

## LABOR DRAFT IS ANTI-UNION

Intense Fight  
Against 'Pledge'  
As Vote Nears

By MARTIN HARVEY

DETROIT — The smear campaign against the rank and file auto workers in Detroit in connection with the UAW-CIO no-strike pledge referendum is going full blast. Every conceivable propaganda device is being used to fool or scare the auto workers into voting to keep their infamous pledge.

The arguments that are being used are, of course, not new. They are a stale rehash of everything ever said by the labor-baiters in industry, government and the labor movement. These arguments, from "the boys in the foxholes" to "protect the UAW," have been reviewed in LABOR ACTION many times and their essential falseness exposed. What every auto worker should examine, whether he has already voted in the referendum or not, is WHO is backing the drive to keep the no-strike pledge.

## THE ENEMIES

Most obvious of all in the pro-pledge lineup is the reactionary daily press. The Detroit News and the Detroit Free Press have each featured two editorials attacking the rank and file elements in the UAW who wish to see the pledge rescinded. The Free Press reached the height of labor-baiting in a full dress editorial and cartoon attacking Larry Yost, chairman of the National Rank and File Steering Committee, spearhead of the movement to scrap the pledge.

Screaming in impotent rage, the Free Press calls Yost and the Rank and File Committee everything from demagogues and hypocrites to lunatics. The real object of their hate is the Detroit labor movement — the thousands upon thousands of workers who have been forced to take strike action to protect themselves during the war and their union bro-

thers who have rallied to their defense.

The Detroit press—from the Hearst Detroit Times to the self-appointed "liberal" Free Press—have consistently been found in opposition to anything and everything that would benefit labor. From their opposition to the CIO in the early days of industrial unionism to their united support of Dewey and a labor draft, the big business press has been sniping directly or indirectly at the UAW and the things it stands for.

On the other hand, they have never failed to say a kind word for the feudal-minded auto magnates, Ford, Kettering, Knudson, Sloan—all the big and little dictators of industry, the bitterest enemies of the workers of Detroit—receive nothing but praise in the kept press.

The record of the Detroit press is clear: it is against militant, fighting unionism. Therefore, it is FOR the no-strike pledge.

Lined up side by side with the big daily papers is the federal government, lending its power and prestige to the campaign to keep the pledge. The political representatives of big business know who their masters are and act accordingly. Their record, too, is clear.

## THE GOVERNMENT, TOO

The strike-breaking, anti-labor program of the government is not as obvious today as it was in the days of the anti-labor injunction and the use of troops to break strikes. But that is only because the program has been modernized. Today the government goes in for wage-freezing, job-freezing, a War Labor Board stacked against labor, a Little Steel formula and the latest improvement—the labor draft.

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Cletrac Workers  
Face Oliver Corp.

CLEVELAND — Last October the Cleveland Tractor Co. ceased to exist as an independent, competing company in the field of industrial and agricultural tractors. For twenty-odd years the company had struggled against its bigger and more powerful competitors, namely, Allis-Chalmers, McCormick-Deering, Caterpillar, Ford and the Oliver Co.

For many years the company lost money, the competition being too great and its capital being too small to permit it to expand and modernize the plant so that it could compete successfully.

Its owners and directors, primarily the White family, gradually became discouraged in the futile attempt to beat the bigger boys and simply resigned themselves to the fact that they were doomed to remain rather low in the capitalist system.

As Cletrac continued to go into the red year after year, its owners began

to look around for a chance to sell out.

During the same period that Cletrac was being run out and operating at a loss, the Oliver Co., with more powerful backing, was expanding and increasing its production. Oliver bought out Superior Drill, a manufacturer of threshing machines, and a number of other companies, all manufacturing farm machinery.

World War II temporarily saved Cleveland Tractor but its owners were still looking for a chance to dispose of their plant. A satisfactory deal was eventually arranged with Oliver and the White family became coupon clippers and the Cleveland Tractor Co. became part of the Oliver Corp.

When the union (IAM) became established in Cletrac around 1933, the company soon after began to put into practice a policy of paternalism, de-

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Shachtman Talks  
on Mesabi Range

MINNESOTA MANDATE: LABOR MUST FISH OR CUT BAIT! "An Independent Labor Party? Let's Go!" Say Iron Range Workers at Hibbing Meeting.

HIBBING — The Mesabi Iron Range workers again demonstrated that they are in the vanguard of militant working class action. At a meeting held in Hibbing's spacious Memorial Building on January 16, an enthusiastic gathering of mine and railroad workers greeted Max Shachtman's speech on "Politics and the Working Class" with outbursts of applause and, more significant, organized action.

Shachtman, national secretary of the Workers Party, gave a graphic, detailed picture of capitalist politics since the Hoover era. The sorry his-

tory of the past fifteen years hit the assembled workers between the eyes with its stunning impact of capitalist policy toward the working man. Roaring with laughter one moment as Shachtman snapped at Hoover's golden apples, the "cure-all" of the early thirties, they grew grimly silent the next as the slimy trail of the so-called "friends of labor" was laid bare in acrid, unanswerable phrases.

Like workers everywhere, these Minnesota miners and railroad workers are awakening to the truth about the "friends of labor." Educated progressively over the years in the futility of apples, WPA, war booms and voting for "friends of labor," they are now gathering forces for action to end the disastrous farce. The end

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## A Manpower Shortage?

## THAT'S THE REASON—

That President Roosevelt and the heads of the War and Navy Departments GIVE for the necessity of a National Service Act that will draft labor for PRIVATE PROFITS.

## HERE'S HOW THE SHORTAGE "GREW"—

1. The War Manpower Commission first announced 90,000 workers were needed for critical war plants.
2. They later boosted this figure to 140,000.
3. The President, the War and Navy Departments raised it to 300,000.
4. Last week Secretary of War Stimson doubled the ante to 700,000.

## NAILING THE LIE—

In Detroit alone, according to both manufacturers and CIO, there are 60,000 UNEMPLOYED!

According to Frances Perkins, Secretary of Labor, in December ALONE employment in all industries jumped ABOVE 450,000!

Lewis G. Hines, AFL legislative representative, reported that the critical list of workers presented him by the Army totalled ONLY 47,000!

FROM WHICH WE CONCLUDE—THE MANPOWER SHORTAGE IS A FRAUD!  
AND WE PROPOSE INSTEAD—

## Draft Capital - Not Labor!

## Churchill Defends Greek Atrocities

## Calls the Revolutionary ELAS "Trotskyist"

By M. BELL

Last week the Prime Minister who sent Spitfire planes and lend-lease Sherman tanks against the Greek people fighting for liberation made an appeal to his allies, Roosevelt and Stalin, to refrain from utilizing the cold-blooded slaughter of innocent Greeks to turn sentiment against Britain.

Of the war in Athens between Greek anti-fascist who had had to turn their guns against British imperialist armies to protect themselves against "liberation," Churchill said:

"For three or four days or more it was a struggle to prevent a hideous massacre in the center of Athens in which all forms of government would have been swept away, and naked, triumphant Trotskyism installed. I think Trotskyism is a better definition of Greek Communism and certain other sects than the normal word. It has the advantage of being equally hated in Russia."

The Prime Minister did not mean "Trotskyism" in the sense of organized Trotskyist parties in Greece. He meant Trotskyism in its political sense—the permanent world struggle of the exploited to emancipate themselves from their exploiters. The astutely class-conscious Churchill (class-conscious of Tory imperialist interests) saw that the ELAS forces which had struggled for years against fascism did not do so to pave the way either for the return of a British puppet king or for subservient native exploiters.

In effect he said to Stalin:

"Your policy is not for the people to take charge of the government, either. Don't forget, you hate Trotskyism, too. You saw to it that a pro-Russian 'people's' government was set up in Poland, Yugoslavia, Hungary, etc. I agreed that you should have those 'spheres of influence.' Now, for whatever part of the militancy of the Greeks you're responsible, please call your dogs off. We

agreed at Teheran that England should have Greece. I scratched your back, now it's your turn to scratch mine.

And to FDR, Churchill meant much the same thing: "The American press and public opinion are being allowed to go too far against the role of Britain. You know at Teheran we agreed to government 'of by, and for the people' (what a demagogic appeal to American democratic tradi-

## Watchdog of Imperialism



## "Poor" \$10-an-Hour Congressmen

By V. P. JENSEN

Even a cynical, worldly-wise Washington correspondent like Drew Pearson has a heart. Last week he bled for the underpaid, ill-housed and ill-clothed congressmen. Mr. Pearson considers that the present stipend of \$10,000 annually, plus traveling expenses, is not enough to keep a representative in a style commensurate with the dignity of his position. He recommends a substantial pay raise.

Although the columnist did not actually come right out and say that he saw a representative of the people with shiny morning coat or patched striped pants, it is evident that he considers such a disastrous state of affairs imminent.

Apart from such humanitarian considerations, Mr. Pearson, just to show that he's still on the old ball, shrewdly hints that if the representatives of the people had a little more money, it would help keep them out of the way of temptation from powerful moneyed and corporate interests.

Champion of the oppressed as it is, LABOR ACTION has carefully examined the claims of Mr. Pearson and the congressmen. But we regret to say that after careful soul-searching we must announce that in view of the present inflationary trends, the manpower shortage, the precarious state of national unity, we do not see our way

clear to support of this proposed pay raise. First, we feel that since congressmen are such firm champions of wage ceilings it would be most unbecoming of them to lift their own while they are engaged in such a stern fight against lifting the Little Steel formula.

We would even go further. In view of congressional opposition to the Pepper Bill, which would establish a sixty-five cents minimum wage, we think it would be most becoming of our representatives to limit themselves to the hourly wages obtained by workers in their districts.

We are quite aware that this might work some slight hardships—particularly in view of notorious congressional absenteeism. (It is doubtful that congressmen spend even an average of twenty hours a week, forty weeks a year in the House.) We know that it might be particularly hard for Representative Rankin (D. Miss.) to give up approximately \$10 an hour for his efforts and confine himself to a Mississippi sharecropper's hourly wage—but this is war!

Mr. Pearson, we know, will protest that this will discourage representatives from pursuing a career of public service. Considering the damage that congressmen do in their brief hours in the House, we are reluctant to suggest longer hours and overtime for congressmen. But they might

FDR's National Service Act  
is a Totalitarian Measure

President Roosevelt's demand for a National Service Act to enslave American labor has already borne its first fruits in the May-Bailey "limited national service" bill, which was voted on favorably by the House Military Committee. The May-Bailey bill bars the closed shop and paves the way for the destruction of unionism.

In barring the closed shop, a provision which would extend to "maintenance of membership" in union shops, the real anti-union character of the labor draft is thoroughly revealed. If this act is passed there will be unleashed a nation-wide campaign of big business and open-shoppers against the organized labor movement which achieved tremendous gains through years of militant economic action.

The labor act must be opposed because it is an anti-union measure!

All the arguments on a manpower shortage given by the President and the Army and Navy chiefs as the reason which dictate passage of the National Service Act have been blown sky-high by the disclosures that there is no critical shortage of workers. That there was no real manpower shortage was punctuated in the latest report by Senator Mead, chairman of the Mead Senate Committee, when he said that as a result of his investigations he found "excessive manpower, wasted labor, hoarded labor and enforced loafing..."

An unannounced visit to the Norfolk Navy Yard, which demanded 4,000 additional workers, disclosed the workers sitting around waiting for work and turning out trinkets on the demand of their supervisors. This is a situation which is recurrent throughout the country.

But one of the main reasons for raising this fraudulent claim for a National Service Act is to blunt the rising resentment of the workers of the country against the wage freeze. In response to the demand of the labor movement that the Little Steel formula be revised, in the face of the mounting evidence that the cost of living has risen far beyond the means of the workers to meet it, Roosevelt replied by demanding the passage of a National Service Act which would draft labor for private profit and compel workers to toil for slave employers and open-shoppers paying sub-standard wages.

Churchill thus makes a bid for the combination of the reactionary powers of the world against the Greek people. The Greeks were heroes as long as they were fighting the Italian and German fascists. Now that they want to preserve their hard-won liberties, they are brigands and, even worse, "Trotskyists," that is, true fighters for Greek independence, freedom, peace and security.

Even the Daily Worker editorialists, critical of Churchill because they're hustling for Stalin's imperial interests in Greece, say "The Truth is that Churchill is catering to the most reactionary sections of American life to gain their support." How does Churchill "cater" to the "reactionaries"? By ringing the alarm—"Trotskyists!" But for many years the Stalinist-Communists have called the Trotskyists "reactionaries." Thus they lie about Trotskyism—and not very cleverly.

If you'll pardon us for belaboring the obvious, Communists have ceased being champions of the working class.

What the reactionaries fear is what Churchill calls "naked, triumphant Trotskyism," i.e., the struggle of the workers of the world for their complete economic, social and political emancipation.

The shots of the Greeks in their fight for genuine liberation have been heard 'round the world.

The National Service Act is FDR's answer to labor's demands for wage increases. It is designed to halt the rising workers' opposition to the no-strike pledge, which is keeping American labor in bondage.

What reason then remains which makes Roosevelt so determined to get this totalitarian act passed by the legislative houses? Roosevelt, representing the American ruling class, has his eyes on the post-war world, a world that will be filled with sharp conflict between the big powers over who shall dominate the globe. It will be a period of crisis, unemployment, starvation and great social conflict.

The National Service Act is a totalitarian weapon to keep labor in check at home and to strengthen American imperialism abroad!

augment their income by taking part-time jobs in war industry and thus alleviate the manpower shortage with which they are so earnestly concerned.

After all, Mr. Pearson, forty per cent of America's workers have to get along on less than sixty-five cents an hour even during the war boom—and what's good enough for the people must surely be good enough for their "representatives." Then, too, let us look on the brighter side of the matter. If some congressmen do not find this wage tempting enough to return to Washington—well, it will be a relief to the overcrowded transportation and housing facilities.

We must confess that there's one point that Mr. Pearson makes that haunts us with its justness. When he says that underpaid congressmen, struggling with the rising cost of living, are constantly put into the path of temptation by powerful moneyed interests, we hate to admit it, but we think he has something there. But after careful consideration and some gloomy ruminations on the state of human nature in a decadent capitalist civilization, we are forced to the only possible conclusion—PUT 'EM OUT OF THE WAY OF TEMPTATION! As a matter of fact, that is precisely the course of action that LABOR ACTION intends to recommend to labor next November.

## NEXT WEEK:

A Special First-Hand Report  
on the events in Greece.

## Subscribers' Note!

If the wrapper in which your paper is mailed is marked V9 No. 5, that means your subscription has expired.

Send in your renewal at once!



# MASS ACTION

By David Coolidge Nat'l Labor Sec'y, Workers Party

The FEPC has recently directed the United States Cartridge Co. in St. Louis to reinstate two Negro workers who were laid off by the company in accordance with its "seniority plan." An interesting feature of the cartridge company's "plan" was that a separate seniority set-up is maintained for Negroes. This plan is based on the company's Jim Crow policy in the hiring of Negroes and their segregation policy in the placing of Negroes in the plant. This is not a genuine departmental seniority system, but out-and-out practice of Jim Crow.

In defense of the layoff of the two Negro workers, the company claimed that its separate seniority plan for Negroes sometimes gave Negro workers the advantage over white workers. While this might happen sometimes and in the case of some Negro workers, such results are not the function and aim of union seniority procedure. Seniority is not for the purpose of giving advantage to any racial or national group over another but to give the union an instrument with which to protect itself against disruptive attacks from employers. In this way the union protects all its members irrespective of their race or nationality.

In its directive the FEPC makes the statement that its function is to protect all workers from discrimination: "white as well as... colored employees." In the concrete situation which exists in the United States this sounds like nonsense. It is true that white workers are discriminated against but the discrimination against white workers is not identical with the discrimination against Negro workers. Discrimination against white workers is usually in connection with union activity or for political belief or for personal reasons.

Discrimination against the Negro workers takes place prior to union activity and without concern with his or her political beliefs. Usually it is discrimination against Negroes

as Negroes. The only white workers who suffer this type of discrimination are those discriminated against as members of white racial minorities: Jews, Italians, Slavs, etc.

When the UAW convention voted that the international apparatus was not to be used in any partisan way in the matter of the referendum on the no-strike pledge, one might have assumed that such injunction would apply also to the official organ of the CIO, the CIO News. But we know now that this is not the case.

In the January 8 number of the national edition of the CIO News, seven pages of a total of twelve are devoted to propaganda for the retention of the no-strike pledge. On the front page "FDR Hails UAW No-Strike Pledge," "GIs Meet Bloody Death in Germany; Army Needs 100% Backing at Home." At the bottom of the page is the picture of a dead soldier. The editorial page carries an editorial on the no-strike pledge: "Let's Meet the Challenge" and the column by Stalinist Len De Caux calling for the retention of the pledge. The back page carries on from page one. There is a four-page insert: "Our Pledge to the Nation," "Don't Let GIs Down" and a quotation from Murray's speech at the CIO convention beginning with the sentence: "The no-strike pledge is a sacred obligation..."

This number of the CIO News is certainly a support of the no-strike pledge of the most lurid sort. Most of the material is irrelevant and dishonest in connection with the issue. There is no discussion of the fact that the workers have grievances. From reading the CIO News, one would think that all those workers who are opposed to the pledge are a group of irresponsible wild men and not the loyal and militant trade unionists who know that labor has been gypped, mugged and threatened by the government and the employers since labor was sold down the river by its leadership.

# Cletrac Program - -

(Continued from page 1)

signed to sap the fighting spirit of the newly organized union and thereby to put an end to any further big gains being accomplished by the union. At the same time the company used an old trick to make the union a more helpless organization by splitting it. The company began to give special benefits to the older workers in the shop in the form of higher wages, longer vacations, etc. At the same time the new workers have been deliberately held down.

The result has been that the union has been divided between the workers having high places on the seniority list and those workers who are comparatively new in the shop. Exactly what the company wanted and worked for! A disgraceful condition, but it can be seen every day throughout the plant.

Two workers working side by side, doing the same or comparable work and one receiving a dollar or two more a day than the other. One comparatively satisfied and content and the other dissatisfied and wanting to do something about it, but his older brother being opposed to it. The result is that nothing is done. Who benefits? The company.

A proposal is put on the floor at a union meeting to improve the vacation plan so that the newer workers in the shop may benefit more from the vacation agreement. It is voted down by the old members. Who is the beneficiary? The company.

In addition, the Cleveland Tractor Co. practiced a policy of treating the union negotiating committee with sugar pills. Union committee members often obtained higher rates than did their fellow workers. This was beneficial to the company also because it was a form of "buying off" the committee. A bowling league has been in operation for many years, bringing together the bosses and the workers and the office force. This has but one purpose—to make it look as if there were no differences be-

tween the workers and their bosses. "We can bowl together, therefore let's work together; don't argue and don't strike. We're just like you."

So Cleveland Tractor and W. King White preached and practiced, and the union deteriorated as an effective fighting force.

And then came the Oliver Corporation. Issues which should have been fought out and settled years ago are being pushed to the fore by the aggressive policy of the new management. For the union this means two things—it must put its own house in order and it must counter the attack of the Oliver Corporation with its own attack.

**A FIGHTING PROGRAM**

To set its own house in order so that it may wage an effective fight against the new company the union must do two things:

1. It must have a militant, progressive executive committee. This means that the satisfied, conservative, do-nothings on the committee must be voted out.
  2. The union must have local autonomy. It must break away from the control now exercised over its policies and its finances by the conservative and unrepresentative leadership of Local 233. Workers at Oliver must have their own local!
- A progressive program must include the following demands:
1. Abolish the bonus system. For a straight day rate!
  2. Equalization of rates. Equal work—equal pay!
  3. For a standard system of raises!
  4. Vacations based on months worked per year. A day of vacation for each month.
  5. Clarification of seniority rights to be embodied in the contract.
  6. Rescind the no-strike pledge, the ball and chain on organized labor today.
- (Another article will follow on "Why Oliver Workers Must Have Their Own Local.")

# NEWS AND VIEWS FROM THE LABOR FRONT

## CIO Utility Union Under Fire

By JAMES SHEA

CLEVELAND—That famous coalition of union-wreckers—Chamber of Commerce, government bureaucrats and Communist Partyites—is once again at work. This time it is out to wreck the fighting Utility Workers Organizing Committee, CIO, and all other militant locals in Cleveland. It is going to "get even" for the twenty-hour strike Local 270 of this union recently held at the Cleveland Electric Illuminating Co.

This coalition is launching a three-pronged offensive: 1, Draft the militant leaders! 2, Discipline the whole union, including the national chairman of the UWOC, Harold Straub! 3, Smash this union and other progressive, fighting unions with restrictive legislation.

### DRAFT STRIKERS MOVE

Already the local draft board is considering revoking the deferment of Victor Stemberger, union steward, over whom the crisis arose, and drafting the thirty-nine-year-old president, Leonard Palmer. At the same time, the Cleveland Industrial Union Council, completely dominated by those labor-betrayers, the Stalinist-Communists, has induced the CIO president, Philip Murray, to "investigate" the strike. The CIUC issued a statement calling for disciplinary action for any CIO union that violates the no-strike pledge and recommended that the UWOC "publicly reaffirm the no-strike pledge... and withdraw its threat of strike action." These CIO leaders charged anonymously through the newspapers that the union provoked the strike!

This evil coalition has introduced a bill into the Ohio Legislature calling for criminal penalties against any public utility union and its members which strike during wartime. There is no doubt that an attempt will be made to extend this bill, if passed, into peacetime.

### WHAT CAUSED THE STRIKE

What were the real facts of this strike? There were primarily two causes for the walkout, the immediate and the indirect. The strike was touched off when Stemberger was told there was no work for him after he had refused to accept a shift to night work. Whereupon steamworkers, coal-passers and maintenance men walked off the job.

However, for several months restlessness has existed on the CEI property. In October the union voted to strike after the regional WLB had

turned down a request for a seven-cent increase. The strike was called off and the national WLB subsequently refused to grant the increase. This left an open door to the CEI for every kind of contract violation. Knowing that the union would get nothing from the WLB and also that the union had called off its strike, it was free to go all-out against the union. The Stemberger incident was a company provocation—of that there can be no doubt. The union could not sit idly back and watch one of its union stewards be fired. To do that would be complete surrender.

The Communists know this, and so do the labor bureaucrats on the Cleveland Federation of Labor. Their lies will not fool UWOC members nor will they fool Cleveland labor as a whole. When William Finegan says that the CEI strike was caused by "Bolsheviks," he shows his own fear that the rank and file is getting out of hand.

The path ahead for Palmer and Local 270 is clear: Revoke the no-strike pledge; fight the crippling legislation before the Ohio Legislature; seek the aid of other locals, free from the disastrous control of the Communist union-wreckers and bureaucrats.

# How \$ Steel Trust Is Faring

The word-war on steel wages, which was fought with sound and fury throughout 1944, came to an end on December 30. On that date, Economic Stabilizer Vinson handed down a final decision.

He approved the War Labor Board's mealy concessions to the union.

He also approved price increases to the companies (the amounts not yet decided) on certain steel products.

Perfectly fair, isn't it?

### HOW MUCH TO GIVE

What did the workers get? On December 2, Business Week, that hardboiled reporter to the nation's industrialists, gave this post-mortem on the WLB decision:

All parties in the case talked for some nine months about equity, economics, and what-not. All parties realized that this was so much bull. "Everyone concerned... knew well that the basic question was how little an increase in pay the steel workers would take without going on strike."

What did the steel workers deserve? Besides the so-called "fringe demands," some of which were granted partially by the WLB, they asked for a flat seventeen-cent hourly increase.

The union proved that the cost of living has gone up over forty-five per cent since 1941, basic wage rates only fifteen per cent. Even the lying statisticians of the government admitted price rises of almost thirty per cent. So what, said the WLB.

The union proved that the average steel worker is going into debt to the tune of \$2.50 a week. So what, said the WLB. The Little Steel formula still stands.

### STEEL TRUST GOT PLENTY

We don't know exactly what the companies are going to get, but we have some idea of what they have been getting.

An Associated Press report in the Journal of Commerce of November 30 admits that the "industry's earnings are substantially above those of the base period" (1936-39—Ed.).

On December 13 the chairman of the financial committee of the United States Steel granted that his firm "was in the best financial condition it ever had experienced."

There you have it, right from the mouths of the wolves themselves. The report of the WLB panel in the steel case gave some definite figures that make the situation even clearer:

In 1943, income of the companies before taxes was 300 per cent greater than in 1936-39; after taxes, fifty-six per cent greater.

These fat figures are in addition to "reserves and allowances for deple-

tion, depreciation, amortization and for additional war costs."

The panel concluded that the companies could pay the full seventeen cents an hour demanded by the union and still be better off than in 1936-39.

### PILING UP LOOT

How the Devil, if all this is true, did Vinson decide to grant price increases? Isn't he supposed to hold the line on wages AND prices? On wages he does a perfect job of holding, but on prices—

As LABOR ACTION has previously reported, it's this way: An industry is not supposed to get price boosts, if its percentage of profits is higher than in 1936-39. Naturally, the big boys get around this by book-keeping tricks, such as "reserves" of all kinds.

Then, instead of passing out all profits in dividends, they hold back a big share as "surplus." The percentage of profits allowed is figured on capital PLUS surplus. By constantly adding to surplus they are able to rake in many more dollars

## Labor Action Institute in Philly Gets Good Start

The greatest blizzard in years did not deter a sizable group of progressive unionists from attending the opening session of Philadelphia's Labor Action Institute last Tuesday evening.

Through spirited discussion and analysis, many of the worker-students were surprised to find themselves consciously expressing ideas inherent in the principles of socialism that they had in the past only vaguely sensed.

The Friday sessions on "History of the Labor Movement" and "Labor Problems Today" were even better attended. Under the stimulating questions of Walter Weiss, feature writer for LABOR ACTION, the burning question of the labor draft was examined intensively—from the point of view of the working man, the trade union officialdom, the government and the National Association of Manufacturers. So exciting was the discussion that it continued well beyond the official closing time of the class—this despite the fact that many of the members of the class had to show up at their jobs bright and early the following morning.

The ensuing sessions of the school promise to be even more interesting and thought-provoking. It is not too late to enroll. Each session is treated as a unit in itself and workers who could not attend the first ones are urged to come to the succeeding ones.



# Unionism Hits Lumber Trust

## Out of the Past

By RUTH PHILLIPS

The great woods of America's Northwest is the chief dominion of the lumber trust. Before 1912 the lumber bosses were the undisputed masters of the North Woods and of the loggers and sawmill men who worked for them. In the fashion of all big trusts, they maintained their position with the help of corrupted public officials. They imposed low wages and long hours on their workers, who had to kick back part of their small earnings to foremen in order to keep their jobs. The workers were housed in filthy, overcrowded bunkhouses.

### THE WOBBLIES ARRIVE

Despite the grievances of the workers, unionism had made little headway among them, until in 1912 the IWW invaded the woods with its doctrine of industrial unionism. The lumberjacks were attracted by the "One Big Union" idea of the Wobblies and soon the majority of them carried the red union card of the IWW. The IWW carried on a series of strikes in the lumber camps. Five years of desperate struggles brought higher wages, better food, clean bunkhouses and other improvements. The power of the lumber trust had been successfully challenged.

### THE WOBBLIES STRIKE

In 1917 the lumber trust was making inflated wartime profits, but refused to raise the workers' wages to meet the rising cost of living. The greatest strike in the history of the lumber industry swept the Northwest. Their fat profits stopped by the strike, the lumber trust unleashed a reign of terror against the union, with the sanction of the federal, state and local governments. Union men were tarred and feathered, run out of town and even hanged. Union halls were raided and destroyed by "patriotic" business men. Thousands of strikers were thrown into "bull pens" and made to go without food for days.

By the use of force and violence, the strike was broken. The IWW was driven underground. Union organization was practically destroyed. The lumber trust was triumphant. But its triumph did not and could not last. The idea of industrial unionism, first brought to the lumber camps by the IWWA, had come to stay. It lives again today in the CIO union of the lumber workers.

# Shachtman Talk - -

of the vicious big-business cycle of depression and war, breadlines and bullets, starvation in the midst of plenty and death in the bloody shadow of profits—the end of this vicious cycle is being written in the militant surge of an aroused working class. Iron Range labor is furious, disillusioned about its "friends" and on the move to do something about it.

### MESABI MEN MEAN BUSINESS

A question-and-answer period followed Mr. Shachtman's speech. Some of the questions asked were: (1) "How strong is the National Labor Party?" (2) "You spoke about labor's voting itself into power; do we have to elect national congressmen from our Independent Labor Party or can we start with, say, a few men in local elections?" (3) "What is labor doing in other parts of the country to get this National Labor Party rolling?" (4) "How many turn out to meetings like this in the big cities where you speak?"

Significantly, all but a few of the questions expressed either the conviction that a National Labor Party already exists or that one should be formed NOW.

Max Shachtman explained that, while there is not now an Independent Labor Party, strong working class elements in the United States are proceeding toward the formation of one. He cited the example of the Michigan Commonwealth Federation, a political organization based originally on the trade unions of Michigan, principally the United Automobile Workers. He explained its significance and pointed out its mistakes in not keeping its growth clean and healthy by failing to exclude non-working class groups.

The point was well received by the audience, many of whom remember that the Farmer-Labor Party degenerated under similar circumstances.

Another strong example of straws in the political wind, Shachtman again pointed out, was the development of the CIO Political Action Committee. Although misled into supporting the New Deal wing of capital instead of electing its own candidates on a solid labor ticket, Shachtman emphasized that it proves what labor could do with an Independent Labor Party.

"Elect as many candidates as you

can, to any office you can," was Shachtman's answer to the second question. "If you can elect labor candidates to the national and state legislatures, so much the better. If you can elect only local officials, do it by all means. The important thing is that the working class break NOW with capitalist politics and use its tremendous strength to better its own conditions." Why go on putting labor's enemies into power? Organized labor has fourteen million votes; why waste them on the savagely unfriendly "friends" of labor?

The Iron Range militants were assured that workers were attending similar meetings in growing numbers around the country. That, Shachtman said, was indicative of the rapidly awakening political consciousness of the working class. "However," he declared, "if workers in the centers of population turned out for meetings proportionately as you men and women have done, I assure you that the attendance would be counted in tens of thousands. It is very gratifying to be the guest of such an advanced and militant group of workers."

### AFTER-MEETING CONFERENCE

Following adjournment of the regular meeting, Max Shachtman was invited to sit in at a special conference of sixteen leading Iron Range militants. On an informal basis, a great deal was accomplished toward establishing a Minnesota section of an Independent Labor Party. Views were put forth and experiences swapped by the men and women in attendance, all dealing directly with independent working class political action.

The Iron Range workers benefitted greatly by the illuminating speech that Shachtman so very brilliantly presented. His clear, precise, pungent description of the mechanics of capitalist politics cleared away any cobwebs that may have been lingering in that working class mind. Worker after worker echoed, "Say bo, bring that guy back when we have time to get out a REAL attendance."

In so many words, the Minnesota "mandate" to labor is: "Fish or cut bait. We Iron Range workers say WE'RE going to fish."

# "No-Strike" Vote - -

(Continued from page 1)

It is understandable, therefore, why the Roosevelt Administration should want to keep labor's straight-jacket, the no-strike pledge. With a no-strike pledge, troops are no longer necessary to do the dirty work of strike-breaking. R. J. Thomas, Phil Murray, Ades, Reuther, Frankenstein—these are now the strike-breakers. It saves the government a lot of money and directs the resentment of the rank and file against their own leaders.

Why, then, this campaign of lies, sponsored and carried out by the government? It has two purposes, both aimed at delivering what they hope will be a death blow to the unions: One is to force through a labor-draft bill. The other is to intimidate the workers into keeping the no-strike pledge.

### NO-STRIKE DIEHARDS

In the UAW the Communists and their supporters are running the show for the leadership in trying to get the pledge upheld. Stalinist stooge W. G. Grant, president of Ford Local 600, is heading the Committee to Uphold the No-Strike

Pledge and every CPER in the UAW is doing leg-work for him—not least of all Nat Ganley, business agent of Local 155, who is spewing forth in the columns of the Daily Worker about how everyone who strikes or wants to rescind the no-strike pledge is nothing less than a Trotskyite, a Norman Thomasite and a Hitlerite all rolled into one.

The pro-pledge gang began to smell so bad that Walter Reuther, UAW vice-president and strong supporter of the pledge, was forced to refuse an honorary post on Grant's committee on the grounds that it was controlled by the Communists.

The allies of the UAW top leaders in their fight to keep the no-strike pledge are powerful and unscrupulous. But their very power will prove to be their undoing. An auto worker has only to look them over to see that he belongs on the other side of the fence. They are not fit company for anyone who calls himself a labor leader and still less for a worker. Their money, their power, their radios and newspapers are all additional arguments for voting to scrap the no-strike pledge.

San Pedro Meeting Los Angeles Meeting

## "THE SOCIALIST PLAN FOR POST WAR AMERICA"

Speaker: **David Coolidge**  
Nat'l Labor Sec'y, Workers Party

IN SAN PEDRO FRIDAY, FEB. 9th, 8:00 P. M.  
1038 MEYLER

IN LOS ANGELES SUNDAY, FEB. 11th, 8:00 P. M.  
End of Auditorium 843 SO. GRAND  
Room 201 Los Angeles

Auspices: LABOR ACTION

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Editorials

FDR's Assistant Lets Prices Rise

That tough hombre, "Assistant President" Byrnes, has been cracking down right and left in the last few weeks.

We must begin to take the war seriously. Everybody on the home front must do his share.

OPA had granted tire manufacturers "temporary" price boosts to take care of supposed special costs due to conversion to synthetics and the use of rayon cords.

per cent of the retail ceilings on passenger car tires, and 12.5 per cent more for rayon construction than for others.

These concessions were to expire on December 15. Just to be sure, the OPA made profit studies and found that the manufacturers wouldn't go broke.

Then Mr. Byrnes stepped in. For the first time, he used his authority to overrule price orders.

Naturally there hasn't been very much publicity about this softer side of the Assistant President's character.

Traitors in the Ranks of Labor

Several weeks ago we published an editorial on the scandalous situation created by the Communists in the United Retail Workers Union.

From the moment the courageous union members set up their picket lines, they were besieged with attacks from all anti-labor quarters.

COMMUNIST STRIKE-BREAKING

Once the Communist line was announced through its Daily Worker, and once its minions in the union movement got their instructions, a veritable assassination campaign began against the union and its leadership.

This Communist campaign against a union which has built up a pretty good record for itself, reached its lowest point in the attack launched against the international and its president.

local scabbed on the strike and publicly called upon all unions and workers to do a similar job of scabbing on the Ward workers.

But the reaction has set in. Many locals in the union have been demanding that action be taken against the scabs inside the union, especially the leadership of Local 65.

OUST THE SCABS

In a bitter editorial entitled "Traitors in our Ranks," the paper demands action by the international. While it was merely critical of Wolchok's previous efforts to keep peace in the international, it now says this policy should be ended.

We are in hearty agreement with The Retail Organizer. Rid the union of its scabs! They are a black mark against all unionism.

They are the advocates of a permanent no-strike pledge for peace as well as war. They oppose economic action of the workers against the exploiting profiteers of big business.

One-Tenth of the Nation

By J. R. Johnson

graph of economic democracy in action.

Last week it was Justice Murphy belaboring the Railroad Brotherhoods for discriminating against Negroes.

This week it is Paul V. McNutt. This same McNutt, you remember, did his best to stifle the FEPC about a year ago.

"Negro Americans, traditionally the last hired, the first fired," have been given their greatest job opportunity since the Reconstruction period.

CREDIT WHERE IT IS NOT DUE

Note that phrase, "have been given." McNutt wants to say that the Roosevelt government GAVE greater opportunities to Negroes.

That executive order came directly from the projected March on Washington sponsored by the March on Washington Committee.

When Roosevelt recognized that the Negroes were serious he summoned A. Philip Randolph, the MOW leader, to Washington.

Speech before the election? McNutt indulges in a little rhapsody: "Is this the American dream?" etc., and then goes to town.

He tells us that considerable numbers of Negro veterans and Negro workers have come, looking for jobs, to the United States Employment Service of the War Manpower Commission.

Hear him boost himself: "We in the USES and the WMC are committed to making job referrals without discrimination as to race, color or creed."

Hear him again: "The War Man-

power Commission through the USES today in ALL communities, provides..." (He would send a copy of this to Senator Rankin of Mississippi.)

True. Absolutely correct. "Today," he goes on, "seventy per cent of the Negroes in war production are in...mushroom industries such as shipbuilding, aircraft production, munitions."

And then we see what this propagandist is after: "The federal and states governments" and the country's ablest industrialists and economists are planning a "sixty-million-job America."

SOME SELF-PRAISE

You remember Roosevelt's Chicago speech before the election? McNutt indulges in a little rhapsody: "Is this the American dream?" etc., and then goes to town.

He tells us that considerable numbers of Negro veterans and Negro workers have come, looking for jobs, to the United States Employment Service of the War Manpower Commission.

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Hear him again: "The War Man-

power Commission through the USES today in ALL communities, provides..."

(He would send a copy of this to Senator Rankin of Mississippi.) "The employment needs of the Negro worker have been and are today of great concern to the WMC Bureau of Placement."

And once more: "The Administration's plans for a 'sixty-million job America' are shared by most in the ranks of industry and labor."

WHAT'S BEHIND IT?

Now what is behind all this? Whoever was interested in such things knows that round about election time the Roosevelt Administration had a bad scare about the Negro vote.

Now we can look for a stream of high-flown sentiments and promises from these glib-tongued gentlemen addressed to the Negro people.

The Negro reply should be a sample for all readers of LABOR ACTION. It should be this: "We have listened to your promises for seventy years. We shall listen no longer. We shall make our own party—a Labor Party."

WORLD POLITICS

By REVA CRAINE

French "New Deal"

When General Charles de Gaulle was still living in exile and seeking to establish his leadership over the resistance movement, he promulgated a program of social reform which he promised to put into effect once France was liberated.



Among the promises made by de Gaulle was the one which provided for the ruthless purging and punishment of all Nazi collaborators, Vichyites and profascists.

This program, though it was by no means a socialist program, was welcomed and greeted by the French people because it corresponded to their desire for a social change which would end the constant threat of starvation, war and fascism.

Once de Gaulle landed in Paris and took over the reins of government he came into conflict with this movement. His attempts to incorporate the FFI into the regular army or to disarm it met with a great deal of resistance.

DE GAULLE IN PRACTICE

From the time de Gaulle gained recognition by the Allies, his talk about punishment of collaborators and nationalization of the banks and key industries has become softer and softer.

Recently he addressed the Consultative Assembly, in which he urged greater tolerance toward those who held office under the Vichy regime.

The financiers and bankers, who cooperated so wholeheartedly when the Nazis were in control of France, are proceeding quite freely now to prevent any measures of nationalization.

ATTITUDE TOWARD LABOR

The measures taken with regard to the labor situation are somewhat different. There are over 600,000 unemployed workers in France, more than half in Paris alone.

The French "New Deal" has in very short order followed in the path of its predecessor in the United States.

Ruthenian Secession

Once more we see what treaties of friendship between imperialist powers are worth. At the end of last year, Russian signed a twenty-year pact of friendship with the Czechoslovak government in exile.

Stalin has begun to demand payment from Benes, first in the form of recognition of the Russian-sponsored Lublin government.

Now Stalin prepares a new land grab for himself. The Russians are demanding that Ruthenia, that is, the Carpathian Ukraine, be joined to the Russian Ukraine.

STALIN'S AIMS

Stalin's plan to unite Ruthenia with Russian Ukraine has nothing to do with national self-determination, in spite of his attempt to pass it off as a demand coming from the Ruthenians themselves.

Indications are that Benes is prepared to cede this territory to Stalin. In exchange for what, is not now clear.

Behind the Drive Against Petrillo and Musicians' Union

By Walter Weiss

James Caesar Petrillo, president of the American Federation of Musicians, is pictured everywhere, except in the labor press, as a great menace to the American democratic way of life.

The newspapers and magazines, conservative and liberal alike, join in denouncing him, not only in their news columns but also in editorials and cartoons.

He engages the hostile attentions of the War Labor Board. Congress considers special laws directed against the "unfair practices" of this "new Caesar."

While the volcanic John L. Lewis is in a quiet phase, Petrillo spreads terror among the capitalists and their journalistic and governmental agents.

PETRILLO'S VICTORY

What has "Caesar" Petrillo done to deserve this notoriety?

He and his union had the gall to fight and win a two-and-a-half-year war against the two biggest recording companies in the land, RCA-Victor and Columbia.

Finally, last November, the companies surrendered unconditionally. They feared that big-name artists, anxious to make records, would desert them for smaller firms, like Decca, which signed up with the union some time ago.

For each record sold the companies will pay a royalty of two cents into the union's treasury. Petrillo has promised that after the war this fund will be used to furnish work to unemployed musicians.

Even more than most other workers, musicians have reason to fear unemployment. It is, therefore, easy to see why, whatever they may think of Petrillo in other respects, they supported him so long and so solidly in this struggle—exactly as the coal miners supported that other "dictator," John L. Lewis.

Shameless mouthpieces of capitalist monopoly, like the New York Times, scream that Petrillo has established a labor monopoly (which they, of course, consider a bad type of monopoly).

We say: That's not such a bad idea. Not a bad idea at all. The capitalist monopolies never give a thought to the workers they throw out on the streets.

WINS IRE OF CAPITALISTS

If the Petrillo plan is open to criticism, it is because the monopolists retain ownership of their businesses and continue to sow unemployment and to reap outrageous profits.

But, complain the editorial writers, Petrillo is a dictator. WITHIN his union, too. He is also a crook, who will use the money to line his own pockets and those of his confederates.

This is certainly a perfect description of the monopolists of capitalism. You can see that they judge Petrillo by themselves.

Murray, demands an annual wage or severance pay or a fund for returning veterans. Do they rush to give it to him?

We don't defend dictatorial methods within a union—neither the methods of John L. Lewis nor those of Petrillo nor those of Dan Tobin, Roosevelt's great friend.

The capitalists don't object to dictators. They merely want tame dictators, who will get nothing for the union members. But in a showdown they will support even a "tough" dictator against the threat of a fighting, democratic leadership.

WHY "FEATHER-BEDDING"?

This is proved clearly, if we consider another charge against Petrillo. He insists on "feather-bed" practices. He forces radio stations and other employers to hire twice as many musicians as they need.

There is nothing new about such methods. Many unions use them as a necessary defense against the unemployment which technical progress brings under the capitalist system.

Dan Tobin of the Teamsters Union is both a dictator within his union and a great expert at "feather-bedding." Yet when a real democratic revolt threatened his power, the capitalists and the government rushed to his rescue.

Beware the capitalists shouting for democracy! The unions must clean their own house.

A few liberal friends of labor (Bernard B. Smith, for example, in the New Republic of January 15) very honestly point out how good a case Petrillo has against RCA and Columbia.

But, they say, we mustn't stand in the way of technical progress. The government itself must give more unemployment insurance and vocational retraining and then must forbid feather-bedding.

What an answer to the post-war (or even the pre-war) unemployment problem!

Who, dear liberal friends, really suppresses technical advance in a big way? The union—or the monopolists, who buy up and kill inventions which threaten their profits? Who prevents full employment and full production on the machines that we have? The unions—or the monopolists, who will not hire a man, however skilled, unless they can sell his product at a profit?

What, dear liberal friends, are you going to retrain a skilled musician to be under the capitalist system? There will be too many mechanics, too many aviators, too many farmhands, too many of every trade.

A SOCIAL NECESSITY

We defend feather-bedding now, because we defend the unions. They are the foundation on which will arise a socialist system of plenty—plenty of goods and plenty of music—a system in which feather-bedding will never be thought of.

The case of the musicians is social. Tens of thousands of them have suffered severely from technological improvements and crises of America's capitalist economy of profit for business and relief for the worker.

THE INCENTIVE PAY TRAP

By W. WHITE

Early in 1943 the capitalist magazines and newspapers, inspired by the War Production Board, tried to sell the unions on incentive pay.

Roosevelt has frozen wages, they said, so that is the only way for you workers to earn more. Produce more, and we will pay you more.

We just want to help you to help yourself and your country. More production is needed for the war, so the incentive system will mean both more pay and more patriotism.

The propaganda didn't go over too big. Some workers were sucked in, especially those in unions controlled by Earl Browder's scabby Stalin-boys. But the United Auto Workers, at their convention in 1943, turned the idea down after a hot debate.

A NEW GAG

Now the War Production Board is staging a new drive for incentive pay—both to meet the present manpower "shortage" and, far more important, to cut post-war production costs.

As Business Week magazine said recently: "Incentive pay plans can be used as a means of cutting costs after V-E Day. Pay a little more to get substantially more production."

That's the idea in a nutshell. Henry Ford, who has always found ways of squeezing his workers as dry as lemons, has just taken up the scheme.

In his steel mills (sure, he owns forests, railroads, mines, too) he announces that there will be incentive pay—or a shutdown after the war. He just can't compete with other mills.

The International Executive Board of the UAW is going to consider Henry's proposal. To be sure, a union convention voted against permitting any more such schemes, and a convention is the highest authority in a union.

THE FUTURE

Plenty of capitalists are going to use this same dodge. They will discover themselves unable to compete against other companies in the U. S. or

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## A Post-War Locked-Out Generation

By William Gorman

A sad and familiar phrase cropped up again last week at a conference on problems of youth at New York's City Hall. Dr. C. Lynd, a professor of sociology, predicted that the young people after this war would be a "lost generation."

The first "lost generation" grew up in the great depression of 1929. Accustomed to the temporary prosperity of the twenties, the American youth suddenly found himself confronted with closed factories, widespread breadlines, unemployment and all the misery of being on government relief. The period of youthful discovery and excitement—the finest time in human life—was wasted in the frantic search for jobs and in the total frustration and despair of capitalist society.

### A HELLUVA WORLD FOR YOUTH

That generation has now marched off to war and—lo and behold—while they are dying in Europe, a new "lost generation" is arising at home. What fine fruits of victory!

Professor Lynd put it very plainly: "This is one hell of a world for kids to be trying to grow up in, with the situation deteriorating, not improving, as power politics on a world scale, and fear and cynicism here at home increase."

Professor Lynd added: "In the angry times here in the United States after the war, when men fight for jobs, there will be a tightening of anti-Semitic, anti-Negro and anti-foreigner treatment."

The post-war world of shiny automobiles, flying helicopters and a new League of Nations is only a mirage, purposefully invented by capitalist propagandists well experienced in exaggeration and lying.

Instead of a national fight for a higher standard of living, we will have an individual fight for jobs. Negroes, Jews, Gentiles, Catholics will be pitted violently against each other in the mad struggle for the right to sweat in the bosses' factories. Bitterness, hatred and race riots will be the only result. Brave new world indeed!

### YOUTH NO CONCERN OF BUSINESS

You don't hear anybody from the Chamber of Commerce or the National Association of Manufacturers bewail the "lost generation." The welfare of America's youth is hardly their concern. They secretly expect that the cynical and disillusioned youth after the war, joined by the young people whose normal lives have been upset during the war, will make excellent material for the fascist legions necessary to smash organized labor. Capitalism offers no future for American youth because capitalism is a social order without a future. That's why it nurtures violence and exists by violence.

President Roosevelt's proposal for post-war military training only proves the point. Originally it was for the purpose of training young people "to brush their teeth," according to our very humorous President. But in his "grim" message to Congress, Roosevelt made it clear that he means a continuation of drafting young people into army camps after the "peace."

Professor Lynd mentioned another truism worth quoting: "Conferences on child welfare can't do much more than put a new coat of paint on an old tenement." Most of the time they can't even do that. This particular conference, besides listening to Professor Lynd, heard Grover Whalen, whose police "Cossacks" clubbed demonstrating workers in the early thirties; the very, very talkative Mayor LaGuardia of New York City, who cuts the budget on education and social welfare on every possible occasion; and Mrs. Winthrop W. Aldrich, wife of the president of Chase National Bank. The effectiveness of such a gabfest on youth problems can very easily be imagined.

Conditioned to living in the richest country in the world, American youth must devote its energies to the defense of the standard of living of American labor.

For American youth will learn by choice or through the most bitter experiences that only socialism makes possible an ever richer, more expansive life for all.

### On the Labor Front—

## CIO White Collar Workers Program

By SUSAN GREEN

That the Congress of Industrial Organizations has its ear to the ground—in certain respects—and can take the lead in national affairs when it wants to, is underscored by its active interest in the fate of the millions of white collar workers of this country. What the CIO did was to call and sponsor the National White Collar Conference, which just met in the city of Washington.

There were represented at this conference thirty-five organizations of one kind and another, speaking for the forgotten office and professional workers. Of course, the CIO affiliates were represented. They are the United Retail, Wholesale & Department Store Employees of America; United Office and Professional Workers; State, County and Municipal Workers; United Federal Workers of America; American Newspaper Guild; International Federation of Architects, Engineers, Chemists and Technicians; Barbers & Beauty Culturists Union of America. These CIO unions of white collar workers claim a joint membership of somewhere around 300,000.

### SOMETHING NEW ADDED

However, more significant on this occasion was that more non-union groups were represented than unions. Groups of employees and professional people who in former years would rather turn the other cheek to exploitation than acknowledge themselves on the same economic and social level as factory workers sent their delegations to this conference called by the CIO, whose foundation is the mass production workers of the country.

Sitting with the union representatives were those sent by groups like the National Association of Secondary School Principals, the American Society of Civil Engineers, the American Association of Scientific Workers, the National Education Association, the American Association of Schools of Social Work, the American Association of Social Workers and, yes, the American Medical Association. This gives an idea of the scope of the conference.

### Listen to This—

"If homecoming servicemen have the fortitude, ingenuity and patience of their Yankee forebears," Carpenter, New Hampshire director of the fish and game department, said on jobs for veterans, "they might hunt and raise porcupines, commonly known as 'quill pigs.' They'd have to be resourceful enough to find and develop a market for the meat, but that ought to be easy. The Indians used to depend on porcupines for food during long trips; early settlers looked to porkies as a meat source."



While the delegates had no power to bind their organizations, they came to find out what the CIO has to offer to solve the problems confronting them. They did set up machinery for future functioning. Each of the thirty-five organizations will appoint one member to an advisory committee, under which a smaller committee, headed by James B. Carey, secretary-treasurer of the CIO, will carry on. It is to explore fully all programs which could benefit white collar workers, call conferences when desirable and exercise "maximum influence on business and government."

Among the non-union speakers was Dr. Donald Dushane of the National Education Association. He highlighted the plight of teachers throughout the nation who have not received even the benefit of the inadequate Little Steel formula. He said the average teacher's pay in Southern schools is less than \$700 a year. The situation of social workers is similar. A spokesman for the As-

sociation of Scientific Workers emphasized the need for first-class training plus job security for the scientific workers in the nation's laboratories.

Philip Murray, CIO president, properly designated last year's congressional bleating about the "twenty million static incomes" of the white collar workers as only political maneuvering. He also blasted the traditional "bellyaching" of the white collar and professional workers themselves. He said the time is overdue for action.

CIO's director of organization, Allan S. Haywood, promised that the CIO "is definitely going to map out a program to organize all the white collar workers who want to be organized." James B. Carey, CIO secretary-treasurer, figured that there are 15,400,000 white collar and professional workers, of whom, according to government statistics, only 1,400,000 are organized in the CIO, in the AFL or in independent unions.

Mr. Carey stressed the social and political importance of organizing and raising the level of living of the white collar and professional workers. He pointed to the fact that in Germany the plight and hopelessness of the white collar worker made him meat for Hitler and a prey to the propaganda of Nazism. Speakers labored this point about the rise of Nazism in Germany on the backs of the despairing white collar workers.

The above about summarizes the recent National White Collar Conference fathomed by the CIO. Its importance cannot be overemphasized.

The representation at this conference of so varied a list of white collar workers and professional people indicates that this group is serious about the question of protecting its interests against the intensified onslaughts of capitalism. These so-called "middle-class" workers, whose faces were once supposed to be turned toward the upper rungs of the social ladder, have stopped daydreaming. This conference shows that the so-called "middle-class" worker is willing to follow the leadership of the CIO—if what the CIO offers is good.

First of all, then, the CIO must plow away in this immense field of organization, and really get results for the millions of white collar and professional workers by way of increased incomes and increased social security. This will raise its prestige beyond measure.

In the second place, the political objectives of the CIO, for which it asked support at the conference, must be correct or it will succeed only in disillusioning the white collar and professional worker and making him susceptible to the fascist elements in this country.

On this score, it is all right to "influence business and government" for immediate gains. But it is all wrong to base the political program of those whom capitalism exploits on the continuance of capitalist business and capitalist government.

An Independent Labor Party with the objective of a Workers' government, of, by and for all workers by hand and brain—this is the political objective that would enable the CIO to assume responsibility and leadership for a future free of the threat of fascism.

### A Workers' Dictionary Fan

Dear Editor:

This is a fan letter for the Dictionary for Workers. It is the brightest spot in LABOR ACTION, which I read faithfully.

The humor gets your points across much better than many a long-winded article.

Congratulations on printing it and I hope you have more of them and like them.

A Friend.

## Lenin Memorial Meeting

## CZAR TO LENIN

SEE: Lenin, Trotsky and Other Leaders  
of the Revolution in ACTION

SPEAKER

## MAX SHACHTMAN

Nat'l Secretary, Workers Party

ON

## PEACE THROUGH SOCIALISM

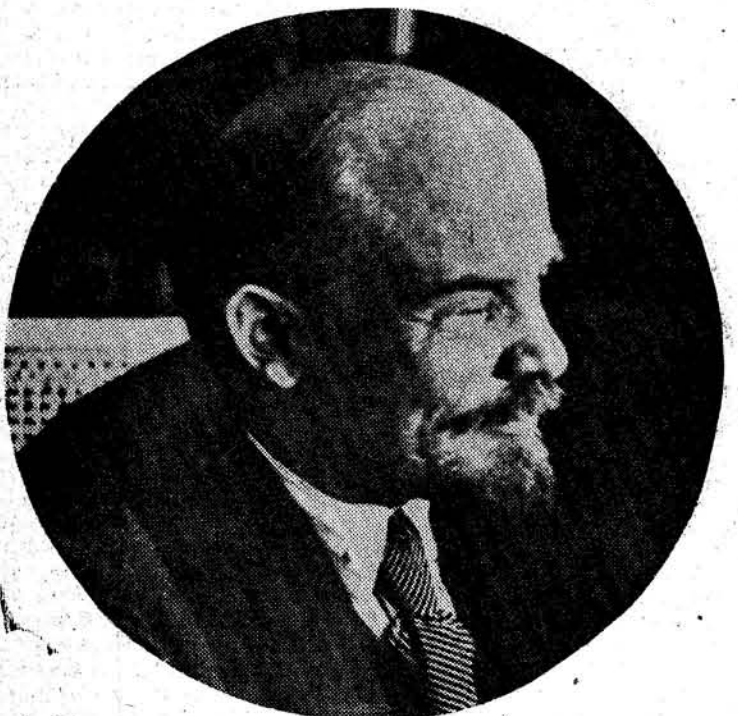
Sunday, January 28, 8:15 P. M.  
IRVING PLAZA, Irving Place & 15th St.

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# LENIN'S FAMOUS LETTER TO THE AMERICAN WORKERS

The following excerpts are taken from a "Letter to American Workers" written by Lenin during the First World War, and at a time when the American government was aiding an Anglo-Japanese armed expedition against the newly established Soviet Republic. The "Letter" is dated August 20, 1918:



V. I. LENIN

The history of modern civilized America opens with one of those great, really liberating, really revolutionary wars of which there have been so few among the large number of wars of conquest that were caused, like the present imperialist war, by squabbles among kings, landowners and capitalists over the division of seized lands and stolen profits. It was a war of the American people against English robbers who subjected America and held it in colonial slavery as these "civilized" blood-suckers are now subjecting and holding colonial slavery hundreds of millions of people in India, Egypt and in all corners of the world.

Since that time about 150 years have passed. Bourgeois civilization has borne all its luxuriant fruits. By the high level of development of the productive forces of organized human labor, by utilizing machines and all the wonders of modern technic, America has taken the first place among free and cultured nations. But at the same time America has become one of the foremost countries as regards the depth of the abyss which divides a handful of

V. I. Lenin, who died in the month of January, 1924, was the great leader of the Russian Revolution of November, 1917. The poison penmen of the capitalist press vilified this man because he fought throughout his life in the interest of the oppressed people of the world.

Although he is known best for organizing the revolution which threw off the yoke of Czarism from the necks of the Russian people, Lenin was no Russian nationalist. He was a man of the world, interested in the workers of all countries and anxious to free them of all exploitation. He wanted to establish a world of socialism, of true freedom, peace and security. That is why the profiteers of the world hated him; that is why the war-mongers of the world denounced him; that is why the imperialists of the world wanted his life.

Lenin was loved by the class-conscious workers of the world because they saw in him a man who loved his fellow

brazen billionaires who are wallowing in dirt and in luxury on the one hand, and millions of toilers who are always on the verge of starvation. The American people, who gave the world an example of a revolutionary war against feudal subjection, now appears as a new capitalist wage slave of a handful of billionaires; finds itself playing the role of a hired assassin for the wealthy gang, having strangled the Philippines in 1898 under the pretext of "liberating" them, and strangling the Russian Socialist Republic in 1918 under the pretext of "protecting" it from the Germans.

### WAR OF 1914-18 EXPOSED WORKINGS OF CAPITALISM

But four years of the imperialist slaughter of people have not passed in vain. Obvious and irrefutable facts have exposed to the end the duping of peoples by the scoundrels of both the English and the German groups of brigands. The four years of war have shown in their results the general law of capitalism as applied to war between murderers for the division of spoils: that he who was richest and mightiest profited and robbed the most; that he who was weakest was robbed, decimated, crushed and strangled to the utmost.

In the number of "colonial slaves" the English imperialist cut-throats have always been most powerful. English capitalists did not lose a foot of their "own" territory (acquired through centuries of robbery) but have managed to appropriate all the German colonies in Africa, have grabbed Mesopotamia and Palestine, have stifled Greece and have begun to plunder Russia.

German imperialists cut-throats were stronger in regard to the organization and discipline of "their" armies, but weaker in colonies. They have lost all their colonies, but have robbed half of Europe and throttled most of the small countries and weaker people. What a great war of "liberation" on both sides! How well they have "defended the fatherland"—these bandits of both groups, the Anglo-French and the German capitalists together with their

men, who hated capitalist exploitation, unemployment, starvation and war. They loved him because he showed them the way to get rid of these things. He was leader of the Russian Revolution; but he regarded the action of the Russian people in freeing themselves as only the beginning of the struggle for freedom by all workers, peasants and colonial peoples of all countries, of the world's oppressed against their oppressors.

In commemorating the death of Lenin, we reprint his letter to the American workers written in 1918. It was an appeal for their support to the Russian workers against the rulers in all countries who sent their armies to destroy what the Russian masses were trying to build. In contrast to Stalin, who is a Russian nationalist, an exploiter of peoples and an enemy of the socialist struggle for emancipation of all humanity from exploitation and tyranny, Lenin reveals himself in this article as a true internationalist, a friend of all the people.

lackeys, the social-chauvinists, i.e., socialists who went over to the side of "their own" bourgeoisie!

The American billionaires were richest of all and geographically the most secure. They have profited most of all. They have made all, even the richest countries, their vassals. They have plundered hundreds of billions of dollars. And every dollar is stained with filth: filthy secret pacts between England and her "allies," between Germany and her vassals, pacts on the division of spoils, pacts on mutual "aid" in oppressing the workers and persecuting the socialist-internationalists. Every dollar is stained with the filth of "profitable" military deliveries enriching the rich and despoiling the poor in every country. And every dollar is stained with blood—of that sea of blood which was shed by the millions killed and twenty millions maimed in the great, noble, liberating and holy war which was to decide whether the English or the German cut-throats will get more of the spoils, whether the English or the German executioners will be the FIRST to smother the weak peoples the world over....

### RECALLS DEBS' WORDS DURING THE LAST WAR

I also recall the words of one of the most beloved leaders of the American proletariat, Eugene Debs, who wrote in The Appeal to Reason, I believe toward the end of 1915, in the article, "In Whose War I Will Fight" (I quoted that article in the beginning of 1916 at a public meeting of workers in Berne, Switzerland) that he, Debs, would rather be shot than vote for loans for the present criminal and reactionary imperialist war; that he, Debs, knows of only one holy and, from the standpoint of the proletariat, legal war, namely: the war against the capitalists, the war for the liberation of mankind from wage slavery!

I am not at all surprised that Wilson, the head of the American billionaires and servant of the capitalist sharks, has thrown Debs into prison. Let the bourgeoisie be brutal to the true international-

## Stalin's Lackey Aids de Gaulle Disarm Militia

By Carl Davis

A New York Times dispatch of January 21 reports that Maurice Thorez, generalissimo of the French Communist Party, announced a change in that party's position on disarming the armed resistance movement. He has now ordered his party to support the government of General de Gaulle in its measures to disarm the fighting legions of the people who maintained a running four-year war against Hitler's armies of occupation.

### DE GAULLE VS. COMMUNISTS

It wasn't so very long ago that a sharp struggle broke out in France between the government of de Gaulle and the leaders of the resistance movement, many of them members of the French Communist Party, over the government's decree ordering disarmament of the Patriotic Militia. The action of de Gaulle's cabinet reflected the demand of the Allies, whose puppet he is, that the armed people must be disarmed.

Why did the Allies make this demand in France, Italy, Belgium and Greece? Why are they prepared to disarm the people in every country which will be "liberated" by their military forces? Did not the armed people play a tremendous role in the fight against Hitler's occupation troops and keep alive the flame of revolt against the Nazi oppressor? Of course they did, and none paid higher tribute to the armed resistance movements than the leaders of the United Nations, Roosevelt, Stalin, Churchill, et al.

The reason for the demand of disarmament arose because the Allied leaders realized that the resistance movements were not merely seeking their national emancipation from fascist Germany, but were social movements of people tired of the slaughter and the way of life of capitalist imperialism and its recurring wars and starvation. The people want more than just liberation from the Nazis. They want punishment of the big business men who collaborated with the Nazis during occupation and preferred the victory of the former over their rebellious people, who might destroy the profit system. They want a social change, genuine freedom and security.

### COMMUNISTS WITH DEGAULLE

Naturally the people resisted and continue to resist their new "protectors," who wish to take their weapons from them. The Communists were in the beginning the loudest in their opposition to de Gaulle's scheme. But, as indicated above, Thorez, in his report to his party's central committee, completely reversed this position. In shamefaced praise of the Patriotic Militia, now called the Civic and Republican Guard, he said that they had served their mission against the Germans, but the situation had changed and "public security should be assured by the regular police forces." Why the change?

The original opposition of the French Stalinists to de Gaulle's order was based on a plan to bargain for greater representation in the government and to strengthen Russia's position in France. Since the conclusion of the Franco-Russian treaty, Stalin has obtained at least one of his aims—to neutralize any Franco-British or Franco-American treaty. De Gaulle granted Thorez amnesty from his conviction for deserting the French army when France was at war with Germany when Russia and Germany had a non-aggression treaty, the infamous Hitler-Stalin pact.

The Communist policy in all countries is dictated by Russian interests. Stalin does not want an armed people in Europe. He wants to solidify his own power. Having achieved one aim in France through the Franco-Russian treaty, his servants in that country turn tail and now agree to the disarming of the People's Militia. The Communist Party in France, like the Communist Parties of all countries, has become respectable. By that is meant that they support capitalism and the pre-war status—so long as it serves Russian interests. But they stand against the people at all times!

A Friend.