

# CIO-AFL - End Policy of Retreat, - Open Labor Offensive!

## These Unions Have a Fighting Program!

### 1. "Rescind the No-Strike Pledge"

Passed by Local 719, UAW-CIO, Chicago

Whereas, the pledge given by the labor unions not to strike for the duration of the war has proved to be the greatest mistake ever made by the labor movement in its long and turbulent history; and

Whereas, the employers have taken advantage of the no-strike pledge from the very first day it was given to launch a vicious and planned attack against the unions and the living standards of the workers in order to insure themselves fabulous profits; and

Whereas, the no-strike pledge has made it possible for the employers, through their No. 1 stooge agency, the War Labor Board, to maintain that shameful and ignominious insult, the Little Steel formula; and

Whereas, all the promises to labor by the Administration, made in return for the no-strike pledge, namely, price stabilization, salary limitation to \$25,000 a year, no excess profits out of the war, etc., have not been kept—on the contrary: we have received a wage freeze, a job freeze, and an increase in prices to the tune of 45.3 per cent, plus the Connally-Smith bill; and

Whereas, without the fundamental and basic right to strike, our union is impotent in meeting the all-out attack of big business; and

Whereas, we must start battling now to assure jobs, union working standards, and a rising standard of living not only for those working in industry today but also to the many millions serving in the armed forces in every corner of the globe;

Therefore be it resolved that Local 719 recommends to the national convention of the UAW that it rescind the no-strike pledge immediately and without equivocation. Only by taking such a position can we regain the ground we have lost and go on to new victories in the best traditions of the UAW and the CIO.

### 2. "Get Off the Bosses' WLB"

Passed by Local 719, UAW-CIO, Chicago

Whereas, labor, in lending its representatives to the War Labor Board, and agreeing to allow this board to settle employer-employee disputes for the duration of the war, did so with the mistaken understanding that this would be an impartial board which would decide disputes according to their merits; and

Whereas, the experiences of the last few years have given us abundant proof that the War Labor Board is merely a stooge agency of big business, as is evidenced by its adoption and maintenance of the Little Steel formula which limits wage raises of workers to fifteen per cent of what they were in January, 1941, while prices have gone up at least 45.3 per cent and profits have gone sky-high; and

Whereas, the War Labor Board acts for the most part only in the interests of the employers by serving as a strike-breaking agency and buries labor's grievances in a maze of legal proceedings which enable the employers, with their unlimited financial resources, to prolong disputes indefinitely; and

Whereas, this board is dangerous to the labor movement in that it not only prevents labor from gaining its just demands, but also attempts to abrogate those gains for which labor has fought many decades, such as its retroactive pay decision in the steel workers case, which was only changed by the spontaneous strikes of steel workers throughout the country; and

Whereas, the participation of labor representatives on the War Labor Board only adds prestige to this disreputable agency and serves to make its reactionary decisions more palatable to labor;

Therefore be it resolved that Local 719 hereby goes on record as favoring the immediate removal of any UAW representatives from the War Labor Board and so recommends to the national convention of the UAW.

### 3. "Build Labor's Own Party"

Passed by Local 42, IUMSWA-CIO, Philadelphia

Whereas, labor has tried for more than fifty years to advance its interests by supporting candidates of the old parties; and

Whereas, this has usually resulted in labor getting a raw deal from politicians elected as "friends of labor," turning against labor once in office; and

Whereas, the anti-labor control of Congress and the machinery of government has resulted in the freezing of wages, a forty-five per cent increase in prices, an accumulation of record-breaking profits on the part of industry and guaranteed post-war profits for big business; and

Whereas, the reasonable demands of the CIO for a measure of security for workers and veterans, as manifested in the guaranteed annual wage proposal, have been ignored; and

Whereas, the millions of workers and farmers comprise the overwhelming majority of the American people; and

Whereas, it is time that these millions assert their great strength through adopting a course of independent political action, based on the needs of the majority of the people—labor, farmers, and veterans; and

Whereas, this can only be done through the organization of a party of labor free of ties with the old parties; and

Whereas, the organizational beginnings of such a move can start by converting the Political Action Committee of the CIO into Labor Party units; now, therefore, be it

Resolved, that this tenth convention of the Industrial Union of Marine & Shipbuilding Workers of America instruct the incoming General Executive Board to energetically work for the convening of the PAC units within thirty days following the national elections, with the purpose of urging and voting for the formation of an independent labor or farmer-labor party through transforming PAC units into such bodies and by any other means feasible for the advancement of this aim.

By DAVID COOLIDGE

Millions of workers in the United States, members of the CIO, the railroad unions and the AFL, are preparing for the conventions of their internationals and federations.

These workers have already elected or are in the process of electing delegates to represent them at these conventions.

These conventions of international unions will legislate for labor for the period extending from one convention to the next. The decisions and actions of these international conventions will therefore officially bind millions of workers for one or two years. International officers will point to the decisions made at these conventions as authority for their acts. The employers and the government will remind labor of the legislation enacted "at your last convention." The capitalist press will keep up a constant din in the ears of labor.

## Seniority Hit, Ford Men Walk Out

DETROIT—Members of Local 400, UAW-CIO, at the Ford-Highland Park plant have had another lesson in how the no-strike pledge hampers labor in their recent three-day plant-wide strike which was broken by their own leadership.

According to the Detroit News, the strike, which started Friday morning, August 25, was a result of alleged violations of seniority agreements by the company, wage problems, transfers of employees to work requiring greater skill with no increase in pay, and management refusal to bargain with the employees.

What the Detroit News does not state specifically, and what every Ford worker knows, is that the strike occurred because today there is NO collective bargaining in the shop—the company violates the contract every day in the week, and replies to the protesting union: "If you don't like it, write a grievance." Unsettled grievances have accumulated to such a point that the words "grievance procedure" are only a big joke to everyone.

### FORD HITS SENIORITY

The workers in the plant have expressed their growing alarm and discontent by sporadic walkouts and stoppages in one department or another. Today, large-scale layoffs have started in the Ford Motor Co., a fact which has not been mentioned in the daily papers. And in connection with these layoffs, the company has de-

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That is, the press, the employers and the government will hammer away incessantly with this propaganda during the coming year—if organized labor, in its several international conventions, votes to reaffirm the no-strike pledge. This is what will happen if the delegates to the various conventions allowed themselves to be beguiled, browbeaten or sobbed into putting up their hands again in support of leaders who will surely demand continuation of the no-strike pledge.

If the thousands of delegates to the conventions permit themselves to be drugged by the demagoguery of leaders, just back from the battle fronts, by clever and oily speeches by government officials and, worst of all, by the grossly indecent exhibition of innocent wounded men from the front, then they will only place a halter around the neck of labor that will be pulled tighter during the next year by the employers and the government.

The no-strike pledge is the main question that will come before the conventions.

This is the chief question tactically. It is the all-important issue from the standpoint

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## Open Drive for 4,000 New Subs!

LABOR ACTION's annual sub drive will begin September 15 and will last until December 15. Subscribers, sympathizers, branch members of the Workers Party, friends, relatives and neighbors are hereby enlisted in the army of sub-gatherers for America's leading labor weekly.

LABOR ACTION maintains its unique subscription rate of twenty-five cents for six months. The yearly rate, regularly sixty cents, has been reduced to fifty cents for fifty-two issues for the duration of the drive.

Last year, our experimental quota was a far too modest one thousand subs in a similar period. This was surpassed in a walk by the various branches of the Workers Party. The ease with which LABOR ACTION is sold, due to its honest, four-square, labor-socialist program, testifies that last year's quota was absurdly low. That's why we've quadrupled it to 4,000 IN THREE MONTHS! And we expect to go over the top!

LABOR ACTION's loyal read-

ers know how indispensable it is for educating and influencing the workers and farmers in the United States. LABOR ACTION is the only paper which presents labor's slant on every question, and it alone can do it because it is dedicated to the fight for a workers' world!

Here are some of the quotas for branches of the Workers Party, subject to slight revision downward, and unlimited revision upward:

New York	1,000
Detroit	600
Philadelphia	425
Chicago	300
Los Angeles	400
Akron	150
Cleveland	200
Reading	50
San Francisco	100
St. Louis	50
Seattle	50
Buffalo	150
Louisville	25
Streator	50
Youngstown-Warren	50
National Office	400

On your mark! Get set!  
SEPTEMBER 15 WE GO!

## French Workers Revolt Overthrows Nazis; Allied Propagandists Worried

# Paris Masses Did It Themselves!

By J. R. JOHNSON

The ruling class is very disturbed at the praise which the world is showering upon the French Forces of the Interior. A dispatch from London in the New York Times of August 27 expresses clearly, first, the "world-wide" reputation of the French Forces of the Interior, and then goes on to say:

"However, so lavish has been the praise showered on the FFI and so highly colored are the accounts of some of its operations that the part played by this magnificent guerrilla force in the present campaign is becoming distorted and even exaggerated."

And what is it that is griping them? "At the same time the brilliant military achievements of the American and British soldiers have become somewhat obscured."

The British and the Americans want the people of France and the world at large to see their imperialist armies, if not one hundred, at least ninety-nine per cent, as the great liberators. That is to be the cover for the domination which they propose to impose.

### ODDS AGAINST UNDERGROUND

The London correspondent goes on to say what is the simple truth, that the FFI have not got heavy arms and therefore cannot be used against the German army. That the FFI has not these arms and is as poorly armed as it is, is not its own fault. Anglo-American imperialism consistently refused to arm it properly despite appeals, not only from the underground leaders themselves, but also from de Gaulle and his so-called provisional government in Algiers.

But no lack of arms must dim the glory of the underground movement and what it has contributed to the liberation of Europe from Hitlerite terrorism. This sniping by the ruling class against the global salute to the magnificent popular masses of France is merely a continuation of their policy of giving all credit to the imperialist armies. Thus, they try to embellish the naked imperialism of the war and to disguise their plans for the subjugation of the European people. In reality, the resistance of the millions of the European people to Hitler's domination of Europe has been a factor of incalculable importance in his defeat. The working class in the United States and all the world over should bear this firmly in mind, and assert it on every possible occasion.

There are some three hundred million people in Europe who have been under the domination of Hitler. Suppose these masses of workers and peasants had behaved as most of their native rulers did—what would have happened? Hitler would have had an enormous source of manpower for his armies. The million French soldiers who are now interned in Germany, if they had listened to the propaganda of Laval, would have become soldiers in Hitler's armies. He would have been able to get three or four million more soldiers from Europe. Instead of the constant resistance he met, Hitler would have been able to mobilize scores of millions of workers to produce at the high rate and in the organized manner which characterized Germany before the Nazi regime began to crack. The hundreds of thousands of German soldiers he was compelled to use as German

garrisons would have been available for service elsewhere.

That would have been assistance enough. But it is only one part.

### MASSSES SAID "NO" TO NAZIS

The mere fact that the masses of the European people gave such a resounding "No" to Hitler's "New Order" and refused to follow the large numbers of the possessing classes

been celebrated by the popular masses everywhere. The reports that come in show joy not only at the driving out of the hated Nazis from Paris, not only joy that the wonderful city has been spared from destruction, but they show also the deep satisfaction of people everywhere that the masses of the Parisian people themselves fought to accomplish this great task. The uprising in Paris in-

### That Very Old "Expert" on Italy . . .

Winston Churchill has just completed a visit to Italy with a farewell message to the Italian people. In his message he emphasized his love for freedom, hatred of dictatorships, and warned the Italians not to "fall into the clutches of the fascist totalitarian system in any guise in which it might present itself."

This is not the first message on dictators and fascism that the people of Italy have heard from "democrat" Churchill.

On January 21, 1927, after touring Italy, he said: "I could not help being charmed, as so many other people have been, by Signor Mussolini's gentle and simple bearing and by his calm, detached poise, despite so many burdens and dangers. . . . If I had been an Italian, I am sure that I would have been wholeheartedly with you fascists from start to finish. . . . I will say a word on the international aspects of fascism. Externally, your movement has rendered a service to the whole world. She (Italy) has rendered the necessary antidote to the Russian (socialist) poison. Hereafter no great nation will be unprovided with an ultimate means of protection against cancerous growths."

who were willing to support him—this was a great contribution to the liberation of the continent from Nazi tyranny. This should be added to the magnificent work of the FFI in the actual military conflict which is now taking place.

This is the true glory of what has taken place in France. And this is what in every part of the world has

particular shows that in France the great popular masses were never crushed by Nazi tyranny. THE PEOPLES OF EUROPE IN PARTICULAR who are waiting their turn have gained a wonderful impetus toward taking their national affairs into their own hands by this magnificent action of the French resistance as a whole and the common people of Paris in par-

From its own point of view the capitalist class correctly snarls and grumbles about the praise that people are giving to the FFI! It recognizes mass revolutionary action anywhere and under any circumstances as a threat to its authority and prestige everywhere. We, on the other hand, welcome it, though, as LABOR ACTION has pointed out many times, the nationalist revolutionaries are in very grave political danger from their very association with these imperialist robbers.

### NEW BATTLES AHEAD

The great battle that will take place in France henceforth is to crush these splendid fighters and reduce them once more to a condition where they can do nothing but take orders from the capitalist government in the same way as they took orders before 1939 from the French governments which led them to destruction. The working class, which has greeted their efforts so spontaneously and so generously, must realize that such feeling is not enough. The French people and the other peoples in Europe are just beginning their struggle for complete freedom, complete independence.

The organized workers of the U. S. A. must not only resist the malicious propaganda of Anglo-American imperialism, but must take organized steps to resist the chains which Anglo-American imperialism and European reaction are now forging for the European people.



NEWS AND VIEWS FROM THE LABOR FRONT

Hudson-UAW for Right to Strike; Factions Mum

DETROIT—In a hotly contested election for delegates to the UAW national convention at Hudson Local 154, the so-called "Rank and File" slate managed to capture thirteen delegates to ten delegates of the "Victory" slate.

The Victory program was better, calling for a referendum vote on the no-strike pledge, election of international officers by referendum, opposing interference and suspensions by international officers of local union officers without proper trial procedure.

Both slates found it advisable to keep away from the "hot potato" of the no-strike pledge. While both groups realized that the overwhelming mass of members of the local were in favor of scrapping the pledge, they would not take a position on this for fear that the other faction would

use the issue to beat them. Thus, the issue, the most important one before the UAW today, was straddled.

OPPOSE NO-STRIKE PLEDGE

At the general assembly of the local on August 23, a resolution was presented on the floor in favor of revoking the no-strike pledge. The resolution pointed out how big business had taken advantage of the pledge to break the back of labor and how the conditions for the pledge—\$25,000 limit on salaries, no rise in the cost of living had no been kept.

There was some debate on the issue but it was not a very hot debate. Inasmuch as only three people could be found to speak against the resolution, the only real fight was on what people would get the floor to denounce the pledge and to support the resolution.

seas had written to tell him that the manufacturers were taking advantage of this pledge and that labor must do something to fight these destroyers of the labor movement.

When debate was finally closed, only five dissenting votes were counted, and loud applause rocked the auditorium as the resolution was declared carried.

HUDSON WORKERS LEARN

Many of the workers in the hall were the victims of the lockout of the chief stewards, planned by management several weeks ago, and they had learned the lesson about the pledge, because they were locked out for several hours. But when the workers in the shop learned of the lockout, they promptly downed tools and began to walk out.

Hudson Local 154, UAW, is another union that has learned its lesson: labor can't fight back, saddled with the no-strike pledge.

Read Labor Action for Full Coverage Of Leading CIO and AFL Conventions!

The following is a list of the more important CIO national and international unions holding conventions in September and October, 1944.

- United Auto Workers, Grand Rapids, Mich., September 11.
United Rubber Workers, New York City, September 18.
United Electrical, Radio & Machine Workers, New York City, September 25.
Gas, Coke & Chemical Workers, Cleveland, September 21.
Marine & Shipbuilding Workers, Atlantic City, September 28.
United Mine Workers of America (unaffiliated), Cincinnati, September 12.

Max Shachtman, David Coolidge, Albert Gates, Bill Ford, T. R. Cobb, Mary Bell and Martin Harvey are among the writers tentatively assigned to give the readers of LABOR ACTION complete reports of these annual meetings, which this year are expected to provide the biggest labor news since the start of the war.

THE TWO PROGRAMS

The Rank and File program was the usual union program: equal pay for equal work, limit war profits, no dues increase, against piecework.

Hoboken Ship Local 15 Scotches No-Strike Pledge

HOBOKEN — A resolution calling upon their local and international union to rescind the no-strike pledge was passed at both the regular day and night shift meetings of Local 15 of the Industrial Union of Marine & Shipbuilding Workers of America, CIO. This resolution concurred with the one proposed and passed by Local 42.

Only two speakers took the floor at the night shift meeting. One of the ablest orators in the local took the floor in favor of retaining the no-strike pledge and the other speaker denounced this policy of labor giving up its only weapon.

DAY SHIFT APPROVES

The day shift meeting concurred with the decision of the night shift after a thorough discussion. The chairman, fully cognizant of the importance of the issue, gave everyone an opportunity to speak. The rank and file and militant shop stewards of the local overwhelmingly stressed the importance of the strike, both as a threat and as an action. They emphasized the importance of winning the workers today and the returning service men of tomorrow into the ranks of the organized labor movement.

They pointed out that this could only be done if labor possessed a weapon with which to fight the bosses, their use of governmental bodies and the anti-labor press, all

of which are united in a concerted campaign to crush the free trade union movement of the country.

STALIN-BOYS IN FORM

The Communists were in great form. Readers of LABOR ACTION know full well how these foremost apologists for the war profiteering of the COST PLUS pay-triots, are ready to sacrifice any and all gains of the working class and its union movement.

They stopped at nothing in their effort to undermine the militancy of the meeting: flag-waving, red-baiting and anti-union propaganda. They pitted the servicemen against the unions instead of making constructive proposals for bridging the gap which has been created by the government propagandists and the anti-labor press of the country. They created a mythical public which they pitted against the working class, forgetting that this public of which they speak is composed of the workers of the country. Oratory and demagoguery were at a new low. But all to no avail!

The union membership voted by a sizeable majority to rescind the no-strike pledge. The workers indicated to their delegates who were elected to represent them at their coming national convention that they are ready to fight in the best traditions of the labor movement to defend and extend their gains as organized workers.

Ford Workers Strike - - -

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to ignore the last important right the unions have managed to keep—seniority. It was reported by the secretary of the local that the company, through its labor relations officer, Harry Newman, served notice upon the union that there would be no prior consultation with department committeemen concerning the layoffs.

When employees with seniority were laid off in the Pratt & Whitney aircraft division, while hundreds of probationary employees were kept on the job, the workers decided that it was time for a showdown. Three thousand marched out of the plant and set up picket lines at all the entrances, despite attempts by their president, Herbert Hindmarsh, to prevent such action.

HIDING BEHIND THE FLAG

At the meetings of the strikers there was a continuous barrage of flag-waving speeches from Hindmarsh and international representatives. They were answered from the

floor by workers who pointed out that by fighting for union rights they were fighting for democracy; that the company was not interested in democracy, but rather in smashing the union; that the boys who are losing their lives overseas are not dying for the right of corporations to destroy the unions they fought to build and lastly that the company was to blame for the strike, not the workers.

When asked point-blank for a program to settle their just grievances, neither Hindmarsh nor the international representatives could give an answer other than "Go back to work and we will negotiate." But the workers replied: "We've heard that too many times in the past," then walked out of the local hall and formed their picket lines.

YIELD TO PRESSURE

Despite the readiness of the men to strike for the maintenance of their union, a back-to-work movement began on the Sunday night which followed the walkout. There seemed to be no other alternative. Not only

were the strikers attacked by the press, the company and the international officials of the UAW, but they were deserted by their own local leadership. At a membership meeting on Sunday afternoon, it was announced that of twenty-one members on the Local 400 executive board and plant bargaining committee, eighteen had voted for a return to work. The membership was not permitted to vote on this decision. A truly remarkable example of "democracy"!

Several union leaders explained that this dictatorial procedure was used as a last resort, "because resentment among the men was kind of high and they might have voted to continue the strike."

The members of Local 400 last month elected a slate of delegates to the UAW convention, a majority of whom are pledged to vote against the no-strike pledge. If the present local and international officialdom cannot conduct the affairs of the union in this spirit, then the membership will find those who can.

Cutback Layoffs Arrive in Buffalo Aircraft

By ERIK FLOYD

BUFFALO—It is doubtful if the majority of workers at Curtiss-Wright and Bell Aircraft know whether they are coming or going, that is, coming out of the plants and going onto the dole. Since the OWI announcement of production cutbacks at Curtiss, reported last week in LABOR ACTION, the local papers and managements have, with the aid of their capitalist brethren in Washington, gone on a deliberate holiday of confusion and contradiction. So numerous have been the statements, denials, counter-denials and general mush that the truth has been almost completely buried by the sheer weight of newspaper. After a careful analysis of the available facts, however, it can be seen that the cat is out of the bag—and the workers of Buffalo in it.

CURTISS AND BELL LAYOFFS

On the front page of an afternoon paper, August 17, under the by-line of an accredited Associated Press Washington correspondent, there appeared the story that verified in

drastic detail the previous OWI release.

Quoting spokesmen of the War Production Board and War Manpower Commission, it stated that Curtiss and Bell between them were to begin laying off workers, sixty per cent to be women, through December, at the rate of 2,500 per month, whether or not Germany or Japan were out of the war by that time. It said further that Bell, which produces P-63 fighter planes for Russia, "might" close down completely next year if Germany were to be knocked out by then. At this point the local staff began its ridiculous interpretation of the story. The news was treated as though it were a happy event for the civic minded. The fact that 10,000 workers would be laid off by December meant that the "critical" aspect of the local manpower situation would be relieved.

Thus Buffalo would be one of the first cities to be blessed with newly produced civilian goods, which, unfortunately, would be "only a trickle by late autumn or winter." It ap-

plauded the WPB wit who had "hoped" that some of the workers laid off at Bell might be transferred to the Bell B-29 plant in Georgia. As if all the Buffalo workers had to do was punch out in Buffalo Saturday and report bright and early in Georgia the following Monday! No mention of possible unemployment was made, but the figures were supplied which assured it. Previous estimates by the WMC claimed that by January this area would be short only 3,900 workers. So with the new layoff Buffalo could look forward to a balance of over 6,000 workers eligible to start off the New Year with decidedly un-merry prospects.

NATION-WIDE CUTBACKS

The final point, referred to almost apologetically, was that although the nationwide cutback figure for air- had before been given as 120,000 workers it had been jumped to 200,000 workers with the inclusion of workers at sub-contractor plants. The same edition carried stories, artistically concealed on the financial page, telling of layoffs affecting 25,000

CHERBOURG ISN'T HAPPY UNDER ALLIED OCCUPATION

The above is the title of the one honest report on conditions in "liberated" France which I have so far been able to discover. It was written by the well known Negro journalist, Roi Ottley, and appeared in the August 14 issue of PM. Here are some of Ottley's remarks:

"There has been no consultation with local trade union leaders on wages, hours and working conditions. There seems to be no disposition by Army officers to deal with union leaders... A forty-eight-hour week has been established. The rate of pay for unskilled labor is nine francs, or eighteen cents an hour. Skills of various sorts are paid from nine to fourteen francs an hour... Here is what these earnings mean in real wages. Eggs cost thirty-six francs a dozen. A child's dress, 175 francs. A pair of shoes, 2,000 francs."

These wage rates will perhaps explain the title of Ottley's dispatch; they will also explain why it is so desperately necessary for American labor to oppose this exploitation of their European brothers at starvation wages. There is no greater threat to

American wage standards than the widespread use of European workers at militarily-fixed rates—much below not only the prevailing American rate but also previous American standards.

While it has now become fashionable to extol the role of the French resistance movement in the fight against the Nazis, the following incident told by Ottley may be of interest:

"The mayor of Cherbourg is given support. He admires some of Pétain's reforms." The French civil staff includes most people who functioned under German occupation. When the resistance movement thought to set up tribunals and administer government, its members were arrested on order of the mayor... Army officers finally persuaded them to forego their demands for the present."

Resistance is all right as long as it serves to help the Allied advance. Once a town is "liberated" the best French partisans can do is to disappear—this is at least the policy of the Allies.

STALIN AND DE GAULLE WANT SHARE OF GERMAN BOOTY

General de Gaulle, who is a shrewd politician and does not lack humor, was quick to take advantage of President Roosevelt's recent declarations making known the claims of American imperialism in the Pacific. He said:

"No great nation understands the preoccupation of President Roosevelt better than France... He has defined the region in the Pacific where American security, as he conceives it, must be safeguarded... We know that security is above all real and material. For two thousand years the security of French territories has meant the Rhine and its banks."

He then goes on to claim that all German territory left of the Rhine should be annexed by France. Thus he means to say: "Formerly you talked of high aims and the Atlantic Charter, now you talk overtly of annexation; fine, if that's the language of the times here are my claims."

The left bank of the Rhine—a purely German region—to go to France; the Ruhr, as Tom Dewey has just suggested, to be "internationalized"; the whole of Eastern Germany to be

annexed by a Polish satellite state of Russia.

The Atlantic Charter, which solemnly stated that all signers did not wish any territorial aggrandizement, should be classified as subversive literature; it contains "dangerous thoughts."

Territories and cities are exchanged like chips in the great game of the world powers, men are shifted around like cattle. The complete disregard of any consideration other than pure and simple imperialist power politics is perhaps best illustrated by a declaration of Stalin to the Polish Premier as reported in the New York Times of August 20. When Mikolajczyk timidly mentioned that Lvov and Wilna presented "a deep sentimental value" to the Poles, Stalin answered cynically that he could not understand this point of view at all, since Stettin and Breslau, two large German cities which he offered them in exchange, were just as big.

Cities and men, what else are they for Stalin and his henchmen than just stakes in the poker game? The feudal lords of late used to count their wealth in heads of serfs!



The "Riots" of 1877

Out of the Past

By RUTH PHILLIPS

In 1873 the reckless expansion of American capitalism came to a halt. Banks failed, stock market quotations tumbled, the wheels of industry stopped. The country was plunged into a depression, as a result of the speculations of the individual tycoons. The first to suffer were the workers, through wage cuts and unemployment. Workers struck and were answered with lockouts. The unemployed demonstrated for bread and received the blows of police clubs.

In July, 1877, after four years of wage cuts, the workers of the Baltimore & Ohio Railroad were informed by the company that there would be another ten per cent cut in wages. The men sent committees to the company officials to ask that the wage cuts be rescinded. The company let them know that there were plenty of unemployed to take their places.

MILITIA AGAINST THE WORKERS

The workers, desperate, went on strike, tying up the whole line. The Governor of West Virginia, at the behest of the company, called out the state militia. At Martinsburg, W. Va., two companies of militia went over to the side of the workers, who had been joined by farmers of the surrounding countryside.

In Baltimore, thousands of unemployed joined the rail workers in a three-day battle against the militia. The strike spread to other lines. The men of the Pennsylvania Central and the Michigan Central struck. Everywhere the strikers were joined by the unemployed and farmers. In Pittsburgh the militiamen fraternized with the workers.

The movement spread all the way to the West Coast. Federal troops were called out to replace the unreliable city and state militias. Pitched battles took place in cities all over the country. The casualties ran into the hundreds. This was no longer a simple strike against a wage cut. It was a nation-wide protest against unemployment and starvation. The movement was leaderless and unorganized. It was the spontaneous fire kindled by four years of misery.

THE SPECTER OF SOCIALISM

Although the bosses were able to crush the movement with armed force, they took serious alarm at this specter of the masses in revolt. This specter, given leadership and organization, was socialism.

Private property was in danger. New steps must be taken to keep down the underdog. Armories were built in the big industrial cities. Techniques of street fighting and manuals on riot duty were introduced into the armed forces.

The workers had learned valuable lessons, too, during the open class warfare of July, 1877. They had seen city, state and national governments rally to the side of the rich. They had seen the country divide into two camps: on the one side the handful of big capitalists, bolstered by the armed might of the state; on the other side, the mass of common people. Socialist ideas spread and many workers joined socialist groups in cities throughout the land.

Readers of Labor Action Take the Floor . . .

"Red Vienna Is Redder Than Ever"

Dear Editor: Knowing that your readers are especially interested in the revolutionary temper of the European masses, I would like to call attention to news reports carried in the August 1 and 9 issues of the Chicago Sun.

"Red Vienna is redder than ever," quotes Correspondent Frederic Kuh from a report in the Stockholm Afton-tidningen. "In the streets workers demonstrate, without fear, their sympathy for Russian and Ukrainian workers..."

"The younger workers' organizations are opposed to the old leaders who emigrated. They want new leaders from their own ranks and a more strongly anti-capitalist radicalism after the war. They declare they do not intend to work for Anglo-American capitalists, but want to collaborate with the progressive elements in the Allied countries."

SOCIALISM ALIVE IN VIENNA

From the same source comes the welcome news that socialist pam-

phlets are being distributed throughout all of German-controlled Vienna.

The report in the August 9 issue of the Sun carries the headline "Dutch Oppose Profit System." It is very likely that the opposition of the Dutch working class is determined and powerful; otherwise the manifesto of the Netherlands underground, in which such opposition was expressed, would not have been made public by the official news agency of the Netherlands government in exile. That manifesto scores the failure of capitalism to provide security and advocates its replacement by "a system of national and international management abolishing production for profit."

Strangely and unfortunately, the same document requests the continuance of parliamentary democracy under the rule of Queen Wilhelmina. Nevertheless, along with the first report and reports from Italy and elsewhere, the manifesto reveals a rapidly growing realization that capitalism has broken down beyond repair and must be replaced by an economic system based on production

for use. This development should provide a great deal of encouragement to revolutionary socialists everywhere.

J. W., Chicago, Ill.

She Liked the Sperry Story

Labor Action Editor: Today at the Sperry plant in Nassau we received your paper. There were only a few of them distributed and I wonder if it would be possible for you to send me two copies of the July 31 issue. The columns "What Makes Sperry Spin" proved very interesting as well as true. A few more write-ups like that would perhaps help untangle their ideas. Hoping you will oblige, as I only read another employee's and would like to have one—

Miss M. X.

WORLD EVENTS

By Europacus

CHERBOURG ISN'T HAPPY UNDER ALLIED OCCUPATION

The above is the title of the one honest report on conditions in "liberated" France which I have so far been able to discover. It was written by the well known Negro journalist, Roi Ottley, and appeared in the August 14 issue of PM. Here are some of Ottley's remarks:

"There has been no consultation with local trade union leaders on wages, hours and working conditions. There seems to be no disposition by Army officers to deal with union leaders... A forty-eight-hour week has been established. The rate of pay for unskilled labor is nine francs, or eighteen cents an hour. Skills of various sorts are paid from nine to fourteen francs an hour... Here is what these earnings mean in real wages. Eggs cost thirty-six francs a dozen. A child's dress, 175 francs. A pair of shoes, 2,000 francs."

These wage rates will perhaps explain the title of Ottley's dispatch; they will also explain why it is so desperately necessary for American labor to oppose this exploitation of their European brothers at starvation wages. There is no greater threat to

American wage standards than the widespread use of European workers at militarily-fixed rates—much below not only the prevailing American rate but also previous American standards.

While it has now become fashionable to extol the role of the French resistance movement in the fight against the Nazis, the following incident told by Ottley may be of interest:

"The mayor of Cherbourg is given support. He admires some of Pétain's reforms." The French civil staff includes most people who functioned under German occupation. When the resistance movement thought to set up tribunals and administer government, its members were arrested on order of the mayor... Army officers finally persuaded them to forego their demands for the present."

Resistance is all right as long as it serves to help the Allied advance. Once a town is "liberated" the best French partisans can do is to disappear—this is at least the policy of the Allies.

STALIN AND DE GAULLE WANT SHARE OF GERMAN BOOTY

General de Gaulle, who is a shrewd politician and does not lack humor, was quick to take advantage of President Roosevelt's recent declarations making known the claims of American imperialism in the Pacific. He said:

"No great nation understands the preoccupation of President Roosevelt better than France... He has defined the region in the Pacific where American security, as he conceives it, must be safeguarded... We know that security is above all real and material. For two thousand years the security of French territories has meant the Rhine and its banks."

He then goes on to claim that all German territory left of the Rhine should be annexed by France. Thus he means to say: "Formerly you talked of high aims and the Atlantic Charter, now you talk overtly of annexation; fine, if that's the language of the times here are my claims."

The left bank of the Rhine—a purely German region—to go to France; the Ruhr, as Tom Dewey has just suggested, to be "internationalized"; the whole of Eastern Germany to be

annexed by a Polish satellite state of Russia.

The Atlantic Charter, which solemnly stated that all signers did not wish any territorial aggrandizement, should be classified as subversive literature; it contains "dangerous thoughts."

Territories and cities are exchanged like chips in the great game of the world powers, men are shifted around like cattle. The complete disregard of any consideration other than pure and simple imperialist power politics is perhaps best illustrated by a declaration of Stalin to the Polish Premier as reported in the New York Times of August 20. When Mikolajczyk timidly mentioned that Lvov and Wilna presented "a deep sentimental value" to the Poles, Stalin answered cynically that he could not understand this point of view at all, since Stettin and Breslau, two large German cities which he offered them in exchange, were just as big.

Cities and men, what else are they for Stalin and his henchmen than just stakes in the poker game? The feudal lords of late used to count their wealth in heads of serfs!

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# FDR's "Hold the Line" Applies to Wages, Not Prices

"The whole process looks like a complete stall," William Green last week informed the executive council of the American Federation of Labor.

He was talking about the activities of the War Labor Board in dealing with labor's demands for an end to the Little Steel formula. "Practically all our national and international unions," he said, "have presented voluminous testimony... (but) no action has been taken by the WLB."

Mr. Green made a further revelation: that the WLB doesn't even have the power to do what labor asks. "It is obvious," he added, "from Executive Order 9328 that this power rests now solely with the President."

Obvious? Now? But the executive order in question is well over a year old. Who, then, is responsible for the "stall." The WLB? The President? The labor leaders? Or did all these gentlemen cooperate to save the Little Steel formula? Let's review the record once more.

To keep the story from being too long, we'll omit earlier events and begin with October 21, 1943. On that date Mr. Roosevelt gave two full hours of his time to Messrs. William Green and Philip Murray. They informed him that his stabilization program of April, 1943, wasn't being carried out, that only wages were frozen, that the Little Steel formula must therefore be modified.

**HIGH COST OF LIVING? "WHERE?"—FDR**  
No, said Mr. Roosevelt, the cost of living index was in fine shape. It had just been investigated by impartial experts of the American Statistical Association and pronounced reliable. However, he was willing to appoint another committee, this time of WLB members, to investigate the index again.

Another committee? An obvious stall, like many others in the past. Yet Murray and Green welcomed it. By January 1, 1944, the committee had produced nothing, although their report was supposed to be forthcoming by that date. Business Week magazine thereupon commented:

"This should not distress the President too much, as the cost of living investigation was just a stall anyhow." Now, eight months later, William Green hands us the same information—as news.

On January 29, 1944, the labor members of the committee reported a rise in living costs since January, 1941, of 43.5 per cent, twice the official figure of the Bureau of Labor Statistics. This started the ball rolling. Chairman Davis of the WLB asked the BLS to investigate the labor report and on February 19 the labor members requested President Roosevelt to investigate the BLS as an organization. The President maintained complete silence. So ended four months of stalling.

That was only a beginning. Since then the BLS has investigated the labor report and found it "all wet." Industry members of the WLB in April submitted a report by the National Industrial Conference Board, a research agency of big business, which found that the BLS figures were not too low but too high and that the labor report was altogether fantastic. Thereupon Chairman Davis on April 20 appointed a new committee of impartial experts to investigate, on behalf of the public members of the WLB, all the preceding investigations. These experts reported on June 22. So ended eight months of stalling.

The experts, as you would expect, found that the labor report was extremely inaccurate but admitted that the BLS index was perhaps three to five points too low. However, in general, they strongly supported the BLS. They also advised the BLS to call the index an index of price, not of living costs. Three days later the labor members brought their own report up to date, raising their figure from 43.5 to 45.3 per cent. What next? The last we heard, Roosevelt or Davis was going to appoint still another committee to review the work of all preceding committees. That was two months ago. So ends ten months of stalling.

**A DELIBERATE STALL**  
While all this was going on, the United States News, a well informed weekly, observed on March 17, "Government tactics are to delay a decision" (in the steel workers' case). Business Week on June 10 informed its readers that the WLB had "deliberately stalled the wage case" but would perhaps have been wiser to reject the demands at once. On July 29 it added: "The board (WLB) may be expected to keep this stew (the steel and all other wage cases) cooking until after the November election."

In April, 1944, Roosevelt celebrated one year of his hold-the-line executive order by proclaiming the whole program a great success, accepted by the American people with hardly a dissenting voice. This came in the very midst of all those committee investigations, which were supposed to discover whether or not the program was a success or just a statistical trick.

The labor leaders have drawn some strange conclusions from this whole experience:

1. They defend the WLB vigorously "despite its faults." They consider the no-strike pledge more sacred than ever.
2. They urged Congress to re-enact the stabilization law, "despite faults in its administration." (Congress did so, boosting prices, but not wages, some more in the process. Mr. Roosevelt praised the patriotism of Congress.)
3. They are now, with few exceptions, urging the workers to support the President for a fourth term. The exceptions almost all back Dewey.

**LABOR ACTION** long ago drew some conclusions which fit the facts far better:

1. Labor members should resign from the WLB.
2. Investigations can only be a stall, so long as the no-strike pledge stands.
3. Capitalist politicians, Republican or Democrat, will always stall on labor demands when they can. The capitalists have two parties. Heads—they win. Tails—labor loses. Labor needs only one party—a Labor Party of its own.

**Detroit Workers, Attention!**

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# The Bretton Woods Conference--II UNITED STATES: THE NEW SEAT OF EMPIRE

By MARY BELL

(Conclusion of last week's article)

The CIO and labor generally are being bribed to support the Bretton Woods agreement by the promise of five million jobs, which are supposed to issue from expanded world trade. The CIO has already written favorably of the plan in its national paper. LABOR ACTION maintains that support of this international extension of New Dealism by American workers means support of American imperialism: depressing the standards and exploiting the workers of the world for a short-lived American prosperity, to be followed by another world depression. This is the era of the U. S. empire, of dollar imperialism, and American workers should not be hoodwinked into supporting it.

### U. S. THE POWER BEHIND CONFERENCE

All American workers have gone through at least one depression and are now bearing the brunt of the Second World War. By identifying themselves with the country as a whole, they get the illusion that "Uncle Sam is being played for a sucker." "We are fighting Britain's war," etc. The role of the U. S. at the Bretton Woods conference should chase away that illusion. Under capitalism, money is power, and in "the struggle for power on a gigantic scale," as the conference was described by one of the delegates, the U. S. won hands down.

Now, how does the U. S. exercise control? Votes are apportioned according to the money contributed by the respective countries. In the fund, the U. S. member would cast the largest vote, 27,000 out of 99,000. This country, acting either with Britain or Russia, would be in a position to control policy. In the bank, the U. S. share is thirty-five per cent, while that of all other countries combined is sixty-five per cent. Not all of the Bretton Woods agreement was made public, and it is rumored that the U. S. has special veto powers over combined action of the other nations.

Last week we discussed how the scramble for markets on the part of the major powers leads to depressions and war over those markets.

The trouble with all the capitalist countries of the world is that they are naturally competitive, not cooperative. For instance: all the advanced countries, like England, the United States, Germany and France have more or less identical industries in steel, oil, rubber, automobiles, etc. Now, not every worker by a long shot has an automobile in these countries, because he isn't paid enough by the capitalist. But the capitalist has gotten enough out of him to have excess factories, machinery, automobiles and profits. He can't sell or use them at

home, since the home population hasn't been paid enough to buy this excess goods in the capitalist's hands. Therefore, the capitalist looks abroad for markets. Here is where the collisions come with capitalists of other countries in the same position.

### IT'S THE TAXPAYER WHO PAYS

This is a basic contradiction of capitalism that the Bretton Woods agreement cannot overcome. The proposed world bank can lend money to bankrupt nations like England, Italy, and the Balkans, prime their industries to recreate what the war destroyed. After this initial impetus, furnished mainly by the U. S. dollar, the old business cycle of short boom, long depression and war will set in again. All that the fund and bank can do is cushion the shock.

When a country cannot afford to pay back its loan, the loss will be borne by the governments of the various countries concerned. It will not be borne, as in the case of a private loan, by the bank's investors. Since the government stands for the loss on a bad debt, losses will actually be passed on to the taxpayers, the majority of whom are workers. In other words, we are financing the post-war trade. Then we ought at least to see where it will take us.

Henry Morgenthau, chairman of the conference and foremost United States representative, announced that the gathering concerned itself with "economic," not "political," matters. There was never a more misleading statement. The power of money, to grant or to withhold a loan from an impoverished country, compels an interest in and an intervention into the affairs of that country.

### THE FLAG FOLLOWS THE DOLLAR

An instance of the political "disinterestedness" of the conference was the squeeze put on France. A war-devastated country, she is still, however, second in the size of her monetary gold holdings and third in point of pre-war trade. The conference relegates her quotas and consequently her powers to use the fund and bank to rebuild herself after the war, to fifth place.

Put above her on the list was China, whose fund will come largely from the United States. Those additional votes of Chinese representatives, whose government is pretty well subordinated to Washington, will come in handy to the U. S. It is to be noted, too, that in comparison to France, China is a far greater poten-

tial market for American capitalists and therefore a greater source of exploitation and profit.

The conservative U. S. News states that the "first United States-British objective will be to prevent violent revolution after a German defeat, to prevent loss of political power by business-financial groups." It requires no imagination to envisage those "business-financial groups," who financed Hitler into power, being propped up by the world bank, to prevent a workers' Germany. And only an idiot could imagine the bank making a loan to help out a genuine, democratic, workers' government. Purely "economic"? Not "political." That's for the sheep.

### ELIMINATE WASTEFUL COMPETITION

Because capitalism produces for profit and not for use; because these profiteers own identical plants and agricultural interests; because they won't nationalize or internationalize competing industries to eliminate competition—complete they must, world stabilization fund and bank notwithstanding. The U. S. and another powerful country or two might have a short prosperity by stifling the rest of the world. But over a period, if the rest of the world can't export profitably, it throws its workers on the breadlines, and we, too, find no market. The capitalist stops producing, and "prosperity is just around the corner" again.

So, in the long run, U. S. workers get it in the neck, too. An attempt is being made to buy off their class solidarity with the working people of other countries by the promise of five million extra jobs. In this same fashion were class feelings of the British workers blunted—at the expense of starving India. Let American workers not be fooled. The U. S. is out to control through filthy lucre what the British got by plunder. The results are the same.

Profiteering prevents capitalism from planning for use on a world scale and assuring prosperity, regardless of stabilization fund and bank. Capitalism has the interests of the financiers and coupon-clippers at heart, not the security of its workers through full employment and a high standard of living.

The workers and the working farmers all over the world have always borne the brunt of capitalism's wars and depressions in every country. They alone, organized in unions and working class parties, have the power and possibility of organizing production to eliminate destructive competition and profits, and to erect as their guiding slogans: PRODUCTION FOR USE AND NOT FOR PROFIT! FOR A WORKERS GOVERNMENT IN THE U. S. AND A SOCIALIST UNITED STATES OF THE WORLD!



Henry Morgenthau, chairman of the conference

# Ban on GI Jim Crow a Paper Edict Unless Negroes and Labor Enforce It

By W. F. CARLTON

The Roosevelt Administration continues to play its brazen political tricks with the Negro people. A few days ago, that is to say, four years after the beginning of conscription, it has issued an order banning segregation in GI post exchanges, theaters and transportation. Negro soldiers now, according to this order, can go into any Army theater. They can travel, according to this order, in any United States bus or truck. According to this order, they will not be compelled to sit in the rear seat of these vehicles. The order is dated

July 18, 1944. The election for the Bill of Rights, with one of these in either hand, go down into Georgia or Mississippi and try to enforce them.

People's Voice, which is always whooping it up for FDR, carried another miserable story lately of a Negro soldier who recently spent one year at hard labor in prison. He reports that he and four others were tried by a court-martial, found guilty of rioting and sentenced to do one year at hard labor. He spent more than twelve months in prison and nine of these months were spent

on the rock pile. He states that all diers guilty of rioting when the very witnesses against the accused testified unanimously against the accusation.

### IT'S A JIM CROW ARMY

We do not deny that the actual issuance of this order will mean improvement in certain instances of the meager facilities offered to Negro soldiers. As such, the order represents an advance and we welcome it.

But the fact remains that the army is built on the Jim Crow model. In many army camps Negroes frequently are in a small minority with thousands of Southern soldiers. They are commanded by Southern officers, sometimes surrounded by Southern communities which are hostile to the very sight of a Negro in military uniform. Under all these circumstances so familiar to everyone, to hail this order as if some serious blow were being struck at Jim Crow is nothing else but a gross deception of the Negro people.

And why? This brings us to our second point. The main thing about this order is that it is an election maneuver. The Democratic Party is nervous about the Negro vote. At the recent Democratic Party convention in Chicago, the Southern bloc compelled the Roosevelt government to pretend that the Negro question did not exist. The Republicans, seeking the Negro vote, produced a platform which Walter White has characterized as "dishonest and stupid." But this dishonest and stupid platform promised an immediate inquiry into the extent of discrimination against Negroes in the Army and corrective legislation. PM writes about this

plank: "The plank about the Army is a phoney."

### LABOR AND NEGROES CAN HELP

Good. The Republican platform is dishonest and stupid. Its plank about the Army is a phoney. But it is the Roosevelt government which has not been able to put forward any platform at all. And it is the Roosevelt government which is responsible for the shameful and continuous discrimination against Negroes in the Army. The Roosevelt government obviously could not promise an inquiry into its own crimes nor promise legislation. It is under these circumstances that, after four years of war, the War Department issues this order. It is aimed at countering the deep-seated dissatisfaction of the Negro people at the state of affairs in the Army.

The Negro people should not for one moment be deceived with nonsense about this order being equal in moral force to Lincoln's Emancipation Proclamation. Nothing but the mass pressure of the Negro people and the organized agitation of the labor movement will compel a United States government to begin the drastic steps which are necessary to reorganize the Army and the whole social order so that legislation of this type will begin to have some serious effect.

**GET INTO THE NEW SUB DRIVE NOW! — TODAY!**

**See Page 1**

### A Letter and a Short Comment

Gentlemen:

May I pass along to you a comment on the Philadelphia transit "strike" for your consideration? A reader of a local newspaper wrote that he had often in the past criticized the local citizenry for their sleepiness and complacency amidst corruption, but now he was ready to eat those words, for these very qualities had enabled this city to weather a crisis, which, anywhere else, would certainly have touched off serious race riots.

Don't you agree that calmness, emotional stability and attitudes of detached and objective consideration are a help in establishing those attitudes of cooperation so necessary to permanently successful social reform? I particularly liked, in your news-

paper, the fine sketches of well-known personalities which ornamented several stories.

D. A., Philadelphia, Pa. (Editor's Note: "Calmness and emotional stability" are wonderful attributes, but we feel that the issues in the Philadelphia race strike were sufficiently broad in their abrogation and violation of the basic democratic rights of America's largest minority racial group as to cause any person concerned with the cause of true social justice to go off in a fit of uncontrolled fury.

We of LABOR ACTION and the Workers Party are glad that we can still react emotionally to great injustices—yet comment in a cold and sober manner on the vital issues involved.)

presidency takes place in November of this same 1944.

Now a great number of people hail this as a great victory and claim that it shows that President Roosevelt is a true friend of the Negro people, etc., etc. None are more vociferous about this than the members of the Communist Party. Benjamin J. Davis, the Negro New York City councilman, writes in the Daily Worker of August 27:

"It is the dictates of military necessity in a war which requires that the forces of right win over the forces of evil, and that element of compulsion is as permanent, as moral and as powerful as Lincoln's wise Emancipation Proclamation was, a military blow against the slavocracy."

who testified against him were asked if the soldiers were rioting. The witnesses all replied, "No." Nevertheless, the accused were all found guilty. When he left the army he was forced to sign some kind of restoration papers, which said that he requested restoration in the Army, and he was put back into it. Now listen to the conclusion of his own story:

"I was sent to Louisiana and to Mississippi and then to Georgia. A short while ago, I was walking on the sidewalk in Georgia and a white military policeman told me to get off the sidewalk whenever I saw a white person coming."

This is an example that could be multiplied over by hundreds and, with the necessary research, by thousands.

Now we can estimate what the value of this order is when it is to be administered in Louisiana, Mississippi and Georgia by white military police. And further, if conflict arises, to be settled by military court-martials which, in certain areas and with certain personnel, will be exactly of the same type which found these sol-

# THE BOX-SCORE

	August	Last Month
Detroit	50	39
National Office	46	33
New York	31	28
Philadelphia	30	19
California	29	27
Cleveland	20	50
Seattle	11	6
Buffalo	11	19
Chicago	9	20
Reading	7	6
Missouri	5	—
Akron	0	7
Total	239	261

We're giving you last month's figures, and, to coin a phrase, they speak largely for themselves.

Cleveland experienced a noticeable drop, but we're not going to bawl them out because their record has been better than in most localities. We know they're really going to pitch in for the coming drive.

# Some People Write Letters To Keep Busy...

By WALTER WEISS

The big political news of the past weeks on the home front consists of two items, one of which made the front pages while the other rated page 26 or so. The two are worth considering together.

First item: President Roosevelt sent his principal assistant, James F. Byrnes, before the House Ways and Means Committee to testify that the miserable George bill on unemployment insurance (already passed by the Senate) would, with very slight modifications, be satisfactory to the Administration. Liberals and politicians of labor have wailed, and will continue to wail, that Byrnes "betrayed" the President, who has presumably been too much concerned with adding the whole Pacific Ocean to the "American Empire" to bother about unemployment insurance.

The second item, which, in the New York Times, was buried among the real estate news, concerned a matter evidently more important to Mr. Roosevelt himself. In the very midst of his island-grabbing speeches he took time out to write a letter to Representative Flannagan, endorsing a bill to stabilize post-war prices in the soft coal industry.

### FDR A CHOOSY LETTER-WRITER

We'd like Sidney Hillman and Philip Murray and The Nation and all our other guides to political action among the labor leaders and the liberals to explain to us why the President could give his very personal attention to post-war prices in the coal industry but not to the far more important matter of unemployment insurance. Gentlemen, it was quite a long letter that he wrote to Representative Flannagan.

Isn't CIO's Political Action Committee raising \$3,000,000 or more to re-elect Mr. Roosevelt? Isn't the reason for this that only he can bring a lasting peace to the world and decent living conditions to American labor? Isn't the Kilgore-Murray bill, soundly defeated in the Senate, Point No. 1 on the present program of the PAC for insuring a better post-war world for the American workers? And not only the PAC takes this attitude, but the AFL and all other unions as well.

Yet Mr. Roosevelt is too much occupied with other matters to pay any attention to the pet project of his most ardent supporters. He doesn't write or say one word in their behalf. Instead, he sends his errand boy, Byrnes, to a "secret" session of the House Ways and Means Committee to knife the Kilgore-Murray bill and to put in a plug for the George bill, which all the reactionaries backed.

On the other hand, why that long personal letter about the coal industry? We can go back a month and ask why the Democratic platform too, despite its famous brevity, could afford words to "pledge" coal legislation similar to that just endorsed by the President.

Really, the answer is an open secret. Mr. Roosevelt is worried about the votes of the miners. They don't love him quite as much as they used to. The Mine Workers Journal has been whooping it up for Dewey. In 1940 the miners paid little attention to John L. Lewis' advice to vote for Willie. This time things look different. Therefore, Mr. Roosevelt gives his personal—yes, his personal—attention to a piece of legislation which has been fashioned jointly by Lewis and the mine owners. The miners think this is important and good legislation (whether it is or is not doesn't interest us here). Mr. Roosevelt hastens to agree with them. Lewis may be the nation's "worst traitor" and the miners may be Lewis' misguided dupes, but those men have votes in vital states and are threatening to cast them for somebody else than Mr. Roosevelt.

### A VERY SOOTY DEAL

The Mine Workers Journal of August 1 scoffed at the promise of a bituminous coal act which is made in the Democratic platform. It wasn't in the original platform, says Lewis' mouthpiece, but was added at the suggestion of the coal operators, who told the Democrats that this was a way of winning back some miners' votes. But bills on the subject have been waiting in Congress for action since January, 1943, and have received no backing from the Administration. Therefore, Lewis, through his paper, issues a challenge: If the Democrats want to show good faith, the Democratic-controlled Ways and Means Committee of the House shall take action at once.

Mr. Roosevelt does somehow manage to hear of things like this, despite his other burdens. He manages to act, too, and even takes notice of Lewis' objection to having the coal industry administered by a cabinet member, presumably Ickes. Lewis wants an independent commission. Roosevelt says that he considers an independent commission less desirable, but that this "is a matter upon which reasonable men may differ." Don't tell us that Lewis is now a "reasonable man"! In any case, the President indicates that he is ready to yield on this issue.

The political seers of labor, whether in the CIO or AFL, aren't asking very much for labor. They try to get minor concessions. The Kilgore-Murray bill would have granted unemployment benefits up to \$35 a week to one out of eight workers. The others would have got less, some much less. The sponsors of the bill later cut the \$35 to \$25. Yet for even this very modest proposal the President would not give as much as a kind word.

On the other hand, he pays some attention to the miners. Why? We'll ask another that you can answer: Is the way to get even minor gains—changes in the Little Steel formula or a better unemployment insurance law—to get down on your knees and beg, shouting how loyal you are the whole time?

### LEWIS FORGIVES EASILY—ESPECIALLY REPUBS

We don't want to leave this subject without a few words about the kind of political action which Lewis goes in for. His magazine raves enthusiastically about the Republican convention and platform. Almost everything that labor could desire, especially the end of the wage freeze and job freeze, are there. When the Democrats speak of a bituminous coal act, which the Lewis unions wants particularly, that's just a promise—nothing but words. The Republicans, for some mysterious reason, are more trustworthy. Yet, Mr. Lewis, the Republican senators almost unanimously opposed the modest Kilgore-Murray bill and went all out for the insulting George bill. They are afraid that American workers don't want to work and that the national debt will soar. We will not bother to recall their attitude during the coal strikes and on similar past occasions.

It is true that American workers can get nowhere by supporting Roosevelt and the Democratic Party. It is equally true that they can get nowhere by supporting Dewey and the Republicans. How about a party of working men—a Labor Party? The very least of its benefits would be to make the capitalist politicians more attentive to the demands of the unions.



# Editorials

## Against Labor, The Sky's the Limit

The Roosevelt Administration continues its all-out offensive against organized labor. The President has appointed Rear Admiral Harold G. Bowen to operate 104 San Francisco machine shops seized by the Navy after the AFL machinists had refused to work a sixty instead of their regular forty-eight-hour week.

Under authority decreed by Roosevelt, Bowen ordered cancellation of forty-nine draft deferments in the first five plants he seized, and pre-induction physical exams have already been scheduled. Bowen has sent a similar number of names to the Office of Price Administration for a ruling on occupational gasoline allotments. Those who are over draft age are blacklisted and are denied "further employment, including referral cards or statements of ability." Any industries who hire these men insisting on an eight-hour day run the risk of losing their contracts and having their other employees released to other industries.

But that isn't all. Aside from over-riding the union's rights to protect standards fought for over many a picket line and conference table, the government is intervening to destroy the basis for the union's existence. Aside from using gas rationing and the Selective Service Act for a purpose for which they were not intended, aside from seizing the plants, aside from blacklisting and individual penalties, the government has taken a further drastic step.

Union privileges were withdrawn from Lodge 68 of the AFL Machinists Union by the National War Labor Board at the request of the Navy Department, in accordance with the Smith-Connelly Act, and WITH THE APPROVAL OF PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT.

This means contract provisions giving the union preferential hiring rights and the right to grant clearance cards to non-union members are withdrawn.

Also withdrawn was a clause giving the union the right to refuse to work with non-union members.

The union is also refused the right to participate in grievance settlements. About all the union has left is the shreds of its right to represent the workers in collective bargaining.

Compare these actions of the government against labor with the manner in which it allows the Montgomery Ward Co. to thumb its nose at official agencies and the WLB, flout the results of an NLRB election and otherwise prove that it is a CAPITALIST CLASS government for the protection of property rights against the rights of the overwhelming majority of the people.

What happened to Lodge 68 of the Machinists is a danger signal to all labor. It is a foul blow below the belt, and labor can't retaliate with its two good arms tied behind its back by the no-strike pledge.

One of the blacklisted men of Lodge 68, who observed the eight-hour day and forty-eight-hour week, was described by the company president, who turned him in to the Navy, as "a good man with a union complex."

What this country needs is more good men with REAL UNION COMPLEXES who will fight to maintain their hard-won rights.

## Sidelight on the Dumbarton Hoax

While the Great Dumbarton Hoax proceeds apace, secluded in utmost secrecy, President Roosevelt told a Washington press conference that he thought that it would be a swell idea if young men from the ages of 17 to 23 would give up a year of their lives for military training.

He pointed out that the government will own enough good military barracks after the war's end to accommodate five million men. He drew a lovely picture of the late

CCC, where boys learned "useful trades" and had their flabby muscles (that fiendish curse of unemployment) built up.

Isn't it truly wonderful how militaristic-minded FDR and his diplomatic stuffed shirts can plan "universal peace" at the Great Dumbarton Hoax and plan universal peacetime conscription at the same time?

Isn't it a tribute to the sincerity of the master-mind "peace planners" that they can advocate even now, while thousands of our healthiest human specimens are being blown to bits, that the cannon-fodder for World War III be carefully nurtured and developed in glorified army camps in the stifling and destructive spirit of militarism?

It occurs to us at the same time that the "peace-planners" have not been so indiscreet as even to mention the hypocritical shibboleths about "disarmament" at the conclusion of this war.

If any moral can be drawn from all this, one seems as clear as it is certain.

Having beaten down their main economic competitor and disrupter of the status quo, the "Good Neighbor" imperialists intend to keep armed to the teeth, imposing the cost in life and money onto the backs of the working class! Peacetime military conscription, which should be fiercely combatted if and when it raises its totalitarian head in the halls of Congress, is only part of the general design.

# What Labor Can Do About An Incurable Congress

The House of Big Business Representatives and the banker-minded Senate, Republicans and Democrats, passed post-war relief legislation to protect those who don't need it—the profit-bloated corporations which are coining money out of the butchery of the war. And no objections were voiced by President Roosevelt.

The anti-labor Senate and the union-hating House, Democrats and Republicans, turned down the Kilgore bill, designed to give a measure of unemployment compensation to working people and soldiers—who will be in dire need of it as they join the ranks of the estimated twenty million unemployed in the post-war period. Silence from President Roosevelt—the silence that gives consent.

The House Ways and Means Committee has recommended favorably and the House is about to pass, as we go to press, the George "states rights" bill—minus half of that miserable bill's provisions as previously passed by the Senate.

### SHARPEST BLOW YET

Turning down the Kilgore bill is the sharpest blow yet dealt labor by an administration has hasn't been pulling its punches since the war began. And, after all, why should it be too concerned about the post-war problems of the workers? Congressmen and the President are well taken care of. And their friends, the business men, have been more than modestly aided.

But you'd think that congressmen and the President might be concerned about workers, since it's the workers' votes that determine whether they'll be in there battling labor during the next term of office.

The President and Congress might worry about the vote if it weren't for the "leaders of labor," those "statesmen of labor," Murray, Hillman, Dalrymple, Thomas and the other big and little bureaucrats who are working overtime to put Roosevelt and the Democratic Party back into office.

### IT'S UP TO THE RANKS

If Congress doesn't give a hoot whether the workers starve in the post-war period, and if these mis-

leaders of labor support the friends of business in the Democratic Party, this places all the post-war problems squarely on the shoulders of the rank and file of labor.

The only way to guarantee a decent break to labor is for labor to run the government. Labor, in the city and on the farm, is the greatest part of the nation. Therefore, labor should represent the nation!

Can you imagine a labor government voting billions to big business and not one cent to labor?

Can you imagine a labor government allowing its brothers-in-arms, the soldiers and sailors, to return without a guarantee of jobs or adequate unemployment compensation after their severance pay runs out?

Can you imagine a labor government that would permit the wealthy to close down the factories just because they couldn't make a profit, while millions are looking for work?

Can you imagine a labor government that would permit the Sixty Families to accumulate fabulous fortunes while one-third of the nation goes ill-fed, ill-housed and ill-clothed? Old-line capitalist candidates, Republican or Democratic, have shown their contempt for labor's interests. Labor should turn thumbs down on them, and ORGANIZE A LABOR PARTY NOW!

## "Make the World Safe for Muley," GI War-cry

The big-salaried morons who turn out the advertising copy for the newspapers and magazines have taken to introducing their products with a "letter from the boys at the front." These letters always follow the same pattern. They make out the soldier to be a simple-minded idiot who writes like a boy of nine years. They usually follow the big business propaganda theme of "we are fighting to keep everything the same at home."

Recently a soldier in Normandy became so incensed while reading one of these ads that he sat down and wrote a couple of take-offs for his service paper, called "Le Tomahawk." Prefacing them with a bitter comment, he wrote:

"We think it's high time the copy writers learn that this war is being fought by grown men. We are fighting because our country is at war and for reasons which grown men understand... But since the public seems to think that soldiers are simple asses, drooling slush in the face of machine-gun fire, we offer the following copy-righted 'Dear Mom' letter direct from the front:

### "MAKE THE WORLD SAFE FOR OLD MULEY"

"Dear Mom: We are camped in an old orchard not far from Carantan that you've read about, Mom, and there are dairy cows grazing in our orchard and the peasants come right out in their wooden shoes and milk them, and Mom, one of the cows made fertilizer right where I put down my blankets. Golly, Mom, it sure smelt good and reminded me of you and Dad and Old Muley. That's what I'm fighting for, Mom, a world in which there won't be no soldiers putting down their blankets right where Old Muley wants to make fertilizer. Your loving son, Junior."

# 19 Discharged Seabees in Test of GI Bill of Rights

In one of the first, if not the very first, requests for a hearing as provided for under the Servicemen's Readjustment Act of 1944, more commonly known as the G. I. Bill of Rights, two of the nineteen Seabees who were discharged without hearings last October, after they had complained of intolerable Jim Crow conditions at their Caribbean base, have written to the Secretary of the Navy asking for a review of their cases, the Lynn Committee to Abolish Segregation in the Armed Forces announces. The Lynn Committee is handling the men's cases and will provide counsel for them at the hearing. All previous appeals, including letters to President Roosevelt, had proved of no avail.

### "UNFIT"—WHY?

Harvey Steele, 26, and Isaac G. McNatt, 27, both living in New York at present, were discharged on the grounds of unfitness. This prejudicial type of discharge has denied

them of mustering out pay and other rights and privileges provided for veterans of this war.

The Negro Seabees, all volunteers, were discriminated against and Jim Crowed from the very first day of their boot training. They were offered inferior and Jim Crow mess halls, recreational facilities, ship's store service and liberty leave. Of the 1,000 men in their battalion, only 200 were white, but all officers and petty officers above second class were white, and the men were told openly that no Negro would be promoted above second class.

### THEY TOLD THE TRUTH

The nineteen men were discharged after they had been invited into the commanding officer's office and asked about conditions at the base. They were assured that this was a "man-to-man," off-the-record talk, and were asked specifically to discuss the racial situation. The men were therefor frank in airing their grievances.

The next day, the regimental commander had the men called back into the CO's office and upbraided them for "gripping" and petty complaints, and told them that he would tolerate no conferring and "committeeing." A few days later the nineteen men were discharged, sixteen as undesirable on grounds of unfitness and three on grounds of inaptitude. These three later, upon appeal, were given honorable discharges.

### GET NAACP-LABOR SUPPORT

The Servicemen's Readjustment Act directs the Army and the Navy to establish boards of review to hear cases of discharge from the armed services with the exception of those resulting from a general court martial. Attempts are being made to reach the remaining men.

The NAACP and the CIO, through the Veterans' Division of its National CIO War Relief Committee, are also supporting the case.

# Russia Blocks Plan to Feed Poland; Uses Political Black-Jack As Weapon

Russia has refused permission to the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration to feed the people in the Russian-held sections of Poland. This was brought out in an interview by the Christian Science Monitor with General Arthur Salter of Great Britain, the senior deputy director of the UNRRA.

Salter admitted that Russia will not permit any food "to enter until she works out such key questions as future government personnel and boundaries, under consideration with Polish exiles in London."

Russia knows the importance of food as a political weapon, and so does the UNRRA and the Polish government in exile. The need for food in Poland is the most urgent in Europe. But Stalin will let the workers starve until his terms are agreed upon, as to boundaries and type of government to be set up in Poland. Russia's chief worry is not the government in exile, as she can come to some understanding with these bosses and landlords. It is the anti-fascist,



knew that Russia would refuse, in order to give the impression of impartiality and to satisfy some of the organizations that are working with it and paying many of the salaries.

Food will be used in this war, as in the last war, to force reactionary governments upon the people. Today

Russia refuses arms and ammunitions to an unfriendly but anti-fascist workers' movement. Tomorrow, when Hitler's armies are driven out of Poland, she will have to use subtler means against a rebellious population—the threat of starvation—unless it complies with her wishes.

## In August Issue of THE NEW INTERNATIONAL

THE ALLIES VERSUS EUROPE By Max Shachtman

THE POST-WAR PLANNERS By Douglas Ellis

MILITARY STRATEGY IN THE WAR By J. R. Johnson

TASKS OF THE PRESENT PERIOD By Albert Gates

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# End the Policy of Retreat, Open Labor's Offensive - -

(Continued from page 1)

of organized labor to get itself into a more advantageous position to deal with matters of collective bargaining right down to the every-day grievances in the shops. It is important in connection with the desire of labor to come to grips with the anti-labor WLB and NLRB. With the maintenance of the no-strike pledge we are powerless to knock out the Little Steel formula and raise our wages to meet the 43.5 per cent rise in the cost of living.

### WHAT THE NO-STRIKE PLEDGE DOES

The no-strike pledge chains us to passivity and subservience to the employers, the government boards and the bureaucrats of the War and Navy Departments.

The no-strike pledge is a barricade standing between labor and effective action on cutbacks, the closing of plants and the summary and bureaucratic dismissal of workers from their jobs.

And in a very important sense the no-strike pledge is a deterrent to independent political action by labor by keeping us generally tied to Roosevelt, the Democratic Party, or to Dewey and the Republican Party.

The ramifications of the no-strike pledge are manifest in every sphere-and avenue of labor life and activity. Every worker, even the most violently patriotic worker, should know this by now. Prices advance 43.5 per cent, but labor can do nothing to increase wages. The steel workers asked for a seventeen-cent increase last December, but the WLB calmly ignores the demand. It says nothing, sees nothing and hears nothing. There is nothing to hear because the steel workers have given a no-strike pledge.

The employees of the Big Four meat packers are denied a wage increase by the WLB and are reminded that there is a Little Steel formula.

The UAW has been notified in advance by the WLB that this mighty union will not be listened to if demands for wage increases are made when the GM contract comes before this little board.

The UAW will be forced to knuckle under if its coming convention reaffirms the no-strike pledge. That is, the locals will have to knuckle under or run the risk of having their charters lifted and

their officers suspended by Thomas, fresh from the battlefields of Europe.

### WORKERS IN GREAT DANGER

Every worker in every union is confronted with the imminent danger of a lowered standard of living, due for one reason or another, to a reduction in the "take home" pay. The U. S. Labor Press Service of the OWI publishes a report of the War Foods Administration stating that "only a small percentage of workers eat adequate, nutritional breakfasts." Or the housewives interviewed in the survey, "in practically every case, one important food, generally fruit or cereal, was missing." In a California war plant, "eighty-four per cent of the women and forty per cent of the men had eaten breakfasts rated 'poor.'" Fruit for breakfast, indeed, with a can of pears calling for forty-four points and thirty-five cents, and fresh fruit selling at its weight in gold!

Workers are faced with a conspiracy on the part of employers to reduce wages and lengthen hours. Workers who are the victims of cutbacks and the closing of plants are forced to take jobs at wages lower than the rate in the plant from which they go. The capitalist employers and Congress are playing with a plan to wreck the unions by using ex-servicemen and women against the seniority rules. "Assistant President" Byrnes, under the lash of the Army and Navy brasshats, issues a manpower order which contains many of the essential features of a labor draft.

### UNIONS FACE DISRUPTION

Labor is faced with unemployment today, not only after the war. First come the cutbacks, layoffs and a scramble for new jobs which will be doled out by scheming employers at a lower rate of pay. In each instance where this occurs the local union will be disrupted, as in the Brewster case.

Later there may come a general reduction in the working time with the total elimination of overtime. This will reduce the standard of living and make it impossible for families to make ends meet at all. This because at present a large part of the income of the workers comes from the time and a half and double time pay. This has been the policy of the Roosevelt government functioning through Davis' WLB. If the workers wanted more money, they

were told to work longer hours or to accept piecework systems, which did not "increase the unit cost of production."

We have just witnessed the defeat of the Kilgore bill through the machinations of "Assistant President" Byrnes and a combination of Democrats and Republicans.

Roosevelt was silent on the Kilgore bill, but perhaps he had talked to Byrnes.

These are the ominous situations confronting labor as the organized workers prepare for their conventions, as they gird themselves for action on the no-strike pledge, the WLB and all the tremendously important questions that are life or death for the labor movement.

Most of the big international unions will hold conventions in September and October—the automobile and aircraft workers, miners, rubber workers, metal miners, shipbuilding workers and radio workers. These conventions will have their own individual problems to iron out, but not one of these organizations, including the AFL unions, will be able to skirt around the great national issues we have mentioned.

The no-strike pledge, the WLB and the coming presidential election will be before each convention. Many locals have passed resolutions against the no-strike pledge and calling for withdrawing the labor men from the WLB. The Little Steel formula and the whole wage question will face the delegates for action. They will not be able to dodge any of these questions and face those who elected them when they return to their respective locals.

### BUREAUCRATS ON THE SPOT

President Green of the shipbuilders' IUMSWA will not be able to skirt around the wage question as he did last year with the asinine position that wages are in the hands of the government. This little fellow, who seems to believe that the way to operate a union is through appointed bureaucrats called "administrators," may also face opposition on this score.

President Thomas of the UAW will have to bring up more than tears, threats or pleading to get his beloved no-strike pledge renewed.

The Stalinist-dominated and strangled United Electrical, Radio & Machine Workers will have to dish out more than incentive pay,

the no-strike pledge and Harry Bridges to satisfy the delegates.

The Mine, Mill & Smelter Workers will meet in Pittsburgh. We haven't heard what Reid Robinson and the Stalinists have prepared for these workers but they will certainly be faced with a resolution to approve Roosevelt and the no-strike pledge.

The rubber workers' URW will meet in New York. Here President Dalrymple will have an organized effort against his stupid and ignorant bureaucratic procedure in this international.

The miners' UMWA will meet in Cincinnati, where the question of restoring autonomy to the districts will be fought out.

We can expect to be deluged with speakers of all kinds from Congress, government bureaus and various cabinet officers. Each convention of course will have a telegram from the "Commander-in-Chief," the new title which the labor leaders have bestowed on Roosevelt, whose command, according to tradition and the constitution, is restricted to the Army and Navy. As an added effort to jam through reaffirmation of the no-strike pledge, the union officials may be expected to have wounded men from the Army and Navy on hand.

But not even on the question of political action will there be unanimity. Several of the conventions will have resolutions calling for independent political action and the formation of an independent Labor Party. Militant and aggressive delegates will have such an opportunity as never before to wage a fight for changing their internationals from cringing and retreating organizations to fighting unions, ready for an offensive against all who would destroy them. These militants, however, will have to act differently from their manner of operating at former conventions. They will have to act in concert, in an organized manner. They will have to act with courage and determination. Every convention should ring with opposition to servile and futile bootlicking of the employers, the government and Roosevelt. Whatever militant delegates do at the conventions of the internationals will be welcomed by the masses of their brothers and sisters back home.

Any victories which militant delegates are able to win at the conventions of the international unions will serve as a warning to the CIO and AFL conventions not to repeat their capitulations of former years.