# **No-Strike Repeal Fight Brings Rumor FDR to Hike Wages**

A rumor is in the air. Roosevelt is reported to be thinking of giving a ten per cent raise to all labor. Philip Murray has stated before the UAW convention that he is confident "as sure as I'm living, that the Little Steel wage formula will be revised."

Why, all of a sudden, does it appear as though labor is being handed on a silver platter what it has been fighting for tooth and nail since the Little Steel formula was first

hung around its neck? For two reasons: 1. There is a large and growing movement in the ranks of labor, as exemplified at the UAW convention, to break the no-strike pledge. This is the first and most important prod to Roosevelt. The mere talk of rescinding the pledge is getting some results.

2. Roosevelt, together with the big labor leaders, wants to stop the dissatisfaction in the ranks of labor and guarantee himself the labor vote in the November elections. Thus, it is also a rank political scheme.



Let us look at the "equality of sacrifice" calendar and see what Roosevelt is really promising the workers of this country.

But before we start getting jubilant about that promised thicker

pay envelope, let's think a moment. Is this a real boon to labor?

First off, Murray and FDR are trying to keep the workers from

Big business, since the beginning of the war, has been piling up enormous war profits!

Big business took care of itself with big raises in salaries, with special bonuses and pensions-in other words, it took the lion's share out of the war economy.

SEPTEMBER 18, 1944

Labor, on the other hand, got the wage freeze. Labor got the job freeze.

Labor got the Little Steel formula.

Labor got the War Labor Board, that graveyard for labor's demands.

Labor got all of these from President Franklin Delano Roosevelt. Labor also got the Smith-Connally anti-strike bill.

Labor got long hours of work, bad working and living conditions, higher taxes and poor quality goods.

Now, after two years of opposition by the workers of this country to the wage freeze, the job freeze and the Little Steel formula, two years in which the capitalists of the country have enriched themselves, Roosevelt promises a revision of the infamous formula which has held back wage increases.

It comes at a time when cutbacks are beginning in war industries and unemployment begins to increase. Thus, it appears that

A PAPER IN THE INTERESTS OF LABOR

LABOR ACTION

thousands of workers can contemplate on the breadline the meaning of the promised ten per cent raise.

Labor should not be taken in, either by the rumor or the promise of a ten per cent wage increase. It is a rank piece of political chicanery by a candidate for the presidency of the United States in the midst of an election campaign.

It is a desperate effort on the part of the head of the government to impede the growing revolt of the great rank and file of the American labor movement fighting for the whole future of labor in this country.

Labor must not permit these maneuvers to keep it from carrying on the great struggle for the future.

Labor must shout down all rumors and promises with the resounding roar: RESCIND THE NO-STRIKE PLEDGE!

That is an indispensable step in the struggle for the security of the American working class.

ONE CENT

# **PAC Fakes FDR's** Labor Record



### By T. R. COBB

In a slick pamphlet entitled "The Peoples Program for 1944," the Political Action Committee of the CIO prints the picture reproduced above. The caption beneath it in the PAC pamphlet reads as follows: "On the Labor Front: The guarantee of labor's right to organize and bargain collectively." The wide cross swabbed over it is the work of some zealous PAC publicist who has quicker fingers than wits and is supposed to indicate that such scenes as depicted above did not occur or were wiped

line around the Republic Steel plant and that the police had no authority to limit the number of pickets. 3. Many workers were shot in the

back-after they had begun to disperse under police attack.

4. The workers used no guns or physical violence and threw stones only AFTER the police opened up their tear gas attack and that there was not cause for the use of either gas or guns by the police. lice was worse than that charged to

Phillips Report, Wavell-Gandhl Exchanges, Reveal -the "Huns" in the First World War,

# **Rubber Workers For** Fighting Union Policy

# **Navy Attacks Labor Standards**

The all-out offensive against labor has reached such tremendous proportions that A. L. Wegener, assistant to President E. J. Brown of the AFL Electrical Workers Union, has faintly threatened to break the no-strike pledge.

One of the most vigorous drives is against the mechanics in marine machine shops. Here the unions have established wage agreements for skilled workers which are above the \$1.20 an hour rate set for new ship construction.

The leaders in this drive to smash hard-won union contracts are the Navy "brass hats." They are taking advantage of the fact that shipbuilding contracts are about up, the workers have delivered the goods, and now is the time to get away with attempts at wage cuts.

In New Orleans, scene of current strikes, thes Navy representatives have gone so far as to mere ships to other ports for repair of electrical wiring in an effort to force the sub-contractors to impose the wage cuts. Wegener stated:

"Such an attitude also disregards the wage stabilization policy of the government and ignores the promises and assurances which the President of the United States has repeatedly made to American workers.

"It all sums up to a double-cross of loyal workers who have patriotically remained in the shipbuilding industry when other war work has offered a greater opportunity. If a reduction of wages is to be their reward, what incentive does further service offer?"

Military agencies are attacking the efforts of good unionists to maintain their standards on the West Coast. LABOR ACTION pointed out recently the action taken there against men who tried to retain their eight-hour day, action which went to the point of robbing men of their gas rations, referral cards and blacklisting. The same drive extends to the New York marine mechanics.

The success of the war against labor is in direct proportion to the strength with which the or fights back. Its only real effective weapon is the strike. Separated from that weapon, labor can only expect the offensive against it to continue and grow.

# By BILL FORD

AKRON-Facing the most important problems in their nineyear history, delegates of the United Rubber Workers of America, CIO, meet in annual convention in New York City on September 18. Scores of thousands of rubber workers look forward to this occasion, for to them it means that their elected delegates now have the floor to express the opinions of the ranks on how to PRESERVE and BUILD the union.

This convention takes place at a time when the rubber barons are fatter than ever before from the blood profits of war. Since Pearl Harbor they have seen the URWA, under the Dalrymple administration, knuckle under to all kinds of anti-labor pressure.

But, not satisfied with the miserable policy of cringing appeasement that Dalrymple and his General Executive Board term "labor statesmanship," the rubber companies now brazenly proclaim their intention to make further moves against the URWA. The companies call upon, and expect to receive, willing assistance from governmental agencies to these ends.

In a series of articles in the Akron Beacon Journal in the past week the future plans of the rubber barons are made evident. All of these plans will ultimately affect every rubber worker in the URWA-whether he works in Akron or anywhere else. True, the plans appear to affect only the Akron workers, who comprise, roughly, onethird of the URWA membership. But everyone knows that the URWA grew up, in and out from the Akron area, and that any blows delivered against the workers here are not calculated to HELP workers in other plants. Just the opposite. The companies obviously desire to break the URWA wage standards and organization in Akron as a prelude to doing the same thing everywhere



out during the Roosevelt Administration's tenure of office.

Now look closely at the picture. It is definitely NOT a fake. It is a REAL picture of an event that ACTUALLY took place. It is a scene of the Memorial Day massacre of 1937 in which ten workers were killed and many wounded by Chicago police acting on orders from Mayor Kelly, FDR's political henchman in Illinois. The brutal massacre was carried out at the behest of Tom Girdler, then president of the Republic Steel Corporation, which was waging an armed rebellion against the Wagner Act.

# WHAT LAFOLLETTE DISCLOSED

The verdict of the LaFollette Senate Civil Liberties Committee, which investigated the Chicago massacre, proved that:

1. The attack by the Chicago police was unprovoked.

2. The striking workers were entirely within their legal rights in attempting to throw a mass picket

especially wounded. 6. Police officials lied at hearings

in Chicago and Washington and that blame for the massacre lay with the police and that its consequences were

clearly avoidable by them. John L. Lewis, at that time president of the Committee for Industrial Organization, stated that the ten victims of the Memorial Day Massacre "were deliberately murdered in cold blood by the Chicago Police Department as a friendly favor to the Republic Steel Corporation."

The President of the United States refused to enforce the Wagner Act in the strike against Little Steel ("Men Who 'Lead Labor," by Bruce Minton and John Stuart) and brashly told Tom Girdler AND the victims of the Memorial Day massacre: "A plague on both your houses."

The President of the United States who made that statement in 1937 is the same Franklin D. Roosevelt who (Continued on page 3)

#### **!** A/SII Free great IOT Indid

# By R. CRAINE

One of the points up for discussion at the Quebec meeting between Roosevelt and Churchill, it is understood, will be the Indian question.

The dispute between these two allies over India was brought into the open by the report of U.S. Ambassador Phillips, based on his special mission to India in the spring of 1943. In it he told the President of the United States that the British policy toward India is threatening military operations in the Far East and he suggested that this country press Britain to declare a specific post-war date for Indian indepenlence.

Upon disclosure of this report, the British declared Phillips "persona non grata" and forced his recall to this country. Later the British Informatained in the Phillips report and stated that "Britain has gone a good deal further than offering India selfgovernment on a specific date. The Cripps proposal left the date to the decision of the Indian leaders themselves. In the meantime they were asked to join the government of India under the existing constitution."

### THE CRIPPS MISSION HOAX

Actually, all the facts concerning British policy toward India, and especially the Cripps proposals and subsequent events, reveal that the British imperial government had and has no intention of granting even the most elementary rights to the nearly 400,000,000 people of India, and that this policy is motivated by the oftmade declaration of its chief spokesman, Churchill, who has stated: "The

tion Service denied the points conloss of India would mark and consummate the downfall of the British Empire." By this, of course, is meant that without the exploitation and outright robbery of the Indian masses. the profiteering of the British capitalists would be seriously, if not fatally, impaired.

The Cripps mission to India was an attempt on the part of the British

government to trick the Indian people into the support of a war in which they felt they had no interest. In response to the announcement of England that India was at war with the Axis-an announcement in which the Indian masses were never consulted ,and certainly never consented - the Congress Party, under the pressure of the restive Indian population, declared early in 1940 that nothing short of complete independence would sat-

isfy the desires of the people of India. The Cripps proposal was then an attempt to palm off a "post-dated check" on independence for the gennine and complete independence which the Indian people so rightly demanded.

The people of India, however, saw through the Cripps hoax, which pro-

posed firstly that independence be postponed until after the war, something with which India had already had a negative experience during and after the First World War. Secondly, Mr. Cripps proposed that in the new Indian government (for the setting up of which he offered no date), any of the Moslem - majority provinces could secode. However, this right of secession was not based on democratic consultation of the people in-(Continued on page 3)

## THREAT FROM BOSSES

This threat is seen in what these articles describe as the manufacturers' desire to find a labor supply "without union connections" in the South and West. They would be aided by the government offering them federally-owned war plants for a song after the war is over.

(Continued on page 2)

# Drive for 4000 Subs Opens with a Bang; Two Cities Jump Gun

ing signal for the 4,000 subscription campaign for LABOR ACTION, starting September 15. The deadline is December 15.

We must report, however, that Chicago beat the gun by two weeks and Seattle by one week. Chicago piled up forty-seven subs at one jump -all obtained by one person in his shop-and Seattle sent in nineteen. The finish lines of these two cities will be adjusted accordingly.

Chicago radiates enthusiasm. The campaign managers got a whale of an enthusiastic letter from Mimi, Chicago literature director. She writes: "We decided to take full advantage of the advance notification of the sub drive. As a result we've elected a committee to push full steam ahead. The committee consists of myself; P., contact director, and Gerry, one of our paper in the first place? This we can read and new people.

sub cards, (2) individual quotas for each of our groups, (3) a letter to our present subscribers asking for renewals and subs from their friends, (4) visits to expired subs for renewals, (5) house-to-house canvassing in work-

distributions at factory gates which are not sent us a long prospectus of their plans for the now regularly covered, (7) coverage of Negro drive. Aside from the standard methods, they and general labor meetings and conventions as they arise."

Seattle is angry at us. Donaldson writes from there: "Your LABOR ACTION quota for Seattle is woefully low. We don't care for the insult. We think that 150 would be little enough." This would appear to be the case, since the subs keep rolling in from there. He adds:

"One new comrade who has previously been distributing The Militant is now going to town on LABOR ACTION. The report of what some of the fellows say is good. They greet him with such as this: 'Why in hell didn't you give us this understand. This speaks our language. Some "The plans proposed are: (1) Use of prepaid of these articles should go in our union paper.'" Nuf said!

> Our Reading, Pa., agent increased the bundle of LABOR ACTIONS by three hundred copies for the duration of the drive.

Lou Campbell of Cleveland, one of our most

are planning neighborhood parties of LABOR ACTION readers to gain new subscribers and



BANG! That shot you heard was the start- ing class neighborhoods (6) 'sample copy' conscientious and successful literature agents, sympathizers who will aid in building up the circulation of LABOR ACTION through their friends. She will send in reports as to the success of this method.

> For the benefit of the local branches of the Workers Party, we repeat their quotas and state the average weekly number of subs necessary to be turned in to meet their quotas by the end of the' thirteen - week period of the drive:

We'll hang up the scoreboard next week. So, come on, gang, let's sprint!

Seattle has been raised and Philadelphia reduced in response to requests by the branches.

# LABOR ACTION 114 West 14th St., New York 11, N. Y.

YES, I want LABOR ACTION. Please send it to me regularly. Enclosed find twenty-five cents in stamps or coin for a six-month subscription \_, fifty cents for a year's subscription . (Check which.) Name Address City Zone State

27	<b>Fotal</b>	Weekly
City 6	Quota	Averag
New York	1,000	80
Detroit	600	47
Philadelphia	225	10
Chicago	300	24
Los Angeles	400	30
Akron	150	12
Cleveland	200	16
Reading	50	4
San Francisco	200	16
St. Louis	50	4
Seattle	150	12
Buffalo	150	12
Louisville	25	2
Streator	50	4
Youngstown .	* 50	4
National Office	400	30

# NEWS AND VIEWS FROM THE LABOR FRONT

# **URW Ranks Oppose Dalrymple Bureaucracy --**

## (Continued from page 1)

Clearly, then, what is at stake are the jobs of a large section of the URWA membership; jobs based on union standards and agreements. If somehow the Akron workers' standards went into a tailspin, every rubber concern in the country would claim its "right" to lower its workers' standards in order to maintain the existing differentials.

Only an international union such as the URWA is in a position to organize the rubber workers to withstand such blows effectively. But at the present time every honest union man must confess that the international, under the likes of Dalrymple and his henchmen, is utterly incapable of dealing effectively with this big problem.

Dalrymple and his International Executive Board supporters have shown already - during the war, when mass unemployment and cutbacks are not present — that they cannot handle the critical problems of TODAY, much less in the even more critical post-war period when the capitalists hope that the workers again will compete against one another for a chance to make a living.

In past issues, LABOR ACTION has shown how it stands' shoulder to shoulder with militant rubber workers who have been fighting against Dalrymple's unconstitutional policy of expelling the best union people, as he did at the General Tire & Rubber Co. and elsewhere. For those ac-

tions the Dalrymple wrecking crew has been applauded and thanked countless times by the rubber barons. They are hoping and praying that such "labor statesmen" will be returned to office for another year by this convention.

But, the rank and file members of the URWA have an entirely opposite wish. And they have apparently been working hard to achieve solutions at this convention which can restore the URWA onto its path of fighting opposition to the companies and restore collective bargaining in place of the present "collective begging."

#### THE RIGHT TO STRIKE

Collective bargaining without the union's right to enforce it by means of labor's primary weapon-the right to strike-is a deliberate fraud. This fraud has been put over on the membership by the clique of dictators at the top of the URWA from the first days of the war. No matter what provocations the companies have furnished by chiseling in rates, stalling on grievances, firing fighting union members, proposing ridiculous "moratoriums" on contracts, the Dalrymple - Buckmaster - Lanning et al. leadership says: "We must keep our no-strike pledge."

By this time the ranks are awakening to the disastrous results of this cowardly policy. And none too soon. Continuation of it would undoubtedly bring the URWA in 1945 extremely close to being known by workers as a COMPANY union.

Rescinding the no-strike pledge is ently defended the idea of union repthe first condition whereby the URWA can regain the ground it has lost and prepare itself against future



PRESIDENT DALRYMPLE

ists. CASE OF THE WLB

The Dalrymple group has consist-

### ADMINISTRATION STOOGES

cause of the workers.

wait."

But never fear, these facts and a thousand like them do not bother the Dalrymples, Hillmans and Murrays. Their program continues, as before, to throw away labor's tremenous potential political strength to capitalist politicians. They are brave enough to label Dewey as Tweedledum but not Roosevelt as Tweedle-

resentatives sitting on the War Labor

Board. Day after day the WLB keeps

on' grinding out its decisions against

the unions. Months and months pass

while union cases gather dust in the

WLB files. The labor representatives

pound the table, demanding action

and a smashing of the Little Steel

formula. Company representatives

snicker and "public" representatives

rebuke: "Don't get too hot, boys;

remember your no-strike pledge. You

can't do anything about it, so just

On the tongues of workers every-

where the WLB is "that \*†\*!\$!?1?

blankety-blank!" No wonder a vast

multitude of unionists are now de-

manding that the union members

participating on the board get off

before they compromise themselves

further by staying on it. If this were

done, one could bet his bottom dollar

that corporation lawyers on the

WLB would within a week sing a

different tune, when they saw that

labor MEANS BUSINESS this time.

examination of the major policies of

the Dalrymple administration shows

the fact that these bureaucrats have

acted within the URWA ninety per

cent of the time as labor lieutenants

When you get right down to it,

So long as the URWA leadership and that of other unions continue this game wth the Democratic and Republican Party politicians, the mass of workers will be unable to build that all-out labor offensive against the corporations that is long overdue. Only a definite break with that type of bad politics and a turn toward full reliance on labor's own strength, organized through a national independent Labor Party based on the unions, will and must industrial lines in 1935. turn back the present anti-labor tide.

We have purposely refrained until the last to deal briefly with the convention issue of restoring democown candidacy for the post of interracy in the URWA. LABOR ACTION in many past weekly issues has carried news stories featuring the struggle of the URWA rank and file in opposition to the Dalrymple crowd's dictatorial pretensions and activities and their sabotaging of the union's

Bridges Expands His Fink Proposals

constitution. From the amount of controversy over this subject within the union itself, every member should by now be familiar with the ugly facts involved."

No labor organization like the URWA can survive or fill its members' needs without democracy in its ranks. In the past this was stressed even by the present URWA leadership.

Now that all the top office holders have thrown overboard this fundamental union conception, as they have in their unconstitutional expulsion policy, it is obvious that they have no further place in office. Yet they will struggle at this convention to maintain their positions, and if possible try to bludgeon the membership into granting them further powers. They will try to pull every trick out of their bag, with hiding behind the flag being their biggest hope.

There is not the slightest reason why any worker need be fooled by such displays pulled by these desperate bureaucrats and their Joe Stalin followers. If the grave problems before the convention are permitted to be sidetracked by hysteria. in the coming year everybody can be SURE that the rubber workers will take it on the chin.



September 18, 1944

When "Johnny came marching home again" after World War I, he was overwhelmed with ticker tape and oratory. He was a hero. But when he donned civilian clothes again, he was just another working stiff competing with thousands of laid-off war workers for a job.

Security and peace were to have been his rewards for fighting for democracy. Instead of security, there were wage cuts, lockouts and unemployment. Instead of peace there were police clubs and hired thugs for workers striking against wage cuts.

Samuel Gompers, then head of the AFL, had given a no-strike pledge during the war. The bosses, having enjoyed the benefits of the no-strike pledge during the war, were determined to hold on to them during the peace. They formed committees to foster the open shop and company unionism.

Among the many strikes against wage cuts at that time was the strike of the miners of the Alleghany Coke & Coal Co. at West Narona, Pa. The company had "deputy peace officers" appointed for strike duty. "Deputy peace officer" is a polite name for a company thug given a badge and a gun by a corrupt sheriff.

One day a group of these "peace officers" suddenly opened fire on the miners' picket line. A picketer was killed.

At the scene was a woman organizer for the United Mine Workers Union, Mrs. Fannie Sellins. She rushed into the line of fire to get some children to safety who were playing there. After she had brought the children away, she ran back to the picket line. The "peace officers" were clubbing the dead picket. She tried to reason with the thugs. One of them struck her on the head with his club. As she tried to raise herself up three shots were fired, killing her. "Give her more!" yelled the "peace officers,' and another shot was fired into her dead body.

The names of the murderers of Fannie Sellins were known to everyone in the town of West Narona. A few of the deputies were arrested. but immediately released on small bail. They were never punished for their crime. The mine owners saw to it that their lackeys went scot

Fannie Sellins was forty-nine years old when she was murdered. She was the mother of a son who had been killed in France during the First World War to make the world safe for democracy!

# John Green's Local Won't **Back Him for Int'l President**

PHILADELPHIA - The groundswell of rank and file opposition to the ap-Green, who for a long time bitterly peasement policies of the national office of the CIO Shipbuilders Union the union, has come to rely in large took a long stride forward last week measure upon the Communist eleas Local 1, Camden, N. J., defeated a ments of the union because they were motion to endorse John Green, veteran president, for re-election. Local 1, composed of workers at

the only reliable supporters of the no-strike pledge and the general policy of appeasing the corporations and the New York Shipbuilding yards, is government boards.

the oldest local in the international Green's protégé and long-time secand its 129 delegates compose by far retary of the union, Phillip Vangelthe largest delegation to the forthder, has been in an even more open coming convention of the union to bloc with the Communist forces. Vanbe held in Atlantic City in the last gelder is at present in the armed week of September. Local 1 is also forces, but at the last convention the home local of Green, where he Vangelder became the defense attorbegan organizing ship workers along ney of Velson, epelled from the General Eecutive Board as a member of The fight against the Green enthe Communist Party. At that time dorsement in Local 1 was led by an-Green was responsible for directing other New York Shipyard veteran, the red-baiting drive against Velson Tom Saul, who has announced his from the sidelines.

national president. Saul is rapidly Though Green has done little to adforging ahead as the spokesman of vance the interests of ship workers the forces fighting for the repeal of in recent years, he has maintained his the no-strike pledge in the union. position as head of the union on the Saul is well known to ship workstrength of his early record as a fighters of the Philadelphia-Camden area er and union builder. This early capfor his long fight against Communist ital is beginning to wear thin as gov-

Party domination of Local 1. John ernment boards and corporations rely upon Green to continue an appeaseopposed Communist penetration of ment policy and show no fear of the rank and file ship workers by refusing to grant pay increases.

While national organizers of the union were busy throughout the country seeking to secure endorsements of Green from various locals, the union continued to lose elections in unorganized yards. Workers could not be sold the CIO'ship union in the absence of a fighting program that would show them what union organization could gain.

In addition to Local 1, a number of other important locals have gone on record for a change of national union policy. The national convention will see Green waging a desperate fight to maintain his hold on he union. The challenge to his hitherto undisputed authority is causing Green to prepare

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for a knock-down and drag-out fight with no holds barred. Prominent in his arsenal of weapons will be, no doubt, attempts to smear opponents as "Reds," as in the past. His Communist supporters are already calling all opposition to Green a sbeing "Trotskyite." 1 1

# **Buffalo Bell-UAW Adopts Militant 3-Point Program**

### By ERIC FLOYD

BUFFALO-Four of the five delegates and the two alternates elected by Local 501, UAW, at Bell Aircraft to attend the coming national convention are pledged to support the program forwarded by the Progressive group within the local.

The three-point program, covering the most pertinent issues facing the convention, is:

1. Rescind the no-strike pledge. 2. Build an independent Labor Par-

3. Remove the sell-out union leadership and vote in a rank and file leadership with a fighting program.

This clear-cut victory of the Progressive slate reflects the attitude and sentiments of the Bell workers. It shows the lie of the bureaucrats and Communists who decry the militancy of the workers. It further proves that despite a Stalinist-packed city CIO Council and the lack of a strong union city tradition, the rank and file workers of Buffalo will recognize and rally to a fighting program if shown the way and the means by a well organized Progressive group within a local. The action taken by 501 can spread, under proper guidance, to many other UAW locals in the cityand the Stalinist-Communists and bureaucrats can be depended upon to fight it all the way.

501 election. The puppets in the capitalist press are also taking notice and breathing fire. Shortly before the Bell election, the financial editor of the morning paper, whose main function of course is to rejoice over each new capitalist dividend, devoted the leading paragraphs of a Sunday column (no less) to a Wall Street commentary on the Bell campaign and the UAW convention.

The opening sentence read: "If labor expects to hold its wartime gains, measures must be evolved to suppress radical insurgent groups within the workers' ranks that would tear down all that their leaders have accomplished, supported and recommended during these emergency times."

The worthy editor was wise enough not to attempt a listing of "labor's wartime gains" and the "accomplishments" of the present labor leadership. If he had, the "gains" and "accomplishments" would naturally read Job Freeze, Wage Freeze, Little Steel k-up of Collective Bar be hotly debated and it would not be gaining Procedure and, lastly, Mass Layoffs-all of which do not make a worker the happiest of men. The bold demand for suppression of "radical insurgent groups" is, however, another and more serious matter. While this insignificant lackey makes it appear that any acts of suppression be left to labor itself, it is automatically certain that as a capitalist sounding-board he is calling for a witch-hunt, the game to be the progressive unionists in the labor movement. 1935-36,

After blundering along for two more belligerent paragraphs, our critic discovers that "at least two slates are anti-CIO." He claims they do not advocate what the present CIO officialdom stands for - and in that he is right. The Progressives do not stand for labor members on the War Labor Board, or for political support of either of the two capitalist mentioned.

UAW and CIO leadership has too quickly and easily forgotten the short past and it is the task of the Progressives to restore and press the

Thoroughly spent by this time, the learned man concludes that "It is expected that the no-strike pledge will

political parties, nor for the other anti-labor hatchet measures already The Progressives are assuredly pro-CIO, the CIO of 1935-36, born to a fighting tradition and created for the purpose of organizing the mass of American workers to economic battle with the capitalist class. The present

original premises and programs.

of the Roosevelt Administration. They support the stupid and criminal noonslaughts from the rubber capitalstrike pledge by shouting: "Don't embarrass our Commander-in-Chief." One would think that Roosevelt was a labor leader, giving his all for the

Page 2

# LABOR ACTION



#### **BOSS PRESS INTERVENES**

But these two reactionary groups are not the only parties here gravely concerned by the implications of the surprising if it went to a referendum." Now is the time for the adoption of a program based solidly on the three points which the 501 delegates

will support at Grand Rapids! The ever-growing number of local delegates from every part of the country who will also support this program must not return with compromises or defeats if the entire labor movement is to survive and grow in the image of the militant, successful days of

#### LOS ANGELES - The annual state convention of the California CIO, stronghold of the Harry Bridges machine was held in Los Angeles the week-end preceding Labor Day and, as could be expected, most of the delegates' time was taken in listening to the boosting of the re-election of President Boosevelt

The principal speaker of the convention was no worker from California's many industries, but Senator Claude Pepper of Florida, currently engaged on a political barnstorming trip for the Democratic Party. Listening to political speeches and planning to utilize the Political Action Committee to get out the vote for the Democrats was frankly listed as the No. 1 point on the agenda of an important convention supposed to represent workers who now face the crucial problems of the coming postwar period.

Of course, Harry Bridges was there to present his own-and the Communist Party's-"solution" to the critical questions before organized labor-a perpetual no-strike pledge. In his opening speech to the convention and again at the close, Bridges emphasized that he is opposed to any attempt of the workers to use their economic strength against the employers now or after the war.

"Strikes are gone with the horseand-buggy days," said the man who rode to prominence during the epic strikes of 1934. "Capitalism is here to stay and I am tired of listening to these revolutionaries who refuse to see it."

Nevertheless, Bridges did not dare to ask the state convention to ratify the sell-out plan he has put over in his own union, for the national CIO has expressed its opposition to continuing the no-strike pledge after the war. To present it formally to the the convention would have precipi-

tated a row even in California.

FIGHT NO-STRIKE PLEDGE Ratification of the present no-strike pledge did open up a discussion that

broke up the dull unanimity of the convention. Not content with the national CIO leadership's notorious pledge against strikes, no matter how justified, the state executive board introduced a resolution that called on the government to refuse any rights to any union that dared strike and pledged support to the President in ANY method he cared to use to break a strike.

This brazen call for government strike-breaking succeeded in bringing forth opposition from some of the delegates, led by a dozen militants from the CIO Shipyard Workers Local 9 in San Pedro. These men showed clearly that these amendments placed the CIO union movement in California directly on the side of the employers and the government. With this assurance the employers could use the most extreme provocation against the unions, sure in advance that the state parent body would approve any method used to break any possible strike.

The ensuing discussion showed the Communist - dominated state apparatus is mortally afraid of any consideration of genuine trade union problems. Stalinist after Stalinist leaped up to wave the flag and denounce those delegates who were determined enough to suggest that a CIO convention shouldn't pass resolutions in favor of strike-breaking. Bridges took the floor to plead for a unanimous vote on this important question. Unfortunately, he got it, for unit rule, under which all dele-

gates must vote with the majority of ORGANIZE PROGRESSIVES: their delegation, prevented the minority opposed to the resolution from voting their conviction.

### PROBLEM OF JIM CROW

Almost the only other question to provoke heated debate came on the report of the minorities committee. In discussing discrimination against the Negro, the report failed, with the usual blind spot of the super-patriotic Stalinists, even to mention Jim Crow in the armed forces. When a delegate arose to correct this intentional omission, with an amendment urging the CIO to initiate a drive to abolish discrimination in the armed forces, the Stalinist pack rose again in full fury.

But they were called off in the interests of unanimity and a moderate endorsement of the national CIO opposition to discrimination in the armed forces was accepted.

To all appearances the 1944 convention of the California CIO succeeded only in tying labor more closely to the Democratic Party, in debasing the labor movement by the most cringing no-strike pledge in existence, and in presenting the employer as labor's best friend.

But on the floor a few voices were raised against this, and in the corridors delegates were franker than in the hall. There is a storm brewing in the California CIO and the sell-out policies of Bridges and his Stalinist cohorts will not endure forever. The labor movement on the Pacific Coast was born and built out of struggle. In the great waterfront strikes of 1934-36 the first casualties were the AFL bureaucrats who had been secure in their do-nothing, sell-out jobs since 1921. And in the struggles that lie ahead the first casualties will be the new sell-out artists, epitomized by Bridges.

In the coming period it is imperative that those progressives and militants who have been compelled to remain silent should begin to organize their forces in preparation. Above all, they most rearm the union movement!

Safeguard labor's strength by regaining the right to strike.

Restore genuine collective bargaining by direct negotiation without the stalling of government bureaus.

Build real political strength by forming labor's own political weapon-an independent Labor Party.

Strike Threat Wins Partial **Restoration of Seamen's Bonus** By EARL BOREAS BONUS CUT IS A WAGE CUT

SAN FRANCISCO - The Maritime War Emergency Board in Washington has been compelled to reverse itself somewhat on the cut in the seamen's voyage bonus.

The Pacific Ocean coastwise bonus has been raised from 25 per cent to 33.3 per cent. Four months ago the bonus was 40 per cent. The net result is still a wage cut of almost 8 per cent.

This means that an able bodied seaman will be making the "huge" sum of \$140 a month and an ordinary seaman will make the princely wage of \$126.50 a month. These are wartime grand totals, including base pay, emergency pay and bonus. Actually, after deductions for taxes, the pay envelope is a whole lot lighter. The cold facts clearly contradict the bossinspired baloney about the big bankrolls of the seamen.

It took four months of plugging and the threat of a strike finally to bring the Maritime War Emergency Board around. During that time the disgust of the seamen was so great that many of them just stopped going to sea. Soon the big stay - on - thebeach maritime boys began to lament the shortage of seamen which their own high-handed bonus cut helped to bring about, for who can blame the seamen for telling the big shots to "go fly a kite" or for being fed up . with the drivel about their being heroes?

If the pay-off for heroes is a wage cut while the ship owners and operators sit on their swivel chairs and continue to make unprecedented millions in profits, then the boys who face the torpedoes are right in assuming that they are victims of the old army game.

When the cut in the bonus was first announced, the seamen were so outraged that in the San Francisco branch of the Sailors Union of the Pacific the men voted overwhelmingly at a special "stop work" meeting for a motion from the floor to rescind the no-strike pledge. The battle was clearly on the home front against the gold braid and profit boys. They say it is an ill wind that blows nobody any good. One by-product of the fight to restore the bonus cut was the abject way in which the Communist flunkeys in the National Maritime Union exposed themselves. These shameless puppets, who are superpatriots as of June 22, 1941, the day Hitler broke the Stalin-Hitler pact, paid off on their united front with Wall Street by gingerly accepting the bonus cut for their own membership. These pie-cards could all the more accept the dirty deal for the rank and file, inasmuch as their own jobs were not in question.

# **COMMUNISTS HINDER FIGHT**

However as Curran and his ilk of the National Maritime Union and the no-strike Communist Political Association are limited in their brazen-

forget that they are out to torpedo the unions and union conditions in war and in peace.

in line. The pie-card board of strategy met around a big board of directors' table in the snazzy executive chambers of their new headquarters building and coked up the lying explanation to their members that the bonus-cut decision of the Maritime War Emergency Board was not debatable and that redress could only come about by altering the base pay for seamen as fixed by the peacetime contracts between the shipowners and

ness by the need to keep their mem-

bership, a typical Stalinist stratagem

was resorted to for keeping the ranks

the unions. This phony attempt to shift the fight from the concrete issue of the bonus cut, at a time when the other seamen's unions were fighting for a restoration of the bonus, was a stab in the back of the seamen. Especially was this so in view of the freeze on wages which the Communists, more

### than any others, are taking lying down, while they scab on those who do undertake the fight to up the wage rates. The fight for complete restoration

of the bonus is by no means over. The Maritime War Emergency Board will give only as much as it is forced to. The seamen must keep up the pressure. The experience gained from scanning the ocean for submarines should be applied to the doings of these gentry and their pie-cards in the labor movement. We must never

FIRST-HAND REPORTS on the AUTO, MINE AND

**NEXT WEEK:** 

RUBBER WORKERS' CONVENTIONS

BY MAX SHACHTMAN DAVID COOLIDGE AND OTHERS

Friday Evening September 22 8:00 p.m. Sharp



**ATTENTION, LOS ANGELES READERS!** 

### September 18, 1944

# LABOR ACTION

# **PAC Fakes FDR's** Labor Record - -

(Continued from page 1) leaders" who possess neither conscience nor memory.

### WHO IS KELLY?

The Mayor of Chicago who stood behind the police murderers of the steel strikers in 1937 is the same Mayor Ed Kelly, a key figure in the high councils of the Roosevelt machine, who today receives support from the Communist Party and the CIO-PAC.

No, the picture of the Memorial Day massacre that the PAC prints in its pamphlet is no fake. But its account of Roosevelt's record in connection with it IS a fake.

No mere swab of a paint-brush can cross out the bitter and bloody memory of open-shop violence against American working men under Roosevelt. No amount of dishonest propaganda can open the graves and bring back to life the hundreds of union men and women who fell before the fire of state militias, armed thugs, and vigilantes - during the Roosevelt reign.

No collection of publicity wizards can pour out sufficient words to alter the living TRUTH of labor's struggles for organization and recognition.

That TRUTH states that labor FOUGHT, BLED AND DIED for its organizations and rights. It did so not only against the opposition of the industrial overlords, who battled it tooth and nail, but against the opposition of local, city, state and national representatives of these industrial overlords IN THE GOVERN-MENT ITSELF!

#### MISLEADING LABOR

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No labor leader is worthy of the title who spreads the myth that Roosevelt GAVE labor anything. Pressure, parades, demonstrations, strikes -and fear of a collapse of a rotten social system - these got results. Roosevelt was shrewd enough to take advantage of the situation and takes credit for every victory that the workers obtained THROUGH THEIR OWN EFFORTS

And no labor leader is worthy of his trust who does not NOW tell the American working class that it is the Roosevelt wartime administration that hacks away with might and main against the gains which the workers won for themselves in the past ten vears.

These are the FACTS that the labor politicians cannot face in an upright manner.

If the Roosevelt Administration has been all that the PAC says it

has been, then why does it require today receives support from "labor the expenditure of huge sums of money in this political campaign in order to sell the American workers a bill of goods on Roosevelt?

If Roosevelt was truly "labor's President," then it would not be necessary for the PAC to spend a penny for his re-election, the propaganda of big business lobbies and the capitalist press notwithstanding.

# **ROOSEVELT NO DEMI-GOD**

label.

But the workers have to be incessantly reminded, urged and cajoled into accepting the Roosevelt myth. Large sections of them are NOT as convinced as the PAC that Roosevelt's policies wiped out economic insecurity, the tyranny of big business or the threat of native fascism. Some of them in their disillusionment are turning to the thumbnail version of Herbert Hoover-Tom Dewey-for political salvation. This is the same trap as the other-with a different

The point is that for labor to get anywhere, to gain any demands, means that it must fight against the organized bosses and their agents in government. It does not make any difference whether that government is Democratic or Republican. Faced with a sharp crisis in the country and a growing rebelliousness of the working class and the poor farmers, Roosevelt granted many and important concessions. But if the American workers had been quiet and taken the crisis lying down, they would have received nothing.

On the other side of the ledger, no worker should forget the San Francisco waterfront strikes; the Auto-Lite strikes in Toledo, where the National Guard was sent in to break it. the Little Steel strike and, last but not least, the massacre in Chicago. They all occurred under Roosevelt. To accept the PAC propaganda means to create the illusion that attacks on labor occur only under Republican Administrations. All one has to do to refute this lie is to read the CIO literature during the years 1934 to 1940. The attacks on labor since the war broke out, the offensive of the bosses to destroy unionism under the guise of patriotism, are too close to us to need any reminders.

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

# C. P. Strong-Arms Union Militants

CHICAGO-The Communists of the nists used local union funds in a pub-Communist - controlled Local 101, licity campaign against six members United Farm Equipment & Metal Workers of America at the International Harvester Co. made use of an

'of an anti-Communist group who were expelled by the Communistcontrolled International Executive

# Look Who's Complaining **About High Taxes Now!**

"The Glen L. Martin Company paid \$60.56 in taxes for every share of outstanding stock in 1943.'

When the above little statement appeared in the press a few weeks ago, the financial writers on the magazines and newspapers dashed to their typewriters-and have been writing on it ever since.

Big business has been carrying on a campaign to "educate" the public that the taxes being paid by the corporations should be cut to the bone. They considered the Glen Martin item a perfect example to prove their point. High taxes, they argued, leave the corporations very little for post-war "incentive" to continue

Let us pause for a moment at that 1942 gross sales figure. How can a company only seven years after it has been capitalized for only \$1,500,000, be able to do a business of \$337,-556,000? Very simple. The GOVERNMENT advanced millions of dollars to the Glen Martin Company for planes not yet produced. In preparing for the coming banner year, the government on December 31, 1942, advanced \$159,177,421 for planes to be built in the future by the company.

In addition, through an arrangement by the Reconstruction Finance Corp. in 1942 the Federal Reserve Board transferred \$26,000,000 of its credit to the Guaranty Trust Co., which

# **Chiang Kai-Shek Rule Challenged**

### By L. K. LOW

Some weeks ago it was pointed out in LABOR ACTION why Chiang Kai-shek's political stock is so low in China today. The series of military reverses, the widespread profiteering and speculation accompanied by starvation and misery among the masses of the people, and the complete lack of internal democracy have combined to discredit the Chungking regime.

In the past period the newspapers have not been able to report one single thing to the credit of Chiang Kaishek. According to the foreign correspondents, wherever the Generalissimo is not in control, things are picking up. Wherever he rules, there is dissension and dissatisfaction. It is openly stated in the press that the Chiang Kai-shek government is desperately trying to hang on until the Allies win in Europe and can bring their full military forces to bear in the Pacific.

It is only natural that this bankruptcy on the part of the government should cause many who had previously thrown in their lot with Chiang Kai-shek to jump off his bandwagon. Particularly outspoken in the recent period has been Sun Fo, president of the Legislative Yuan and son of Sun Yat-sen, the founder of the Chinese Republic.

The Legislative Yuan is the highest legislative organ of the National Government and has authority over all legislation, budgets, amnesties, declaration of war, negotiation for peace and other important international affairs. In view of the Generalissimo's dictatorship, this authority, of course, is only nominal. Nevertheless, because of Sun Fo's name and office, his recent remarks take on special significance.

According to Sun Fo. (New York Times, August 27), the trend of the Kuomintang until the death of his father was revolutionary.

"After the Northern Expedition of 1926 there was internal dissension in the party, culminating in the movement to expel the Communists from the Kuomintang. To oppose the Communists, we opposed the Left and identified ourselves with the Right. This has been the great error committed by our party. From our initial mistake we have developed reactionary tendencies for the last decade."

To those who know the history of the Chinese Revolution of 1925-27, these remarks are clearly an effort to woo the Chinese Stalinists. In the spring of 1927, Sun Fo, Wang Chingwei, T. V. Soong, Eugene Chen and others joined together with the Chinese Communists at Wuhan against the Chiang Kai-shek government at Nanking.

Despite Trotsky's warnings, Stalin insisted that these Left Kuomintang elements were revolutionary and that the Wuhan government was a revolutionary center. Wang Chingwei and others were even invited to the Fifth Congress of the Communist Party of China and were greeted as fellow revolutionaries.

A few months later the loft Kuomintang leaders of the Wuhan government united with Chiang Kaishek and smashed the mass organizations of the workers, peasants and students. In the Chiang Kai-shek government, Sun Fo himself became successively Minister of Finance, Minister of Railways, president of the Executive Yuan and president of the Legislative Yuan.

Sun Fo now confesses his mistakes. It seems that in going with Chiang Kai-shek rather than with the Chinese Stalinists, he had bet on the wrong horse. Today he has decided "the democratic world is veering to the left, and we shall have to keep in step with the world."

It is difficult to conceive of a more flagrant opportunism than this. Now that things seem to be going their way. Sun Fo is openly bidding to the Chinese Stalinists to forgive him his earlier transgressions and to take him back into the "leftward" fold.

In line with the present international policy of the Stalintern to form a popular front with such "progressives" as Roosevelt, Badoglio and de Gaulle, it is not unlikely that Sun Fo is being groomed as the leader of a "progressive" government of China. The Communists have said that they would be satisfied to participate as a legal party in a democratic government in China if certain groups in the Kuomintang are eliminated. Whether or not Sun Fo is the man they would accept as leader of such a government, it is clear that Sun Fo himself has tossed his hat

# Big Boys Had a "Good Year"

From the senographic report of the annual meeting of the Standard Oil Company (New Jersey) held on June 6 at Flemington, N. J .:

into the ring.

The Chairman: "Before opening this meeting, I should like to ask the people here to stand for a minute in prayer for the boys who are taking the brunt of the battle on that beachhead in Europe, that they will be successful in their mission and will all be home soon."

(The assembly arose and observed a moment of prayer.) The Chairman: "It is a real pleasure to welcome so many of you at the 1944 annual meeting of the Standard Oil Company. Our annual report was issued earlier this year and since you have so recently received your copy, I think it is not necessary to review results of the company's operations for 1943 in any detail. "We had a good year. We were able to maintain satisfactory earnings because of the great volume of business done. Before proceeding with the more formal business of the meeting, I should like to discuss in advance a question which is always asked, and very properly asked, at these meetings. The question is: How are we doing this year? "....We have this year pushed our world-wide crude oil production to the highest level in our history. "Naturally, these large volumes are reflected in increased earnings. We receive more gross income because of the added volume of products handled. Our net income before taxes improves even more proportionately. Because of these peak levels it is possible to achieve low unit handling and operating costs.

organized Gestapo system to prevent the opposition from expressing its point of view at the last general membership meeting of the local. At this meeting there were more than forty sergeants-at-arms (goons)-with armbands. Any members of the opposition who acted as if he were going to speak was immediately intimidate into silence by a group of these gangsters.

One of the members of the opposition, Harry Deveraux, left the hall to get a drink of water. Before he could return he was seized by a group of these Stalinist henchmen and locked in a room on the second floor. He managed to escape by climbing from a window two stories to the ground.

At the meeting a motion was proposed to forbid union funds being expended by any group for factional fights within the local. (The Commu-

Board on trumped-up charges.) This, of course, was defeated, as the tellers who "counted" the votes were "reliable" people appointed by the chair.

This episode should prove conclusively to the Local 101 membership that the Communists will stop at nothing to strangle the American labor movement.

At the coming convention, to be held in October, the issues at stake will be whether the UFE & MWA shall become a well organized, democratic union capable of fighting the bosses or whether it shall become the instrument of the Stalinist policy of tying up the American labor move-.ment and destroying its militancy.

The workers of Local 101 must see to it that the delegates sent to the convention are those pledged to defeat the Communists and to restore democracy in the union.

in business, reconvert, expand and take care of their beloved workers; and, in addition, high taxes frighten capital from investing its money.

In 1928 Glen Martin formed his company, and through his incentive and free enterprise zeal the company went into bankruptcy by 1934 and he was broke. The GOVERNMENT, through its Reconstruction Finance Corporation, lent him \$1,500,000 to capitalize a new venture. This time he was a bit luckier, the world was beginning to arm for war, and gross sales for Glen Martin in 1936 were \$6,219,092. In 1941 the United States began its war program in earnest and gross sales jumped up to \$67,237,689, and with the actual entry of this country into the war gross sales leaped up to the astronomical sum of \$337,556,000 in 1942.

in turn credited Glen Martin with that amount so that he could build and equip a plant. At the same time, the Emergency Plant Facilities Corp., another government agency, guaranteed Glen Martin \$430,000 for sixty months to pay off the loan from the Guaranty Trust Co.

Wall Street and its scribblers are bemoaning. the fact that the Glen Martin Company paid \$67,539,570 in excess profit taxes for 1943. But they hesitate to mention that after all the bookkeeping jugglery and paying of all taxes, the company showed for 1943 a NET PROFIT of \$19,437,570!

LABOR ACTION wants big business to pay the costs of this war with the billions it has made out of it.

obtain later on.

Which side of the fence are you on?

"For these reasons, our financial results so far this year indicate a definite improvement over the corresponding period of 1943.

"Our tax situation is difficult to anticipate. We do not know how the net will be affected by the operations of excess profits provisions and by the renegotiation requirement of our government contracts.

"With these important reservations, I think it is reasonable to estimate that our consolidated NET INCOME for the first HALF of 1944 may be in the order of seventy million dollars."

(Editor's Note: Needless to say, the above emphasis is not the chairman's!)

# The Indian People Will Have to Fight For Their Independence --

#### (Continued from page 1)

volved, but rather on the constitution proposed by the British in 1935. According to this document, the "independent" Indiá would be headed by a British - appointed Governor General who could veto or approve any bill, suspend the constitution, appoint or dismiss any minister, make police rules, issue decrees, etc.

# BRITISH REVEAL THEMSELVES

The spontaneous outburst of strikes. especially among the industrial workers, who fought side by side with the radical students and went over the heads of the conservative leaders of the Congress Party, was India's answer to Mr. Cripps and the imperialists he represented. Only the most brutal suppression, murder and arrests were able temporarily to still the revolt.

In recent months the British have revealed with what little sincerity they had proffered even the miserable Cripps proposals. Since his release from prison, Gandhi has been trying to start negotiations with the British for the settlement of the "Indian problem." As a starting point, he made a series of proposals, many of which are closely akin to the

sition government, in which civilian affairs will rest with the Indian representatives, and military affairs will be in the hands of the British, with a cabinet responsible to the Legislature and not to the Viceroy. Gandhi has expressed himself as prepared to support the war against Japan and



has issued a sharp injunction to the Indian nationalists to cease underground political activity against British rule. He proposed to the Moslem League that it enter the transition government

What was Britain's answer? A Cripps proposals. He set forth a tran- frigid rebuff! If you keep in mind

that Gandhi's mild demands upon the British have never fully reflected the aspirations of the Indian masses, that they were usually made under the pressure of these masses, who threaten to get out of control, and that Gandhi, representing the Indian capitalist class, has been ever ready to compromise with the British, the reply of Lord Wavell to Gandhi's invitation is all the more significant. Now that the danger of Japanese conquest of India has passed, the British feel that they do not even have to negotiate with the Indian nationalists. In an arrogant and insulting reply, Wavell expressed the attitude of the British rulers:

"I believe that the greatest contribution that the Congress Party can make toward India's welfare is to abandon the policy of non-cooperation and join wholeheartedly with the other Indian parties and with the British in helping India forward in economic and political progress-not by any dramatic or spectacular stroke but by hard and steady work toward the end ahead."

Put into undiplomatic language, this means: You, the Indian people, must not fight for your independence, even by such mild measures as noncooperation, to say nothing of revolution. Instead, you must cooperate organization guaranteed to all sec- monly known in the United States,

with us, your enslavers, and work hard, while we-we will just continue to live off your hard work.

### THE GANDHI PROPOSALS

What Gandhi was proposing, and what the British rejected, was not independence for India. He was merely proposing that the Indian national leaders be permitted to share the government with the British, in a set-up which would leave the most decisive factor of government, namely, control of military affairs, in the hands of the British.

The proposal that, at the end of the war, a plebiscite should be held in the Moslem areas to determine whether they shall constitute independent states or be part of an all-India federation was likewise turned down by the British, who have no wish to see the "Moslem problem" settled. Jinnah, head of the Moslem League, with the help of the Viceroy, has raised numerous technical obstacles in the way of considering the proposition, even though he has resumed discussions with Gandhi.

. The proposal for the plebiscite can have meaning only if it is made in conjunction with the establishment of democracy in India. Without at least freedom of speech, press and none of the democratic rights, com-

tions of the population, a democratic are in existence. But these rights are fact that negotiations and bargaining vote in the Moslem areas cannot even be taken and the will of the people involved cannot be expressed.

not obtainable by any "share-thegovernment" plans with the British, but only by an all-out fight against To attain these rights it is neces-British rule.



tional self - determination - without The Gandhi method of proceeding fighting for it in all spheres, espeagainst the British rulers can only cially in a country like India, where end in a blind alley. The British refusal even to consider the Gandhi plan is only additional proof of the

will get the Indian people nowhere. Their freedom will be won only through clear - sighted and direct struggle.

At the Quebec conference between Prime Minister Churchill and President Roosevent it is most likely that the United States will not press for the immediate liberation of India, although Roosevelt may seek certain concessions for American big business. The imperialist interests of the two great democracies represented at Quebec will overshadow the issue of democratic rights of the millions in India.

It is quite possible that in the days to come the United States may, for the purpose of strengthening its own imperialist interests, demand that England "liberate" India by declaring an "open door" policy. A demand for such "liberation" will have nothing in common with the demand made by the Indian people, who want freedom from British rule, not in order to come under the domination of another imperialist power, but in order that they may govern themselves as they see fit. The Indian people will inevitably resume active struggle for freedom, and in this fight we place ourselves unmistakably and unconditionally on their side.

# LABOR ACTION

# Editorials

Page

# **For Immediate and Unconditional Independence of India!**

new. The Indian people have been fighting capitalist class for independence from the day the British seized their country and began to exploit it in the interest of their own ruling class. For several hundred years Great Britain has telen hundreds of millions of dollars out of the country from the blood, sweat, toil and tears of that vast population. The industrial progress of India was blocked in the interests of British industrialists. The land of India remains in a state of ruin. Good and fertile lands are in the hands of the British landlords, Indian princes and wealthy Indians who serve their London overlords. But the hundreds of millions of Indian people have been little else than work-horses producing profit for absentee owners living on enormous estates in the United Kingdom.

The movement of the Indian people for independence is strong. It embraces almost every inhabitant of the country who does not have some special interest linked with the British rulers. What has been wrong with the independence movement is that it never acquired a realistic policy of throwing the British out of the country. Imagine, three hundred and fifty million people ASKING the British for independence! In a single day this vast number of people could shove the British right out of the country and set up their own rule. What is needed is a strong and determined policy of struggle.

The war has only emphasized the crucial situation in India. The Atlantic Charter and the Four Freedoms have become what we always said they would-mere slogans, never meant to be applied either in Europe or Asia. The present pleas of the liberals for a Pacific Charter is all the more laughable when it is recalled that even in the case of the Atlantic Charter, Churchill announced that it had no application to India. Moreover. Churchill has stated defiantly that he was not the King's Prime Minister to preside over the liquidation of the British Empire.

The article on India which appears in this issue of LABOR ACTION records the latest conflict of interests between the United States and Great Britain and the development of a determined American policy which seeks the independence of the country. The reasons for this American attitude, as is explained in the article, are based upon particular imperialist interests of the American ruling class in the Far

The issue of Indian independence is not dividuals and sections of the American

It should be clear to all intelligent workers that our demands for Indian independence and those of the American business interests are not one and the same thing. American capitalists domand Indian independence so that they can compete with England in India on the basis of equality, certain that in this way the superiority of American industry would undermine British interests in that part of the world. One thing is clear: it is not out of any particular love for the Indian people that American "statesmen" are now shouting for a solution to the Indian question. Two things dominate their view: 1. It could more strongly involve the many millions of Indians in the war; 2. It would break • the British monopoly on the profits being squeezed out of that country.

As can be easily seen, then, these demands for independence are conditional and not based on Indian interests but solely on the war and profit interests of this country. The "liberals" give the whole game away when they say that independence for India would give "us" (meaning American big business) an equal opportunity to that of Great Britain to exploit the country for trade (read: profits). As revolutionary socialists, we demand the immediate independence of India, with no strings attached, no matter whose profit interests are hurt. We are not for independence merely to serve the desires of big business in America. We are not only for immediate and unconditional independence, but stand for an Indian government of the millions of workers and peasants of the country. And we do not belisve that the Indian peoples will exchange their present British oppressors in order to be exploited by any other, Indian or American.

# LABOR ACTION A Paper in the Interests of Labor

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# Dumbarton Oaks ACT 1 OF THE THIRD WORLD WAR

For several weeks now the delegates from the United States, Great Britain, Russia and China have sat, with solemn faces, around a long table in a big, closeguarded mansion near Washington; D. C. We are told that these wise and scholarly gentlemen were hard at work laying plans for an international organization of nations that would prevent another world war.

Tons of paper were covered with. printer's ink by thousands of selfstyle "international experts" telling why the first League of Nations failed and how this one would be fool-proof. After all the writing and talking and serious hoeus-pocus by experts and diplomats, we are treated to the following headline in the New York Times of September 8:

"War by Big Power Is League Problem.'

"Delegates Ponder Action to Be Taken if a 'Peacemaker' Becomes an Aggressor."

The story goes on to say:

"There is general agreement among the delegates on the general formula to be followed in dealing with aggression by any other nation except the United States, Soviet Russia, Britain and China, permanent members of the proposed League Council, which would have primary responsibility for preventing and repelling aggression."

You see, this new, stream-lined League of Nations isn't going to go in for any foolishness about equal rights for small nations. It will be run by the "big four." They will police the world. As members of the League Council

2000

they will each have veto power over what the organization does. In this way they will be able to veto any action directed against themselves.

### IT ALL DEPENDS

What good is the League, then, some will ask. Why, don't you know? For instance, if Switzerland should suddenly attack Russia. The League Council would meet and have the legal right to protect Russia against such unwarranted aggression. Or suppose Guatemala suddenly landed troops on American soil and invaded us. Why, the League would have the perfect right to declare Guatemala the aggressor and come to our ressue. Or what would the British Empire do if Denmark suddenly attacked it and there was no League of Nations?

But some foolish person may still ask "But what if the United States attacked Guatemala, or Great Britain attacked Denmark, or Russia attacked Switzerland? Sh-h-h-h-" Don't ask that out loud! You just reveal your ignorance of international affairs. In addition to which you will be accused of lacking faith in the big four "democracies."

Just listen to how the British delegates answered this question at Dumbarton: "They make clear that the whole

success of the League will depend on the 'trust and confidence and sincerity of purpose of the four great powers' and they seem to indicate that in dealing with the problem of aggression by one of the permanent members, there is a limit beyond which the machin-

ery of the proposed League cannot go."

# A TRAGIC COMEDY

So the mothers who have wondered whether the children of today may not grow up to be the cannon fodder of World War III can now rest assured. If we only depend on the "trust and confidence and sincerity of purpose' of Russia, Great Britain, China and the United States, all will be peaceful. And if Denmark or Guatemala or Switzerland undertakes any aggression, the League of Nations will make short work of them.

If the comedy at Dumbarton Oaks did not concern the lives of millions of the next generation it would be cause for unrestrained laughter. Having had a look-in at the padded cell, let us turn back to our serious and sane task of building a socialist world, the only guarantee that war will not again devastate our civilization.

Socialism would rid the world of the economic cause of warthe profit system of capitalism. The present war did not originate in the diseased mind of Hitler. It originated in the restless search of German and Japanese capital for raw materials and markets and in the restless efforts of British and American capital to keep these raw materials and markets for themselves. Woodrom Wilson, in 1919, called the First World War a "commercial war." So is this one. We can no more rid the world of war without first ridding it of capitalism than we can rid a consumptive of coughs without first ridding him of consumption.

# **DOLLAR PAYTRIOTISM**

September 18, 1944

How U. S' Industry Armed Tojo's Empire

It is common knowledge that big business in this country aided in arming and equipping Japan for this war. But the full extent of this aid and the schemes used to hide the transactions from the eyes of the trade unions and the public in general were revealed only last week. James S. Martin of the Economic Welfare Division of the Justice Department presented the Kilgore Committee with a mountain of evidence that implicates and exposes big business for what it really is.

Big business used many methods to conceal the identity of its customer in order to avoid "unfavorable publicity" and "fearful of labor difficulties in the event that workmen learn that the materials on which they are working are destined for Japan."

Thompson Products, Inc., of Cleveland supplied materials to Japan. All orders had part numbers only, and no reference was made on any vouchers or billing as to the destination or what the parts were to be used for.

The president of Thompson Products is F. C. Crawford, the well known labor-hater and former president of the National Association of Manufacturers. While this company was firing workers in this country for being "un-American" for joining unions, it was supplying Japan with war materials!

The National Labor Relations Board found this company guilty of "discriminatory firing" and "engendering fear" among the workers.

The LaFollette Civil Liberties Committee exposed Crawford's company as hiring labor spies, and only a year ago the workers went on strike because the company was still firing union militants.

Bethlehem Steel Export Corporation made parts for aircraft use and the Canton Drop Forgings & Mfg. Co. also supplied Japan. Both these companies covered up the facts in the same way as Thompson Products. The American Hammered Piston Ring Co. had all Japanese orders placed through their export manager, who supplied "his own" order forms. Air Associates, Dzus Fastener Co. and the Ohio Seamless "Tube Co. didn't even bother to conceal the identity of their customer or to what use the products were to be put.

The U. S. War and Navy Departments approved agreements made by big business with Japan whereby, for a large sum of money, Japanese experts were to be taught in this country how to make high octane aviation gasoline. At that time, due to cartel arrangements, certain American companies were not given that information.

Long after the embargo and the proclamation prohibiting the sending of information on highoctane gasoline, many "confidential" reports were sent by petroleum company agents to Japan, giving "technical" advice. Six months before the attack on Pearl Harbor, the Tidewater Associated Oil Co., an American concern which has connections with Japanese bankers, informed Japan as to the amounts of fuel oil, Diesel fuel oil and gasoline shipped to Pearl Harbor.

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Robert Webb, an agent for one of the petroleum companies, attached a note to one of the confidential reports he sent to Japan saying, "The attached report is sent to you in complete confidence and be very careful to whom you disclose it, as it would get me in a terrific jam if it ever leaked out that I sent you this data."

# France in Ferment as People **Demand Sweeping Changes**

### By SAM ADAMS

The news from France is still too sparse and inconclusive to offer any definite picture of what is actually happening in the country. But several important facts are clear and well known. France is sharply divided between the de Gaullist forces organized outside of the country, the French underground and its armed detachments in the French Forces of the Interior, and the former collaborationist elements. These divisions, however, are not merely national divisions over matters of policy pursued prior to the Allied invasion of France and the subsequent expulsion of the Germans. They not only reflect the deep desires of the French people for their national independence from a foreign oppressor, an oppressor which united the French masses in a common struggle, but they also reflect the sharp struggles between the classes in France. Behind the fact that the masses never ceased to fight against German occupation and French collaborationists is the additional fact that they were fighting against the "old order of things." With good instincts, the French people, especially the French working class, recognized that the defeat of France was to be placed where the real blame lay: on the French ruling class, the financiers and industrialists who preferred Hitler to the rule of the French working class and peasantry. The French people knew that their capitalist class played ball with Hitler before the defeat, as well as after. rejoicing in the fact that the defeat and occupation of the country by the fascist scum temporarily destroyed the French labor movement, the trade unions and the political organizations of the working class. Not only that, the French workers today do not want a return to the conditions that existed before the war. They may not know exactly what they want in the same sense as class - conscious socialists who seek the abolition of capitalism and the establishment of a system of production for use. But they do know that they will not accept a return to the long working day, the miserable working conditions that prevailed in the coun-

try, the years of unemployment, poverty and war.

They saw some of their bosses run to all four corners of the earth when the Germans came. They know that the big business men who remained in the country when the Germans came, collaborated with the Nazis against the French people, thus insuring for themselves continued operation of their factories-and profits.

# PRESERVING "ORDER"

Therefore when the capitalist press talks about preserving "order" in France, they mean to keep the French workers from asserting their desires and demands. The Allies have made it plain to de Gaulle that he will receive their support only to the extent that he maintains this order and keeps the working class in

would leave the economy in the hands of labor. They want to insure ownership and control of the economy to the French capitalist class.

The French working class, however, is demanding guarantees of work, decent conditions, advanced social legislation, placing economic burdens on the backs of the French ruling class and the right to determine the economic life of the country.

Where will this conflict end? It is difficult to say now. We are only at the beginning of a great new struggle for freedom. The French workers are still in a state of disorganization. Those parties which do exist, like the French Socialist Party and the Communist Party, offer no hope to the French masses. On the contrary, they are preparing now to hand the

East, interests espoused by all kinds of in-

# Act of March S. 1879.

# Sen. Truman Miscast in "Friend of Labor" Role

### By WALTER WEISS

In recent years Vice-President Henry A. Wallace has served as the labor and liberal face of the Roosevelt Administration and of the Democratic Party. His job was to make noble speeches before large labor rallies and speak comforting words, in his homely way, at intimate confabs with imporint labor leaders.

As the New Deal faded away, so that even Roosevelt pronounced it dead, Wallace would grant that there were many things to puzzle and even to treable "as liberals," but he remained firm in his saith that "the boss" would make everything all right in the long run because his (Roosevelt's) soul was pure. For the present the poor boss was beset on every side by reactionary pressures and was at the same time preoccupied with the heavy cares of winning the war.

Senator Harry S. Traman has now fallen heir to Wallace's little vice-presidential throne and has inherited along with it the task of serving as the labor face of the Democratic Party. Doing his duty, he went to the nation's labor capital, Detroit, and addressed large gatherings of CH9 and AFL unionists on Labor Day.

Mis task was anything but easy. He was faced with the necessity of explaining why the Demoeratic plotform had nothing definite to say about labor's future and why the Democrats in Congress had joined with the Republicans in killing the Kilgore bill for liberalized unemployment benefits, while Roosevelt the whole time played damb.

### DOUBLE-TALK BY TRUMAN

On the matter of the platform, he repeated the argument which Roosevelt himself served up for the Democratic convention. Platforms, you see, are just promises. Labor has had much bitter experience with talk and campaign speeches, and has "learned to judge a candidate or party by accomplished fact." Before elections, every politician, said Truman, calls himself a friend of labor. but deeds show that FDR is the greatest friend labor has ever had, etc., etc.

Now, it is all too true that capitalist politicians, angling for workers' votes, have not hesitated to peddle outrageous lies about their future intentions. But if a candidate (Roosevelt) and a party (the Democratic) have really proved their good faith by deeds over a period of three terms, twelve years, what is to prevent them from making promises which can be trusted?

Truman, in fact, immediately after his attack on platforms and other promises, proceeded to

acknowledge the stupidity of his own words by saying:

"It is fair for you to ask . . . what the expectations of the Democratic Party are, and what we intend to do about post-war employment."

Make sense of it if you can: We don't have a labor platform, because platforms are so much hot air, but naturally you want to know what our platform is.

The Democratic Party, he went on to say, was not defeatist about the nation's future. If such vast production is possible in wartime, it is also possible in time of peace. But then, approaching a specific question-unemployment insurance and the Kilgore bill-Brother Truman resorted to a little trick. He stopped talking about the Democratic Party-necessarily, of course, because the record on the Kilgore bill is so recent and so clear -and proceeded to speak for himself alone. I shall continue to work for real unemployment insurance, he said. I have fought for labor's rights and will continue to do so, he proclaimed.

#### LOOK AT THE RECORD

Very fine. Very commendable. But let's follow his advice and look at the record. For his own part, Truman voted in favor of the Connally-Smith antistrike law and also in favor of the notorious income tax law of 1943. On some other matters, to be sure, his record is considered "good" by the liberals and labor leaders, but on these really important bills he stood squarely with the reactionaries.

Apart from his personal record, there is the matter of the Democratic Party machine to which he is so loyal. Truman may, probably will, be more careful in the future to make a pro-labor record, but he alone isn't the Democratic Party, although in his speech he tried hard to confuse his listeners on this point.

No, the Democratic Party as a party, as is shown by the record on the anti-strike law, the Kilgore bill and countless other measures, is represented more typically by such figures as Senator Tom Connally of Texas, author of the anti-strike law. The Connallys dictate the party's policy on taxation, labor, the Negro question and all other important matters. Reports from the convention as the platform was being drawn up should have made this clear to anybody who, did not already understand it. The Roosevelts and Trumans string along, usually willingly enough.

Now, Senator Truman, interestingly enough, (Continued in last column)



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In check? What does that mean? It

means to keep the workers from taking the factories, from asserting their full democratic rights. It means liquidating the Forces of the Interior. who fought so valiantly against the Nazis and who threaten to fight valiantly in behalf of the French masses.

We are now told that the FFI has weapons, that is composed of young, heroic men who know that they were the ones who stayed at home, braved the occupation of the Germans and never ceased the struggle for freedom. For this, the underground and the FFI demand priority in all considerations and deliberations concerning France, and demand that the "exiles" take second place. They don't want the ruling class element who ran France into the ground to return and pick up where they left off. They want a say in the affairs of the nation, they want to direct them, and no one has a better right to this than the workers of the country.

### THE NEW STRUGGLE BEGINS

But already the struggle inside the country is beginning.' The press reports that the workers have seized plants when owners and directors fled as the Allied armies and the FFI made their appearance. In some instances there is no ruling force except the workers, and they have taken charge of the factories. This is exactly what the Workers Party predictedt would happen. Allied policy is to prevent any social change which

workers over to the mercy of the old system and the old rulers. Their policies in France are the same as in other countries: work with the capitalist class, establish "law and order" and return to the good old days when they were "loyal oppositions" fighting

for a few crumbs for the workers. But they will not be able to halt the struggle of the masses for a fundamental change in the social order so as to guarantee them security, peace and freedom. Up to now there is no evidence whatever that these three desires and necessities of the French people can or will be realized under Allied rule, a de Gaullist government or from the existing reformist Socialist Party, or the Russiancontrolled Communist Party. They all stand for capitalism and the old system.

What is needed in France is a new organization, a revolutionary socialist party which will carry forward the struggle for real freedom, real seourity, real peace through workers' rule and the construction of a socialist economy of equality. This struggle will go on as surely as the world turns. The real hope of France, as of all of Europe, lies only in this direction.

# **Company Fink** In Union Ranks

Further evidence of the role of the PTC in the anti-Negro trolley strike was indicated by the charge of Michael Quill, president of the TWU-CIO, that Aggie Campbell, notorious company fink and strikebreaker from the ship industry. was seen in the PTC offices in the Mitten Building on August 2, during the strike.

Campbell broke the strike of the CIO at the Sun shipyards in 1936 by leading a back-to-work movement and founding the Sun Shipbuilding Employees Association, the company union that so long succeeded in keeping the CIO out of the yards. Campbell was exposed as a collaborator with the Nazi Bund and the distributor of anti-Semitic literature. He was also alleged to have been a henchman of Pearl Bergoff, leading professional strike - breaker, exposed during the LaFollette Committee investigations.

This is capitalism! And its agents? Right now they are draped in the flag, singing patriotic songs, piling up war profits, and fighting the militant workers by calling them-of all things-Japanese agents!

# "No Human Rights for **Defeated**"--Allied Plans By EUROPACUS

Remember how "public opinion" was horrified some years ago when the Nazis announced their first mass expulsion of people from Poland and Czechoslovakia? Remember how the liberals thundered against this barbarian disregard for elementary human rights?

On August 10 the New York Times published an article in which it was stated that, "According to a statement by Wenzel Jaksch, chairman of the Sudeten German Social Democratic Party in London, it is intended to carry out deportations of 10,000,000 Germans from Poland and Czechoslovakia within five years." Czech government-inexile circles stated that "German minorities must never again be permitted to become a basis of international disputes; these Sudeten-Germans must go." The Polish government in London has similar plans.

What is "enlightened public opinion" to say this time? What are the liberals to say? We may safely predict that they will say nothing, nothing at all. After all, what are 10,000,000 German peasants and workers?

Where would these new millions live in a Germany reduced in size by partitioning and with a sharply impaired productive machinery? These planners of 'a rosy post-war future hardly care. They work on greater designs. After all, these are only 10,000,000 people-slightly more than Hitler forced into slave labor in Germany. There is a sort of competition between Hitler, Stalin and the other Allied leaders as to who can go "one better."

# (Continued from second column)

came to Detroit fresh from a ceremony at which he was notified officially of his vice-presidential candidacy, and the chief notifier was Senator Connally. Altogether undisturbed by his association with this open reactionary, he had the shamelessness to denounce Republican reactionaries to his labor audiences and to commend to them the record of the Democratic Party, Connally's party.

As you say, Senator, everybody calls himself a friend of labor. We can only add: save us from our "friends," especially our greatest friends, among the Republican and Democratic capitalist politicians alike.

Only labor can represent the interests of labor. To that end a party is most certainly needed-but it must be an independent Labor Party.