# Labor: Follow Textile Workers, Quit WLB!

LABOR ACTION

A PAPER IN THE INTERESTS OF LABOR

By SAM ADAMS

President Emil Rieve, head of the Textile Workers of America, in resigning from the War Labor Board, took a step which should have been taken long ago. Following the action of the Textile Workers' executive committee, which scrapped the no-strike pledge for themsands of its workers, Rieve vacated his post as an alternate member of the WLB. His reason for resigning was that the WLB, since its powers have been curbed by Director of Stabilization Vinson, was no longer able to function and that he, as a labor member, had no recourse but to resign.

In resigning, Rieve called for the reconstitution of a WLB on its former basis "when it had the power to act." This is the position of most of the leaders of the CIO and it is a mistaken position.

Vinson's decision to hold up increases granted by the WLB until examination of the price situation and the effect of such raises upon it was made by the OPA is not fundamentally different from the previous position of the

#### WAS THE WLB DIFFERENT?

As a matter of fact, the WLB has held up hundreds and hundreds of cases on this very ground and has persistently refused to grant justifiable wage increases because it adhered to the President's wage stabilization program.

What the CIO leaders are doing is offering a lot of excuses for the WLB. The WLB was no better during the years of its existence when it had no Vinson to approve its wage decisions. Vinson, for example, had nothing to do with the refusal of WLB to raise wages for the auto workers, rubber workers, textile workers, mine workers, packinghouse workers, etc. And the cases of these workers have been before the WLB for as long as two years or more.

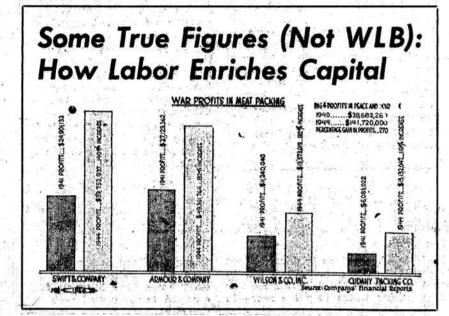
The labor leaders refuse to recognize the fact, although it stares them in the face, that the WLB was organized for the specific purpose of holding back wage increases and to see to it that the principle of the Little Steel formula is strictly adhered to. It was and is the graveyard for labor's wage

The labor leaders refuse to recognize the fact, although it stares them in the face, that the WLB is a body appointed by President Roosevelt to carry out his policies.

The labor leaders refuse to recognize the fact, although it stares them in the face, that Stabilization Director Vinson is an appointee of President Roosevelt, selected for the purpose of adhering to the wage freeze which FDR inaugurated. The President did not select Vinson to approve of wage increases for the majority of workers, who need them, but to prevent such

#### FDR MISLED THE LABOR LEADERS

What the labor leaders like to forget is that the President promised, when he made the Little Steel formula the law governing wages, that it would be



hitched to the cost of living and would be revised correspondingly-every rise in the cost of living would be accompanied by pegging up the formula. But the President did not really mean it. He misrepresented the whole situation to the labor leaders, who swallowed it. He meant to mislead them!

Do the labor leaders continue to swallow it today? How can they, when the facts are so clear? The trouble with the labor leaders is that they replace militant unionism and the interests of the millions of rank and file workers with bad politics. Not with independent labor politics, based on a Labor Party and a militant labor program, but with capitalist politics based on no program except support to President Roosevelt. This unquestioned support to Roosevelt has resulted in defeating the most important demands of labor. made since the war began!

What conclusions do the labor leaders draw from all this? They haven't yet decided to quit the WLB in a body when this is the indicated course. Instead, they denounce Vinson, Roosevelt's appointee. They still continue to speak strongly in favor of the no-strike pledge, when it has long ago become

The WLB report on wages sent to the President is an insult to every person in the country who works for a living. The CIO and the AFL reacted quite sharply to the report of the WLB. They properly denounced it. But, what conclusions do these labor leaders draw? None

The conclusions, however, are indicated: GET OFF THE WLB! RESCIND

### THE NO-STRIKE PLEDGE!

These are the things which bind labor's hands, make it the easy prey of the bosses and the government, who are allied for the purposes of destroying the standard of living of the workers, while they guarantee the greatest profits in history to the bosses!

LABOR! GET OFF THE WLB!

RESCIND THE NO-STRIKE PLEDGE!

## **Metropolitan Life Acts** to Evict 3000 Families

By LEAH TRACY

3

NEW YORK-More than 3,000 families in an eighteen-block area known as Stuyvesant Town, on New York's East Side, are on the verge of being evicted by order of the Metropolitan Life Insurance Co.

The Metropolitan Life (wealthiest company in the whole world-capitalized at almost five billion dollars) bought up the territory last year in order to tear down the slum area and build its own new Stuyvesant Town on the site.

The New York City Council proved itself a worthy servant of the company by granting it an almost completely free hand in determining the conditions under which the proposed project is to be built. The company has set \$14 as the cost of a room in the new project - far beyond the pocketbooks of the average present tenant. It will also be a Jim Crow project, despite the anti-discrimination clause written into the city laws.

The company set up a Tenants' Relocation Bureau in the neighborhood for the purpose of rehousing the tenants. In most cases, however, they have steered tenants to rat-infested hovels worse than the ones they occupy at present. Most of the "new" apartments "found" by the insurance company lack adequate toilet facili-

ties and steam heat. This outrage is not going unprotested. Meetings of tenants have been held by the dozen, but none of them

has grappled with the real problems

and their solutions. The victims of the Metropolitan Life Insurance Company can obtain the justice the situation obviously requires only if they ORGANIZE into a strong and militant Tenants Committee or organization.

It is absolutely certain that the slums will come down. We of LABOR ACTION are wholeheartedly for slum clearance. These particular slums should have been torn down twenty years ago. But we firmly believe that slum clearance should take place for the BENEFIT of those slumdwellers and not at their EXPENSE. The Metropolitan Life Insurance Company's Stuyvesant Town housing project is a purely profit-making ven-

We believe that a minimum program around which the majority of workers and their families in the Stuyvesant area can rally around must include the following points:

1. No evictions until suitable housing has been obtained for all tenants. 2. Demand that the OPA enforce its own regulations on evictions in the present emergency housing sit-

3. All moving expenses to be paid by the Metropolitan Life Insurance

4. Demand that the evicted tenants be guaranteed priorities for apartments in the new project at rents no higher than they are paying at pres-

over, although the ballots will not be counted until March. Reports coming in, however, indicate that the International Executive Board of the UAW and the committee in charge of conducting the referendum did their utmost to prevent an honest expression of opinion by the mem-

DETROIT-The no-strike pledge ref-

erendum in the UAW-CIO is now

#### bership of the UAW. IRREGULARITIES

referendum.

MARCH 5, 1945

The outstanding case that has been reported to date comes from Lansing. There UAW officers discovered that ballots had been sent to the management of the large Olds and Reo plants. The Olds local discovered that most of the officers of the company had received union ballots in the no-strike pledge referendum. Even the president of the company, S. E. Skinner, who also is a vicepresident of General Motors, the parent concern, received a ballot from the union. After the union entered a protest, however, the ballots were

At Reo Motors, on the other hand, where management also received ballots, the company refused to return these ballots to the union. It is entirely possible that the officials of Reo Motors, Inc., have voted in the

The news of this violation of the Grand Rapids convention mandate a wave of resentment to sweep Lansing auto unionists, who were overwhelmingly against the nostrike pledge. The Lansing CIO Council, made up predominantly of UAW locals, denounced the conduct of the referendum to the international officers of the union. Most Lansing locals are taking similar ac-

To add to the resentment of auto workers in Lansing and elsewhere was the obvious failure of the referendum committee even to attempt a fair and impartial vote. Auto workers all over the country are reporting cases in which from two to five ballots are received by a single person, often a person who has not been

a member of the union for a year or more. In particular where a worker has transferred his job within the last year or two have such duplications of ballots been found. It would not be surprising if the total vote turned out to be larger than the total membership of the auto union.

INDUSTRY

### WORDING OF BALLOT

Irregular Balloting in UAW No-Strike Voting

The unfairness of the vote is made even-worse by the wording of the ballot. The wording, protested by union militants when the ballots were first issued, is heavily weighted in favor of a vote to support the pledge with references to the pledge made to the "Commander-in-Chief" and the people but without any mention of the fact that the pledge was made by the top bureaucrats and not by the rank and file membership.

With all these factors present, it is impossible to predict the outcome of the referendum. Since the vote is being conducted in the manner of a plebiscite, it would indeed be surprising if the sentiment of the majority of the auto workers made itself felt. A vote to retain under such circumstances should discourage no one. It would merely indicate the need for redoubled efforts on the part of the ranks to get rid of the infamous pledge and redoubled vigilance to insure the democratic conduct of union

### You Don't Say! Dept.

"SENATORS BACK BANKERS" "... The American Bankers Association's program closely parallels the line that several influential senators have been developing recently. The similarity is so close, in fact, that observers promptly jumped to the conclusion that there had been a considerable exchange of views beforehand."-Business Week, February 10.

The public members of the War Labor Board have passed judgment, in a long-delayed report to the President, on their own

Not only that. By using statistics in a brand-new way, invented especially for this occasion, they are able to "prove" that wage rates have actually run ahead of price increases, so that workers in manufacturing are, on the uverage, seven per cent better off than in January, 1941. This conclusion will rank in his-

Early last September, CIO President Philip Murray, fresh from a conference with Roosevelt, rushed to a convention of the rebellious auto workers, pleaded with them to retain the nostrike pledge, and staked his life (but not his job) that the Little

leader was refusing to predict when or how the War Labor Board would act on the case of his own steel workers.

## They're Kidding About "War **Criminals**" Trials

By JESSE KAAREN

BACKS FDR WAGE

FREEZE AGAIN!

The closer the Allies come to victory in Europe, the more vague their officials become on the subject of punishment for war guilt. There would be nothing wrong with that if it implied that the Allies meant not to interfere in the matter. But that would be expecting the impossible. The record of the AMG in Italy, the British role in Greece, the strongarm methods used in Belgium, in France and in other European na-

### WHAT THE WORKERS DID

"Shooting rather than imprisonment as the best means of disposing of Hitler" was the retort given by a young German soldier-prisoner to the question as to what he would do with his Fuehrer. In Italy, the masses also moved with a sure instinct to dispose of their war criminals. When they became impatient with the slow tempo of justice in Rome they threw into the Tiber River the keeper of Regina Coeli Prison, where several hundred Italian hostages had previously been executed to satisfy the

United States officials protested this and they have acted to impede the carrying out of popular justice ever since they landed in Italy.

The Dutch unde ground too raised such a mighty protest when one of the ministers in exile from his safe haven in London apologized for Dutch collaborators and pleaded for leniency for them, that the minister had to be displaced.

In France, too, the masses have done very well in dispensing justice on their own, when they were not interfered with by de Gaulle or by the Allied overlords.

The liberal New York newspaper PM is carrying on a crusade for a strict policy of punishment for war (Continued on page 2)

Little Steel formula-and have found it good.

tory as one of the statistical frauds of the ages.

Steel formula would be punctured—and soon.

A few days later, this "honorable" and "responsible" labor

"I do know this," he said, "that the board must speed up its decision in this case. The workers of the United States want a decision from that board, and they want it speed-

#### LABOR GETTING GYPPED

A couple of months later, the WLB refused any raise in basic rates to the steel workers and merely granted them a few cents on their "fringe demands"-vacation pay, shift differentials and the like. The Little Steel formula was unbroken. But Murray promptly hailed the decision as a 'great victory.'

Thereupon, Economic Vinson informed the board that even minor concessions must not be made in future cases, unless the OPA first tions, prove that the Allies mean to agreed that no rise in prices would

> The labor leaders were furious, stating that the board was being stripped of all its (two-cent or threecent) power and was being made a mere puppet of Vinson. The public members too put up a mild protest.

### WLB CARRIES OUT FOR PLAN

And now? Now these public members say that they don't want the power to raise wages above the Little Steel level. That would be dangerous.

They say that only the lowest paid workers deserve and need an increase. But they recommend to Vinson a scandalous fifty-five cent minimum for textile workers, for fear that a higher scale would affect wages in other industries.

They say that all workers stand to lose heavily in the post-war periodbut that it's too soon to do anything about that.

Puppets, are they? No, not just puppets, but quite willing agents of Vinson and of his superior, "Assistant President" Byrnes, and of his superior, President Roosevelt. And willing agents, like these superiors of theirs, of the whole capitalist class.

This much we have always said, and events have confirmed us more than fully. What is to be done now?

Emil Rieve, president of the Textile Workers Union, has already resigned (Continued on page 2)

# **Dodge Strikers Still Stand Firm!**

DETROIT-The Dodge main plant of the Chrysler Corporation was shut down by a strike of the more than 17,000 workers which began on Feb. 23. The strikers, members of Local 3, UAW-CIO, were protesting an attempt of the company to reintroduce the vicious speed-up for which Detroit was noted before the advent of the UAW.

The Chrysler Corporation had attempted to raise the production rate. in the gear department from 108 to 184 pieces per hour. The workers were unable to meet this rate, and eight employees, including one with twenty years' seniority, were fired. The walkout was the result.

George F. Addes, acting president of the UAW, immediately entered the picture in his usual role of strike-

breaker. Knowing that his words would not affect he results of the recently concluded no-strike pledge referendum, Addes "ordered" the Dodge workers back to work and threatened "immediate action on the part of the executive board of the union" if the workers failed to heed his dictatorial edict.

In contrast to the position of Addes and the international. Mike Novak, president of the Dodge Local, announced that the local executive board was in full sympathy with the striking workers. At a membership meeting held on Sunday, February 25, to consider going back to work, the local voted overwhelmingly to stay out and called out the 600 maintenance men and tool and die workers to add support to the strike.

At this meeting, at which Norman

Matthews, Chrysler director of the UAW, represented the International Union, all references to himself and George Addes were heartily booed. The same fate was suffered by the one or two proposals that were made to compromise the issue with the company. The membership was for staying out until their point was won.

In this they had the support of the workers in most of the thirteen Chrysler plants in the Detroit area, all of whom have been victims in recent months of company attempts to speed up production in preparation for auto production. The addition of the interplant drivers to the ranks of the strikers made a further spread of the strike seem likely.

It is impossible to say at this writing what action the International the international has suspended local executive boards for backing up the membership. However, in every case of this kind the international was repudiated and the local board upheld by being voted back into office by overwhelming votes of the mem-The usual government action, if

take. In past situations of this kind

the strike lasts for some time, is to "seize" the plant. Local President Novak has already asked that the government take over the plant. The danger to the workers in this is that any nominal seizure by the government will be to PREVENT settlement of the grievance. The workers must not accept federal seizure of the plant as a substitute for the elimination of the speed - up and the rein-Union and the War Labor Board will statement of the fired workers.

By David Coolidge

# **MASS ACTION:**

JOTTINGS FROM A **CROSS-COUNTRY TOUR** 

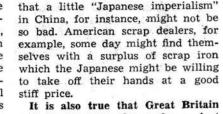
I have been trying to follow the transactions of the World Trade Union Conference, meeting in London, but this is extremely difficult when one is located in Los Angeles. There are no newspapers here that make any pretense at an adequate coverage of national and international events. The daily rubbish that comes in the Chandler "Times" and the Hearst "Examiner" stinks as much as the oil refineries in the environs of LA. Manchester Boddy's "News" makes an effort to be a newspaper but it is really little more than a purveyor of local items, Boddy's personal editorials and the "boiler plate" coming from Drew Pearson and other national columnists.

#### IFTU AND FASCISM

At any rate, it seems that the London Conference, composed of the British Trade Union Congress, the CIO and Stalin's GPU, has been giving attention to the problem of what to do with Germany after the armies of Russia and the United Nations have pitched their tents in Berlin. I don't know yet what the CIO proposal is aside from the declaration of the last CIO convention that the "German people must be made to make restitution for the crimes they have visited on humanity."

Carey, in his speech to the Conference, said that the CIO is in accord with the views of Citrine that "strong measures must be taken to assure the complete destruction of every vestige of fascism and of Japanese imperialism." Carey did not say who was to destroy "fascism" and "Japanese imperialism." Presumably, Churchill, Stalin and Roosevelt. We all can agree that these three "statesmen" will aim at the destruc-

tion of Japanese imperialism. That is, we can agree that such is their present aim. No one should be surprised, however, should any one of the three and the imperialists they represent, come to the conclusion at some later date,



will have no moral scruples against destroying Japanese imperialism. England has a perfect record at destroying not only rival imperialisms, but national independence of big and small nations and any and all political, economic and social aspirations of colonial peoples.

#### U. S. AND JAPAN

The United States, too, can be counted on to carry on a holy crusade against "Japanese imperialism." Aren't the Japanese in possession of the tin, rubber and oil of the Netherlands' East Indies? England can be counted on to render complete assistance in this task of destroying "Japanese imperialism." England will do this is long as "Japanese imperialism" is a threat to British imperialism. If, at some later date, imperialist Japan should become useful to the British imperialist ruling class (as in 1932) then we may expect Great Britain to join hands with the Japanese.

There is therefore no guarantee at all that the Big Three imperialist nations, England, Russia and the United States, will maintain the present love feast. Any one of them will stab the others in the back at the moment dictated by "manifest destiny," "dollar diplomacy," "national interests," etc. For where oil, coal, iron, wheat or markets are, "there is the fatherland."

The destruction of "every vestige of fascism" is quite another matter. Who is to do this? The British imperialist ruling class? Our own imperialist ruling class? The imperialist Stalinist gangsters and murderers? The Big Three? Is that what Churchill's tanks were doing in Greece when they ran down the Greek workers? Hitler's tanks also ran down the Greek workers.

Does the Roosevelt government consider it is destroying "every vestige of fascism" when it proposes a National Service Act which will

chain the workers to the private profit "free enterprise" factories of du Pont, Morgan, Stettinius and Rockefeller? Hitler organized a labor front, too, which chained the German workers to the private profit capitalist factories of Krupp and Goering. Goering is in the Hitler government, but so are Stettinius and Rockefeller in the Roosevelt government.

Will Stalin say that he is destroying "every vestige of fascism" when he sends his bloody GPU to rule over the Romanians, Hungarians, Poles, Estonians and Lithua-nians? Or when

he transports hundreds of thousands of Polish workers to Russia and keeps them at forced labor? Or when he proposes that hundreds of thousands of German workers be sent into Russia to rebuild the country after the war? We presume that some of the Stalinist-renovated Junkers German generals, now held in "protective custody" by Stalin, will be made slavedrivers over these deported German workers in the Russian labor camps.

#### SOMETHING TO THINK ABOUT

These are things for workers in the U.S. to think about. This is something for Murray, Carey, Hillman and every labor leader to think over. They act as though the world and all its problems were only a vast taffypulling contest. They talk about wiping out "every vestige of fascism" by defeating Germany, just as though fascism were a private monopoly of Hitler, invented by him and never dreamed of by any capitalist in any other country in the world. To these labor leaders, fascism has no relationship to capitalism, to capitalist economic crises, to unemployment or to any of the manifold ills which bear down on society today all over the world.

Murray has called for the the revival of the PAC clubs and committees. Just ordinary militant workers might consider demanding a discussion on these important questions in the meetings of the national PAC, in every local union and in every local

Samuel Gompers, Labor

Lieutenant of Capital

## NEWS AND VIEWS FROM THE LABOR FRONT

# Notes on the National Wage Crises

By WALTER WEISS

Back on October 11, at a "stormy" session of the WLB, public and industry members voted that they would make no recommendation at all to the President about the Little Steel formula.

Why not? Because they didn't have enough information as to the effects a change might have on prices. The President could rely on other experts

for that, they said. The labor members accused the public members of timidity, failure to

#### PUBLIC MEMBER KIDDING

do their duty, etc.

Since October 11-the election being over and the labor members having proved their own timidity for the thousandth time - the public members have become bold and do make a definite recommendation: that general wage increases "would be disastrous to the war effort and to the economic security of all segments of our population."

WLB public members weep some more of those cheap tears in their Little Steel report for city and other government workers and for the white collar class generally.

They say there ought to be a lawseveral laws, in fact: Nothing they themselves can do about it, thank

By the way, these laws should be passed. "IF it should be concluded at any time that national economic policy calls for increasing the level of consumer incomes."

No hurry, you see. Certainly not now. Probably not even in your life-

#### IT'S DONE WITH FIGURES By government figures wage rates

since January, 1941, have gone up 19.5 per cent, but the cost of living is up 29.5 per cent. This last figure should, according to labor research, be fully 15 per cent higher, or 44.5 per cent.

The problem for WLB public members was: how to explain away that ten per cent gypping workers are taking, even according to government figures.

Simple! Just add incentive bonuses. faster wartime promotions, night shift premiums and a few other things to base wage rates.

Now wage rates are up 36.7 per cent, and workers are seven per cent to the good, instead of ten per cent

### BOSSES RAKE IT IN

. It's all done with figures.

WLB and other government agencies insist that wartime taxes should not be included in the cost of living (at least, not the worker's cost of living). BUT-night shift premiums, upgrading, etc., will largely disappear at the end of the war. The WLB admits this. Who expects post-war taxes to go down very much-if at all-except

to the socialist movement.

for the corporations and the rich?

According to the newspaper PM, the WLB report does mention, way back in an appendix, that profits are higher than ever before in historyeven after taxes.

Corporate profits before taxes rose from about two and a half billions in 1938 to almost twenty-three billions in 1943, an increase of about 800 per

Profits after taxes were one and a half billions in 1938 and nine billions in 1943, an increase of 500 per cent. This doesn't even take into account the big tax refunds the companies-

Yet the WLB is sure that wage increases would require price rises.

#### ACTING FOR FDR

not you-are entitled to.

boss (we mean Roosevelt himself) made it clear again and again that

During the past year the WLB's

he was quite satisfied with the wage and price situation.

We'll gladly furnish exact references to anybody who wants them. His campaign speech was one exam-

During this whole period he was supposed to be waiting for WLB re-

ports before making up his mind. The WLB public members say that workers are worried about the future and that this causes job shifting, which will become even worse later

They don't think that the way to remedy the situation would be by general wage increases, which might cause a terrible inflation.

What, then, is to be done? They don't mention it, according to newspaper reports, but they doubtless have in mind the labor draft.

#### LISTEN TO BUNKUM

Monday through Friday, J. Raymond Walsh, big research brain of the CIO, gives a news commentary over Radio Station WMCA, New York, 7:30 p.m. He was boiling mad about the Little Steel report.

They ought to resign from the WLB, he said. Who? Believe it or not, the public members! (Not a word about the CIO members.)

Why the public members? Perhaps because they're capitalist agents? No, they're fine, "honorable" men, but Byrnes and Vinson have put terrific pressure on them. They shouldn't stand for it.

They have become objects of ridicule. Not the labor leaders, mind you, but the public members. They should have resigned some time ago, when Vinson took their power to pass on fringe demands from them.

Say, Brother Walsh, who's being paid by the workers to fight for them -the public members or the labor

among the Germans it must employ.

# They're Kidding About War Criminals --

**HELEN JUDD** 

The sad news of the death of Comrade Helen Judd has just reached

Comrade Judd was well known in the workers' movement of Chi-

cago. During the last war she was ousted as a teacher in the public

school system because of her outspoken anti-war views. Her case be-

came widely known and received strong support from the entire labor

She was in the left wing of the Socialist Party, an early member of

the Communist Party at a time when it was truly a workers' organiza-

tion. In 1929 she was expelled from that party for demanding a demo-

cratic discussion on the views of Leon Trotsky. Helen Judd thereafter

became a charter member of the Communist League of American and

continued ever since as an active participant in the political movement.

At the time of her death she was a member of the Socialist Workers

The working class movement will miss this fine comrade-a devoted

Party, an organization adhering to the views of Leon Trotsky.

and honest fighter in behalf of socialism and world freedom.

us from Chicago. This seventy-one-year-old revolutionary socialist died

of a heart attack en route to a meeting. Her death is indeed a great loss

By RUTH PHILLIPS In December, 1886, at Columbus, Ohio, a number of national trade union representatives came together and founded the American Federation of Labor, with Samuel Gompers as its first president.

Gompers, a cigar maker by trade, was a trade unionist from his youth. Before he became a trade union official he was a socialist and believed, as he said, "with the most advanced thinkers in the abolition of the wage system.

But Gompers, a shrewd and energetic man, was essentially a conservative, completely lacking in that social vision which distinguished his two chief contemporaries and rivals in the labor movement, Gene Debs and Bill Haywood.

### A UNION OF CRAFTSMEN

In the 1880's, when the AFL was formed, industry was not yet organized on the mass production basis of today. A big percentage of the workers were craftsmen, proud of their skill and able to command higher wages and better conditions than their unskilled brothers. The skilled workers were jealous of their privileges and afraid of the competition of the masses of unskilled.

The unskilled workers had been organized in large numbers by the Knights of Labor. The Knights found their efforts unaided and even sabotaged by the craft unions. The unification of the Knights of Labor and the American Federation of Labor in the eighties would have created a powerful union movement in America. Instead, the two organizations fought each other. The K. of L. per ished in the struggle.

IGNORING UNSKILLED WORKERS Gompers saw his chance in the division between the skilled and unskilled. His aim was to organize powerful craft unions whose concern was simply with getting higher wages and better conditions for the skilled minority. As for the rest of the workers in the country, they were of no interest to the AFL. He was for a strong, centralized national federation with well paid officers and organizers, supported by high dues and initiation fees. High wages for the skilled workers were to be obtained by peaceful bargaining with the employers who could be brought to see the wisdom of supporting an aristocracy of labor which would help to

keep the unskilled workers down. Gompers' ideas were clever and timely. In those days, no trade union organization could exist without the skilled workers, as the K. of L. had so unfortunately proved. The AFL left the organization of the unskilled workers to social visionaries like

Debs and Haywood. It grew strong

under Gompers' leadership by utiliz- tor in modern industry, industrial ing the division and prejudices in the

Out of the Past

The left wing in the labor movement called Gompers "labor skate" and "sell-out artist." Most apt of all, the socialist, Daniel De Leon, called ants of capitalism." These "titles" were well earned by Gompers. In 1894, the great Pullman strike led by Debs' American Railway Union was defeated as much by Gompers' refusal to give it support as by federal



Perhaps the most flagrant sell-out of all was in 1919, when Gompers, by withdrawing his support and conniving with President Wilson and the steel trust broke the great steel strike of 1919, setting back trade unionism among the steel workers for years after.

From 1900 to 1914 the AFL grew from 600,000 to 2,000,000 members. But already the progress of modern industry was passing the AFL by, As craft skills became less of a fac-

union organization became a crying necessity for the growth of the labor movement. Gompers continued to ignore the growing army of unskilled and unorganized workers. Instead, he devoted his attention to such projects as the National Civic Federation, of which he was vice-president, while August Belmont, a leading capitalist, was president. There Gompers fostered "harmony" between labor and

### CLASS COLLABORATION

Gompers preached cooperation with the bosses, not only on the economic front. Under the pretense of keeping politics out of the unions, he attached labor to the tailshirts of the Republican and Democratic Parties. He sabotaged every attempt of labor to form an independent party of its own. Under the slogan "Reward your friends and punish your enemies, he supported the candidates of capi-

When America entered the war in 1917, Gompers waved the flag more violently than any professional jingoist. He presented President Wilson with a no-strike, no-organization pledge for the duration! He hailed the war as a "war for democracy."

The anti-union, open-shop offensive of the bosses in the post-war period found Gompers and his by-now weakened organization totally unprepared to meet it. The membership and influence of the AFL declined sharply.

When Gompers died in 1924, he left behind him a weak and ineffectual Federation of Labor poisoned by his outdated trade union philosophy.

"Pure and simple trade unionism" had brought the union movement to a low ebb, from which it did not recover until the CIO organization drives of 1935.

**NEW YORK FORUM** 

SUBJECT: ROOSEVELT VERSUS LABOR

PROSPECTS FOR LABOR IN THE FOURTH TERM THE MEANING OF NATIONAL SERVICE

SPEAKER: REVA CRAINE Organizer of Workers

Irving Plaza 15th St. & Irving Place Sunday, March 11 8:15 p.m.

QUESTIONS AND DISCUSSION

Auspices: Workers Party, Local New York Adm. 25 Cents

ized them into a "German National, included, are more frightened about (Continued from page 1) Committee' and if Stalin finds it neccriminals. They consistently hold up essary plans to present these highly the Soviet government as a model, placed fascists to the German people using that country's very aggressive statements as proof that they do have as their "new" rulers. the intention of punishing war crimi-Russian aggressiveness toward the German people has, in fact, quite an-A little closer attention to the

other purpose. It is aimed not at the ton fascists, but is rather a deliberate campaign to whip up mass hate and hysteria against the German workers so that the "democratic" world can be influenced to tolerate the Russian plan to enslave the German workers and ship them off to Russia.

As has been pointed out before in LABOR ACTION, the Allies, Russia

what the European workers will do than they are about leaving the war criminals where they are now - in key positions. They need the war criminals and ex-collaborationists to carry on as before for the Allies. The Allies have emasculated the War Crimes Commission which they themselves set up a few years ago in the honeymoon of the Atlantic Charter

A dispatch from Germany reveals the pattern that Allied occupation of that country will take: "The military government is carefully weeding out those with Nazi Party affiliations

but the conviction is growing among officers who have been on duty in occupied territory that such affiliation is not necessarily the most vital .. criterion.... No attempt whatever is being made to back any ostensibly anti-Nazi group, however; nor are attemps at widespread re-education in Germany likely until after hostilities cease and the United States-Russian-British-French Central Control Commission, which is to sit in Berlin. takes over the military government. Serious pursuit of war criminals will also probably have to wait until then."-New York Times.

# WLB Holds to FDR Wage Freeze--

(Continued from page 1)

facts, however, reveals that the So-

viet regime is just as indisposed to

bring war criminals to trial as are

the other imperialist partners in this

war. The Russians have whole crews

of the most famous top generals of

the Nazi regime in Moscow. What

have they done with them? Put them

up in fine Moscow hotels and organ-

from the WLB. The union's executive board has released part of the membership from the no-strike pledge. These long overdue steps were taken even before the Little Steel report, mainly in protest against Vinson's holding up the WLB's fiftyfive cent minimum and other small concessions to the textile workers.

These steps were taken, as Rieve said, in response to tremendous pressure from the ranks.

At the time this is written, there are reports that the CIO executive board will soon meet. Philip Murray is quoted as describing the situation as "simply intolerable," but, at the same time, as calling for careful observance of the no-strike pledge "now, more than ever."

Their whole record indicates that our ever-so-patriotic labor leaders will be satisfied to have "power" restored to the WLB-power to grant "fringe demands." They hope either for this or some other cheap compromise to save their faces.

This would not begin to meet the present, much less the future, needs of the workers.

Every local should demand as an

immediate, minimum program:

1. Resignation of all labor members from the WLB. 2. Unconditional scrapping of the no-strike pledge.

The workers should organize, as the Rank and File Caucus in the United Auto Workers has already done, to bring back fighting unionism and put an end to disastrous retreats.

-L. A. Business Manager's...

#### SAN PEDRO HARBOR AREA PRESS ACTION Month Calendar of Events

DAVID COOLIDGE

LABOR ACTION COLUMNIST Labor Secretary of the Workers Party

Friends of Labor Action

SPEAKER

March 9th 8:00 p.m.

A MILITANT PROGRAM FOR THE TRADE UNIONS

March 23rd 8:00 p.m.

> SOCIALISM AND A WORKERS' GOVERNMENT

> > **ADMISSION FREE**

March 31—Saturday Nite Party Celebrating APRIL FOOL'S DAY AT 1039 S. MEYLER-Cor. 11th-SAN PEDRO

Perhaps you are a reader of LA- are not aware of this. It takes a great BOR ACTION who receives his copy from a distributor in front of your plant or yard. The first purpose of these distributors is to get the paper a manpower shortage. into your hands and thereby acquaint you with our program. The second is

to have you subscribe to the paper

Rain or shine, hot or cold, these men and women are out to bring you LABOR ACTION. They make sacrifices of time and energy. Maybe you subscribe to it immediately.

and become a regular reader.

deal of effort and drudgery to deliver the paper into your hands. We want to cut down as much as possible on these special deliveries. We too have

By Sol Rayo-

You can help. Write your name and address on the subscription blank in the paper with the money enclosed, and mail it to us, or hand your name and address to the distributor with the money. If you like our paper, the ideas and program it advocates,



SUBSCRIBE NOW TO LABOR ACTION

> 114 WEST 14th STREET New York 11, N. Y.

One Year Subscription Rate: Sixty Cents New York City and Bronx, Seventy-Five Cents

Name _	 		 	
		5 "		
Address				
Address	 		 	

# Editorials-

## WLB for "Non-Living" Wage, But Has to Wait for Vinson OK

up for lost time with great haste. Aware of the deep dissatisfaction of the Textile and Packinghouse Workers Unions with the stalling of the board on their cases and fearful of any action they might take, the WLB finally granted these workers a minmum fifty-five cents an hour wage.

This recommendation, for it is still not a real decision, being subject to the okay or disapproval of Stabilization Director Vinson, did not have the desired effect in the case of the textile union. The union voted to rescind the no-strike pledge for thousands of its workers. In addition, its president, Emil Rieve, resigned as an alternate member of the WLB.

#### BACK OF THE DECISION

In Detroit, the Dodge plant of the Chrysler Corporation was struck by the UAW workers, who up to this writing have refused to go back to work. They are thoroughly fed up with the union-busting campaign of the company and have no faith whatever of getting anything out of the government and its agencies.

Thousands of other workers are chafing under the no-strike pledge and the dirty deal on wages handed them by FDR and his appointed boards and directors.

John L. Lewis has already served notice on the government of the intention of the miners to strike if their just wage demands are not met.

The whole organized labor movement is fed up with the cheating the workers are getting under the Little Steel formula and the wage freeze inaugurated by Roosevelt and maintained by him. The decision of the WLB industry and public members that no change in the Little Steel formula is warranted has only sharpened the dissatisfaction of the workers.

#### IS IT REALLY AN INCREASE?

This is the background to the sudden decision of the WLB to set a fifty-five-cent hourly minimum wage for all workers now earning substandard wages. The decision made by the AFL and the CIO.

the small, neutral countries are joining

the United Nations and declaring war on

Turkey, which for many months resist-

ed Allied pressure to declare war on Ger-

many, has followed the dictates of Yalta

and become a "full-fledged" member of

the United Nations by joining the fight-

ing! To add to the picture, Syria and Leb-

Prior to them, two South American na-

tions joined the war and the pressure is

now on to force every single country in

These countries are not needed to

anon have declared war, too.

the world into the war.

Germany.

The War Labor Board is trying to make affects some 4,000,000 workers. But it is not a clean-cut decision increasing the pay of these workers. No, the WLB doesn't operate in that way. The decision merely grants the right to hear them. Employers, too, may ask the board to raise wages to this minimum. (Even the WLB admits that there won't be a mad rush from the employers, however.)

Since any decision which may be finally made by the WLB is again subject to review of Economic Stabilizer Vinson, who will decide whether or not the increase will be allowed, the action of the WLB is really not much. We are likely to have more delay, red tape and more than likely, no wage increases in reality.

The reason for that is the pattern usually followed in these cases: an increase in wages, no matter how small, results in a demand by a company for price relief. The policy of the government is not to grant wage increase if they lead to price increases. Where such raises are granted, they are immediately followed by price increases, since the government will not do anything to cut into the record-breaking profits of industry.

#### NOT A "LIVING WAGE"

The grant itself is of course little compensation for the worker. Even Davis, chairman of the WLB, does not believe that fifty-five cents an hour is "enough to maintain a decent standard of living." You would think that, having said this, he would propose a larger increase. No such thing from a Roosevelt appointee. He overcomes this contradiction by a little homespun philosophy, saying, "The way to make haste is to take a step at a time."

In case anyone gets too elated by this miserable increase granted in theory to some workers, but not actually given, remember that the grant is ten cents an hour less than the amount contained in Senator Pepper's minimum wage bill and seventeen cents an hour less than the demand

military point of view, they would be a

hindrance to the Allies. But it is necessary

to force them more directly under the heel

of Allied imperialism. That is why the Big

Three made attendance at the San Fran-

cisco parley in April contingent upon a

declaration of war by any country which

The small countries really don't count.

The decisions are made by the Big Three.

The small countries can only serve in an

"advisory capacity"—that is, to accept the

decisions of the strong countries. Impe-

rialist power politics runs the show and

the small countries are merely pawns in

the game, present as sacrifices in the in-

wished to participate.

# POWER POLITICS — HARD PEACE

By JOE LEONARD

Roosevelt, Stalin and Churchill believe in a hard peace for Germany. They say anyone who does not agree pretty much with their way of thinking is advocating a soft peace for Germany. But the Big Three are wrong. The question is: Which section of the German people are you going to give a hard peace, and which section of the German people are you going to give a soft peace?

Roosevelt, Stalin and Churchill are going to send millions of POOR Germans, workers and enlisted cannon fodder into Russia to work as slaves. At least that is what they are planning to do. They also plan, though as the war draws to a close they say less and less about it, to bring the Nazis to trial. They don't say anything about the industrialists, the bankers and the whole wealthy ruling class of Germany. THESE Germans, remember, are business partners of Standard Oil of New Jersey, Aluminum Corporation of America, Ford Motor Company and most of the other big American (and British) corporations. You can be sure that the partners in a cartel look out for each other, at least to the extent of seeing that they don't get treated like the POOR Germans, anyway.

GERMAN WORKERS INNOCENT

American working people know that it is not the German working people who are responsible for this war, any more than the American working people are responsible for it. The hard peace should be reserved for the German bosses-the Nazis, the Prussian generals and THEIR bosses, the German industrialists. Yes, and a hard peace should be reserved for those in America who continued to do business as usual with these German industrialists.

In the last war the Allies talked a lot about hanging the Kaiser. But they didn't do anything to him; the Germans themselves did what was done. All the Allies did was saddle Germany with such.

reparations and debts and disgraceful conditions that twenty It is the same within the mother years later Hitler could appeal to the Germans to refuse to obey the provisions of the Versailles Treaty. Roosevelt, Churchill and Stalin are not preparing a permanent peace; they are preparing the way for a new Hitler to arise.

Just what plans the Big Three have made for Germany are still secret. No wonder they are secret! If the Germans knew the plans they would NEVER surrender. And if the American and British people knew all the double and triple dealing that goes on behind the closed doors of the conferences they would lose their last doubts about what kind of a post-war world their leaders have in store for them.

It was the same in World War I —the leaders played with scissors and maps, bargaining territory for trade rights, colonies for mandates, sources of raw materials for spheres of influence. They are preparing another such peace again. And they will conclude the Third World War in the same Second .World War in the same way if their plans are not inter-

GERMANY-SLAVE OR FREE? What kind of a Germany will there be after the war? There are only two possible answers: (1) a slave Germany, trampled upon by the armies of Russia, England, the United States and France: or (2) a free, socialist, democratic Germany. How can we help achieve the second of these?

Democracy is not something that can be given, or bought, or sold. A colony does not become free if a mother country passes a law saying so. It is only when the troops of the mother (more like the step-mother of the old fairy stories) country are withdrawn. the loans of the banks in the mother country are written off, the factories owned by citizens of the mother country are owned by the people of the country who make them run, and the land owned by citizens of the mother country is

country as it is within the colony. No country can be a true democracy when the means of getting a living are controlled by a wealthy ruling class.

Germany is no different. Given the same chance that the Italian people had, or the Russians in 1917, the Germans will set up a democratic government. came very close to setting one up in 1919 and again in 1923. This time, if Americans help instead of hinder, they will succeed. If they don't the whole world will suffer.

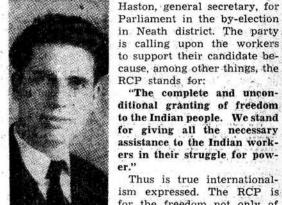
Stalin never would have changed into the totalitarian nightmare that it is today if the Allies had helped Russia strengthen her democratic government insteading of sending armies in to "restore order." The Russian people overthrew their "Hitler" (the Czar) and established a free government of their own choosing. That the first Russian "experiment" ended in dictatorship is not the important thing in this discussion. We leave discussion of that for another time.

What to do with Germany? Exactly what we did not do to Russia from 1917 to 1930. Exactly what we did NOT do to China during the long years that Japan fought her with iron imported from the United States. Exactly what we did NOT do to Ethiopia while Mussolini violated her rights and the pledges of the nations to help invaded nations against aggression. Exactly what we did NOT do to Spain while Franco brought fascism to another country and while Roosevelt enforced an embargo on help to the democratic forces

The Big Three will not help Germany form a democratic government. They want to blow up German machines that might compete with American products; they want to police a Germany that has had a bellyfull of policing for twelve years; they want to enslave a Germany that has been virtually enslaved for twelve

#### British Labor and India

The Revolutionary Communist Party of England (a Trotskyist organization of revolutionary



RCP stands for: "The complete and unconditional granting of freedom to the Indian people. We stand for giving all the necessary assistance to the Indian workers in their struggle for pow-

socialists) is running Jock

Thus is true internationalism expressed. The RCP is for the freedom not only of those people dominated by the imperialisms of other lands, but primarily for the freedom of those who are op-

pressed by its own, that is, British imperialism.

JOCK HASTON

#### Workers in Japan

In order to put across their plans to punish and enslave the German workers for the war into which their imperialist rulers dragged them, the slander campaign about the "mad German beast" has proceeded unabated. The aim of this campaign is to make the German workers appear responsible for the war, and thus let the real culprits go free. It will pale beside the campaign which will be launched against the Japanese people once the "plans" for them are announced.

Actually, it is the working classes of all countries which are paying for the war. The same pattern is found everywhere-increasing profits for the war-makers; high prices, decreasing wages and lowered living standards for the people. The Japanese workers, in their struggle for a little more bread ,sometimes resort to desperate and unusual

A Tokio paper recently described one method which is said to be widespread. The workers of concern A steal a raw material which is in short supply, such as aluminum or special steel, and offer it at black market prices to concern B, which buys it eagerly. In concern B the workers do likewise and sell the material to concern C, where the same thing happens until the sequence gets back to concern A. Tokio police report that many workers are involved in such activities.

#### 'Liberation' in the Congo

From the time of its conquest as a colony, the native people of the Belgian Congo have been subjected to forced labor by the Belgian imperial overlords. The cruel treatment and intense exploitation of the Congo people by the profiteers in rubber, oil, copper, copal-to name but a few of the wonderful resources of that region-for a long time were an international scandal. So great, in fact, that in 1908 King Leopold, whose colony the Belgian Congo was considered, was compelled to order an investigation and reluctantly granted some "reforms."

Forced labor, however, continues to this day. In 1933, the Belgian government magnanimously issued a decree which allowed a person called up for forced labor to send a substitute for himself. The decree became known as the Native Circumscription Decree.

We are informed that many people in the Belgian Congo used to pay an agency which specialized in hiring substitutes for the forced labor service, and that the Belgian governm this a more satisfactory arrangement because "laborers hired under more normal conditions worked more efficiently than forced laborers."

And now, at last, in 1945, comes another great reform! The Belgian government has announced in its Administrative Bulletin of the Congo that this system of circumscription has been legalized, and that the purchasing of labor service may be legally organized by the agencies, except in cases, of course, "where conditions are not opportune and particularly where the necessary labor for executing the projects cannot be recruited voluntarily." Also excepted are forced labor for the following projects: road repairing, building of schools and prisons (!), hygiene and reforestation.

"These reforms," states the Bulletin, "come at a happy time. They constitute another step toward the suppression of forced labor in all its forms." Another little imperialist blessing!

### Principles Absent at Yalta

Every thinking person knows that the decisions arrived at by the Big Three at Yalta were not based on any principles save one-each power was out to get what it could at anybody else's expense. The decisions were based on military strength and economic power.

Drew Pearson reveals in his column of February 23 that when the question of Poland was being discussed, Stalin, in making his demands, turned to his two friends and asked:

"Did your army liberate Poland, Mr. Churchill? Did your army liberate Poland, Mr. Roosevelt?"

The Russians are now busy denouncing anyone who even suggests that they were planning to use the "Free German Committee" headed by von Paulus and von Seydlitz, former officers in the Nazi army, as a provisional government in Germany. Getting what he did at Yalta, Stalin simply did not have to use this trump card against Churchill and Roosevelt, at least not at the present moment.

LABOR ACTION COLUMNIST Noted Negro Writer and Organizer

discussions on

### THE SOCIALIST PROGRAM FOR TODAY

EVERY SECOND MONDAY BEGINNING FEBRUARY 19, 8 P.M.

NEAR CENTRAL AVENUE, LOS ANGELES

Monday, March 5 THE WORKERS AND

THEIR TRADE UNIONS Monday, March 19

THE WORKERS AND RACE PREJUDICE

SOCIALISM AND A WORKERS' GOVERNMENT Monday, April 16

IS STALIN'S RUSSIA SOCIALIST COUNTRY?

### terests of the imperialist giants. strengthen Allied military power against U.S.-British Grab of French

Bases Behind de Gaulle Snub

Small Neutrals Declare War on

Germany Under Allied Pressure

One of the results of the Yalta Confer- Germany. Most of them can do nothing in

ence is the bandwagon manner in which this respect. As a matter of fact, from a

The American capitalist press made a great to-do about the fact that General Charles de Gaulle refused to meet President Roosevelt in the Mediterranean when he was "summoned" by FDR. This was indeed a terrible snub! The main reasons which prompted de Gaulle's action, according to the press, was the fact that he was not invited to Yalta and not consulted about France's role in the partition of Eu-

But on Sunday, February 25, Drew Pearson syndicated a column which revealed that de Gaulle was peeved at a few . others things, namely, the secret agreement between Roosevelt and Churchill to seize French colonies, which the French seized in earlier years, and to make American and British bases of them.

3

According to Pearson, Roosevelt insists upon having Dakar. "Churchill agreed."

Churchill then insisted that the British lifeline to India must be safeguarded and the British must have the French base of Bizerte, as well as the Italian islands of Pantelleria and Lampedusa. "Roosevelt

Then Roosevelt added that the United States must also have a base at Cap St. Jacques in French Indo-China. Churchill agreed. De Gaulle, says Pearson, was "not consulted, had no voice."

This is the war for democracy and against fascism. This is the war for the Atlantic Charter, which shall give the peoples of the world the right to choose their own governments! But that's where we came in. Our hats, please.

**NEXT WEEK'S FEATURES:** 

ELAS GIVES IN TO BRITISH PUPPET PLASTIRAS DECISIONS OF THE WORLD LABOR CONFERENCE DINO GRANDI'S "SENSATIONAL" CONFESSIONS

One-Tenth of the Nation
Battle Over N. 21. 98.00 Bu S. R. S. "It may also provide a lever to Bills for preventing discrimination only one reply. See the betrayal, the are now before two highly important bring Liberal and Negro support to the Republican state ticket next legislative assemblies of the nation. There is a permanent FEPC bill be-

Assembly. Both bills are having large publicity. Both of them are sponsored by those who call themselves or are called by their friends "progressives." Both of them are the subject of skillful maneuvers by those who are called "reactionaries" by their enemies and call themselves conservatives. I propose this week to have a look at what is taking place in Al-

### LABOR SUPPORT

The bill is sponsored by Ives, the majority leader of the Assembly, and Quinn, who is leader of the Senminority. All the Negro organizations, the CIO, the AFL, the Liberal Party and the American Labor Party are supporting it.

fore Congress and an anti-discrimina-

tion bill before the New York State

Now the bill proposes in itself nothing new. That must be understood. Everything the bill is introducing actually exists on the statute books in one form or another. The chief aim of the bill is to bring scattered legislation together and, more important, to set up a commission to

enforce the bill. Five members would form the commission. They would receive \$10,-000 a year. No employer could refuse to hire on account of race, religion or national origin. For doing so he could be fined \$500 or be imprisoned for one year or both.

Let us look at the course of this bill so far. About a year ago the question was

raised in the Legislature. Dewey at that time was running for the presidency and wanted to get the electoral votes of certain doubtful border states. He could not

afford to sponsor any such anti-discrimination bill. He therefore sabotaged

the proposals by turning down the recommendations of one committee and appointing another committee. With his election as President doomed, Dewey now turns his at-

tention to his position in New York State. As the New York Times states: "By taking a leading part in the drive to enact the legislation, the Governor hopes to spike any claim that the Democrats and Liberals forced it upon him next year."

Isn't that wonderful? The Governor watched the presidential elections in 1944 and now he is watching the state elections in 1946. The Negroes? The other minorities? You play politics with them! The Times

So there we are, my friends. That is the interest of Governor Dewey in

What we want to make clear is that Dewey's support of the bill is phony. A number of Republican legislators are now opposing the bill. Dewey appears to be in conflict with them. He is more concerned with the allover prospects of the Republican Party in 1946 than they are. That is all. He is more than anything else concerned with being re-elected to office. They are more specifically in-

terested in their own seats. The Negroes and the workers must bear this in mind for a particular reason. If the bill is passed, it is Dewey who will have to appoint the commissioners. It is Dewey's administration which will have the whip hand in saying HOW the laws are to

be enforced. We predict with confidence. Once more we shall see that familiar sight in American society. Good legislation against discrimination; careful administration designed to obstruct or at least to modify, restrain and bypass the legislation.

Whom, then, are we to trust? The Democratic Party? To that there is

shameful stab in the back which came from Powell and about which wrote last week. Why did he do it? He did it, not because he was a Negro, but because he was a Democratic politician. No, between the two time-serving,

treacherous, maneuvering political parties, the fighter against race discrimination has no choice. Yet the bill, as a whole, must be supported.

The way to do that is to rally around the AFL, the CIO and the mass Negro organizations which are pushing for its adoption. Of all the influences pushing for the bill, theirs is the cleanest, the least tainted with political dirt. It is through their vigilant agitation that the bill has the best chance of being passed. It is also through their vigilant agitation that the bill has the best chance of being administered satisfactorily.

Finally labor has a special interest in keeping its eye on everything connected with the bill. It contains clauses which aim at punishing labor unions for racial discrimination. We can be sure that unless there is a vigorous mass agitation and continued interest in this bill, the commissioners appointed by Dewey will be far more active and rigorous in trying to put labor on the spot than in penalizing the employers.

## Interracial Alliance Committee Sponsors

## DAVID COOLIDGE

in a series of lectures and

AT THE YMCA, 1000 EAST 28th STREET (Room B)

Monday, April 2

ALL WELCOME!

## LABOR ACTION

A Paper in the Interests of Labor Published Weekly by the

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

Vol. 9, No. 10 March 5, 1945 ALBERT GATES, Editor

> MARY BELL, Ass't Editor Subscription Rate: 60 Cents a Year

75 Cents for Canada, New York and Foreign

Re-entered as second-class matter May 24, 1940, at the Post Office at New York, N. Y., under the Act of March 3, 1879.

## Jacques Doriot, A Communist **Turned Fascist**

By Carl Davis-

There is hardly a worker who will not rejoice at the news that Jacques Doriot, ex-Stalinist-Communist leader and more recently the little fuehrer of a French fascist party, was killed during an Allied plane attack on Germany. The only regret in the manner of his death is that the French working class did not have the opportunity to deal with this foul creature, who learned his totalitarianism in the school of Stalin:

We could end this item right here and say "good riddance," were it not for the fact that Robert Minor, that notorious liar, officer of the Communist Political Association and writer for the Daily Worker (pronounced union-wrecker), saw fit to make some of his usual ignorant and false comments on Doriot's death.

Minor takes this opportunity to say that Doriot was an associate of Leon Trotsky, the oustanding fighter for world socialism and the oppressed of all countries, before an agent of Stalin's GPU assassinated him.

#### A SCRIBBLER AT WORK

Says Minor: "Doriot was once a member of the French Communist Party but expelled in 1936 when it was discovered that he was secretly allied with Trotsky." The purpose of this lie is obvious. Since Doriot was an avowed fascist, you prove that Trotsky was one by asserting that he was allied with Doriot!

What are the facts? Doriot and Trotsky were never allied. On the contrary, they were bitter enemies, when they were both in the Communist International and out. What Minor, the journalistic prostitute of the Hearst-like Daily Worker, deliberately fails to mention is:

1. Doriot was not merely a member of the French Comunist Party, but one of its leaders, a member of its central committee and one of its representatives on the executive committee of the Communist International.

2. He was also one of the leaders of the French Young Communist League and its representative on the executive committee of the Young Communist International.

3. Doriot resided in Moscow for a long time, during which period he was one of the outstanding opponents of Trotsky and a Trotsky-baiter. His role in the French Communist Party was to frame up the left-wing elements of the party, the true followers of socialism. This he did at the behest of Stalin. But in doing that he only did what Minor. Foster and Browder did in the American Communist Party. They were all associates-incrime, the best of friends. Doriot, Minor and the other puppets of Stalin help to make a shambles of the once revolutionary Communist International built by Lenin, Trotsky, Bucharin and other leaders of the Russian Revo-

4. What the liar Minor deliberately omitted from his account is that Doriot had a fall-out with the Stalinist clique which ran the Communist International and the French Communist Party and quit. He did not become a fascist all at once, but only after a period of "development." But this transformation was not difficult, since he merely exchanged the totalitarianism of Stalin for the totalitarianism of Hitler. Having been schooled in Moscow, he merely took a post-graduate course in Berlin. As an outstanding pupil of the anti-Trotsky school, he only took another step forward in his degeneration. The really sad thing about it all is that he lived so long.

#### NEW CAPITALIST DEFENDERS

But look at the course of Minor and his associates. Once they were socialists, too. Now they are Stalinists, acting in his name in this country. Once they fought in the interests of all labor and against capitalism. Today? They are anti-socialist and anti-labor.

The outstanding supporters of capitalism and big business in America is the Communist Party (now called "Political Association"). They have more faith in decaying capitalism than the big business men themselves. They now stand for an aggressive imperialism in which American big business can exploit the world.

They are against any movement or individual which genuinely fights for socialism or a real improvement of the lives of the people.

They are for a permanent post-war no-strike pledge and against militant unionism, pleading for capital-labor peace which is another means of killing the labor move-

### SCABS OF THE LABOR MOVEMENT

Even at this late stage, when the WLB has been unmistakably stamped as an anti-labor body, the Communists and their Daily Wrecker rises to its defense, blaming Vinson, who is in turn an appointee of Roosevelt. warning labor not to fight for its elementary rights.

The Stalinist-Communists scabbed on the Montgomery Ward workers in their fight against Sewell Avery. This was merely the practical result of their policy, which would reduce the unions to agencies of the government, relying solely on handouts from cheap capitalist politicians. They are the scabs of the labor movement.

No, Doriot was not an associate of Trotsky, but his violent enemy. But he was an associate of the Minors, Browders and Fosters. If you think his transformation was strange, just think of the policies the Stalinist-Communists pursue today. And remember, too it wasn't so long ago that the Minors were defending the Hitler-Stalin pact, saying that fascism was "a matter of per-

### —Daily Worker's Anti-Labor Expert Writes

# Old Lies in a New Pamphlet

By MARY BELL

Apparently alarmed at the independence and the slowly but surely awakening class-consciousness of the American workers, the Stalin School of Falsification has produced a new pamphlet to instruct its followers and confuse trade unionists. The pamphlet is "The Trotskyist Fifth Column in the Labor Movement," written by the Daily Worker's (Communist Party newspaper's) labor expert, George Morris.

The pamphlet abounds in lies. But before we can discuss the lies it is necessary to disclose the reason for them, which is found in the policy of the Communist Party, American representative of the Stalinist slavocracy in Russia.

#### PRE-1939 HONEYMOON

Prior to 1939, before the war broke out in the invasion of Poland by the Hitler-Stalin partnership, the Communist Party lived at peace with the ruling class in the United States and other democratic capitalist nations. Here, they supported Roosevelt and plumped for American - Russian friendship. Motivating this friendship for capitalist democracy was the hope that the U. S., as well as Britain and France, would line up with Russia against Hitler in the coming imperialist war.

The Allied powers were not prepared for war, however and this resulted in Hitler's "peaceful" aggression in Europe and "Munichism," i.e., compromise with Hitler. The "democratic" nations had hoped that Hitler would war against Russia, not them. Russia feared that the Allied powers, instead of fighting Hitler, would join sides with Germany and jointly assault Russia.

At this juncture came the Hitler-Stalin pact. The Communist Parties about-faced. Since Stalin was now allied with Hitler, everything that would lead the Washington-London-Paris axis into war against Stalin's ally, Hitler, was opposed.

Overnight, the Communist Party became antiwar. Wrote Earl Browder, Morris' leader, in the Daily Worker of September 13, 1939: "The character of this war in no principal respect can be said to differ from that of the late World War. This war has nothing to offer the masses of any participating country except death and destruction, further miseries and burdens."

In a speech delivered at Philadelphia Town Hall, September 29, 1939, the same person said: "The Communist Party has issued as the slogan of the day: 'Keep America Out of the Imperialist

This present-day defender of American capitalism went even further in a speech of May 3. 1940, in New York City when he said: "The second imperialist war, through the struggle of the masses to bring it to an end will give birth to a socialist system in one or more other countries."

Note: dates are especially important in Communist Party history. In May, 1940, the Stalin-Hitler pact was still in effect.

Since Roosevelt represented the war-makers in the U. S., the "third term" became hateful to the Communists. They even spoke for a third party. Said Browder in the introduction to his book, The Second Imperialist War" (the title is instructive). written (the date corroborates the line) May 13.

"... and the popular will can find no channel of expression until it breaks out of bounds of the traditional parties, and founds that third party which is quickly destined, as the issues mature, to find its modern Lincoln and become the first party

We cannot resist giving a lengthy quotation from the former Communist Party presidential TROTSKYISTS AND MILITANTS ndidate, William Z. Foster, since it illustrates so well the Communist position of a few years ago:

"The claim of the Allied governments that they are fighting this war for democracy constitutes only so much propaganda to lure the masses of their peoples and ours into supporting the war. The Allied powers did not fight for democracy during the World War (despite their democratic slogans) and they are not fighting for democracy now. What they are doing, even as they did in the World War, is defending the sordid interests of British and French imperialism against their great enemy, German imperialism. It is not a war of rival ideologies, but of rival imperialisms. Therefore, the Soviet Union is correct in supporting neither camp of the warring imperialists.

"If the British - French - American imperialists were to win this war, their course as the victors would be even more reactionary than it was after the World War. They would head for fascism, adapted to their various countries. This is because the capitalist system, already deeply decayed by its general crisis, will receive such a shattering blow from this war that the only way it can be held together even temporarily in the face of the rebellious masses will be through fascist terror-

free world is not a victory of British and French Trotskyists.

(and American) imperialism, but the victory of the great world democratic masses of the people over all the imperialists."

This sounds like a radical party, indeed!

This was no simple American deviation, either. (Anyone who deviates from the Communist Party line is "liquidated." Liquidation means expulsion from the party or physical extermination.) Listen to Georgi Dimitrov, general secretary of the Communist International. The date is October, 1939: "For the working class there is only one true stand -irreconcilable, courageous struggle against the imperialist war, struggle against the culprits and vehicles of this war primarily in their own country struggle to end this predatory war. This is the most just of causes, one dictated by the fundamental interests of the proletariat and all working people." (Emphasis in original.)

#### 1941 FLIP-FLOP

Then in August, 1941, Hitler attacked Russia. The Communist Party somersaulted. The war was no longer an "imperialist war" on the side of the Allies-not with Russia in the alliance. It became a sacred war for democracy. The Communist Party became the most vigorous defender of the nostrike pledge, labor-management peace, buying of



That is why the Communists attack not only Trotskyists, who have considered the war imperialist all the way through, but any militant who defends the rights of the union against these patriots-come-lately.

That is why the Communists publish the piece of filth, lies and slander titled "The Trotskyite Fifth Column in the Labor Movement."

#### Let's list the lies in fact first: TROTSKYISTS AND FASCISTS

LIE NO. 1-"Among them [friends of the Trotskyists-Ed.] are the Norman Thomas Socialists, whose position is hardly distinguishable from the Trotskyite; John L. Lewis' agents, Coughlinites and Klan groups, all known for their policy of sabotage of the war effort."

First, we have always repudiated the Norman Thomas Socialists for their milk-and-water socialism, and, above all, for their backhanded support of the imperialist war.

Second, while we support the militant struggles Lewis has made in behalf of the miners in contrast to the cringing policies of the CIO and AFL leadership, we lambaste the bureaucratic way he runs his union, his own pro-war stand and his support of Republican capitalist politics as opposed to the Democratic capitalist politics of the

Third, the attempt to associate us with Coughlinites and fascist elements is an old Communist lie, written by journalistic prostitutes.

LIE NO. 2—"A sample of Trotskyist provocation was the shutdown of the Johnsville, Pa., plant of the Brewster Aeronautical Corp. for a week.... The Trotskyites in the leadership of the union, Local 365, UAW, felt that a U. S. Navy oath thereby superseded union discipline and called out the 6,000 workers on strike against the Navy."

Local 365 was led by militants opposed to the no-strike pledge, not Trotskyists. The Communists here identify in customary fashion all opposition to them as either "Trotskyite," "fascist" or "Trotskyite-fascist."

LIE NO. 3-"Or take the case of the Detroit 'soda pop' war. The dispute originated when a Trotskyite in charge of the Detroit affiliate of Samuel Wolchok's Retail and Wholesale Union provocatively entered the field of the AFL's Brotherhood of Teamsters with a claim of jurisdiction over a couple hundred Pepsi-Cola deliveries. Other Trotskyites at the head of a UAW local in the Highland Party, Chrysler plant, came to the aid of their associates in the retail union by bodily ejecting AFL soda pop deliverers from the plant.... From there the Trotskyites, in alliance with the Socialists, rushed to other plants to develop more shutdowns." Etc., etc.

False again. The same technique is used here "What will create a democratic Europe and a as in Lie No. 2, identifying union militants with

LIE NO. 4-"The perfect team is where an employer is of the most rabid reactionary stripe, like the America Firster, Sewell Avery, head of Montgomery Ward; while the union is under Trotskyite control, as proved to be the case in the wellknown Montgomery Ward dispute in Chicago. In such a case the employer and union officials have far more in common than in dispute."

The union is not under Trotskyist control. And let George Morris try to tell the Montgomery Ward strikers, as well as their allies among the auto workers that they "have far more in common than in dispute" with Sewell Avery! Morris, of course, "forgot" to mention that Bridges, the Communist trade unionists, the Communist Political Association and the Daily Worker scabbed on the Ward

#### BRIGGS LOCAL 212

LIE NO. 5-"Briggs Manufacturing, Local 212, Detroit, has been one of their [Trotskyists'-Ed.] outlets for a long time. Hardly a week passed without several strikes at that vital war plant. The delegates of this local were the very center of the so-called 'rank and file' combination at the 1944 Grand Rapids convention of the UAW, where they worked to kill the no-strike pledge."

Here the Communists join the industrialists and manufacturers who are carrying on a campaign against the militant Briggs Local-which is not, however, an "outlet for Trotskyites." What few Trotskyists there were at the UAW convention joined with the heroic, progressive minority to defeat the pro-employer no-strike pledge. True. But it was the uncorrupted (by Communists or bosses) rank and file which pushed through a referendum vote on the no-strike pledge.

LIE NO 6-"At the Federal Shipbuilding Corp. yards, Kearny and Port Newark, N. J., a large union was whittled down to a membership of 5,000 under their control. Several months after they were cleaned out, the union grew to be the largest affiliate of the IUMSWA, with more than 20,000 members.

This is pure, unadulterated falsification, from beginning to end.

Then a whole series of lies, distortions, halftruths and falsifications is strewn throughout Morris' pamphlet. Many of these allege that Trotsky and his followers in Russia collaborated with Nazi Germany and Japan against Russia. The American Communists follow here in the footsteps of Stalin. Stalin staged phony "confession" trials in Russia and executed all his opponents, Trotskyist and otherwise. American and French commissions of inquiry examined Trotsky and found him unqualifiedly innocent of Stalin's frame-up charges. But a henchman of Stalin, a member of the Russian secret police, finally murdered Trotsky, as his fellow-socialists had been murdered by other agents of Stalin in many countries.

Stalin got rid of Trotsky, as he did all revolutionay opponents, because Trotsky and the others still stood for world socialism, for the cause of the workers, without subordinating that cause to the aims of Russia.

The Communists oppose the Trotskyists and all militants in the labor movement today because the latter stand foursquare for the rights of labor, as opposed to collaboration with the bosses for the benefit of Russia.

### REASON FOR THE LIES

To genuine socialists and communists, the war is still an imperialist war-a war for the redivision of the world and not for "democracy"-and it hasn't changed just because Russia is on "our"

To genuine socialists and communists, the only war worth fighting is still on behalf of the toilers and exploited of mankind-in the labor movements of every country, against all the capitalists and fascists and exploiters, Russian, German, British, American.

Morris' pamphlet was written to push back the rising tide of militancy in the labor movement. The fear of death was thrown into the Communists by the decision to take a referendum by the UAW convention. They would rather foist upon the labor movement a permanent no-strike pledge such as proposed by their west coast spokesman, Harry Bridges.

The Communists are the main danger in the labor movement today. They subordinate every interest of labor to the interests of so-called "national unity," because this nation is in the same camp with Russia. They therefore try to identify all militants with Trotskyism, and the latter with

Trotskyism, however, means a clean-cut fight for labor's interests, no compromise with the bosses, no support to the capitalist political parties, democratic trade union practices, and the perspective of socialism. No amount of lies can crush this truth.

## **World War II Prepares a New Barbarism**

By Sylvia Merrill

The horror with which one reads about the destruction of Europe brings to mind H. G. Wells' "Shape of Things to Come." The destruction portrayed in that fantastic story has become a reality. Just to read the reports of correspondents, eye-witnesses and participants creates a feeling that man's progress has made him a "civilized"

The destruction of Warsaw, Rotterdam, Coventry, London and now of Aachen, Cologne, Dusseldorf, Berlin and Hamburg, not to speak of the cities and harbors of France and of Russia that lie in ruin from bombing, artillery fire and house-to-house fighting; the forty millions of dead; and those alive but dying, speaks very loudly of how the ruling classes have used science. If only the problem were the destruction of buildings it would deserve attention-but these ruins are visible and horrible spokesmen for even greater ravaging of the human mind, body and spirit that pose problems not just of reconstruction but of whether humankind shall build for future wars or a system that will insure peace.

The devastation wrought by this war makes the last one look like some kids were playing with toy pistols. If the last war made France a nation of people stunted in growth from malnutrition, on the basis of the recent statistics a race of pygmies is now coming into being.

The major cities of Europe, the centers of life and gaiety, where the cultures of the world flourished, lie in ruins and the people who inhabited them are either dead or are foraging to keep alive.

#### PREDICTING THE NEXT WAR

A recent Kiplinger Letter, the confidential news analyst source for big business, tells us that the basis for World War III is being laid in the jockeying for position that is going on among the big powers now. They tell us further that the next generation will probably have to fight the war all over again. These cynics, knowing that the issue of "democracy" or "against fascism" or whatever other slogans may be coined, are traps for the sheep, speak very bluntly and clearly. The next generation is the one that is now being born in the ruins of Europe. They are the children of men who are dying so that their offspring may live. The war to end all wars

What are the supporters of this system of the slow extinction of humanity holding out for the next generation? (Of course people may accuse us of being cynical, lacking faith, but only a fool can permit himself to be taken in twice-not to speak of three times.)

If you wanted to make peace with your neighbors you certainly wouldn't put up an electrically charged fence and set a police dog out to guard it. Yet the lie of a future peaceful world under capitalism is clear in the day-to-day proposals they make to insure peace.

Roosevelt wants peacetime conscription. You certainly don't raise an army not to go to war. Of course exercise for our next generation is important. But by good educational and recreational facilities in schools, assured vacations in some of America's lovely camping spots should certainly give the average youth all the exercise he needs. What do they want a peacetime conscript army

### THE ATLANTIC CHARTER HOAX

The Atlantic Charter—we give this to you, the people of the world, to tell you our good intentions. The road to war obviously is paved with them. But why say more about it than the signators to it have? Roosevelt dismisses it; Churchill flouts it; Stalin will abide by it after he gets all the territory he wants and gets all the slaves he needs. Did the Atlantic Charter exist for the Greeks? The Indians? The Poles? The Italians? Roosevelt was right-and we believe in giving a man his due -"It has no official status," or unofficial for that matter.

As for Dumbarton Oaks-the new League of Nations -it will prevent Denmark or Switzerland from going to war, but never the big powers.

As for the Malta-Valta meetings, if all the nations are to be granted freedom such as that given Poland, we had better start rewriting the dictionary because we understood liberation in an entirely different sense.

It is as obvious as a wart on the nose that the capitalists aren't planning and can't plan for a peaceful world! War is in the bloodstream of capitalism. What meaning do the petty objections to socialism assume in the face of this? When faced with barbarism or socialism, there is no longer a choice. The rejection of socialism can be likened to the man who would rather drown than get into a lifeboat. The choice is ours. Sink or swim -socialism or barbarism.

## PAC's Hillman Repudiates Need of the Hour -A Labor Party progressive forces, resulting in the

By W. F. CARLTON

Sidney Hillman, leader of the Political Action Committee, has addressed the American public on the future of the PAC. His analysis appeared in Liberty in the issue of February 24, which no doubt will be read by millions of people. A substantial part of the article is taken up with the question of a third political party. It is with this that we propose to deal here.

It is to be noted first of all that Hillman nowhere talks about a Labor Party. That is an idea he strives to keep from the minds of the workers and the great masses of the people. Why? Because it is too dangerous. For Hillman and his bureaucrats that is dynamite. Nevertheless, this question of the organization of labor into a political party of its own continues to intrude itself even upon the public meditations of the coy and timid Sidney Hillman.

LABOR SKATES STAND IN WAY On page 17 of Liberty, he raises the question himself.

is being asked frequently today." Murray's statement at the time, according to Hillman, was as follows:

"It is definitely not the policy of CIO to organize a third party but rather to abstain from and discourage any move in that direction."

Hillman tells us why. He says that there were technical problems in placing such a party on the ballot in 1944 which were almost insurmountable. Let us accept that for the moment. But are they insurmountable for 1945? Are they going to continue to be insurmountable for 1948? Is the organization of a third party to remain forever impossible in the United States because of the "insurmountable" technical problems of placing such a party on the ballot?

Is the whole development of society to be deflected, postponed or rejected because of insurmountable technical problems in placing such a party on the ballot? Come, come, Sidney. You should be able to do better than that That, my friend, will not fool the workers.

The second reason is the one that "Mr. Murray also answered as early is always given. Such a party would as November, 1943, the question that, serve only to divide labor and the

election of political enemies.

SOME PAST EXPERIENCE

The argument is entirely false. In Germany, France and Great Britain parties similar to a Labor Party (in Britain, a Labor Party) have held governmental power in their hands. The failure of these parties was due not to the fact that they were "third" parties or Labor Parties, but to false programs and divisions within the labor movement.

In Canada, the Canadian Commonwealth Federation has broken with the capitalist parties and today is a political force infinitely more powerful than Political Action in this country. It has this power precisely because it rests itself boldly on the labor movement. No, Sidney, that won't do. You have to get a new argument.

REACTIONARY POSITION

We go down a little further. And here we are again:

"In its former resolution endorsing the continuation of the Political Action Committee, the CIO convention reaffirmed the decision

"to abstain from and discourage any move in the direction of a third party."

You would think that this is enough about any third party in one little article in Liberty. But no. Sidney just can't leave the subject. He tells us that the executive committee of the National Citizens Political Action Committee also made a statement on the third party. And he quotes it:

"We reject any and all proposals to organize a third party. A third party would only act as a divisive force, splitting the progressive ranks at the very moment when close unity is our greatest need."

Meanwhile Hillman has made it clear that the CIO is not going to ally itself with either of the two existing parties. At this stage in the article, however, the ridiculousness of the position forces itself home even to him. So he is compelled to ask the question which the reader is already asking. Says Hillman:

"The reader may well ask: 'If you are not going to form a third party and if you reject all alliances with

the existing major parties, what are to do with all this political influence you going to do?' Glory, glory, hallelujah! We have

now reached the stage where Hillman has stopped telling us what he is not going to do and is going to tell us what he is going to do. And what is it that he WILL do? He proposes to continue and intensify the work of political education through pamphlets, radio, articles in the press; to collaborate with progressive organizations and to keep the organization informed on the political proposals which will be presented during the years to come. PAC and the National Citizens PAC will also maintain national unity and help to

Now isn't this disgraceful? Here we have the whole country interested in the future development of labor's political organization. PAC has had a dramatic success in its impact upon the American public. In Great Britain it has awakened tremendous interest, and when Hillman and R. J. Thomas go to Britain, the British politicians inquire eagerly what is their next step, what are they going

get out the vote, etc.

that they have gained?

LABOR NEEDS A LEAD

The country is now waiting a lead, a direct, powerful, confident lead on the tremendous issues which face it. Hillman's article shows that a substantial section of the people of the U. S. are looking toward the Political Action Committee as the basis of a new political organization. Some may be for it. Some may be against it. The point is that the question is posed. His whole article shows that. And he and Murray at the head of the CIO, the most powerful mass organization in the country and one which in alliance with the AFL would be politically irresistible, these two instead of fighting for unity and putting forward a program of their own, can only bleat: "We are not going to form a third party. We think a third party would be wrong. Above all, we are not going to form a third party. We shall keep the people informed. We shall use the organization to get out the vote. We shall support people who look forward instead of backward. But above all, dear friends,

sleep in peace. You can depend upon us. There will be no third party."

Readers of LABOR ACTION are familiar with the arguments and the necessity for a political party of labor. We do not propose to go into them in this particular article. We merely wish to point out that this very article by Hillman, the necessity of his repeating with such insistence that the leaders of the PAC do not contemplate any third party is itself a sign of the times. Properly interpreted, it means that such is the pressure of the class struggle, such are the violent conflicts within the Democratic Party to which PAC is in reality attached. Whatever Hillman may say, the leaders of this organization are now in the situation of defending themselves against the social movement which is crying for a third party.

They may say what they please. The very energy with which they have to defend themselves shows the inevitability and perhaps the nearness of what they are so terrified of -the independent organization of the masses, the only way in which their demands can be satisfied.