the George bill had: vocational training for displaced war workers, travel costs to return home for workers who had moved to take war jobs, and coverage for about three million employees of the federal government, who, under the present set-up, are not eligible for

After this had happened the President did speak. When asked for his opinion at a press conference, he said that "he had read original copies of the George bill and of the Kilgore-Murray bill . . . but he added that he had not kept up with the many changes made in both and had formed no opinions" (New York Times, August 29). Let the President's liberal and labor friends explain his know-nothingism on so important a measure.

The House naturally took courage from the President's attitude and proceeded to adopt the views of its Ways and Means committee.

The Kilgore bill was not even presented in its original form in the House. The \$35 maximum was dropped except for veterans, and \$25 was proposed. Then this was modified to Byrnes' \$20 for 26 weeks. Nevertheless, both proposals were overwhelmingly defeated. The few compromise features of the George bill met a similar fate. The representatives went even further than the senators in abusing parliamentary procedure. They refused to put themselves individually on record in any way, by rejecting every proposal for a roll-call vote.

#### THE PRESIDENT VS. THE SERVICEMEN

It is worth observing that the President and Congress, by their treatment of the Kilgore bill, have given a rooking to servicemen too. The GI "bill of rights" grants no more than \$20 to unemployed veterans for a period of 52 weeks, while he Kilgore bill would have fixed a maximum of \$35. Further, mustering out pay, now set from \$100 to \$300, would have been considerably increased, so thta an overseas veteran with four years of service and three dependents would have received

The record, often reviewed in the pages of LABOR ACTION, proves fully that the Republican Party, including Dewey, and the Democratic Party, including Roosevelt, have supported all the anti-labor developments that the war has brought: Connally-Smith antistrike law, Little Steel formula, job freezing, skyrocketing prices, exorbitant profits, sabotage of Negro legislation. The Kilgore bill has merely given them one more opportunity to show their true character.

What do the unions, what does the CIO's Political Action Committee propose to do about the Kilgore bill now? The leaders will, no doubt, blame it all on the Republicans and the poll-taxers (a term used to cover the fact that the Southern Democrats belong to the Demicratic Party). They will praise Roosevelt, the savior, louder than ever. They will oppose with all their resources, as Sidney Hillman last week ingratiatingly but honestly told a congressional committee, every sign of an independent party of labor.

That may be OK for Hillman, Murray et al but the workers and returning servicemen will not forever take "No" for an answer to their just demands.

### The "States Rights" Record

lican state governments alike.

The magazine Business Week, in its issue of August 26, performs a public service by tabulating the state laws regulating labor unions which appeared on the statute books of state legislatures during 1942 and 1943.

BW also reports that in addition to the ten states listed below, Massachusetts, Michigan, Pennsylvania and Mississippi have laws controlling the functions of trade unions. At the present time, various reactionary groups are circulating petitions in several states to

put the following on state referendum ballots: outlawry of the closed shop; "right to work" amendments (refusal to join union, right to scab). These restrictions were passed during the third presidential term of "Friend of Labor" Roosevelt and were shoved through against the opposition of the labor unions by Democratic and Repub-

State Ala.	Financial Statements Filed annu- ally; open to public.	Union Membership Free or join or not join.			ty vote reported within 24 hours.	Programmy Section of the Control of	strike.	Legal Status Law upheld in one test; another pending.
Ark.			No force or threat may be used to prevent anyone from working	No assembly at or near place of la-	- Alerta sara	Michigan de Les Internacionalisa	Felony, 1 to 2 years in state prison.	Two convictions upheld by State Supreme Court.
Colo.	Industrial commis- sioner makes an- nual exam- ination.	or not join. Free to join			By majority vote on 20 days' notice (30 in agricultural work).		\$50 to \$100 fine.	Case to be argued in State Supreme Court Sept. 5.
Fla.	Filed annually; open to members.		No secondary picketing	. ,	By secret majori- ty vote. No force or violence. No jurisdictional strike.	Agents, must be citizens of good character, ap- proved by Gov- ernor.	Criminal.	Case argued in lower court. No decision.
Idaho	Filed annually.		Forbidden on agricultural premises. No secondary boycotting.	No agent may en- ter premises with- out owner's con- sent.			\$300 fine, 90 days.	Unconstitutional (State Circuit Court).
Kan.	Filed annu- ally.		No violent picket- ing or secondary boycotting.		By majority vote. No sitdowns or jurisdictional strikes.	Agents must be citizens.	Revocation of agent's license.	No decision on case argued in court.
Minn.	Union must report to members.	, , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , ,	No interference with marketing of agricultural products.		7.3	*	Labor referee can disqualify union.	No test case.
S. D.	Filed annually:		ricultural prem- ises. No secondary	No agent may en- ter premises with- out owner's con- sent.			\$300 fine, 90 days.	Unconstitutional (State Circuit Court) ecept filing returns.
Texas		Public hear- ing before expulsion.				Agents must be citizens without criminal record.	dividual, \$500, 60 days.	No decision on appealed case.
Wis.	T. T.		No violence. Majority vote required. Limited to employees.	4	By majority vote.			Two U. S. Su- preme Court tests did not determine constitutionality.