

No Wage Freezing Here!

Corporation—Executive	Total Salaries 1940	1941	Pct. Incr.
AMERICAN AIRLINES, INC.			
C. R. Smith	\$33,500	\$50,000	49.2
ARMSTRONG CORK CO.			
H. W. Prentis	100,000	125,000	25.0
AVIATION CORP. OF AMER.			
Victor Emanuel	25,000	79,150	217.0
BETHLEHEM STEEL CORP.			
Eugene Grace	478,144	537,724	12.4
Paul Mackall	179,433	197,317	9.9
Quincy Bent	179,433	197,317	9.9
Robert E. McMath	139,506	155,393	11.3
F. A. Schick	139,506	155,393	11.3
Arthur B. Homer	58,826	71,543	21.6
John M. Gross	39,760	49,690	24.9
BURLINGTON MILLS			
J. Spencer Love	91,939	179,652	95.5
CLEVELAND GRAPHITE BRONZE CO.			
B. F. Hopkins	50,000	75,000	50.0
COLGATE-PALMOLIVE-PEET			
E. H. Little	131,463	306,193	133.6
CONSOLIDATED AIRCRAFT			
R. H. Fleet	35,942	57,291	58.4
EX-CELL-O CORP.			
Phil Huber	101,485	135,227	23.7
GENERAL ELECTRIC CO.			
Charles E. Wilson	135,000	175,000	29.6
HERCULES POWDER CO.			
Charles A. Higgins	88,700	105,000	18.1
JONES & LAUGHLIN			
H. E. Lewis	135,000	135,000	0.0
L. N. Parsons	90,385	110,375	22.1
MACK TRUCKS, INC.			
E. C. Fink	58,480	87,700	51.5
MARTIN (GLENN L.) CO.			
Glenn L. Martin	40,200	60,260	50.0
NEWPORT NEWS SHIPBUILDING & DRYDOCK CO.			
H. L. Ferguson	70,400	127,080	81.5
NASH-KELVINATOR CORP.			
George W. Mason	126,092	225,731	79.5
PENNEY (J. C.) CO.			
F. W. Binzen	47,974	72,058	50.0
REMINGTON RAND, INC.			
J. H. Rand	92,781	125,138	34.5
REPUBLIC STEEL CORP.			
Tom M. Girdler	176,000	275,000	56.2
R. J. Wysor	100,000	146,000	46.0
N. J. Clarke	75,000	86,000	14.6
SCHENLEY DISTILLERS CORP.			
L. S. Rosentel	66,826	100,180	49.3
SPERRY CORP.			
Thomas A. Morgan	147,243	181,480	23.3
TIMKEN-DETROIT AXLE CO.			
Walter F. Rockwell	24,300	77,250	218.0
UNDERWOOD-ELLIOTT-FISHER			
Ph. D. Wagner	105,580	138,660	31.3
UNITED AIRCRAFT CORP.			
E. E. Wilson	51,640	73,920	43.2
UNITED STATES STEEL			
Benjamin F. Fairless	139,610	156,010	11.7
Irvin S. Olds	81,243	107,320	32.0
WESTINGHOUSE AIRBRAKE			
G. A. Blackmore	83,100	115,800	39.4
WILLYS-OVERLAND MOTORS			
Joseph A. Frazer	60,000	102,592	71.0

LABOR ACTION

SEPTEMBER 21, 1942

A PAPER IN THE INTERESTS OF LABOR

ONE CENT

LABOR'S RIGHTS MENACED BY JOB, WAGE FREEZING!

On Ice—For the Duration?



Labor Must Act Now to Stop The Deadly Assault on Its Rights and Living Standards

American labor was this week subjected to a many-sided attack on its democratic rights and standard of living.

Taking their lead from the President, Congress and various other government bodies moved to:

1. Freeze labor on the job.
2. Freeze wage levels on that job.
3. Conscript labor from job to job, city to city.

The full weight of these measures has not yet been felt by all workers. But already:

1. McNutt's War Manpower Commission froze workers to their jobs in the lumber and non-ferrous metal industries in twelve Western states. Workers seeking to leave their jobs have to obtain permission from the U. S. Employment Service. Selective Service directors have been directed to reclassify any worker in these industries who quits his job.

St. Louis MOW Marches at Jim Crow Co.

ST. LOUIS, Sept. 5—Five hundred militant March on Washington members demonstrated Saturday, August 27, before the Carter Carburetor Co., one of the outstanding local Jim Crow plants. This concern, which has war orders, employs 3,200 people but NOT A SINGLE NEGRO.

In a statement issued the day of the march, the personnel manager of Carter Carburetor said he was "astonished" to hear that a march against his plant was planned—in spite of the fact that he received a registered letter from the MOW almost a week before asking for a conference and threatening a march. He also said that the company had some thousands of "laid-off" employees (although now running at full blast) and other thousands of applications which would have to be considered before any Negroes could be employed.

(Continued on page 4)

2. Legislation is already drafted to empower Roosevelt to freeze wage levels, with August 15 as the probable ceiling date. Meanwhile, the WLB claimed that it had already frozen wage levels for 75 per cent of the workers at the January 1 level—and from all indications, the WLB formula date will be continued in practice.

3. Legislation is prepared to give the War Manpower Commission the right to conscript workers for any job. This legislation will soon go before Congress. The WMC this week ordered the Civil Service Commission to shift federal employees from place to place as it sees fit.

As LABOR ACTION charged last week, Roosevelt's message to Congress, while worded in such a way as to sound like an attack on the farm bloc, was in actuality a calculated blow at labor.

Hardly had the ink dried on that message when the various government boards and Congress got busy on what they saw as the purport of that message: Circumscribing labor's freedom and standards.

Farm price legislation was introduced, but with such care and circumspection that the reactionary farm bloc, representing the wealthy farmers, was little disturbed. Farm prices are now at 101 per cent of parity (the farm bloc wants 110 per cent of parity). From all present indications, such limitations as are put on farm prices will not seriously injure the farm bloc—or seriously lower prices in the most important of all commodities: FOOD. Any farm legislation arrived at through political maneuvering instead of through estimating the needs of the workers and poor farmers by joint agreement, will not benefit the people. (Continued on page 4 in edit. col.)

Washington Letter

Reporters at Standard Oil Hearing Leave Notes on Seats: 'Whitewash!'

By DANIEL SACHS

Leading representatives of the Catholic Church in Spain and other European countries have concocted a post-war scheme to "save" Europe from "anarchy." They believe that the "strong arm of order" must act to "re-educate" the Germans as well as others peoples who are not accustomed to the "gentle art of democratic rule." In their scheme, the American government plays the part of patron.

One of the endorers of this scheme to pacify Europe after the war is none other than Bruening. He will be remembered as the last parliamentary Chancellor in pre-Nazi Germany whose anti-social measures and dictatorial decrees against labor not only made him extremely unpopular with the masses, but also helped pave the way for Hitler. This is the man still considered as the competent authority on post-war Germany in very official circles.

Roosevelt's promise to "save" Spain's art treasures, that is, to grant credits for the purpose of enabling Franco to vanish and preserve the old art treasures, and to help revive the tourist trade of Franco Spain, is an important political gesture.

The shift in Franco's government is not to be interpreted as an anti-Axis step. On the contrary it is part of the political game with the full

knowledge and connivance of the Nazi government. The latter is trying to gain time to recover from its losses in Russia.

One of the first official steps indicating a new line is the President's appointment of Admiral Leahy as his leading military adviser. As former Ambassador to Vichy, Leahy still sponsors a deal with Franco and Vichy and similar forces to prevent Europe's succumbing to "anarchy." (Continued on page 3)

Churchill Speech Inflames the Indian People

Strikes and Revolutionary Demonstrations Against British Rulers Continue as British Use Greater Violence

The speech delivered in Parliament last week denouncing the India National Congress as a "fifth column organization working for the Axis" (see editorial page 4) has done more to infuriate the people of India than anything else.

The Madras Hindu—paper published by the conservative wing of the Congress—writes: "Churchill has broken his own record by packing into a few hundred words more venom and more mischievous half-truths than he treated the House of Commons to during the

India Bill debate of 1935. So far as India is concerned, he is as dangerously irresponsible, as arrogantly contemptuous, as purblind as ever." These words were echoed throughout India by the various spokesmen and newspapers of the Congress movement.

Meanwhile, India itself seethes and boils with revolutionary demonstrations and strikes against the British rule. A report from Calcutta states that in the last few days forty-five persons were killed and 150 wounded in various struggles that took place in Bengal Province. A statement of the Bengal Province government,

dealing with a rebellion by nationalist prisoners at the infamous Dacca jail, where thousands of them are kept in a concentration camp, says that "twenty-nine prisoners were killed and more than 136, including some members of the prison staff, were injured in a disturbance."

The rest of India is still torn by demonstrations and struggles between the people and the police authorities. Curfew and martial law are the methods employed by the British to impose their authority upon a people who do not want them any longer. Herbert L. Mathews, writing in the New York Times,

says, "It would be far from the truth to say India's internal troubles are over or are even approaching their end."

A. T. Steel, a liberal correspondent who dislikes the methods employed by the British, writes an interesting report from New Delhi. "Civil disobedience in India," he says, "is far from licked, despite the reduced scale of mob violence. Under the surface there is still tremendous ferment and the movement is beginning to show some signs of organization. Congress agitators, through secretly distributed bulletins appearing at regular in-

tervals in major cities, are proclaiming plans for country-wide flare-ups.

"Whether disorders grow or not, anti-British feeling among the Indian people is growing. The longer the civil disobedience campaign continues, the deeper this hatred becomes. Every Indian testifies to it in conversation with neutral correspondents, yet it is a fact which British officialdom, committed to its present policy, ignores."

The struggle continues, the British continue to employ the same methods of fascist-like violence to suppress it. But they cannot succeed!

Rubber Worker Writes His Fellow Union Members:

Convention Must End Policy of Appeasing Rubber Barons

Dear Brother URW Member:

Since I'm not able to attend our international URW convention this year, I'm writing this letter to you, giving my ideas on the situation our union faces today. I hope you find it possible to agree with what I have to say, because I think it is high time that you and the other delegates take the floor at the convention and speak the TRUTH about our union's problems.

We all remember last year's convention at Indianapolis. There we

chalked up good gains of an organizational nature, just like we will this year again. But you and I haven't forgotten that at the same time we had to put up quite a fight before we voted down those bad proposals to raise the officers' salaries, lengthen their terms to two years between conventions, and raise membership dues.

This year we've got to vote the same way again. Nobody could object to giving the officers higher pay IF they were producing the results

they should be. The fact is, though, that they are forcing a retreat, instead of leading an advance.

Neither could we object to a raise in dues IF more money was actually what is needed to put everything right that is now wrong. But money cannot take the place of the militancy our union used to build itself to its present strength. We have enough money for our use on hand now (or has it all been salted away in War Bonds?).

No. our biggest problem is that

the policy of our top union leaders has been one of weak-kneed pillow-fighting with the rubber corporations!

President Dalrymple, all of the officers and the general executive board have signed away our most basic and precious right—the right to strike! At our last convention we unanimously passed a resolution blasting the notoriously anti-labor Congress for its threats to legislate anti-strike measures. Since then, our "leaders" have actually GIVEN

AWAY labor's fundamental weapon.

Not only did they do this, but in violation of all democratic procedure, they didn't even bother to consult the membership about it!

At the recent Auto Workers convention, a militant delegate was cheered to the echo when he got up and spoke the TRUTH: "We haven't had collective bargaining in this country since we gave up the right to strike." Nothing better could be done in the interests of the rubber workers at this con-

vention than for you and the other delegates to make clear this simple fact, and remedy it.

Otherwise the appeasement of the rubber barons will continue to take place at the expense of all the decent conditions built up by the URW in the last seven years. At this moment the rubber companies in Akron, where the majority of the URW membership works, are biding their time until this convention is over before finally attempting to push through their profit-hungry cam-

paign to abolish the basic six-hour day and replace it with the eight-hour day.

Chiseling on Contracts

There is not a committeeman in our whole international of almost 100,000 members who isn't, practically every day, brought face to face with some new form of chiseling on our contracts by the companies. These companies in 1941 managed to "earn" the highest profits of their (Continued on page 4)

A Page Devoted to the Shipyard Workers Convention . . .

Organization Drive Needed In Southern Shipyards

Dear Brother:
The South has been studiously and continuously neglected by CIO heads, particularly in the organization of the thousands of new workers in the mushrooming shipbuilding industry.

New yards have opened up in dozens of places throughout the Gulf and old yards have expanded tremendously. For example, there are large yards in Galveston, Texas, involving thousands of men. The Houston yard alone—a brand new yard—now employs 20,000 men. The Brown yard, at Houston, is said to employ from four to five thousand men. There is a large construction yard known as the Philadelphia yard at Beaumont, in Orange, Texas, there are two yards, each owned by Consolidated Steel Co. All of the yards employ from 6,000 to 10,000 men apiece.

New Orleans has a huge shipbuilding program in progress, despite the loss of the Higgins Shipyard Co.'s contract for 200 Liberty boats. The Todd-Johnson Dry Docks there employs thousands of men engaged in naval repair work. The new Delta yard in New Orleans employs over 10,000 men.

There are smaller yards in the Gulf, such as the Livingston, Tex., yard, one at Pensacola, Fla., and several small yards in New Orleans. Pascagoula, Miss., maintains a large new construction yard. In Mobile, the Alabama Dry Dock & Shipbuilding Co. employs 14,000 men and peak employment will soon reach 26,000. The Gulf Shipyards at Mobile employs some 9,000 men. A new yard is opening at Panama City, Fla., with six ways and there is another large yard at Tampa.

The CIO has only two locals in the Gulf, Local 29 at Todd-Johnson in New Orleans, and Local 18 at the Alabama yard in Mobile.

Only within recent months have new organizational efforts been conducted. An organizer has been sent to work on the Houston yard and another to work on the Delta yard in New Orleans.

The majority of the yards that have opened recently have AFL back-door agreements, and the men generally are dissatisfied with the AFL.

The Gulf shipyards have changed from a seven-day, ten-hour shift to a six-day, eight-hour shift, without any wage adjustment. In other words, the mechanic's rate of \$1.20, set by the Shipbuilding Stabilization Committee, was based on a standard of living calling for at least sixty hours of work per week in many shipyards.

Calendar premium days have been discontinued, and the working hours so reduced that the shipyard workers' standard of living has suffered considerably. In other words, the shipyard worker has taken a serious wage cut. It is absolutely essential that the wage rate be readjusted to take care of this loss of earnings, and figures will show that \$1.65 per hour is the minimum wage which will give the worker the same income he received before the working hour reduction.

This wage increase must be effected before congressional action is taken on freezing wages. The shipyard workers of course, are opposed to any plan to freeze wages or freeze workers to their jobs.

The housing and transportation system in Mobile, as well as in New Orleans, is serious. Workers are leaving Mobile by the hundreds because they cannot find a place to sleep. The government has constructed a few dwellings, but they are wholly inadequate to take care of present needs, much less future needs of an expanding ship building industry.

The most critical of all situations is that of the Negro in the Southern shipyard. Although the Negro is fighting in the armed forces on the theory of defending democracy at home, his brother, Negro is working in the shipyard at the lowest pay and doing the dirtiest work. The companies refuse to hire skilled Negro mechanics. Also the companies refuse to upgrade skilled Negro workers to positions higher than helpers. Negro resentment is mounting, and a number of fights and disturbances have already taken place.

In spite of the companies' cry that there is a shortage of manpower, there are 80,000 unemployed men in the vicinity of New Orleans who are ready, able and seeking work they cannot find.

The time is ripe for the CIO to organize the Gulf shipyards. And not with a feeble effort, as at present. Mobile Shipyard Worker.

A Report from the East Coast

Delegates Must Ask for Militant Union Policy

The eighth national convention of the Industrial Union of Marine and Shipbuilding Workers convenes in New York City this week.

In the nine years of its existence the union has grown from a handful of members to a union numbering close to 200,000. In the last year alone, the number of workers in yards where the union has agreements or is certified as the bargaining agency has increased from 77,000 to 170,000. In addition, there are some 15,000 members in yards not yet under contract.

But, despite its growth, never in its history has the union shown so many signs of weakness as it does today.

New Workers

The shipbuilding industry has mushroomed rapidly under the impetus of war construction. Three years ago most of the shipyard workers were concentrated in repair yards. The total number of men employed was little more than are now employed in any of a couple of big yards.

With the sudden growth of the industry, many new workers were drawn into the industry who had had no previous trade union experience or education. In addition to men from the allied trades, teachers, lawyers, small tradesmen, migratory farm workers have flocked to the yards.

But the union has not lived up to its obligation to these new workers: to teach and train them in the meaning of unionism, the importance of militancy. This is an important problem and task for the union.

Leaders Yield Rights

Wages in the industry, as set by the union in its aggressive days, were good, as compared with other industries. To attract new workers rapidly, the shipyards continued to pay these wages and the government approved. Further, the government did not stand in the way of organizing the men in order that it might get a firm grip on the union.

But the process of cracking down on shipyards has begun, and in the forefront, acting as government whips, have been Philip Van Geldern and Johnny Green, once vigorous anti-Stalinists and members of a radical wing of the Socialist Party with fairly good reputations as militant union leaders. Out-

bidding the Stalinists (whom they now fight only in behind-the-scenes maneuvers, if they fight them at all), in "super-patriotic" ardor, Green and Van Geldern evidently spend all their waking moments in inventing ways of speeding the workers and devising new sacrifices.

After delivering some powerful speeches here and there against giving up premium pay and double time, they literally leaped at the chance of yielding these fundamental rights at a packed conference. AND IT WAS A PACKED CONFERENCE! Every delegate in the Port of New York was a delegate to that "special conference." On the

other hand, certain locals, such as those on the West Coast, were not present at all.

Green's Changed Line

Green used to tell how, once, together with some friends, he barricaded himself in his home to prevent his being evicted. Today, when he is reminded of it, he smiles indulgently as though at some youthful prank. Two years ago he told delegates that "I have just about taken enough of being a nice little boy around Washington. I see that being a nice little boy is not producing results, and I found out in the last two or three weeks that when you kick a chair over and smack your fist on

the table they begin to look at you and think." That was two years ago. Green has changed since then. Today he does his fist and gavel pounding against rank and file militants who have the temerity to "...look at him and think..." that the union should take a fighting stand for workers' rights. Backed by a brass-hat array, Green now thunders at any worker who dares "skulk behind bulkheads."

Green will not say at this convention as he did before: that "...sometimes we get a little assistance and sometimes we get a hell of a licking from the government." He will not say, as he did on an earlier occasion when he

was not as sold on the war as he is now: "The only time the workers get anything is when they show their own economic strength." That was when Green could be looked upon as a union leader out to defend the interests of his union, one of the best unions in the country.

Today he'll go down the line at the convention for: No Strikes, No Wage Increases, More Work, Longer Hours, No Double Time or Premium Pay. He may dress it up with the "fighting" talk to which he has become accustomed, but the burden of his program will be that fraud of frauds: "Equality of Sacrifice."

(Continued on page 3)

Local 9 Referendum on Staggered Shift

Stalinist Clique and Officials Try to Trick or Bulldoze Union Into Accepting Company Proposal

SAN PEDRO, Sept. 14—Climaxing the week's long fight on the staggered week question, the membership of Local 9 this week-end voted in referendum by an overwhelming six to one majority for the union proposals as against the company proposals. The referendum was very complicated, with a choice of four union and three company proposals to vote on, but a clear majority of 60 per cent was obtained on one union proposition, namely, to accept the company work schedule of seven days' work with the eighth day off, provided that time and one-half be paid for the sixth consecutive day, and double time for the seventh such day.

LABOR ACTION will carry the full story next week.

Wednesday's meeting was strictly a union meeting. Company speeches were definitely not permitted, as one poor bespectacled Stalinist learned when he was booed so that he simply could not be heard. The meeting thunderously reaffirmed rejection of the staggered week in any form, concurring with the swing shift resolution to that effect. No slightest doubt remained of the determination of the fight in defense of the existing contract to any lengths, and only the usual confused conduct of the meeting prevented definite decision on exactly how this defense would be carried out in the event the company insisted upon violating its agreement.

It is interesting and instructive for union men to study these two meetings and the difference between them. The meeting that was to deal with the staggered shift brought the attendance of the real union fighters, the men who were determined to preserve their union and their union conditions. A man, whether he be an official, a pie card, a reactionary or just a plain super-patriotic Stalinist Bridges man, takes his life in his hands when he tries to make a company speech to a meeting made up of these men.

But a different group of members, for the most part, made up the meeting to elect delegates. This was in large part a clique meeting: men who came to run for delegate or to back up some friend who wanted to take a trip East; and, more of all, a large Stalinist clique who booed and voted just as their leaders signalled them. One reason that the company

doesn't heed the decision of the membership on the question is because the negotiating committee has never followed the instructions of the members. Instead of telling the company flatly that there was "no soap" on their whole proposal unless they would give back the provision for double time for all Sunday work, this committee and the officials connived with the company and the government representatives to try to find some way to put over the company proposition.

So we had the disgraceful spectacle of the union proposing a mass meeting on company time and property when the government would explain to the men the "need" for the staggered shift. These union representatives are supposed to be carrying out the instruction of the membership: to fight against the staggered shift. Instead they advise the company on how better to put over its propaganda to the men.

The whole week question remains a dangerous issue before the union. The LA yard has undoubtedly in mind as its basic purpose the breaking of the union. The yard is making no effort to build up the swing and graveyard shafts. It continues to fire skilled men with rumors of a mass firing of ten per cent coming soon.

There is no racial or religious discrimination in the CIO, whereas the machinists (AFL) have a clause in their constitution limiting membership to members of the Caucasian race.

Another difference is we don't pay our officials hundreds of dollars a week, as does the AFL. Also, we don't have exorbitant initiation fees or dues. Our dues are a dollar and a quarter a month and the initiation fee is ten or fifteen dollars, depending if you are a helper or a mechanic. In some CIO locals the initiation fees are even smaller.

Also, there is more democracy in the CIO and you will find that there is more rank and file control. Here in the harbor area, the CIO has tried to get the government to hold an election in California Ship and Consolidated, but the AFL, the companies and the government are afraid to give the men a chance to decide. I am sure if such an election were held and the men in the yards had a chance to learn all the facts there would be an overwhelming victory for the CIO.

Perhaps you wonder why this letter is in a socialist newspaper. Well, we socialists have been for industrial unions for a long time. We advocated industrial unions years ago—BEFORE the CIO. We know it's the only way that the men can be organized effectively. ONE FOR ALL AND ALL FOR ONE.

Yours for a bigger and better union movement.
San Pedro, Cal. G. Ordo.

A Report from the West Coast

San Pedro Local 9 Faces Critical Situation

SAN PEDRO—In the last year and a half Local 9 has increased its membership almost twenty times; but at the same time the position of the union has been very seriously weakened.

A year and a half ago Local 9 was only a tiny repair local of some eight hundred members and most of them were out of work a good deal of the time. Today it has a membership of fourteen or fifteen thousand—the largest CIO local on the West Coast—and has a sizable union treasury.

But a year and a half ago Local 9 had complete closed shop control of the Los Angeles, Bethlehem and Craig yards; had a union membership that had learned its unionism in two hard-fought strikes; and until two months before that, when the AFL muscled in with its phony Consolidated agreement, Local 9 had full control of all shipyard work in the harbor area.

Today Local 9 is NOT the dominant force in the shipyard work of Los Angeles harbor. The AFL has won all three of the important yards that have been newly constructed, with the CIO taking only a couple of small plants.

Behind the Setbacks

Local 9 has carried on a losing and poorly fought fight with Bethlehem for a full year or more. Bethlehem flatly refuses to deal with the union hiring hall, has flagrantly violated its verbal contract by instituting the ten-hour day and even now what will actually be signed in the way of a written contract is uncertain. Bethlehem has fired union shop stewards right and left and usually gotten away with it. It has hired and laid off men by the hundreds and even by the thousands, without ever giving a plausible reason. In the small Craig yard a rather similar disregard of the union exists.

In the Los Angeles yard, the one yard with a written and signed contract, serious threats are being made to tear the contract to shreds. The company is trying to get the union to abandon its hiring hall and is instituting the staggered week in spite of the determined opposition of the union membership and the clear provisions of the contract.

And all this is aside from the vital union conditions surrendered by the union: holiday double time,

Saturday and Sunday overtime, half the wage raise that was due, and the requirement for future raises. Pressured by the government, the companies, the officials, and the Communist Party clique, the union gave these away and the bosses propose to take away the rest.

Intelligent members must see that a great danger exists here to the organized labor movement of this area. What is behind these set-backs? The reasons are clear enough. The leadership of the local, besides being thoroughly incompetent, operates on the policy that their only concern is to produce for the war—and in order to do this, the militancy of the men must be stifled and the guts taken out of the union. An additional factor of importance is the policy of the national leadership of the union, which is to tie the union hand and foot to the Roosevelt war program, regardless of what this program means for the workers. And in reckoning the causes of union weakness and losses we must remember that short-lived intervention of Harry Bridges himself and the continually repeated "surrender" program of his clique of supporters.

The Bethlehem could not be organized by means of resolutions, telegrams and hot air, or by "everything for production" propaganda. The union at Bethlehem was sacrificed for "national unity" between the officials and Bridges boys and the bosses.

Ranks Embittered

The Los Angeles yard was a real union yard when this year and a half began, with a signed contract, the men conscious of their union, and a functioning shop steward system. For more than a year this remained so, and the union grew stronger in the yard. Here the union and the shop stewards were recognized and dealt with courteously, for they had the strength of the men organized behind them.

But things are different now. Since Bridges' infamous speech in the LA yard, when he told the shop stewards they should be company men and grievances should be put off till the war is over, and since the union has steadily retreated on one point after another, the company figures that with a little firmness on its part it can win everything and deal with the union as Bethlehem does. The company figures right as far as the Communist Party clique and the union officials are concerned, but the rank and file of the membership may upset its calculations.

Fourteen thousand new recruits into Local 9! What an army for labor's cause could be built here! But it does little good just to sign them up, take their money and lecture them once at initiation in general

terms to be good union men. Local 9 has done little to make union men out of the 14,000 who have come in. This failure is at least equally important with the failure to organize the new yards, and the failure to build the union in Bethlehem. New members are antagonized by the poorly conducted meetings, they are embittered by the union policy of retreat and have no real connection with the union except to pay dues.

While the Bosses Attack

In the last few months the attack of the bosses as a whole, through the government, against union conditions has opened up in the San Pedro shipyards as elsewhere throughout the country. On the question of these "sacrifices" of union conditions, the union leadership has offered no

leadership to defend labor's hard-won gains. But the active and oratorical propagandists of surrender were not the officials. They were the Kremlin patriots, who want every union man to give up his conditions to the boss, so that the boss can help Joe Stalin. These Stalinist careerists wrap themselves in the flag, attack the progressives as "unpatriotic," shriek about Bataan and Corregidor and Pearl Harbor and cry about the conditions that the soldiers have to fight under. But do they demand improvement of the soldiers' conditions—better pay, better care for their wives and families, etc.? No, their demand is not that the soldiers get better conditions, but that the workers give up those conditions that they have.

Why does Local 9 yield to pressure like this? Not because the members want to yield. The membership is militant and wants to fight for the union and the conditions that have been established in the shipyards. Proof is in the fierce determination of the rank and file against the staggered week. But the rank and file is not organized, and the organized groups, the officials and the Communist Party clique, are for surrender.

Two kinds of people in the union, who offer no better program to the membership, would like to capitalize on the progressive sentiments of the rank and file and substitute themselves for the present union officials. These two are "Patrick Henry" Mulholland and Stalin's professional parrots, the Bridges boys. Both of these have distinguished themselves from the present officials, if at all, only by being more loudly and more effectively in favor of giving in to every company demand. They may be more able speakers and in some ways more capable men than the existing leadership, but they would be only more capable in doing the wrong thing. Like Roy Regals, the famous University of California player who ran the wrong way in the Rose Bowl, they might be more capable of scoring for the other side—only here instead of just a game lost, it would be a union lost, with all that that means in the lives of the working men and their families.

Substituting any of these axe-grinding politicians for the gang in

Shipyard Workers Entitled to Wage Review in October

Dear Editor:
LABOR ACTION gets around to quite a few shipyard workers here in the harbor area so I hope you print this.

On April 1 we gave up our right to a raise based on the rise in the cost of living which was in the old contract, and accepted the eight-point stabilization program. Many of us voted against it and I guess a lot more wish they had voted against it now.

But I want to call attention to one point of the eight-point stabilization agreement. It states on page 2 of the mimeographed draft that was handed out by Local 9:

"If, before October 1, 1942, it is determined by the Shipbuilding Stabilization Committee that the program to control the cost of living has not achieved its purpose, then, on or about October 1, 1942, a special wage review shall be conducted by the Shipbuilding Stabilization Committee in addition to the regular annual review above provided for."

And heck, everyone knows that the cost of living has not been controlled or kept down. So we are surely entitled to that wage review in October and a raise in wages to keep up with the cost of living.

San Pedro Shipyard Worker
September 8, 1942.

CIO Militant Writes AFL Ship Worker On His Union

Dear Brother:

You are in one union, I am in another—but is that all there is to it? My union is the Industrial Union of Marine & Shipbuilding Workers of America, affiliated to the CIO. Your union will depend on what trade you are in. For example, some of the AFL unions in one shipyard are: (1) Boilermakers, (2) Machinists, (3) Steamfitters and Pipefitters, (4) Carpenters and Joiners, (5) Painters, (6) Electricians, (7) Operating Engineers, (8) Laborers.

There is one difference between your union and mine. My union is an industrial union, yours is a craft union. In the CIO all the men in one shipyard are in one union. In our union when the machinists have a just grievance they get the backing of the whole union. Whereas in the AFL the machinists went out on strike in Frisco over a year ago and the other AFL unions ordered their men through the picket line.

We don't spend our time fighting among ourselves but only in getting conditions for the men. But here in the harbor area at California Ship, an AFL yard, there have been several interunion fights since its inception. First the operating engineers and the piledrivers, then the machinists and the welders.

Of course this plays into the hands of the boss, so naturally the companies prefer the AFL. Divide and rule—that's their policy. Here in the harbor area the companies have signed back-door agreements with the AFL even before they opened the yard. But the CIO has made its way only by dint of hard work and picket lines. The CIO has all the old yards because the men in these yards had a taste of the AFL in the past and decided they liked the CIO and the principle of industrial unionism better.

There is no racial or religious discrimination in the CIO, whereas the machinists (AFL) have a clause in their constitution limiting membership to members of the Caucasian race.

Another difference is we don't pay our officials hundreds of dollars a week, as does the AFL. Also, we don't have exorbitant initiation fees or dues. Our dues are a dollar and a quarter a month and the initiation fee is ten or fifteen dollars, depending if you are a helper or a mechanic. In some CIO locals the initiation fees are even smaller.

Also, there is more democracy in the CIO and you will find that there is more rank and file control.

Here in the harbor area, the CIO has tried to get the government to hold an election in California Ship and Consolidated, but the AFL, the companies and the government are afraid to give the men a chance to decide. I am sure if such an election were held and the men in the yards had a chance to learn all the facts there would be an overwhelming victory for the CIO.

Perhaps you wonder why this letter is in a socialist newspaper. Well, we socialists have been for industrial unions for a long time. We advocated industrial unions years ago—BEFORE the CIO. We know it's the only way that the men can be organized effectively. ONE FOR ALL AND ALL FOR ONE.

Yours for a bigger and better union movement.
San Pedro, Cal. G. Ordo.

Killed or Wounded!

Rear Admiral Percy W. Foots, Navy material procurement officer in the Houston, Texas, area, told a Houston audience recently that he expected the United States in this war would have to raise 10,000,000 soldiers and that half of them would be casualties—that is, killed or wounded!

Why does Local 9 yield to pressure like this? Not because the members want to yield. The membership is militant and wants to fight for the union and the conditions that have been established in the shipyards. Proof is in the fierce determination of the rank and file against the staggered week. But the rank and file is not organized, and the organized groups, the officials and the Communist Party clique, are for surrender.

Two kinds of people in the union, who offer no better program to the membership, would like to capitalize on the progressive sentiments of the rank and file and substitute themselves for the present union officials. These two are "Patrick Henry" Mulholland and Stalin's professional parrots, the Bridges boys. Both of these have distinguished themselves from the present officials, if at all, only by being more loudly and more effectively in favor of giving in to every company demand. They may be more able speakers and in some ways more capable men than the existing leadership, but they would be only more capable in doing the wrong thing. Like Roy Regals, the famous University of California player who ran the wrong way in the Rose Bowl, they might be more capable of scoring for the other side—only here instead of just a game lost, it would be a union lost, with all that that means in the lives of the working men and their families.

Substituting any of these axe-grinding politicians for the gang in

These Newsstands Carry the NI In Los Angeles
101 1/2 West Fifth Street.
316 West Fifth Street.
613 1/2 South Hill Street.
Las Palmas & Hollywood Blvd.
Whitley & Hollywood Blvd.

How Soviet Russia Beat Imperial Germany

The whole capitalist press, the most conservative dailies as well as the liberal weeklies, are filled with articles and editorials expressing envious admiration of the fight being put up by the Red Army in the fight against the Reichswehr.

What is it they admire so much? What is it they want imitated? Is it anything socialistic in Russia that they give credit for the Red Army's fight? Is it anything working-class in Russia that they praise and summon us to emulate in this country?

Not at all. They are perfectly well aware that Russia today and the gang that rules it have nothing whatsoever to do with socialism or with the working class. They are perfectly well aware that the Stalinist bureaucracy succeeded in doing, from within, what the world of imperialism failed to do with arms in hands a quarter of a century ago, namely, to destroy the revolutionary Soviet Republic of Lenin and Trotsky.

WHY CAPITALISTS APPLAUD RUSSIA TODAY

What, then, do they admire? The very same things that they denounce in the Hitler regime! They repeat in a thousand different ways, especially for the benefit of their working-class readers:

"Look at Russia! That's where everybody does as he is told by the supreme boss, and he doesn't ask questions, either. That's where labor works all sorts of hours per day, where it doesn't get the 40-hour week, as Stalin just told Averill Harriman. That's where they don't have strikes, because anyone trying it would be shot in his tracks. That's where the government is able to fling hundreds of thousands into slaughter like so much cannon-fodder and nobody is allowed to ask why, or any other question.

"That's the kind of strong and stern regime we need in this country, too."

In other words, the capitalist press applauds Russia for precisely those features that show the reactionary role it is playing in the Second World War.

This reactionary role of Russia in the war has produced its catastrophic results for the country. In spite of the human sacrifices that the Stalinist regime makes with the same callousness that the Hitlerite regime displays, its army has been forced back in one sector after another. After a year and a quarter of warfare between the two countries, the Stalinist regime has failed to make a single political dent among the soldiers of Hitler or his allies. At

NEXT WEEK: LABOR ACTION Begins Publishing the Dramatic Story of How the Bolsheviks Helped Blow Up the Kaiser and Brought World War I to a Speedy End

the beginning of the war, the Russian propagandists made a few feeble efforts to claim that some German soldiers had come over to the Red Army here and there. Now they no longer even make the claim.

What a murderous indictment of the Stalin regime, of this so-called "workers' state," that the oppressed armed masses of Hitler do not see enough difference between what they have and what the Russian masses have to warrant their going over to the side of Stalin! Because he has offered the German troops nothing more than the prospect of supporting the Anglo-American-Muscovite imperialist camp, with a super-Versailles Treaty at the end of the war—and because the German troops have remained ice-cold to this generous offer—the Stalin regime has turned the most violently chauvinistic attacks upon the German people and the German army as a whole, speaking of them all in terms which would make an arch-reactionary whiskey-swilling British imperialist turn green with envy.

Result: The German masses are driven to huddle closer around the hateful Hitlerite regime of oppression. All the Hitlerite propagandists have to do is to say: "See what the Anglo-American imperialists will do to us if we fail to fight to the end against losing this war? See what the 'Bolsheviks' will do to all of us if we don't win!" The only real lie in this propaganda is calling the Stalinist reactionaries "Bolsheviks." They have as little in common with the Bolsheviks or the Bolshevik Revolution of 1917 as the Man in the Moon.

The genuine Bolsheviks were forced to fight a war with Ger-

man imperialism in 1918. But what a world of difference there was between the war they fought and the war Stalin is fighting today! Not just a difference in "method," but a fundamental difference in the nature, the aim, the spirit, the character of the war.

Did Lenin and Trotsky refuse to take aid from the Anglo-French imperialists? Of course not. They would have been foolish to reject any aid—although they had little opportunity to reject it, since the aid never came. As Lenin explained, there is nothing wrong with an honest man paying a bandit a few rubles or a bottle of whiskey in exchange for a revolver with which to shoot a tyrant.

But the Bolsheviks, in fighting Hohenzollern Germany's assault upon Russia, never made an alliance with Anglo-American-French imperialism! They tore up all of Russia's old secret treaties with the Western imperialists and denounced them to the world. They put forward a program of world peace through socialism, of world peace without annexations or indemnities. They kept their revolutionary socialist hands completely free of an alliance with one imperialist against another, and declared that they rejected in principle any victory obtained in such manner.

In other words, they acted exactly the opposite way from Stalin, because they represented a revolutionary workers' government and not a reactionary government of bureaucratic exploitation such as Stalin's.

Because they could appeal to the German workers-in-uniform in the name of a socialist, working-class struggle against both im-

perialist camps, in the name of the Third Camp of socialism and people's freedom throughout the world, because they didn't ask the Germans to exchange one imperialist master for another, as Stalin now does, the Bolsheviks gained the ear of the German soldier.

The Bolshevik war against the Hohenzollern dynasty and armies was a working-class, socialist war. That's why the German masses responded to the Bolshevik cries for solidarity. A very few months after the Kaiser forced an iniquitous "peace treaty" upon the vanquished Bolsheviks, the German masses rose and overthrew the Kaiser and his regime. They brought the First World War to an end. That's what a genuine people's war against fascism, that's what a genuine socialist war against fascism, could do today. The imperialists cannot do it, not even when they call themselves democrats.

FULL STORY IN NEXT WEEK'S LABOR ACTION

How did the Bolsheviks defeat the Kaiser? How did they help bring the World War to an early end?

We're going to tell the story beginning with next week's LABOR ACTION. It will be told in the eloquent and picturesque words of one of the ablest writers ever produced by the labor movement, the American Bolshevik, John Reed.

John Reed wrote the epic story of the revolution—"Ten Days That Shook the World." He was there all the time, in those stirring 1917 days. He was there after the Bolsheviks took power, too. And he was a direct participant in the vast socialist propaganda campaign which the Soviets carried on among the Germans in occupied Russia as well as in Germany itself and which finally broke the Kaiser's neck. So when Reed wrote about this campaign, he knew what he was writing about.

His great book is very widely known. His story of "How Soviet Russia Conquered Imperial Germany," which appeared in the revolutionary magazine, The Liberator, in January, 1919, is not so well known. It is even more timely than it was when it first appeared. That is why we start printing it next week.

DO NOT MISS IT! IT IS A DOCUMENT OF FIRST-RATE POLITICAL IMPORTANCE FOR OUR OWN TIME.

Stalinists Try to Stop Labor Action Distribution at the UE Convention

The Stalinists at the UE convention were braying loud and long their love of democracy. Outside the convention hall they gave concrete proof that this ardent passion for democracy is only skin deep.

On Wednesday morning, September 9, two girls were distributing LABOR ACTION which had an article reviewing for the delegates the Stalinist record of betrayal in the UE and presenting a program for rehabilitating the union and raising the standards of the workers.

After most of the delegates had entered the hotel for the morning session, six or more Stalinist thugs, members of the UE, ganged one of the girls, tore her LABOR ACTIONS out of her hands, threw them into the street and tried to push her off the sidewalk.

They did not dare go further than this because of the presence of some rank and file union members who objected to what they called "these fascist-minded elements" in their union.

The distributors told the members that this was typical of the Stalinists throughout the country, from the executive board of one of their own UE locals, No. 475, which had requested Attorney General Biddle to suppress LABOR ACTION (while the Stalinists in the meantime bitterly protested Biddle's deportation proceedings against their own darling, Bridges) to their infamous attempts to bar distribution of LABOR ACTION from the Los Angeles CIO Council.

The Stalinists then called those staunch allies of labor, the police, who arrived after the scene was cleared.

Most of the delegates, however, received their copy of LABOR ACTION, and their reception was gratifying to behold. The article on the UE was thoroughly read by all and many compliments on the paper were given to the distributors. Duplicate copies and subscriptions were asked for.

These facts only attest to the truth of LABOR ACTION's analysis of the Stalinist betrayals and the need for a militant program in the UE.

Stalinists at UERMW Convention Triumph Over Unorganized Opposition From Ranks

By MARY BELL

CLEVELAND—The eighth annual convention of the United Electrical, Radio & Machine Workers of America, CIO, was held in Cleveland the week of September 7-12. The UE, according to its officers' report, has 435,000 members in 810 plants. The UE convention did not represent its 435,000 rank and file members, however. It was controlled from start to finish by the Stalinist machine, and practically every resolution might have been lifted bodily from the yellow pages of the Daily Worker.

There was opposition at the convention, to be sure. But it was a minority, lacking a voice, unorganized, provoked to red-baiting by the Stalinist appeasement tactics, and most important of all—lacking a program of militant union struggle to oppose the Stalinist sell-out.

James Carey, secretary of the CIO, whose home union is the UE, refused to accede to the request of a caucus of sixty delegates to oppose Fitzgerald for the presidency. His main distinguishing characteristic, however, seems to be a rabid anti-Stalinism.

Officials Re-Elected

The three officers of the UE who have led the union through a series of constant capitulations were re-elected: President, Albert J. Fitzgerald; secretary-treasurer, Julius Emspak, and organization director, James Matles. There were only abstentions and scattered "no's" in opposition. The trustees are Charles Fay, Lottie Lee and Francis Bradley.

How the Stalinists packed the convention is shown in the fact that in one Pittsburgh local with a membership of 7,000, only 400 voted; that international representatives appointed by the Stalinist-controlled officers and general executive board entered the locals just prior to elections and had themselves elected as delegates; and by the usual filibustering methods in other locals that sent most of the members home until the Stalinists had a majority to elect their delegates.

They were so confident in their majority that they spoke boldly, openly invoking the names of Karl Marx and Eugene V. Debs to support their anti-Marxist, anti-socialist program of capitulation to the bosses' war for profits, which Marx and Debs taught and fought against.

Stalinist Hand Visible

Beginning with the "second front" resolution, the crude hand of the Stalinists was visible throughout all

the resolutions passed by the convention.

Harry Bridges: Financial and moral support for the CIO's committee fighting against deportation.

Red-Baiting: This was condemned because it leads to the "disruption of unity within the country." An attack was made on John L. Lewis in passing.

Condemnation of Lewis and Support of Murray: Could this be because Lewis has maintained standards and wage increases, whereas the Stalinists and officers of the UE have been willing to sacrifice overtime and wage increases for the workers.

Racial Discrimination: The Stalinists are opposed to discrimination against Negroes, Jews or any other minority because "unity of all the U.S. is the prime requisite for victory in '42" not because anti-discrimination is a principle of the labor movement. And they have amply demonstrated that when the fight against discrimination comes into conflict with "national unity," as in the March on Washington Movement of the Negroes, they take their stand four-square on the side of "national unity"—and to hell with race discrimination. The resolution on anti-poll-tax legislation was passed with the same choral accompaniment of "national unity."

Independence for India: Yes, India is to be freed, according to the Stalinists, only to fight beside the Allies and they exclude mention of England's centuries-old oppression of India or the kind of wages British industrialists pay Indian workers. The freedom for India is to be achieved by the intervention of Roosevelt with the British government!

Independence for Puerto Rico: Yes, the Stalinists are for this, too—in the name of the Atlantic Charter! And in order that Puerto Rico will not also disrupt Allied unity, although they fail to explain why Puerto Rico will be so eager to defend that American democracy which will not grant to Puerto Ricans their democratic right to independence.

Post-War Plans for Industry: This was referred to the incoming executive board, naturally enough, since the Stalinists have no plan except to win the war through sacrificing all labor gains according to the dictates of Moscow diplomacy.

Political Action: Labor is to be pledged to support any "win-the-war" candidate, regardless of party, just so they're anti-Axis, pro-Roosevelt, pro-labor. A genuine independent labor party resolution, citing the need for independent political action by labor to combat "wage freezing, profiteering, etc.," was defeated upon recommendation of the resolutions

committee. LABOR ACTION can only infer that the Stalinists are not opposed to wage freezing and profiteering!

Autonomy of Local Unions: Since they could get no local union to sanction such an amendment to the constitution, the general executive board proposed under negotiations and contracts to empower a representative of the international to negotiate with the local union on behalf of the international and sign contracts on behalf of the international! Passage of such a measure would have effectively destroyed the independence of local unions—and would have put the locals directly under the thumb of the Stalinist officials.

Knowing that there would be stern opposition on this motion and feeling incapable of holding even the Stalinist bloc in line, the proposed amendment was withdrawn. But the fact that the board dared place such a proposal before the delegates shows their contempt for the rank and file union members.

Constitutional limitation, however, will not prevent the Stalinist officers from interfering in local affairs. They proved that when, prior to the convention, an international representative signed a contract over the heads of local officers and membership of Pittsburgh Local No. 615, surrendering wage adjustments, vacation increases, classification of rates, and permitting time study the way "the company wants it."

Wage Freezing: The executive board of No. 1237 of New York presented a resolution "condemning the general secretary-treasurer for arbitrarily instructing locals to freeze wages" while even Philip Murray was for wage increases. They disapproved the "undemocratic, appeasing

action of the officers for this request to freeze wages" and "voluntarily" refraining from making wage demands in the coming year.

There was a larger minority opposition on this question than any other, although the resolution was, of course, defeated. A representative of Local 425, Long Island City, spoke in opposition to forfeiting premium pay for holidays, Saturdays and Sundays. A delegate from Local 801 complained of the loss of double time. "The workers gave all, the companies gave nothing," he said. And the only excuse of the officers was that the UAW had given up double time.

Delegate Rubey of Local 425 asked: "Where is your equality which is what this union stands for, when UE officers announce in the paper before the convention that overtime for Saturdays and Sundays was given up?" Genuine applause, not led by the Stalinist claque, greeted these remarks.

On this, the most important question facing every union in the country, President Fitzgerald said: "We can't waste(!) the time of the convention with those who want to disrupt the convention." Further discussion was voted down and the ranks who were concerned with the legitimate business of the union, wages, hours, and working conditions, were gagged.

Working Hours: The convention went on record as in favor of an eight-hour day, 48-hour week, one day's rest in seven, 30-minute lunch periods.

Organization: Resolutions were passed that a campaign to organize the government arsenals and the business and office machines factories be initiated, but what success that campaign will meet under the Stalinist leadership can be imagined

if the wage demands in this low-paid industry come into conflict with "national unity."

Thirteen women organizers were added to the staff to handle the influx of non-unionized women into industry since the war. A resolution that every plant of over 300 workers should have a child welfare bureau to take care of children of working women was passed. Equal pay for equal work regardless of sex was approved.

War Bonds: One hundred per cent participation in buying of 10 per cent of one's salary every pay day was pledged.

Dies Committee: Motion to investigate and dismiss was passed. Profits Biggest Argument

The convention was a field day for the Stalinists and the work of the local union members becomes thereby increased in order to maintain their gains and attempt to get wages somewhere near commensurate with the rising cost of living.

The one big argument the workers have to get wage increases is the wanted, unrestricted profits the corporations are making out of the blood and murder of this war, while labor is asked to sacrifice and submit to wage freezing. This argument is one that the Stalinist leadership of the UERMWA dare not use. Any breath of suspicion that the bosses are making money out of the war might disturb this "national unity" which they are pledged to uphold.

And they are supporting that "unity" against wage increases, against overtime pay, against race discrimination, against all the genuine interests of the workers, even if it means, according to one of the convention delegates, "we work twenty-four hours a day with no pay."

Washington Letter--

(Continued from page 1)

archy" should Hitler fall. They evidently hope that Hitler will be succeeded by a "German Franco."

The above measures should be considered with the new reactionary steps in the field of domestic industry and production. It is significant that the aggressive gestures of Thurman Arnold against Standard Oil and other big corporations have been stopped. Patterson has been successful in winning a "postponement" of all cases against Standard Oil until after the war. The Patents Committee's hearings have suffered a quiet death: there are to be no more revelations about the monopolist manipulations of Standard Oil and other big corporations; there's to be no more publicity on the effectiveness of their patent monopolies in peace as well as war.

The practical end of the hearings of the Patents Committee were to give Standard Oil men an opportunity to defend their policies. At one hearing, for instance, it was revealed that they (Standard Oil) declined the offer of a group of independent oil producers who wanted to produce synthetic rubber at half the cost of the big corporations. Standard Oil wanted to raise these carefully calculated costs of production about 100 per cent.

At the end of these hearings, Senator Lucas apologized in an extremely servile fashion for the witnesses who had testified against Standard Oil. Several bourgeois press representatives left notes on their seats with the word "white-wash" written across them.

At the entrance hall of the Department of Commerce there is a big poster depicting a Jap holding Mussolini, who in turn is holding Hitler. The Jap is held by a machine representing the U.S., which is smashing away at him and through him also at Mussolini and Hitler. The inscription on the poster is: "Slowly but Surely."

The poster indicates the prevailing official view: Act cautiously and carefully, otherwise there will be

revolutions and "anarchy," which will be difficult for us to master.

At the International Students Conference, the main speaker was applauding the Atlantic Charter, British and American democracy and the celebrated "Four Freedoms." Most delegates from the colonial and Latin American countries took this occasion to boo the speaker and to ask him such embarrassing questions as: "Who helped Franco Spain?" "What about India?" The majority of the student delegates made no effort to conceal their mood of revolt against the British policy in India and against the official leaders of the conference who attempted to apologize for this policy.

British Ambassador Butler spoke at the end of the conference. Still apparently believing that he was presiding at a League of Nations International Labor Office meeting, a task which he assumed many times during the past eighteen years, he stressed the "example" of British-American relations, which were peaceful for almost 150 years. He suggested that the British-American example of unity be the model for the future world order. Of course, he also stressed the point that all Germans are militarists and imperialists (sic) and must be treated accordingly after the war.



Introductory Offer

TO:
LABOR ACTION
114 WEST 14th STREET
New York, N. Y.

SIX MONTH SUBSCRIPTION 25¢!

Name _____

Address _____

City _____

Attention! Shipyard Workers!

You can get LABOR ACTION regularly, every week, by subscribing at the Special Introductory Rate of 25 Cents for Six Months.

LABOR ACTION is published in the interests of the working men who produce the wealth of this country and then get rooked by the bosses who collect the profits.

LABOR ACTION has a point of view—defense of labor's rights, the fighting kind of trade unionism, and the aim of socialism.

That's why LABOR ACTION is the fastest growing labor paper in the country. Read it, spread it around to others, SUBSCRIBE to it yourself.

Editorials

Churchill Fiddles

Last week Prime Minister Churchill made a statement to Parliament on the question of India. Bear in mind that this statement was made while the struggle in India continues and grows.

Churchill said that the Cripps proposal (solidly rejected by the entire people of India) still "must be taken as representing the policy of the British Crown and Parliament." "No one can add to them and no one can take anything away." In other words, he has nothing new to say after a month of open rebellion against the foreign imperialist rule!

Instead, he slandered the people of India and the Indian National Congress by slyly suggesting that (in fighting for their independence) they were aiding the Japanese. "It may well be that these activities by the Congress Party have been aided by Japanese fifth column work on a widely extended scale. . . ." He openly upheld the policy of the British authorities in suppressing the people's demonstrations for freedom by force and violence.

Then, in his conclusion, came this criminal and cynical remark: "Less than 500 persons have been killed over this mighty area of territory and population. . . ." So it's all right. Only about 500 workers and peasants have been killed by British bayonets and machine guns! Democracy has had its day!

Churchill's statement clearly means that British imperialism is determined to hold on—no matter the cost; that, for the time being at any rate, no effort will be made to seek a compromise with the Congress leadership. The Churchill policy is the traditional, Tory-imperialist policy in its most naked and sinister form: rule over 400,000,000 people with the open weapons of violence.

"I may add," said the Prime Minister, "that large reinforcements have reached India and that the number of white soldiers now in that country, although very small compared with its size and population, are larger than at any time in the British connection." That is, the British forces of occupation to keep down the people are larger than ever! Churchill may say they are there to fight the Japanese; the people who die daily under their bullets and fire KNOW differently.

The sole effect of Churchill's speech will be to arouse the people of India more than ever before and to reinforce their determination to continue their fight for full and complete independence from Churchill's police and military rule.

Job Freezing --

(Continued from page 1)
ple of the country or materially offset the danger of inflation.

Apart from its hesitant motions in the direction of farm legislation, Congress and the Administration concerned themselves primarily with the ways and means of slipping a noose around labor's neck.

Note that while Congress and the Administration were doing this, the boss press waxed hypo-

critically indignant over the truly infamous forced labor decrees of the Petain regime.

But how different IN SUBSTANCE are these repressive decrees from legislation and orders now contemplated or already effected in this country?—save in the extra dastardly aspect that the French workers will be subject to Germany.

In degree, there is a considerable difference. But only in degree. And if American labor does not act now to stop the onslaught on its rights, that difference in degree will be gradually lessened.

Freezing labor on the job, authorizing the boss or a government body to conscript labor, freezing wages—these are steps which smack loudly and offensively of forced labor.

Freezing labor on the job means that a worker can't quit his job if he dislikes his conditions, or wants a better paying job. It is an invitation for the bosses to pay lower wages, though employers hardly need that invitation. However low wages in a factory of industry may be, if job freezing becomes a national fact, a worker will be compelled to continue at his job.

And he will have little recourse by appealing to government boards to get better wages because these same government boards will have already acted to freeze his wages at whatever dismal level they were in January.

Labor is thus doomed to a stagnant, stationary and LOW standard of living—UNLESS SOMETHING IS DONE ABOUT IT NOW!

Compare the attack on labor with the treatment of the profiteers. Despite taxes and all, their profits, made for the most part on government orders, go higher and higher. Taxes do bite into their incomes, but they are still left with undeserved and sizable fortunes. The impact of victory taxes, income taxes, withholding taxes, sales taxes falls heaviest on those who toil for a living.

Look at the salaries and increases of salaries of corporation executives which we publish in a top corner of page 1.

THAT'S WHERE THE FREEZING OUGHT TO COME! THEY are the people who are profiting from the war. But what happened to Roosevelt's proposal, tossed in for propaganda purposes, that private incomes be limited to \$25,000. Nothing. Exactly nothing. Congress has yet to bestir itself to cognizance of the proposal. And Roosevelt has yet to request of one of his many boards, who always seem to have enough authority at their disposal to slap at labor, to do something about these bloated incomes.

Look again at those salaries. Ask yourself what work, what back-breaking hours of overtime, these gentlemen put in to deserve their thousands upon thousands of dollars. Ask yourself why one man is allowed to "earn" \$100,000 (or even \$25,000) while you must work, actually WORK, for \$30, or \$40 or \$50 a week?

Look at those figures again and get fighting mad!

Job freezing, wage freezing, labor conscripting, threatening labor with the army draft—these are vital attacks on your democratic freedoms—the freedom to go where you want, to work at what you want, to seek out and FIGHT for the best wage.

Yield them now, and the bosses and government will continue to encroach on your living standard and your rights—as they have been doing right along.

To fight them you must reassert your rights: your right to a DECENT standard of living—that is, a better standard of living; YOUR RIGHT TO STRIKE; your right to act freely without intimidation.

No census is needed to ascertain labor's reaction to these measures. LABOR IS AGAINST THEM! Even the weak-kneed union leadership has had to admit that.

Then let your voice be heard, your views known.

Let it be known that you protest the use of the army draft as a weapon against labor.

Pepper your congressmen with letters of protest.

Above all, swing your union into action against the reactionary measures of the Administration and Congress.

Writes Fellow URW Members On Problems of the Union

(Continued from page 1)
history from our toil. This year they are doing even better.

But, knowing that the labor leaders have renounced the use of labor's economic power, the rubber barons believe that they have the unions over a barrel. It is not at all accidental that THIS year negotiations for new and better contracts have everywhere been stalled longer than ever and that the question of wage raises at Firestone and Goodrich is still being "studied" by a War Labor Board that is determined to pare the union demands down to the bone.

Already the War Labor Board has turned down the union shop demands of U.S. Rubber, Goodrich and Firestone locals and granted feeble maintenance of membership clauses instead. It's no wonder that one hears these days more talk about: "Well, the miners got their \$1.00-a-day increase AND the union shop, didn't they?" They did, but not by sitting tight and hoping for a miracle, like Dalrymple and his cronies are doing!

Dalrymple and Cronies

If one could add up the man-hours of work used by progressives in finally cornering Dalrymple and badgering him into refraining from his numerous reactionary interventions in sit-downs in practically every Akron factory, well, the total would stagger you.

This man, well known as the MOST incompetent of all the CIO big shots, turns up in every situation where the workers are attempting to combat company provocation, and proceeds to denounce their efforts as "unauthorized." As you can well believe, the membership has grown plenty sick and tired of him!

The record of ex-Secretary-Treasurer Grillo, who has just left to join the Army, reads practically the same. Nobody ever could beat Grillo at being the first to acclaim some new reactionary move of the Roosevelt Administration to bind labor to the war machine. Far from representing labor's interests against governmental "pincer moves," Grillo consistently represented the bosses' desires as expressed through Washington. His greatest "contribution"—one for which he rated a sickeningly sweet notice from the Akron Beacon Journal—has been to devise a so-called labor-management drive in the rubber industry to collect 10 per cent of every worker's pay for War Bonds.

I hope that this convention will rectify the mistake made in Indianapolis last year in electing Tommy Burns to the general executive board under the scandalous circumstances that he was going to serve, not the rubber workers, but the (present) War Production Board full time in Washington. A follower of the now-discarded Sidney Hillman, Burns is the type of slick salesman through whom the anti-labor poison of non-resistance to the rubber barons' offensive seeps down into the ranks of the union. His tune of "let the government handle this" appeals to every URW top official—and this means most of them—who lacks guts or the elementary trade union understanding to know that labor gets only what it fights for.

President Dalrymple has stated that "better relations with management" are to be a primary concern of the convention. Judging from his past and present policies, Dal will plead and cajole on all occasions that nothing can (or should be done

to save the six-hour day in the Akron factories, that whatever the War Labor Board chooses to give the unions in the way of meager increases in wages is quite all right with him, and that nothing—positively!—should be done for the duration of the war by the workers themselves to "bring about a higher standard of living among the toiling masses," as the preamble to our union constitution states is out aim.

That there will be opposition to these policies of the leadership from among the 300 delegates on the floor, I have no doubt. Not all of them, by a long shot, think that labor must lie down and meekly accept the wage freezing of the War Labor Board when they know that the cost of living is going up another 30 per cent next year.

Nor will they put up with any demagogic baiting of Goodrich Akron Local, which used enough common sense to see that it was getting nothing but headaches out of participating in the joint labor-management committee there, and withdrew from it. Indeed, this local's position as the biggest and strongest in the international can be traced in some part to the fact that it doesn't ALWAYS get sucked in on everything that comes along.

Finally, I hope you and the boys can get together and formulate a real program around which you can rally the delegates' support to halt the retreat of our union. Otherwise, it seems to me, for all the smooth talking of the officials, we're all going to take it in the neck from lengthened hours, wage cuts and greatly reduced standard of living in the coming year.

Akron Rubber Worker.
September 10, 1942.

St. Louis MOW Marches --

(Continued from page 1)

This old line smells to the heavens; employment offices have been handing it out for the last twenty years, while always hiring the latest comers, since they can never be sure that the old applicants haven't moved, died or found jobs elsewhere. Ditto for the "laid-off" employees. The final argument Mr. Weed put up was that all janitorial jobs were reserved for the old employees. But no Negro is going to insist on a janitor's job, Mister: they will be perfectly satisfied on the production line.

Must Go Back

Dave Grant threatened at Carter Carburetor that the MOW would be back every Saturday until they get some results. This is what the MOW must do. His remarks must be translated into action. One march a month at a difference place each time won't do. The MOW must pick one plant and go back in ever increasing numbers until they get some positive results.

Dutch Workers Help Chinese Collect Unemployment Insurance from Nazis

Swedish papers report that 150 Chinese dock workers employed at the harbor of Rotterdam, Holland, refused to load a shipment for the Nazis. The Nazi official deprived them of unemployment insurance payments in reprisal. Immediately, Dutch workers organized to help the Chinese and collected 3,000 guilder for them.

Hatred of the Nazis is still mounting in Norway. People get so exasperated that they sometimes barely hide their feelings in spite of the dangers. Two stories reported by the Norwegian underground illustrate this state of mind. An Oslo bookseller was reprimanded for not giving "The Book About Quisling" the preferred position in his window.

This plan has been mentioned at the Wednesday night meetings—but so has the alternate plan of marching on each of a dozen different plants.

One march on a plant brings a certain amount of publicity, but not enough to get satisfactory results. A march each week for a month, or two months, will bring the company to its feet. It will also show the Negro workers that the MOW really means business about getting them jobs at this particular plant, and not just in the windy air of the platform.

At the last Wednesday night meeting, the MOW launched a petition campaign. Many Negroes are asking: What is the difference between THIS petition campaign and all those which have gone before? Why have a March on Washington Movement if only to start another petition campaign? Perhaps it is no accident that the turn to this kind of

action is marked by the re-appearance of the Stalinists inside the March on Washington Movement.

Stalinists Creeping In

These discredited sell-out artists announced their "support" of the march against Carter Carburetor and distributed a six-page leaflet on the scene. They are up to their old tricks of "rule or ruin"—they tried to ruin and couldn't, so now they are coming in to rule. They support the MOW in order to water down the program and "calm it down" to give more support to the war. This was evidenced by a speech given at the last St. Louis MOW meeting by a prominent local Negro Stalinist who gave quite a discourse on the history of the Negro's struggle, but said not a word about a program of action now.

Chairman MacNeal was careful to dissociate the MOW from the speaker. But this dissociation will become more difficult if the MOW begins to limit its activity to petition campaigns, hearings of the FEPC to "find out if there is any discrimination in St. Louis" (a bad joke) and such like. These are right down the Stalinist line of INACTION—of fooling around until the war is won and not "rocking the boat." The MOW gave some sign of understanding the criminal fallacies of this line for the Negro masses when it announced its intention to march against the Emerson Electric Co., whose Jim Crow practices have not been stopped by a contract with the UERMA-CIO. The UE is headed locally by William Sentner, prominent Stalinist "friend of the Negro people."

The only way to avoid the Stalinist sell-out of the Negro people is to follow the policy of militant mass actions, taking advantage of the war to get some results in the fight on Jim Crow. The masses of Negro workers must be drawn into participation in a series of well planned, consistent and followed-up marches. Every effort must be bent to achieving some concrete victories at one specific plant.

DIPLOMACY:

Fascist Franco Gets A Gift from FDR

By R. Fahan

In some rather bashful news items, the American press announced two weeks ago that President Roosevelt, credited with being the originator of the Atlantic Charter and its promise of the Four Freedoms, had extended the brotherly hand of friendship to the Spanish fascist dictator, General Francisco Franco... credited with having murdered tens of thousands of those Spanish workers and democrats who dared oppose his 1936 fascist coup.

President Roosevelt said, only a few days after the celebration of the first anniversary of the Atlantic Charter, that it was his intention to give the Franco government financial aid in order to rehabilitate those art treasures, libraries and other cultural institutions which were damaged during the Spanish Civil War. The sole price which the President demanded for this aid was that Franco should not enter the war on the side of Hitler.

Roosevelt's cynical concern over re-establishing Spanish culture will probably occasion many a snicker in Washington diplomatic circles.

WHAT IS REALLY INVOLVED

What is really involved here is an attempt by Roosevelt to bribe the Spanish dictator into remaining neutral for the duration. Franco, who has never been averse to having some grease smeared over his filthy palms, is apparently ready to take money from all comers, even if disguised in an enveloped ridiculously labeled "For Culture Only!"

France has his own ideas about culture—as witness his famous massacre of 20,000 unarmed Spaniards in the Toledo bull ring during the Civil War. Is not such a man truly worthy of the aid of the leader of the camp of democracy, freedom, culture, the Four Freedoms, etc., etc.? And if FDR can bribe him with some of those magical American DOLLEROS to not OPENLY and COMPLETELY side with Hitler is that not a great step forward for the democratic cause?

And why, pray, are the liberals biting their lips so much? Don't they KNOW that FDR did this before, that when he imposed an EMBARGO on shipments of arms to Loyalist Spain during the Civil War he did as much to aid Franco as did Mussolini. And don't they know that Franco wouldn't feel too uncomfortable in the camp of the United Nations? As a good fascist he would find companionship, to put it mildly, with anti-Semite Sikorski, with Dictator Vargas, with Royalist de Gaulle and with that white hope of humanity ("only 500 Indians killed"), Imperialist Winston Churchill.

For those poor devils who have the unenviable task of composing enthusiastic little homilies about the United Nations to be printed in the "liberal journals," we have a certain sympathy.

A PICTURE OF THE WORLD TO COME

But there is one other aspect of present world politics that is somewhat clarified by Roosevelt's offer. That is the question of war aims. Many people have complained that FDR and "my friend Winston" have been too vague and hazy about the kind of world which they want after the war. The last few weeks have given at least a partial answer.

It will be a world where "Fellow Democrat" Vargas will crack his brutal whip over South America. It will be a world where Winston Churchill will be able to boast of the tranquility and civilized advancement which Britain brings to India, citing as evidence the fact that ONLY 500 Indians were killed in the past month by the British police. And it will be a world in which General Francisco Franco will rehabilitate Spanish culture with the aid of FDR's magical American dolleros.

(And who can foretell the possibilities for cultural advancement under such a set-up? Perhaps, after a while, when enough of those magical dolleros have passed through Franco's palms, he will even send over a few samples of Spanish culture... in exchange for some of FDR's postage stamps!)

We have but one suggestion to add to this idyllic picture. Macabre, perhaps—but pertinent. We suggest that when Franco begins to unearth those Spanish art treasures—with the aid of FDR's magical dolleros—he send to America, as evidence of his works, some specimens of the bones and skeletons of those millions of Spanish workers whom he murdered, starved and enslaved, so that FDR can show the American people how he helped spread the Four Freedoms across the earth.

You Won't Want to Miss Leon Trotsky's

scathing indictment of

Winston Churchill

in the September
New International

LABOR ACTION

A Paper in the Interests of Labor

Published Weekly by the
Labor Action Publishing Company
114 WEST 14th STREET, NEW YORK, N. Y.
(3rd Floor)

Vol. 6, No. 38 September 21, 1942

Editor: Emanuel Garrett
Subscription Rate: 60 Cents a Year,
75 Cents for Canada, New York and Foreign

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

WORKERS PARTY PLATFORM

Against Both Imperialist War Camps! For the Victory of World Labor and the Colonial Peoples! For the Victory of the Third Camp of Socialism!

LABOR MUST DEFEND ITSELF!

- Hands off the right to strike! For the defense of civil rights and all workers' rights! Against any wartime dictatorship measures!
- Thirty hours a week; thirty dollars the minimum wage; time and a half for overtime! Rehire the jobless millions by a six-hour shift!
- Wage increases which meet rising costs! No sales tax on consumer goods; no taxes on wages! Freeze rents and food and clothing prices at the 1940 level to stop the rise in the cost of living!
- No government contract without a union contract! The closed shop in all war industries!
- Maintain and increase all government social services!

SOAK THE RICH—LET THEM PAY FOR THEIR WAR!

- A government levy on capital to cover the cost of the imperialist war. Confiscate all war profits!
- Conscript all war industries under workers' control!
- Expropriate the "Sixty Families"—the 3 per cent of the people who own 96 per cent of the national wealth!

DEMOCRATIC RIGHTS TO THE DRAFTEES!

- The right of free speech, free press and free assembly for the men in the armed forces
- Sixty dollars a month minimum for draftees!

SMASH JIM CROW!

- Down with Jim Crow and anti-Semitism! All discrimination against Negroes in the Army and Navy or by employers in industry must be made a criminal offense!

- For full political, social and economic equality for Negroes!

BE PREPARED!

- For Workers' Defense Guards, trained and controlled by the unions, against vigilantes and fascist attacks!
- For an Independent Labor Party and a Workers' Government! No political support to the Roosevelt government!
- For Peace Through Socialism! For immediate independence of all colonies! Only a socialist world will destroy capitalist imperialism and fascist barbarism. For a League of Socialist Nations!

New York Workers Attention!

LABOR SINCE PEARL HARBOR



Will Be the Subject of a Speech by

MAX SHACHTMAN

(Nat'l Secretary of the Workers Party)

Sunday, Sept. 27, 8 p.m.

IRVING PLAZA IRVING PLACE AND 15th ST.