

## Greetings to the Conventions of the UAW-CIO and UMWA - **LABOR, TAKE THE OFFENSIVE!**

### Miners, Too, Need **A Labor Party**

By DAVID COOLIDGE

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

For decades the miners were members of the American Federation of Labor, the outstanding example of industrial union organization in the AFL long before the formation of the CIO.



JOHN L. LEWIS

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

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

Today, however, the UMWA is an independent organization: outside the AFL, where it was affiliated for fifty years, and outside the CIO, to the formation of which the miners made the largest single contribution. This means that there are today virtually three trade union organizing centers in the United States: the AFL, the CIO and the UMWA, with its District 50. The somewhat abrupt proposal made by Lewis in January, 1942, for unification of the three organizations was rejected by the AFL and the CIO, in part through the intervention of Roosevelt (who selected a six-man board from the AFL) to meet with him on labor matters. Later the UMWA's application to return to the AFL was turned down with the statement that the terms demanded by the miners were not acceptable to the AFL.

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

(Continued on page 3)

### Lest We Forget - - UAW Was Born in Struggle



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

By BEN HALL

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

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

What is the origin of this crisis?

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

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

By MAX SHACHTMAN  
 National Secretary, Workers Party

The Workers Party is a national labor political organization, but it is not a trade union. LABOR ACTION is a national labor paper, but it is not the organ of any trade union.

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

These are questions that any trade unionist may legitimately ask. They deserve a simple and clear-cut answer.

The occasion of several important CIO union conventions, and especially now the convention of the UAW, which is the most important of all, is a fitting one for such an answer.

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

(Continued on page 3)



### Not So Long Ago, Nor Far Away

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

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

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

They are aided by the Roosevelt Administration, more subtle and far more clever than the open reaction-

(Continued on page 3)

## 6th Year of War Shows Need for Socialism!

By CARL DAVIS

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

But that was in the beginning. There isn't much reference to the Atlantic Charter and the Four Freedoms today, when it is clear that the Allies are fighting a victorious war. No, war is going to be permanently avoided. We shall, say the spokesmen of Allied imperialism, try to prevent war for at least the next generation. Now all discussions center around peace plans! And what peace plans!

Naturally the main problem is Ger-

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

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

(Continued on page 4)

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

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

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



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

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

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

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

It has advocated the formation of an independent

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

Now we appeal to those of you who receive LABOR ACTION at factory gates and union meetings to help us continue publishing the one thing the powers-that-be fear most—THE TRUTH.

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NEWS AND VIEWS FROM THE LABOR FRONT

Ford UAW Delegates Fight No-Strike Pledge

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

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

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

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

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

FDR OK'd Business Refund, Silent on Kilgore Bill

During the Senate debate on the Kilgore-Murray bill to liberalize unemployment benefits (the bill was decisively defeated), Senators Kilgore and Downey pointed to the huge tax refunds which corporations look forward to receiving in the two years following the war.

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

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

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

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Company Provokes Hudson Strike

By STAFF CORRESPONDENT DETROIT—The past several months have been trying ones for workers in the three plants of the Hudson Motor Car Company. While there has been no real collective bargaining ever since the deliverance of the no-strike pledge by labor's "leaders" to the government, there has been a concentrated effort on the part of the Hudson management to harry the union on all fronts.

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

Claude Bland, president of Hudson Local 154, UAW-CIO, went to the plant and began negotiations with management. After several hours, the union representatives returned from the negotiations with instructions to the stewards to get the workers back into the shop. Management had allegedly offered the union to negotiate its grievances.

the restroom, have been tried by management, but in the line of settlement of grievances—"nothing has been accomplished."

Sperry Workers Got 5 Cents-So Leaders Ask Dues Hike

When Local 450, UERWMA-CIO, of the Sperry Local of Brooklyn and Long Island City, obtained the check-off and maintenance of membership from management last year after a long period of bargaining, they won a real victory.

THE NICKEL-RAISE FORMULA

An AFL-CIO panel recently reported to President Roosevelt and the WLB that the cost of living has gone up 45.3 per cent since the Little Steel formula was instituted in January, 1942.

RAISES SHOULD COME FIRST!

A general membership meeting must be called to discuss and reject the suggested amendment to raise the dues. Every union member in the shop should turn out at that meeting to make himself heard—heard in discussion and heard and felt in the voting.

Rubber Barons, Press, WMC Gang Up On Rubber Workers

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

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

would take the fullest possible advantage of such a sacrifice on the part of their workers. In the chaos which would develop among the men themselves, if this proposal were accepted, the companies would lose no time in playing off worker against worker.

UAW Local 280 Bans Incentive Pay

DETROIT—The members of Local 280, UAW-CIO, of Continental Motors Corp., demonstrated once again their opposition to its incentive pay system.

new sweat-shop technique and argued for the elimination of piecework. The authors of these leaflets pointed out what LABOR ACTION has often stated. Incentive pay is a club the bosses use to break the solidarity of the men in the shop.

ffective such fishing trips can be, for the "fishing" was excellent! Their hook, line and sinker had caught a "whooper" in the form of an immediate referendum vote on incentive pay.

Why can't the workers do anything? Because they were chained hand and foot by the no-strike pledge, given to the government by their (mis)leaders. With no weapons to ward off attack, it's no wonder labor is kicked around and rolled over a barrel by the capitalists.

Readers Take the Floor...

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

pression. I wonder if he will tell us what causes a depression? O. T., Durham, Mo. P.S.—Find enclosed 30 cents for LABOR ACTION.

in British sterling pounds I have to remit for the yearly subscription of your magazine. Hoping to hear from you very soon, I am C. G., Wellington, N. Z.

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

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

Of course the proposal makes mention that this should not be construed at all as being a permanent change! But anybody over the age of two knows well that the rubber companies, who look on the war as an excellent time to cripple the unions,

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

found your weekly in a waste-paper basket and had a look. I was amazed to read such beautiful articles and got so much interested that may I take an opportunity to ask you to send me a copy of it every week. Please let me know how much

How About a Sub Flood, Jamestown? Dear Sir: I like to come in contact with your paper, LABOR ACTION. I send you this clipping and twenty-five cents for a six-month sub. Send me the paper and if your subscription price is higher, just let me know. J. V. D., Jamestown, N. D.

The blindfold should be able to see what the threat of a whaling expedition would do!

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

(Continued from page 1)  
aries, which has avowedly replaced the now abandoned New Deal with "Dr. Win the War"—a phrase designed to make more palatable the program of job-freezing, wage-freezing and the Little Steel formula, exorbitant taxation on wage earners and War Labor Board run-around.  
And they are aided by a retreating union officialdom, headed by Thomas, Walter Reuther and George Addes, who, despite the differences among them, unite to stick a knife into the rank and file every time it acts in self-defense, suspend their local officers, and give the go-ahead signal to the companies for the firing of union militants.  
As though this were not enough—the capitalist owners of industry are setting aside billions in post-war reserve funds, accumulated from their even greater billions of blood-stained war profits. This is its war chest against a labor movement which dur-

ing the war finds its wages frozen while prices rise, and which after the war faces mass layoffs and unemployment.  
That is the real cause of the crisis in the UAW.  
What program can the UAW adopt to meet the crisis and emerge from it with renewed power and vigor?  
The brass hats of the union cling frantically to two dogmas: 1. Uphold the no-strike pledge and 2. Support the Roosevelt Administration by building the Political Action Committee of the CIO and oppose the formation of a genuine Labor Party. These stultifying precepts must be abandoned.  
Every worker who has been active in his union for more than a day, every committeeman and every steward knows by now that when the union officialdom surrendered the right to strike the unions became impotent, unable to enforce their contracts, and helpless in settling impor-

tant grievances. Aware of this, the rank and file has been and is compelled to act without and against their own top leadership in hundreds of "unauthorized" walkouts.  
In most cases, these stoppages, isolated and sporadic, attacked by the Thomas-Reuther-Addes combine and persecuted by the War Labor Board, end without victory for the workers and succeed only in making the management hesitate only momentarily before the next provocation.  
The Communist Political Association is the most vicious strike-breaking outfit inside the labor movement. It put out a feeler to discover how far it could go with reactionary policies when Harry Bridges announced publicly that he favored retention of the no-strike pledge in the post-war period. The CPA pulled in its horns when this proposal met with the unanimous condemnation of the entire labor movement.  
At the Michigan state convention

of the CIO, the Reuther faction introduced its usual resolution endorsing the no-strike pledge, but this time it felt constrained to repudiate Bridges, condemning those "inside or outside the labor movement who propose to continue the no-strike pledge in time of peace."  
**CHANGE THE COURSE**  
Why repudiate the pledge in time of peace? Obviously because it disarms labor. But is labor not equally "disarmed" NOW? Of course! Reuther himself knows it. During the recent strike of Chevrolet Local 25, he said: "Collective bargaining in too many plants has become collective begging." And months ago the officers of the UAW announced publicly: "In entire sections of the industry... collective bargaining is being denied our workers." There could be no clearer statement of the direct results of the no-strike pledge.  
Why not withdraw the no-strike pledge NOW and do away with "collective begging"? Reuther, Addes and Thomas will explain for the thousandth time that we are now engaged in a great "war for democracy" and that nothing must interfere with its progress. The boys in the foxholes don't strike, etc., etc.  
Supporters of LABOR ACTION realize that the slogans of "democracy," "freedom," "national liberation" in this war are deceitful camouflage to hide the real aims of the ruling capitalist class. But, of course, there are scores of thousands of UAW members who are not yet convinced of this and who hope that somehow the war will further the fight against fascism and advance the cause of democracy.  
Democratic rights are justifiably cherished by all working men. That is the reason why we cannot permit our unions to become weakened and destroyed. The first act of victorious fascism has always been the destruction of the right to strike and with that the complete wiping out of the trade union movement.  
The aim of the big corporations NOW is the crushing of the UAW and the undermining of our democratic rights. That is why THE FIGHT FOR DEMOCRACY BEGINS RIGHT HERE AT HOME!  
Referring to the General Motors Corporation, Reuther charged: "It is becoming increasingly apparent that the corporation is using every pretext to weaken and undermine the UAW-CIO in the hope of destroying its power in the post-war period."  
The same is true of the Ford Motor Company, which in Windsor, Ont., tried to revoke its contract with the UAW, and of the Chrysler Corporation, which at a WLB hearing said it was willing to deal with the union after the war "if they are here."

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

ther-Addes leadership, but where it does NOT belong—on the union itself. The companies carefully nurture this error. The Reuther-Addes-Thomas policy leads to the undermining of the union!  
In the post-war period we face unemployment and job shortages. NOW, however, many companies are desperate for labor. When did a long line of unemployed outside a factory gate become a circumstance favorable to labor?  
Yes, we still may win that battle, even under the worst circumstances, but it will be a far bloodier, more costly and more drawn out battle than what we need face.  
The time to revoke the no-strike pledge is NOW.  
No worker likes to strike. But ev-

ery thinking worker wants to defend his union. When other methods fail to protect the union and working conditions, he is compelled to strike.  
Those who propose to rescind the pledge do not favor a "wild spree" of strikes, but insist that the defense of the unions be taken up in a systematic plant-wide and company-wide basis to reinvigorate the union movement and put an end to company provocation.  
The restoration of the right to strike is of first importance, but that step must be supported and defended by other measures.  
Behind the employers stands the notorious War Labor Board.  
If workers are on strike, insists the War Labor Board, it will not consider their demands. Just as the employers reject every union demand and jeer: "What are you going to do about it?," so the WLB folds its arms and orders desistants: "Go back to work or we won't talk, and what are you going to do about it?"  
And if you are "reasonable" and don't strike, the WLB will consider your demands in due time—at its leisure—and then reject every important demand on pretext of fighting inflation through the Little Steel formula.  
The WLB is not an impartial public board, but a "War Bosses Board"; its decisions and decrees are those of the big capitalists and their lawyers. Labor representatives, captives of the employers and of the pro-boss professors, who use the nom de plume of "public representatives," make diplomatic protests, propose resolutions which are rejected, and accomplish nothing. To expose its anti-labor nature to all, we must insist—Let all union officials GET OFF THE WAR LABOR BOARD.  
To defend the right to strike and to be free of the dictates of the WLB, the labor movement must organize its own independent Labor Party. That is a subject discussed elsewhere in LABOR ACTION.

## The Real Score for 1944

### For Big Business

A CIO report in June, 1944, showed that the cost of living since 1941 had risen 45.3 per cent. Workers are now paying 70 per cent more for food, 76 per cent more for clothing, 63 per cent more for house furnishings, 15 per cent more for rent, 15 per cent more for fuel and 23 per cent more for "miscellaneous." The OPA is a farce. Profiteers are uncontrolled, black markets flourish. Prices are still going up.

War Labor Board continues its year-long stall on revising the Little Steel formula to conform to the above facts. President Roosevelt completely silent on CIO-AFL joint report on cost of living increase, rejects labor's demand for end of the wage-freeze, declares his "stabilization" program a huge success. Wages still frozen.

Securities & Exchange Commission reports net working capital of corporations AFTER taxes up from 24 billions in 1939 to 41½ billions in 1943. AFL survey shows corporations profits up 329 per cent before taxes. U. S. Department of Commerce figures determine wartime increase in corporation swag at 149 per cent AFTER taxes, reserves and "contingency provisions." Corporation profits still on the upgrade.

Treasury Department reports on salaries for 1942: bosses paid themselves anywhere from 50 to 200 per cent more than 1940; a few:

|  |           |
|--|-----------|
| Eugene Grace, Bethlehem Steel          | \$537,724 |
| Thomas J. Watson, Int'l Business Mach. | 425,000   |
| Alfred P. Sloan, General Motors        | 200,800   |
| P. W. Litchfield, Goodyear Rubber      | 175,000   |

NO Little Steel formula on THEIR salaries. Salaries still going up.

Senate ditches anti-poll-tax bill. Roosevelt silent on measure, doesn't even recommend "closure" (limitation on filibustering) to the senators.

Amendments to the Price Control and Stabilization Act virtually destroy OPA. Bankhead amendment passes, allowing price increases on work clothes and cheaper cotton goods. Violators of price ceilings may obtain "stay of proceedings" writs, injunctions against enforcement, etc. FDR signs bill and praises Congress for passing it—AFTER CIO's Phil Murray pleads for a veto, warning that the bill only "maintains the pretense, not the practice, of price control."

Senate defeats Kilgore-Murray bill for post-war unemployment benefits of \$25 weekly to family men for two years (only if legitimately jobless) transportation expenses for migrated workers to return to their homes and vocational training for demobilized war workers. Adopts George "states rights" post-war starvation bill, which leaves state unemployment benefits where they are today.

House rules out companion bills to Kilgore measure, demolishes George bill in favor of additional reactionary deletions.

### For the Workers

### "We Did It Before . . ."



Democratic rights are justifiably cherished by all working men. That is the reason why we cannot permit our unions to become weakened and destroyed. The first act of victorious fascism has always been the destruction of the right to strike and with that the complete wiping out of the trade union movement.  
The aim of the big corporations NOW is the crushing of the UAW and the undermining of our democratic rights. That is why THE FIGHT FOR DEMOCRACY BEGINS RIGHT HERE AT HOME!  
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The same is true of the Ford Motor Company, which in Windsor, Ont., tried to revoke its contract with the UAW, and of the Chrysler Corporation, which at a WLB hearing said it was willing to deal with the union after the war "if they are here."

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

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

## Workers Party Greet Unions--

(Continued from page 1)  
In the second place, the Workers Party is a socialist and internationalist organization. It works for the establishment of a socialist society, that is, a society organized without class division or privilege or rule, and operating exclusively for the benefit of the producers of wealth, the men and women who work with hand and brain. Such a society, we believe, is possible and necessary. It is an inevitable successor of the bankrupt system of capitalism under which labor is now exploited and oppressed.  
Such a society of free men, living and working amid abundance and in security and peace, can be established only by a workers' government which lays the foundations for it. A workers' government is simply a government ruled by the workers in their own interests, and not in the interests of a handful of capitalist monopolies.  
We cannot even think of such a government except as one established by the organized working class, certainly not as one established "in its name" by a minority which does not enjoy the support of organized labor.  
The organized working class today is the trade union movement. Without the agreement and active support of the majority of this movement, any hope of a workers' government, to

say nothing of socialism, is an empty dream. We therefore say openly that the winning of this support for socialism is the main aim of the Workers Party.  
But the struggle for socialism is not merely for something far-off. It is a fight for the best interests of the workers NOW, as well as tomorrow. Why? Because if these interests are not defended today, there will be no working class movement tomorrow capable of fighting for its highest and noblest goal—complete freedom.  
We of the Workers Party simply aim at having the workers take over complete, democratic control of the unions. We want to see a thoroughly militant and aggressive working class policy adopted in the unions, so that labor no longer truckles to the bosses and their government, but fights them consistently with the aim of establishing its own government.  
We urge a radical break with all capitalist politics in the unions (which is the kind of politics the labor leaders are now carrying on) and the adoption of working class politics, beginning with the formation of a national Labor Party, completely independent of the two capitalist parties.  
Naturally, the trade union leaders, the bureaucrats and the Stalinists do

not like our program and the educational work we conduct. That is why they fight so bitterly against our ideas and even lie about them. Therefore, we are compelled to fight against them and their harmful activities. That is why we are compelled to speak up clearly and boldly about all important union problems and actions.  
These problems are not the private affairs of bureaucrats, but of the whole working class, which we are part of. And we permit ourselves to say that we are a million times more a part of the working class and the labor movement than are the capitalists and capitalist spokesmen with whom the present labor leadership works hand in glove and whom they always invite to union conventions for speeches and "good advice."  
Always with the workers! Always in support of the workers and their struggles! Always with the union movement! That is the position of the Workers Party.  
That is why we invite the attention of the most militant union men to an examination of our program and our work, and to affiliation with our party if they are prepared to join the great, world-wide fight for the free socialist society of tomorrow.

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

(Continued from page 1)  
and stoppages in eastern and western Pennsylvania.

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

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

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

the most enthusiastic support of the whole labor movement.

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

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

ing of charters, the suspension of union officers and the appointment of administrators is undemocratic and quite often extremely reactionary. The trade union movement can only make genuine progress by the most enlightened and democratic procedures.  
As LABOR ACTION said before,

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



we do not intend that these observations shall serve as an endorsement of the Edmondson campaign. While we are for full democracy in the UMWA and all other unions, we are a little suspicious of the Edmondson movement. We would like to know just to what degree, if any, the Democratic Party nationally and in Illinois is involved and whether or not the Stalin-Browder Communist Po-

litical Association is crawling inside the pants leg of some of the Edmondson forces.

**THE POLITICS OF REACTION**  
All of these things are important, but the biggest issue that will come before the UMWA convention is the political issue. Lewis and the UMWA

opposition to the freezing of wages and its protestations on labor front trends of the Roosevelt government. This is certainly a very naive and we might say non-political manner for the leader of a great organization like the Miners Union to render or withhold political support to either of the two capitalist parties.  
**ORGANIZE LABOR'S OWN PARTY**  
We don't have to vote for the candidates of the Republican and Democratic Parties, the two capitalist parties. We can organize our own party, a LABOR PARTY, and vote for our own candidates; labor's candidates selected from the ranks of labor and under our own control.  
The fact that we have not organized our party yet is no reason for supporting the capitalist parties. We can start today attending to our own political business as workers. Important labor conventions take place before the November elections. We can start in these conventions with resolutions for independent working class political action and a Labor Party.  
For the railroad workers' paper, Labor, and the UMWA to chastise the CIO Political Action Committee for chasing after Roosevelt and themselves go chasing after the Republican Party and Dewey, is no answer to the anti-labor policies of the Roosevelt government.  
The miners cannot settle the labor problems of the day by mere adverse criticism of the CIO and AFL. In the political field, where all important questions must be answered today, the UMWA is not one step in advance of the AFL and CIO. This is a serious

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

**A GREAT CHOICE FOR MINERS**  
The choice for the miners and labor is not the petty bickering that goes on in our ranks among the leaders as to which capitalist politician we have put into office, but for all of labor to decide to get rid of the whole crew of boss-dominated capitalist politicians. Not whether to vote for Roosevelt or Dewey, but to reject and repudiate both of them; the parties which they represent and the capitalist masters whom they serve.  
A mass party of labor is the answer. The miners took the lead in militant trade union action. They took the lead in breaking away from the outworn practices of craft unionism and established the industrial union movement. Let them break from outworn political action, from subservience to capitalist political parties and candidates. Let them take the lead in forming labor's own independent party: a national Labor Party.

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

Editorials

The High Cost of Cost of Living Surveys

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

admit. BLS reports a 23 per cent rise from December, 1940, to March, 1944. BAE and labor investigators report 45 per cent. Apparently BAE officials have become alarmed about their index. According to the Wall Street Journal, important financial daily, in its August 29 issue, the BAE believes that a major reason why their index is so high is that farmers buy "low price items," in which the most drastic increases have taken place.

investigators plenty to do for some time to come. But what are the unions going to do? Are the union conventions going to authorize more of these never-ending investigations? Satisfy themselves with endorsing the labor investigations? Send delegations to the President? Or are they going to take some real action at last?

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

By MARY SCOTT

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Darwin Deen.

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

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

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

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

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

The Sixth Year of 2nd World War --

(Continued from page 1)

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

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

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

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

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

showed the way to defeat the labor movement, the workers' political parties, and saved the profit system in Germany.

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

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

living "quiet" lives under Mussolini, were resurrected to rule Italy.

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

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

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

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

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

Defeat of the Kilgore Bill Poses a \$64 Question

By WALTER WEISS

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

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

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

PRESS UNITED AGAINST WORKERS

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

THE PRESIDENT VS. THE SERVICEMEN

It is worth observing that the President and Congress, by their treatment of the Kilgore bill, have given a rousing to servicemen too. The GI "bill of rights" grants no more than \$20 to unemployed veterans for a period of 52 weeks, while he Kilgore bill would have fixed a maximum of \$35. Further, mustering out pay, now set from \$100 to \$300, would have been considerably increased, so that an overseas veteran with four years of service and three dependents would have received \$1,050.

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

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

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

The "States Rights" Record

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

BW also reports that in addition to the ten states listed below, Massachusetts, Michigan, Pennsylvania and Mississippi have laws controlling the functions of trade unions.

At the present time, various reactionary groups are circulating petitions in several states to put the following on state referendum ballots: outlawry of the closed shop; "right to work" amendments (refusal to join union, right to scab).

These restrictions were passed during the third presidential term of "Friend of Labor" Roosevelt and were shoved through against the opposition of the labor unions by Democratic and Republican state governments alike.

Table with 10 columns: State, Financial Statements, Union Membership, Picketing, Assembly, Strikes, Licensing, Penalties for Violations, Legal Status. Rows include Ala., Ark., Colo., Fla., Idaho, Kan., Minn., S. D., Texas, Wis.