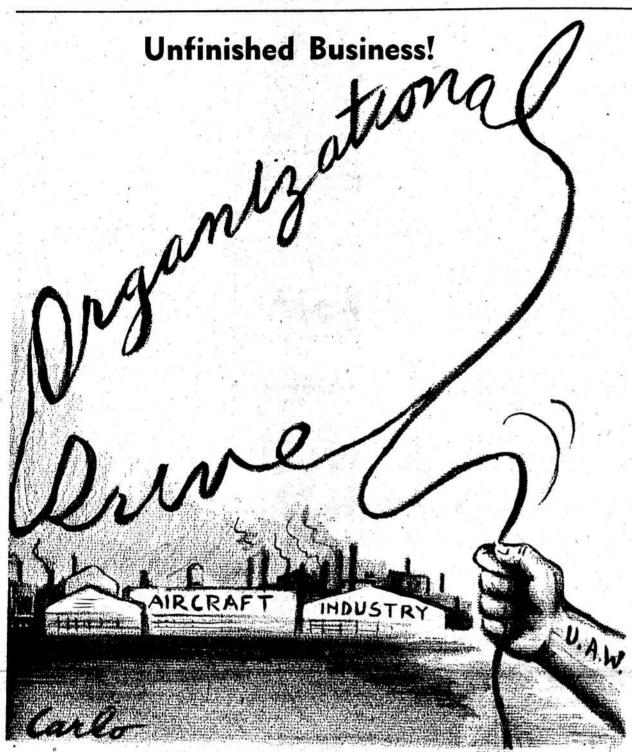
UAW WORKERS, TAKE THE LEAD!



Convention Should Halt UAW Policy of Retreat

By DAVID COOLIDGE

One year after holding a great convention with 1,000 delegates in Buffalo, N. Y., the United Automobile Workers are in session again, this time in Chicago.

The main labor theme of the Buffalo convention was the organization of the hundreds of thousands of workers in the rapidly expanding aircraft industry. The delegates were insistent on this. This was the insistent and persistent refrain from the convention floor.

There were Curtiss-Wright, Glen Martin, Douglas, Consolidated and many smaller airplane plants to be brought under the banner of the CIO. There was the matter of completing the organization of plants where something had already been done. There was the important matter of getting all the workers into the union in plants where contracts had already been signed. There was plenty of work to be done that would take all the time, ability and energy of the high command of the

UAW and of every single organizer, both paid and volunteer.

demonstration at the Buffalo plants of Curtiss-Wright took place. During the year this company was to be the focal point of the organizing attack of the UAW shock troops. There was also Glen Martin. where a rather desultory organizing campaign had been in progress and the Douglas Aircraft Co., perhaps the toughest nut of all to crack.

There was the problem of building up and strengthening the locals in plants such as Bell, where things were going from bad to worse; where in a local of about 5,000 members, less than 200 vote in an election for local union officers.

These were some of the pressing problems that the UAW faced even before the United States entered the war and before the conversion efforts in the automobile industry had

How well have these tasks been carried out in the past year by the

leadership of the CIO and the UAW? What have Thomas, Addes, Frankensteen and the UAW regional di-It was during this convention that rectors been doing since the last convention? This question must be answered at this convention. The delegates should insist on an answer and on full and frank discus-

During the Past Year

Let us look at the past year and see just what has been going on About three months after the UAW convention last August, the CIO convention was held in Detroit. It was at this convention that the CIO first came out in full support of the war. At the previous convention in Atlantic City the organization had stuck to its own business and devoted its time to the problems of labor in the United States. If one throws out all the ballyhoo of the Stalinists at the Atlantic City convention for the re-election of Lewis and their campaign against Murray,

(Continued on page 3)

Let Us Smash the Boss Offensive With Labor's Own Offensive!

All eyes are fixed on the August 3 convention of the United Automobile, Aircraft and Agricultural Implement Workers of America in Chicago—the UAW-CIO.

Few labor organizations have been faced with such life-and-death questions in recent times as the UAW.

Few labor organizations have been in such an excellent position to answer these questions satisfactorily.

The UAW is a first-class power in the country, with a splendid fighting tradition. It brought industrial unionism, organ-

ization, recognition, improved working conditions, working-class self-respect into the strongest fortresses of the open shop -the auto industry and then the aircraft

It took over and used on a wide scale the sensational and significant and effective labor weapon of the sit-down strike.

It brought such furious labor-haters as Henry Ford and his Harry Bennett to their knees and made them sign on the dotted

It broke down the reactionary barriers between Negro and white workers in one place after another and set the highest standards for labor solidarity.

It brought almost three-quarters of a million workers into one organization, thus establishing one of the most mighty labor unions of our time.

This powerful organization, in many respects the model of the best in presentday American labor unionism, is threatand vicious capitalist offensive.

GAINS ARE THREATENED

workers it represents are threatened. And if its gains are threatened, it itself, as a labor organization, is likewise threatened. The plague of stagnation is descending on the UAW. If not immediately checked, disintegration will set in and the mighty UAW will be wrecked.

These are serious words for serious times. Are they the facts?

Well, let us look at the facts.

The war dominates the life and fortunes of every labor organization. This is doubly true for the UAW, which operates in the very heart of the American war

The UAW officially supports the war. It supports the present administration in Washington. It supports the head of this administration, President Roosevelt.

Along with President Roosevelt, all the leaders of the UAW have the auto and aircraft workers that the United States is conducting a war against fascism, and for freedom for the common man, above all for the working man.

upon the membership to vote for a program of "equality of sacrifice" in the name of winning the war. This is the program on which the union is now operat-

VITAL QUESTIONS

The Chicago convention, every delegate to it, and every member of the UAW from one end of the country to the other, must now ask themselves these vital questions:

What did WE give, and what did THEY

What did WE get, and what did THEY

Nobody must be allowed to evade giving an answer to these questions. The test of ANY labor program is the results it brings

Labor gave up its right and claim to overtime pay on Saturdays, Sundays and holidays "for the duration." Every worker knows what it was, even WITH overtime pay, how hard it was to make both ends meet, what with the constantly rising cost of living, what with rents and generally bad housing conditions almost everywhere, what with part of the weekly wage going into stamps and bonds. Every worker knows how much tougher it is WITH-OUT overtime pay on week-ends and holidays. It's gone, and even regular week-day overtime is constantly threatened.

What did the auto and aircraft moguls give up? What did the big monopolists ened by the consequences of a cunning in ANY of America's big industries give

> Their profits are higher now than they have been for years! Their personal incomes - salaries and premiums and bonuses - are higher than they have ever

> Without you, the workers, not a single wheel would turn.

But what use are they? For the most part, they are a gang of incompetent parasites. During the ten years of the industrial crisis they couldn't get industry moving, couldn't solve the problem of unemployment. Even now, they couldn't get moving without the government pouring millions into their laps to get the wheels turning, without the government guaranteeing them their costs AND their profits (they don't lift a finger unless they profit

THE RIGHT TO STRIKE

Now, what did labor give? What did it

It gave up the most sacred right of the working man, the one for which he and his forefathers fought and shed their blood in every part of the world—the RIGHT TO STRIKE. Without the right

The UAW leadership has prevailed to enforce its demands by the extreme measure of withdrawing its labor collectively, all the other rights of labor lose more than half their meaning. Fascism brutally deprives labor of this right. In this country, the administration and the union leadership blackmailed the membership into giving up the right "voluntarily" on threat of having it taken away from them by act of Congress. Thus in the name of a war against fascism the unions gave in to one of the very fundamental principles of fascism!

What did THEY - the capitalists, the monopolists, the auto bosses, the big stockholders — what did they give up, in return? Did they give up their right to fire or lock out the workers? Yes, FOR-MALLY. But every active unionist knows that the bosses have a new and clever trick up their sleeves now. In one plant after another, when the bosses want to get rid of a fighting union man, one who stands up for all the workers, they simply fail to ask for a deferment for that man. They suddenly discover that he is no longer "indispensable."

Even the UAW leadership has repeatedly pointed out that the bosses of the auto industry have acted like profit-mad monopolists; that they couldn't manage indus-(Continued on page 4)

A Case In Point

-An Editorial

We call the attention of all workers, and specifically those UAW workers who will be meeting in convention this week, to the War Labor Board decision in the Remington-Rand case.

Using the formula it established in the Little Steel decision denying steel workers a \$1.00 increase in pay, the board, WITH THE TWO LABOR MEMBERS DISSENTING, rejected a general 10 cents an hour wage increase for Remington-Rand , workers. It allowed a 21/2 cent raise for women workers on an incentive basis.

If the WLB formula was not sufficiently clear in its intentions in the Little Steel decision, the Remington-Rand decision leaves no room for doubt. The WLB order (headlined in the capitalist press as a "15 per cent wage increase to meet the increase in the cost of living") is IN FACT a kid-gloved attempt to continue whatever LOW living standard labor has achieved.

What does the board say? It says that wages should be so adjusted that any "inequality" arising from the increased cost of living as of January 1 this year should be "adjusted" by a corresponding wage increase. In short: that any given living standard "enjoyed" by labor in December must be continued and maintained

Discussing the WLB's Little Steel formula in last week's LABOR ACTION we exposed this decision as deliberately rooking the steel workers (and now the Remington-Rand workers out of demands which touch the very basis of their need.

(Continued on page 4 in editorial column)

Workers, Make a Note of These Fancy Profits and Salaries --

In Auto--

General Motors netted a profit of \$24,613,218 for the first half of 1942 despite conversion and the almost complete cessation of passenger car sales. This is a decline as against last year's figures, but with conversion completed the stockholder will do better-or are they getting enough?

Other auto companies also show a substantial profit despite a temporary decline. Last year's peak NET profit for sixteen major companies (all except Ford) was \$275,757,363. Spell it out. That's two hundred seventy-five million, seven hundred fifty-seven thousand, three hundred and sixty-three dollars!

(How about auto workers biting into that?)

Auto Salaries--

Individual rewards are as striking as profits:

General Motors President Wilson pocketed \$149,-

General Motors Vice-President Hunt got his: \$100,-575.

General Motors Chairman of the Board Sloan topped them with \$200,000.

In Chrysler, President Keller took \$100,950.

And Vice-President Hutchinson went broke on a

These gentlemen also added a little to their pay envelopes from profits on stocks!

In Aircraft--

Douglas profits soared for the first half of 1942 to \$18,177,000 (70 per cent over 1941).

Curtiss made about two-thirds more than last year: \$25,717,512.

Martin went up to \$5,773,149.

Vultee went several times over its last year's return for the same period: \$3,100,735. And the smaller companies in this booming indus-

try did all right by the coupon clippers, too: Bell Aircraft went four times over its income last

year: for a cool \$900,000. Beach Aircraft, which was in the red (they said) last year, benefitted the stockholders to the tune of \$682,734.

And Others--

Just to show that a few of the boys in other industries are getting along too:

Eugene G. Grace as president of Bethlehem Steel worked hard and got \$537,724 in 1941.

Tom M. Girdler of Republic Steel got himself a raise from \$99,000 in 1940 to \$275,000 in 1941. Benjamin F. Fairless of U.S. Steel boosted his earn-

ngs to \$156,000 in 1941. And H. E. Lewis of Jones & Loughlin took himself a

mere \$135,000.

(Did anybody say something about a dollar-a-day wage raise for steel workers?)

The Readers of Labor Action Take the Floor ...

UAW Militant Addresses Letter To the Convention Delegates

I noticed in last week's issue of LABOR ACTION that you are publishing a special issue of LABOR ACTION for the UAW convention. With your permission I should like to speak to my brothers in the UAW:

Dear Brothers:

The national labor spotlight will be focused on Chicago next week when our union holds its annual conven-

The opportunity to take the leadership on a labor offensive, missed up by the United Steel Workers recently, is here given to us in the UAW. We're 700,000 strong and we have a militant trade union tradition. The "conference" held a few months ago in Detroit was the beginning of our backsliding. The decision to give up double time for Sundays and holidays was a blow to the trade unions and to the UAW in particular.

The policy of appeasement, of retreat, followed by Murray, Green, Thomas, Reuther and other CIO and UAW leaders has resulted in the worst defeat the UAW has ever had. The defeat at Curtiss, considered the key to the organization of the whole industry, is a terrible blow to the UAW nationally. (Just the other day our union suffered another defeat to an independent union when the workers were warned they would lose double time for Sundays and holidays if they joined the UAW.)

The backsliding of our union can be stopped and real progress made among the unorganized workers if, among other things, the decision to give up double time for Sundays and holidays, still received in unorganized shops, is reconsidered.

Need Organization Drive

The major point on the agenda of the Buffalo convention held in 1941 was the organization of the aircraft industry. This should still be a major point on the agenda of this con-

To protect and improve the conditions of our members it becomes more and more necessary to organize the rest of this industry into the UAW. A real drive to organize the

unorganized shops, based on a militant program, can do the job.

In many of our contracts we're coming to the reopening of the wage clause stage. Here's our chance to show that we really mean business. We've got to see to it that we get the dollar-a-day increase that the steel workers didn't get.

The UAW, with a reputation for being one of the most militant unions in the country, has got to put an end to the business of labor taking it on the chin and below the belt all the

Just as at the last convention, attempts to extend the term of office of UAW officials to two years are going to be made again. So far things have been running very smoothly with one-year officials elected to office. The arguments given in favor of extension of terms of office are phony. Instead of spending four months of a year politicking, let them spend the time doing a good job and they will be re-elected to office on

Keep our union the way it is, democratic, and don't give anyone the opportunity to build a political

Miscellaneous Items

Other problems facing the trade unions and which our union can take the lead in solving, are the problems of housing, rent control, price control and wage control.

In spite of all promises made to labor that prices will be controlled, the cost of living is still going up. Our standard of living is going down and the proposed wage control program of the government will add the finishing touches. This convention is the place to call a halt to the continued attacks on labor and you delegates, as representatives of a large section of the trade union movement, have here the opportunity to strike a blow for labor.

Best wishes for a successful convention, a convention which must turn the UAW into the militant union it was in the days of '35 and '36.

High Geared Organization Drive For 95¢ Minimum Needed in East

The profits made in the aircraft industry have been staggering. The wages paid in the aircraft industry have been among the lowest paid in any war industry to skilled workers.

The aircraft industry is represented in the East by Curtiss, Bell, Grumann, Republic, Brewster, Vought-Sikorsky, Air Associates, Martin,

Fairchild. Otis and a few others. with Bell, Brewster, Air Associates, Vought-Sikorsky and Fairchild.

The defeat of the UAW in Curtiss means the weakening of the organizational drives in other plants in the Eastern region. And if the lackadaisical drive now being carried on in other plants is not changed, the entire campaign to organize other aircraft, auto and parts plants in the region will be in jeopardy.

In addition to this, the present polley of the UAW and the CIO to give up its past gains will most assuredly not help any organizing drive.

Rank and File Dissatisfied

There is a great deal of dissatisfaction in the organized shops. Union members are asking: "What the hell good is a union if it's giving up most of the gains it ever made?"

Many men hearing of concessions being made to the workers in unorganized plants (to offset union conditions and the organizational drive, of course) are leaving for unorganized shops where they can earn more money to meet the rising cost of

The Brewster Local, with a militant background, which has been along these lines.

setting the pace for wages and conditions in the East, will be given a chance to make a name for itself and help the organization drive of the UAW when its wage clause is reopened about six weeks from now.

The slogan of 75-and-10 raised one year ago is now ready for the waste basket. The demands that must now be made are for the same rates being paid in the Ford Willow Run The UAW has signed contracts plant, where the minimum wage is 95 cents an hour.

> A victory here, coupled with a high gear organizational drive based on a militant program. would mean victory for the UAW in the East. This is how the UAW can continue making progress. This is how to maintain and improve union conditions. This is how a militant union can be built.

Women in Industry

With many of the men being drafted into the army, the unions are faced with another problem, the question of the women taking the place of male union members

The first step of course is to see that women receive the same rates of pay for jobs performed as the men do. EQUAL PAY FOR EQUAL WORK!

Then there is the problem of educating the women in the principles of unionism and to impress them with the need for militant unionism. Women coming into the factories must be prepared to take over the reins of leadership, to act as stewards and committeemen, and it's the job of the union to educate them

Worker Writes That He Would Like To See Vultee Back on Union Map

Recent events prompt me to write you on the situation here in Vultee Aircraft Co.

It is almost two years now since the Vultee workers broke the ice in southern California aircraft by their strike that established union conditions in the shop. Other plants followed suit and the benefits gained were the result of that November action.

I took part and saw how eagerly the men participated in the various duties assigned them, whether on the picket line or in committee work. It was of their doing, and they labored for something definite. The union hall was packed and men who had never spoken to a crowd before got up and voiced their feelings, desires and resentments.

But the scene has changed considerably. The number of men and women in the union as against the total number in the shop has dropped

drastically. Shift meeting have been postponed six to eight weeks for lack of attendance. Not an item has been added to the union bulletin board in over a year.. The new contract has been pushed through with the company's generous assistance. It provides for forty hours of continuous working time before overtime goes into effect.

The blame for all this does not rest with the rank and file. During the famous Vultee strike they showed their readiness to fight for a union. The blame falls squarely on the shoulders of a select few - the Bridges men in the union leadership who have given up "unionism as

usual" for the duration of the war. The men in the plant want no part of the union officials' toadying and kow-towing before the corporation

The gripes, grumblings and pointed comments one hears daily are proof enough that the men have lost in-July 25,

fare and reflecting their feelings, we union map. could break away from the stagnant July 21.

terest in their leaders rather than in condition in which the union today unionism itself. With a union lead- finds itself and once again put Vulership interested in the workers' wel- tee back in a prominent place on the

Hauser Led New Jersey Drive Poorly, But Area Can Still Be 100% UAW

Dear Brothers:

In 1940 the aircraft division of the UAW outlined a drive for organization in the aircraft plants in Bergen County and surrounding areas. In this section there are approximately 30,000 workers, more or less, concentrated in two large plants and several smaller ones.

At the time the drive was launched the ground was ripe for organization. Discontent was high because wages were low and conditions bad. In two large plants, like Curtiss-Wright and Bendix, the average wage was around 50 cents an hour. There were all sorts of phony learner provisions which prevented men who were acquiring skill and becoming more valuable from getting increases in pay.

With these favorable conditions for an organizing drive the result was a relative failure. Only in two plants were contracts secured and those minor ones, the Breeze Corp.

in Newark and Air Associates in

The drive in this area was directed by L. J. Hauser and that is probably the reason why the drive failed. Hauser thought that he could run through the area lickety-split and in no time have all the plants organ-

He kept all the reins in his own hands, allowing little leeway to his staff. Most often he was away when most needed and paid little attention to the organizing committees in the various shops. In general, his campaign was slipshod, poorly planned and badly organized.

What does the future hold in store for the UAW in this area? In spite of the defeats at Curtiss and Bendix, the results show that with careful planning and consistent effort the workers will come over.

This area, including Newark, Bergen and Passaic Counties, can still become 100 per cent UAW.

Stage One-Day Stoppage in Detroit Car and Motor Coach Employees

Dear Editor:

A one-day stoppage of street car and motor coach employees took place in Detroit on Friday, July 17. The men were justifiedly disgusted

with the drawn-out arbitration negotiations over a raise in pay to meet the skyrocketing cost of living here. That the men were entirely justified in their attitude was made clear by a statement of Frank X. Martel, president of the Detroit Federation of Labor, who said:

"To say the strikers of last week had no cause to be agitated would be blindly to ignore the facts. The history of the negotiations and arbitration... was a scandalous affar in which the present City Administration misrepresented to the former arbiter the ability of the DSR to pay a proper wage."

The continued strikes on the cityowned lines, said Martel, arose from "the dilatory tactics of the administration" and the "failure of the city to meet its responsibilities."

Despite the fact that blame for the stoppage rests with the City Administration, which stalled off raises, the leadership of the union which represents the men gave the signal for drastic retaliation against the strikers. Edward McMorrow, first viceciation of Street Railway Employees, AFL, said: "We agree with Mayor Edward J. Jeffries that there is a disturbing element which ought to be brought to account."

With the permission of the union leadership, the city suspended 439 men immediately. Almost 200 of these have been fired already and more are to go. Thirteen have been arrested and await trial on various charges.

Those fired were charged by the city with: insubordination, absence without leave, failure to carry out work assigned, abuse of sick leave, interference with operation of the DSR, inciting to riot, sabotage of the war effort, violation of working rules, conduct unbecoming an employee, and being an undesirable employee. The men fired were each

Writes on St. Louis Cartridge Company

Dear Editor:

Four hundred and fifty guards have been sworn in as auxiliary army police at a St. Louis small arms munitions plant and will be under the direction of army officers. This is an answer to the attempt of some of these guards to form a CIO union for the guards.

There is a rumor going around the plant that all employees are going to be put under civil service. The plant is operated by the United States Cartridge Co. and employs about 15,000 men.

Until very recently, no Negroes were employed. However, a march by several hundred Negroes around the plant has resulted in a Jim Crow unit being set up. Negroes are being trained for production in the plant.

The Stalinist leaders of the UEW are making a feeble attempt to organize the workers, but are getting nowhere. The AFL is also on the job. They claim to have all the machinists but don't seem very much interested in other workers.

The mass of the workers do not appear to be attracted to either, because they feel that neither would protect them in militant struggle. The UE News looks and sounds to them like something put out by the local Chamber of Commerce.

A Worker.

found guilty of almost ALL of these charges by the Civil Service Commission!

The strikers were denounced by the local press. The Detroit Times demanded that the FBI step in, implying that the strikers who sought wage rise were enemy agents!

An all-out campaign is obviously under way to strike a blow at the entire union by crushing the fighting spirit of the men. All the reason why the union leadership was duty bound to defend the strikers and not the action of the City Administration.

The stoppage succeeded, however, in shaking up the arbitration proceedings. By a vote of 2 to 1 on July 25, the men were granted 20 per cent and 15 per cent raises retroactive to

Detroit, July 26.

PRESS AULIUN

Introductory Offer: LABOR AC-TION's standing introductory offer of a six-month subscription to America's fastest growing labor paper for 25 cents is to replace all previous offers. In last week's issue-through an error-the price was omitted from the advertisement announcing this new offer. The prices is 25 cents.

UAW Issue: This issue of LABOR ACTION is the special United Auto Workers Convention issue, covering the UAW situation. Many thousands of extra copies have been printed and are being sold and distributed. This is the largest press run in LA-BOR ACTION history and next week we will announce exactly the number of copies that were printed.

Subscriptions: The following subscriptions have been received by us during the last TWO weeks. The Buffalo agent is doing a bang-up job getting new readers for LABOR AC-

New York City 16

Buffalo	12
St. Louis	4
Chicago	3
Pennsylvania	2
Lynn	1
California	1
Total	39

LABOR ACTION'S

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Rank and File Teamsters Halt St. Louis Trucks in Two-Day Strike

ST. LOUIS - Three thousand truck drivers almost paralyzed the trade and industry of this city in a wildcat strike. They tied up pretty near everything. One hundred and ten trucking firms were tied up 100 per

This action was carried out by the rank and file in defiance of their leaders.

The immediate issue was a matter of \$3.00 a week, but the scope and fury of the strike indicate that the grievances are far deeper than that.

Reject Compromise

The outburst began Monday night at a turbulent meeting of Locals 600 and 729 of the AFL Teamsters when their three-year agreement with the 110 firms came up for renewal. The workers had demanded a \$6.00 a week raise and a week's vacation with pay. A compromise of \$3.00 a week and the vacation were offered by the owners' association and urged by the union president. This was promptly rejected by a vote of 1,022

Then Ryan, the union president, read a telegram from the federal conciliator which urged the members to comply with the request of President Roosevelt that there be no stoppage of work during the emergency. He was answered by shouts of "No, No," and "To hell with it; we'll take care of it ourselves." When Ryan had finally restored order, he urged the men to let the conciliation service and the War Labor Board settle the dispute. He adjourned the meeting and the men gathered in groups and decided upon a "holiday."

Lasts Two Days

Tuesday morning presented an extraordinary scene. Thousands of men met on the water front at a huge

speak while scores of roving squads shut down all trucking tight as a drum throughout the St. Louis and East St. Louis area-in a strike that was absolutely leaderless. The official union leaders franti-

"meeting" at which no one dared to

cally tried to break the strike, the newspapers yelled that the stoppage of war industry is "worse than an air raid" and FBI agents rounded up men "for interfering with interstate commerce which would hamper the war effort." Yet not a truck rolled for two days. Army cars handled a little, but that was about all.

Ryan said that the union office was busy most of the day with reports that squads of rioters were touring the city in automobiles, ordering driver after driver to turn back. Gutman, president of the owners' association, said that in negotiation it did not appear that any difficulty would follow and that the union negotiators expressed their satisfaction with the \$3.00 increase offered. He wondered whether the strike was not influenced by some Axis agents!

Ryan blamed the wildcat on "a few hot-heads." He and other union officers stated that they were wholeheartedly opposed to the walk-out. CIO leaders, whose members were made idle, tried to find out whether the officers of the Teamsters Union were merely posing. These latter urged the CIO leaders to help them break the strike.

A government labor conciliator was asked the cause of the strike. "The men want something of what the other fellow has, and war or no war they are going to try to get it."

It was clear that this outburst could not go far without leadership and no one was surprised when it collapsed after two days. But it was nevertheless a terrific demonstration of the mood of the workers.

Election in Goodyear Aircraft Holds Key to Local 856's Future

AKRON, July 27-By the time this not been appointed in many departappears in print, election of officers for Goodyear Aircraft, Local 856, will have taken place.

Upon the outcome of the election depends whether Local 856 will make the beginnings of a fighting union in what will shortly be the largest industry in this city, or whether it will continue crawling on its hands and knees before the Goodyear Aircraft Corp. as it has in the past under the domination of William Fowler, the darling of the Daily Workers' pages.

Opposing Slates

Fowler, past vice-president and now vice-president-elect of the union, by virtue of his being unopposed for the office, follows the Stalinist line like a hound dog following a scent. Heading Fowler's slate is a John Neal, candidate for president. Neal is an amateur union frame-up artist and pliant tool of Fowler. For financial secretary the slate lists Clarence Wages, whose union activity in the past has consisted of a lot of good, hard mental labor in endeavoring to get his money on the winning horse. The rest of the slate is of similar stripe.

Opposing this slate is that of the militants. At present, hampered by the youth of the union, their inexperience, company and government pressure, and the receivership into which the local was recently thrown by the international, they are not in as strong a position as they might be. Events, however, are educating them rapidly. The present elections put an end to the first period of the union's existence. From now on everything will be seen in clearer perspective.

Fowler, the whip of the reactionary forces of the union, has pursued a policy of collaboration with the company. He settles grievances quickly on any basis that he can in order to "keep production moving." Fowler was the leader in the labormanagement ballyhoo-which meant that cooperation was entirely on the side of the men. Committeemen have

ments. Despite the tremendous influx of new workers, no organization drive has been instituted. Fowler has sanctioned the firing of militants falsely accused of having started sit-downs. Nor has Fowler ever come to grisp with the wage question. So eager is Fowler to work with the company that despite the fact that he is a Negro he has never opened his mouth-which is open and working on practically all other occasions-in an effort to get Negroes on production.

The chief activity of Fowler and his company friends has been to filibuster meetings to death with reports on the USO drive, Red Cross etc. The unfortunate result of this is that Fowler is gradually building up anti - Negro prejudice among those members who fail to see the less plain fact that Fowler's activity is not due to his being a Negro but to the Stalinist line that he follows.

The elections themselves came as a result of framed-up charges directed against Donald Carper, the former militant president of the local, under whose leadership the union was organized and a contract secured with the company. During the trial of Carper, officers were suspended, an international receiver sent in and elections ordered following the trial.

Under the guidance of Fowler, charges of Trotskyism, unauthorized expenditure of money, refusal to let union records be audited, speaking in a dictatorial manner, etc., were preferred against Carper by a gang composed, among others, of the before-mentioned Neal, dubious characters with police records, union members so loyal and self-sacrificing that they had long since been suspended for non-payment of dues, and company stooges.

How false these charges were may be seen in the fact that, despite the "compromise" demanded and secured by the international 'representative Sheepers, who was far from impartial during the whole trial, Carper was granted an honorary withdrawal card upon his induction into the armed forces.

Following the elections, the militants will be able to take stock and expand their activities. First on the order of the day for the union is the prosecution of a genuine organizational drive among the men and women of the plant. This means the setting up of a system of committeemen which will act on grievances in a hard-boiled manner.

These Newsstands Carry the NI

1011 West Fifth Street. 316 West Fifth Street. 6131/2 South Hill Street. 1606 Sunset Boulevard. Las Palmas & Hollywood Blvd. Whitley & Hollywood Blvd.

Organization Of Small Shops Vital Job for UAW

By A. FINDLEY

The tremendous expansion of the aircraft industry has resulted in the multiplication and the expansion of the plants manufacturing airplane parts. The thousands of workers in these plants are literally clamoring for organization; almost daily some request comes into the union offices asking for an organizing drive in this or that particular plant.

The organizing in this field, however, has proceeded very slowly. Most of these plants are medium or small size shops which stay in business only because of low labor costs achieved by paying sub-standard wages. In one such plant in New York, set-up men were paid 75 cents an hour while machine operators' pay was 40 and 50 cents an hour. Naturally boss opposition is bitterly and viciously opposed to unionization. When the more aggressive tactics fail, the boss tries to stall and drag out the proceedings before various governmental boards.

Legal Delays -

Unfortunately, the UAW leaders, with their appearement policy, have relied completely on the NLRB and the War Labor Board. The red tape bureaucrats of the NLRB take their own sweet time in these cases. The Amalgamated Local 698, which had organized a majority of the workers in the plants, Simmonds Air Accessories and American Rolbal Co., waited three and a half months for an election to be held, while the men continued working for 40 cents

Long drawn-out legal battles have almost resulted in the collapse of many small locals. The only time the Labor Board acts fast is when there is a threat of militant action on the part of the rank and file workers. In one parts plant, an election was ordered within three days (instead of three months) as a result of a spontaneous walk-out.

The unaggressive tactics of the UAW leadership are having a demoralizing influence on many real, pro-union workers. The result is that while at the beginning of an organization drive the men are very strongly pro-CIO because it's the CIO kind of union they want, by the time the NLRB elections are held CIO majorities are either not as substantial as they might be or in some cases of course there is no CIO ma-

The organization of these plants is essential if the CIO is to unionize aircraft. To maintain union standards the small shops must be organized. These small shops are a menace to the large plants which are already in the CIO. Sub-conproduced by cheap unorganized labor. Many union shops adopt the policy of laying off men and sending out most of their work to nonunion sub-contractors.

To really succeed in unionizing aircraft the UAW should include in its contracts with the so-called "prime contractors" a clause stipulating that all sub-contracting work be done only in union shops. To enforce this and other union demands, labor, through its unions, must have the right to inspect the books of the corporation.

The present policy of keeping the men in check and relying on the government-appointed labor boards will not accomplish the huge task of organizing aircraft, a great mushroom industry. Appeasing the bosses and the government won't do it. Only a militant organization drive along the lines of the early CIO drive in auto will accomplish this, the No. 1 job of the UAW.

What Steel Moguls Got

Elsewhere in this issue we list the take in 1941 of Eugene Grace, Tom Girdler, Benjamin Fairless and H. E.

But other steel magnates did just

Paul MacKall and Quincy Bent, directors of Bethlehem Steel, \$197,-Robert E. McMath, vice-president

and secretary of Bethlehem, \$155,393. Frederick Schick, controller of Bethlehem, \$155,393.

R. J. Wysor, president of Republic,

N. J. Clark, vice-president of Republic, \$86,000. Enders Voorhees, director of U.S.

Steel, \$107,410.

Irvin Olds, chairman of U.S. Steel, L. N. Parsons, vice-president of

Jones & Laughlin, \$110,375.

W. J. Creighton and F. S. Marshall, vice-presidents of Jones & Laughlin,

In Los Angeles

Send to: LABOR ACTION, 114 W. 14th St., New York City

Policy of Retreat Hurts UAW

(Continued from page 1)

that it was an excellent convention of labor.

However, one year later Murray announced that it was his opinion that the CIO should take a definite stand on the war. To Murray this meant support of the war. This opinion took form in the main convention resolution in the expression, "support of the foreign policy of the President." At the close of the convention it was clear that the CIO had moved a long way from the militant attitude of the Atlantic City convention that the first consideration of the CIO was the militant defense of the rights of labor.

Murray and the CIO leaders made some very subtle distinction between the right to strike and the promise not to strike. They adopted the formula: "We have the right to strike but we promise not to use this right for the duration of the war." This of course was satisfactory to the bosses. They have no objection even to wage raises "in principle." They object only when the workers demand the application of the prin-

The next retreat was on the matter of "premium pay" for Saturdays, Sundays and holidays. Under the lashing of the National Association of Manufacturers and their deputies in Congress, the CIO leadership agreed to give up time and a half and double time for Sundays and

Here too, as in the case of giving up the right to strike, Murray and the CIO leadership acted bureaucratically. The membership of the CIO was NOT CONSULTED. There was a reason for this bureaucratic procedure, of course. Murray knew that the membership of the CIO was opposed to yielding the right to strike and to giving up the overtime pay for weekends and holidays.

Democratic Tradition

All of this had its effect on Thomas and the UAW leadership. Thomas is perhaps Murray's chief lieutenant and his most powerful support aside from the Murray - MacDonald steel union. But the UAW is not so thoroughly bureaucratized as the United Steel Workers. Thomas is younger in the game and less experienced than Murray. He has not had the advantage, as has Murray, of years of training under such a consummate master as John L. Lewis. Furthermore, even if he is so inclined, it is doubtful if Thomas can ever become the old-line bureaucrat because he really hasn't the ability.

There are other and more important reasons for the difference between the UAW and some of the other CIO internationals. For one reason it is not in the grip of the Stalinists. Therefore it has not been harassed and plagued with the intricacies, complexities and mysteries of Kremlin politics. Furthermore, the UAW has a tradition of internal democracy and militancy. Its conventions have been somewhat of a model of democratic procedure in the trade union movement. The members have refused to let the leadership be the whole show.

This tradition and this independence and militancy in the membership no doubt had much to do with the decision of the UAW leadership a call a special conference to consider the question of giving up the "premium pay." Thomas knew that it was necessary at least to go through the motions of a democratic procedure on this question. It turned out that this was all it was: the motions of democratic procedure. At the opening of the conference it was announced that the conference had no legislative function, that its acts would have to be approved by the locals. At the close of the convention a resolution was introduced instructing the locals to renegotiate their contracts, eliminating the "premium pay."

Not only this, but the organizers were told to go back and put it over. One organizer told a local union that it might as well accept because it was going to get it any-

The Brute Facts

These are some of the things that have been happening in the CIO and the UAW since the last great convention of the UAW in Buffalo.

The UAW leadership gave up the right to strike for the duration of the war.

The UAW leadership gave up overtime pay for Saturdays, Sundays and holidays.

The UAW leadership supported the army attack at North Ameri-

The aircraft organizing drive WAS NOT carried through. The UAW lost the important and strategic Curtiss - Wright election

to the AFL. These are the brute facts that Thomas, Addes, Frankensteen, Reuther and others must face at this convention. This is what the UAW

What did the automobile and aircraft workers get in return for these concessions to the besses? Well, for one thing they got a nice slogan: VICTORY THROUGH EQUALITY

one can say without qualification . CIO-UAW slogan-makers this meant

On the heels of the emblazoning of this great slogan on the CIO-UAW banner the corporation reports began rolling in. These showed that General Motors and other vast combines were raking in the profits in undreamed of amounts. So much so that it is reported that the UAW paper now refrains from publishing profit figures for fear of inflaming the workers.

Next the workers were treated to

Labor was confronted with the fact that Standard Oil of New Jersey was practicing equality of sacrifice by maintaining a relation with Ger-

Even those workers who support the war must realize by now that they have been cheated; that the sacrifices they have made have absolutely nothing to do with winning the war. These workers must know by now that this was not an effort to win the war but a concerted and well organized drive against labor: by the bosses, in Congress and by Roosevelt. Murray, Thomas and the other CIO leaders were caught in the net of the bosses. A delegate to the special UAW conference in April said: "Last August in Buffalo we elected officers to negotiate for us. Now they are negotiating with our enemies against us." What this worker said is substantially correct.

What Are the Plans?

What are the plans of Thomas and the other UAW leaders for this convention? Do they have plans for halting the retreat and ordering an advance of the UAW? This is not probable unless the mass of the delegates stand their ground (as they did not at the special April conference) and demand an about-face.

will come in with proposals to increase the dues and their own salaries! This will be a miserable spectacle in the light of the actual situation. Increase dues! For what? A leadership does not need more money in order to continue a retreat. It is not retreat that costs money but in order to repair the damages and devastation of

If there is to be an about-face, a command for double-time forward, then the membership should be willing to make any sacrifice. But they must be sure about this. They cannot afford to vote an increase in dues to a leadership which rides along with Roosevelt and the bosses at the very time they are expected to be marching at the front of the

OF SACRIFICE." According to the that labor and management were to sacrifice equally! Concretely they said that management was to be limited to annual incomes of \$25,-

Is This What Union Editors Are For?

the spectacle of management doubling and tripling its own salaries. Here again was the working out in practice of the equality of sacrifice

many that was called "treason."

It is probable that the leadership

columns of labor.

What about the increase in the pay of the officials which this convention will be asked to grant? Why should the pay be increased? Are the wages of Thomas, Addes and the regional directors sub - standard?

000. This is equality of sacrifice!

Editor's Note: On Monday, July 20, Harold Lavine sent an article from Detroit to his newspaper, the New York liberal tabloid, PM. It's a story about the auto workers, about their union, about their union leaders, about their union paper and about its editor. It tells what the union leaders-people like Walter P. Reutherare thinking. It tells what the union editor is doingand not doing.

Harold Lavine is no radical, but a liberal, 100 per cent pro-war reporter. He just tells the story as he saw it. And when you read his story, every worker and especially every member of the UAW, must ask himself: Is this what union leaders are for? Is this what union editors are for? What are they making out of our fighting organization?

So that our readers may get a clearer idea of what we mean, we are reprinting, without further comment, paragraphs from the article by Reporter Lavine.

Actually union officials in the war industries today are working overtime to keep their men from striking. The AFL and CIO, in the war industries at least, couldn't be more tractable and more co-operative if they were company

In fact, the United Automobile Workers Union, CIO, lost an election just the other day because the independent union was able to say just that. It warned the men that if they joined the UAW they'd lose double pay for Sunday and holiday work. And that was right: the UAW voluntarily gave up double pay several months ago; unorganized workers in many open-shop plants still are receiving it.

Don't tell Pegler: the fact is that union officials, instead of stirring their men up, are having the devil's own time keeping them quiet. Hardly the day now passes without perhaps 400 workers in one plant and say 75 in another knocking off work for three or four hours in defiance of their contracts and of their union officials. It happened Wednesday night at Henry Ford's chemical plant near Iron Mountain: it happened Thursday morning at the Fisher tank plant in Flint; it happened Thursday night at Ford's Willow Run

Questions Raised by a PM Reporter for UAW Members-

These wildcat strikes are becoming more and more numerous, and no one is quite sure why....

I have it straight from the horse's mouth that Walter P. Reuther, the red-headed young vice-president of the UAW, told C. E. Wilson of General Motors in Washington recently sthat if the disgruntlement continued another six months the auto industry would find itself "with the biggest strike on your hands you ever saw."

Reuther is reported to have added "We can't hold the men down much longer."

This doesn't make pretty reading:

Is This What Union Leaders Are For?

The disgruntlement is the result of complete and thorough cynicism about the war effort.

The men are fed up with their employers, they're fed up with Congress, they're fed up with the Office of Price Administration (OPA), they're fed up with their newspapers, they're just plain fed up.

They wouldn't mind being forced to make sacrifices, if anyone else were making sacrifices, too. Maybe they're egocentric, but they're convinced that no one else is [making

Mention of wage stabilization also makes the workers mad. They know their bosses are making terrific profits;

"We'll stop talking about getting more dough when Congress does something about profits and bonuses."

It was by neat coincidence that Saturday, the day I talked with the Willow Run workers, the Detroit Free Press carried these contrasting headlines:

"FDR Studies Control of Wages, Farm Price." "Three Detroit Firms Figure in Probe of War-Contract

The United Automobile Worker never runs stories about the salaries and bonuses paid to automobile executives. It would make good copy, too, because those boys make big money. The other day I asked Edward Levinson, who edits the United Automobile Worker, how come? His answer was illuminating:

"It would just provoke trouble. Someone would be sure to clip out the stories and paste them up for everyone in the plant to read. People would gather around to discuss them, and you know how our boys feel.

"First thing you know you'd have the damnedest uproar in that plant. No one would do any work; they'd all be too

Of course, the men know about the salaries and bonuses anyway. They also know about the new tax bill. They know that price ceilings are beginning to crack up all over Detroit, and that rent control is meaningless when you can't find apartments to rent, which is the case in Detroit.

So they're cynical about the war, and if few of them strike, nearly all loaf on the job. Soldiering is commonplace in every factory. The most common plaint of company officials is: "You can't get those guys to do an honest day's

And, off the record, union officials admit the situation is pretty bad and they carry on unceasing propaganda among the men to work harder....

They are not. Thomas' pay is \$5,500 and Addes' is \$5,000. The Heller Committee of the University of Cal- Aircraft Workers Want a Wage Raise! ifornia says that an annual wage of \$2,589.87 is required to maintain a family of four: man, wife and two children, in health, decency and moral well-being. Granted that this is low, these brothers have around 100 per cent more and that is

workers, not capitalist corporation What have these leaders done to warrant an increase in pay? Do they seek reward for leading a retreat, and a disorderly retreat at that? Do they want to be paid for the rout of the UAW by the bosses?

enough. They are the leaders of

In the light of all the facts known to every member of the UAW, this convention, in our opinion, has the task of calling a halt on retreat and capitulation. It might be well for the UAW members to remember that the steel workers asked for a dollar-a-day increase and got forty-four cents. The miners demanded a dollar-aday increase and got it. Not only did the miners get a collar-a-day increase but they wiped out the differential between the North and the South. This meant for the Southern miners an increase of more than a dollar a day.

The miners didn't get their dollara-day increase, however, with any such slogan as "victory through equality of sacrifice."

By H. ALLEN Aircraft workers are indignant at

the runaround which their legitimate grievances and demands have been receiving from employers and the government. Four months ago, in the "Equality of Sacrifice" program of the UAW-CIO, it was stated that "in industries where sub-standard wages (less than \$1.00 an hour) exist, wages shall be increased to insure a decent standard of living."

Well, a large part of the 1,250,0000 workers now at work in aircraft, or expecting to be in the near future, are making less than \$1.00 an hour. while living costs increase and profits climb enormously. Therefore, the CIO and AFL have presented joint demands for wage increases. These include increasing the present 60 cents an hour minimum to 95 cents an hour for the lower paid workers; and increasing the minimum for skilled workers from \$1.52 to \$1.60.

Aims at Job Freezing

Unwilling to permit the negotiations to take the normal channel of collective bargaining, the government entered into the picture by calling a conference of the workers, tries who need a raise will also want employers and government in Los Angeles, July 9. The conference was called "to prevent possible migration as a threat, it should be interpreted of employees from one plant to an- by aircraft workers differently:

other, or to other industries" where wages are higher (New York Times, July 10).

In other words, the government, by its own admission, called the joint government - labor - management conference to freeze aircraft labor to their present sub-standard

Paul Porter, wage stabilization director of the War Production Board, was appointed chairman of the conference. His title alone would indicate that he is interested in freezing wages, but as additional evidence there are his own words, after the conference opened, to the effect that "the President's seven-point program obviously rules out the Ford Willow Run (Detroit plant) wage rate as applied here" (Pacific Coast), because it "would unstabilize employee relation in other war and essential industries, especially on the Pacific

Need Wage Increase

Clearly, by "unstabilizing" employee relations, Porter means that if workers in one industry get their just raise, workers in other indusone. But that is to the interest of all workers and though stated by Porter

ing a much-needed boost to the wage levels of their fellow workers who sweat away at sub-standard wages. The three - cornered conference

opened on July 9. Two days later the airplane manufacturers called upon the Office of Price Administration to propose a stabilized wage scale. Obviously the manufacturers know that the OPA bread is buttered on their side.

The OPA is headed by Leon Henderson, who is rapidly getting himself a well-earned reputation for interpreting "equality of sacrifice" to mean "give it to labor in the neck." The OPA recently tried to put a spoke in the wheel of the wage demands of the steel workers then pending before the War Labor Board by declaring that the steel workers' increases should be limited to 5 per cent. And the same OPA has been assailed by representatives of the Steel Workers Union, the machinists and others unions as an agency whose efforts endanger the entire system of collective bargaining pro-

Stalemates Workers' Demands

On July 16 the aircraft conference came to a stalemate—and recessed. The excuse given by the manufacturers was that "divergent views" in the government agencies made it im-

namely, that they can assist in giv- possible to agree. Then why did the manufacturers call in divergent government agencies? Others say that "too great wage increase demands" made it impossible to come to a solution. Here we have the real crux of the problem. The aircraft workers need and demand higher wages. The employers deny that they need these

The employers arbitrarily have taken a limited time period of one month (the month of May) to declare that the average weekly wage of the aircraft worker in that period was \$46.75, or an hourly rate of 95.6 cents. If this is so, what are the manufacturers blustering about? The aircraft workers are demanding a 95 cent minimum. By the manufactuers' own figures, the demand of the aircraft workers for a wage increase would really be a wage cut!

The truth or facts are elsewhere. Significantly enough, the employers over a longer period of time—the past year or even the last six months. Is it because the average weekly rate over a longer period would conclusively show sub-standard wages and, with increased living costs, a low living standard? If and when the wage rates of the past period are made available, it is safe to predict this will prove to be the case.

(Continued on page 4)

-Gerald K. Smith, Native Fascist, Seeks Senate Nomination in Michigan-

Union Men! This Man Is a Vicious Enemy of Labor! By Gertrude Shaw-

At the time when the auto, rubber and other mass production workers in the Middle West went through their most militant and constructive period, a rabblerouser named Gerald Lyman Kenneth Smith was using all his demagogic powers to throw a monkey-wrench into the workers' efforts.

When the sit-down strikes were making labor history-giving roots to the CIO and establishing a decent standard of living for the workers-and when the bosses were frantic with fear of labor's might, Gerald Smith was ladling out to the fighting workers huge doses of "Americanism" in an effort to bulldoze them. The industrialists around Detroit made no attempt to deny that they hired Smith as a strike-breaker-and paid him

Many workers in Pennsylvania towns, in Akron, Flint, Toledo, Chicago and Detroit must recall participating in CIO picketing of Gerald Smith's harangues. They must remember hissing and booing his scab-inspiring meetings.

This strike-breaker, financed by the most reactionary elements, is now making a bid for political power. He is a candidate for the Republican nomination to the United States Senate from Michigan. This labor-hater seeks the political support of the workers in Michigan in this election. But his aim goes beyond that. With headquarters in Detroit, where he speaks over the radio every Sunday night and is heard in Michigan, Indiana and Ohio, he makes his demagogic appeal for wider support among workers.

GERALD SMITH IS A DANGEROUS MAN. HE CONSIDERS HIMSELF A "MAN WITH A MISSION." THAT MISSION IS TO LEAD AN AMERICAN FAS-CIST MOVEMENT. THE WORKERS MUST CRACK

If Smith wins in the primary in September, he will run for the seat in the Senate now occupied by Prentiss Brown, Democrat. Smith hopes to make political capital of the discontent that the masses feel against various of the Roosevelt measures and deeds (such as wage freezing). Workers must not be fooled by Smith's opposition to the powers that be into aiding an Amer-

ican fascist and giving this enemy of labor the boost he wants up the political ladder.

SMITH HAS HIS "THYSSENS"

Just as Hitler had his Thyssens, so Gerald Smith has his pillars of capitalist society. The motor multi-millionaire Horace Dodge was the first to discover Smith's value to the reactionary ruling class and to express his appreciation financially. One reason for Smith establishing himself in Detroit is to be near this benefactor.

"King Henry" Ford is reported to have been paying for Smith's radio time. Though Smith denies this, he admits: "I am a great admirer of Mr. Ford and he says

he is a great admirer of me." Smith has also had the backing of a member of the Pullman family. In New York the Park Avenue crowd idolized him and gave him money. Over-dressed dowagers, empty-headed debutantes, retired stock-brokers and other parasites consider him a crusader against "those awful workers"—the savior of their ill-gotten wealth and social position. His pockets are constantly replenished by the donations of corporation officers and manufacturers' associations. Fritz Kuhn and other unmasked emissaries of Hitlerism have added their "drop" to the Smith bucket.

Today this Galahad of American fascism boasts that he gets \$1,500 a week from "good, sound, middle class Americans who send their dollars in one at a time." Hitler also received the support of the misguided German lower middle class. This unfortunate class, crushed by the merciless onrush of topcapitalism and afraid of the movement of the workers for the liberation of all humanity, desperately and foolishly looks to a "strong leader" for salvation -with what tragic results has been dramatically illustrated in Germany.

The abysmal insincerity of Gerald Smith can be gauged by the jump he made from the pulpit into the political camp of Huey Long, the kingfish of political dictators. In this corrupt machine, at the feet of this unscrupulous political boss, is where Smith-erstwhile servant of God-got his political education. Today he is hand-in-glove with such Southern bourbons as Senator

Reynolds of North Carolina.

Gerald Smith is too clever a politician to indulge in the wild-eyed, foaming-at-the-mouth type of race hatred, but his anti-Semitism is clear-cut nonetheless. He publishes a paper called The Cross and the Flag. The Ku Klux Klan is too close to this combination to allow any misinterpretation. Smith's kinship to the anti-Semitic Christian Fronters is deeper than water. The most rabid anti-Semites flock to his fold and he rejects none of them. Smith, like the Nazi-admirer Father Coughlin-The Cross and The Flag like Social Justice-stands for that Hitler product, a "Christian America."

There is no doubt whatever that all the anti-Semitic elements in the country are for Gerald Smith. And he, on his part, is worried about Father Coughlin losing his "four freedoms." This apologist for Hitler is, according to Gerald Smith, "being persecuted." Smith declares: "I am his defender."

There is also no doubt that all the Jim Crow elements are behind Smith. He is a politician from the deep South. His fraternal connections with the Jim Crow, poll-tax politicians testify to where he stands.

To disclaim his anti-Semitism Smith points to the fact that he has the support of one of the richest and most successful Jewish lawyers in Detroit. However this does not prove Smith's love for minority races. It only demonstrates that Smith is so antilabor that this rich Jewish lawyer, who represents boss interests in Detroit, reacts to Smith just as the bosses do. It proves that class lines are stronger than race. Hitler also had his RICH Jewish supporters (the Jewish worker was, of course, against him)before he came to power. They, like so many of the rich, saw in him the destroyer of labor's power.

A STRIKE-BREAKER'S WAY OF LIFE

Smith is fond of shouting that he "loves and defends the American way of life." Every faker, every capitalist politician, every would-be fascist dictator in this country is-quite naturally-a champion for the "American

Obviously, their way is not that of the workers.

Gerald Smith's way of life is the one which sides with the bosses against the workers as he did in the great sit-down strikes. His way of life is the one that invokes the wrath of all powers that be against striking workers-and takes pay from the bosses to do so. His way is apparently the way of Huey Long, of Coughlin, of Hitler, of the whole fascist-Nazi gang.

Concretely the choice for the workers is not between Prentiss Brown, representative of a discredited political party and a discredited social system, and Gerald Smith, protagonist for putting brass knuckles on that system to pound the working class into submission. The choice is not between representatives of good old capitalism without any trimmings and of capitalism with new-fangled fascist trimmings. IT IS WHETHER THE WORKERS SHOULD CONTINUE TO RELY ON ANY VARIETY OF BOSS POLITICS OR START RELYING ON INDE-PENDENT WORKING CLASS POLITICS.

AWAY WITH FAKE MESSIAHS

New times require new actions. The rank and file of labor must get itself into politics as an independent labor force-with an independent working class party. Labor, through its OWN party, ought to be putting up for candidacy fellow workers of outstanding integrity and ability to protect the workers' interests everywhere and against anyone-but especially against false labor

Hitler exploited the post-war suffering of the German people. He promised them the Nazi millenium. He gave them the hell of a Nazi dictatorship. Gerald Smith exploits the dicontent that the war and its conduct have thus far engendered in the American people. The people will grow more discontented with all the workers of the capitalist system and will yearn for a change.

But the change the people want will not come through a fascist demagogue. The choice for the workers is not between things as they are and things as a fascist dictator will make them. The choice is between things as they are and things as the workers CAN MAKE THEM if they stop relying on fake messiahs AND RELY INSTEAD ON THEIR OWN STRENGTH AND ABILITY.

UAW Labor-- Take Lead in Smashing Boss Offensive With Labor Offensive!

try in peacetime OR in wartime; that their main concern preserving their stranglehold, their private ownership over industry.

LABOR SACRIFICES, BOSSES PROFIT

If all these charges are true—and they are true, and they are true of ALL industries—then why doesn't the

UAW draw the obvious conclusions? What are these conclusions?

LABOR IS MAKING THE SACRIFICES—AND CAP-ITAL IS MAKING THE PROFITS!

LABOR IS FIGHTING ON THE BATTLEFIELDS AND TOILING AT HOME—AND CAPITAL IS DRAW-ING THE DIVIDENDS!

LABOR IS WORKING FOR THE WAR-AND CAP-ITAL IS DIRECTING THE WAR PRODUCTION BOARD, THE WAR LABOR BOARD AND ALL THE OTHER BOARDS-NOT ONE OF WHICH IS CON-TROLLED BY LABOR.

Is there a union member so blind that he doesn't see these facts? The union leaders pretend that the facts aren't there. But the rank and file member cannot and must not stoop to such fatal pretenses. And he doesn't! He sees these facts.

That isn't all he sees.

He sees that his union leaders are not lifting a finger to change this intolerable situation. These leaders fly to Washington and back. They fly all over the country. They confer with the bureaucrats in the capital. They confer with the bosses of industry. And the net result? The workers and their unions are worse off every month!

That's why the union membership is growing restless. That's why the union membership is growing suspicious and worried.

They see the bosses taking the offensive against the union and the union's hard-fought and hard-won stand-

They see a labor-hating Congress—the most reactionary we have had in years-taking the offensive against labor.

They see everything they fought for and won being threatened on all sides by capitalists who use the war crisis to better their position and worsen labor's posi-

But they don't see their own leaders mobilizing and preparing them to defend labor's position.

That's why a certain stagnation is beginning to set in among the ranks of this powerful UAW-a terribly dangerous stagnation.

Many workers feel that if the union is not fighting for their conditions—and that's what 99 out of 100 workers joined the union for-that if the union is giving up their conditions without a fight, then the union is giving up its reason for existence. Let's not blind ourselves to facts—and this is a fact!

That's one of the main reasons, perhaps THE main reason, why the UAW has already suffered several defeats in plant elections throughout the country. That's why it lost in Paterson; that's why it suffered a setback at Budd's in Philadelphia; that's why it lost the Curtiss election in Buffalo a couple of weeks ago.

In most elections it lost, the workers didn't vote against unionism! In most elections they voted for the IAM of the AFL—generally speaking as a protest against the capitulation of policy of the UAW, AGAINST THE POLICY OF APPEASEMENT OF THE EMPLOYERS, against the policy of giving up union standards without the sign of a struggle.

APPEASEMENT POLICY NO GOOD!

Watch out! Watch out! If this policy continues, if the leaders continue to cram it down the throats of the union, they will only succeed in promoting a movement of indifference among wide circles of union members. We don't want to see that happen. No intelligent work-

ingman wants to see that happen. But it WILL happen, whether we want it to or not, if the appearement policy continues as in the past. It will happen, and it will surely be followed by members quitting the union altogether. And then? Then they will become the victims of reactionary demagogues who will exploit them AGAINST unionism altogether!

That's the experience of other countries. Let's learn. from this bitter experience before it is too late!

The appearement policy is no good. Labor gives everything and gets nothing but a sharpened capitalist

This offensive must be met and smashed! Reaction must be taught a lesson that it will not soon forget. It must be shown that labor is in no mood to be trifled with. It must be shown that labor in this country is more than strong enough and able enough and willing enough to defend itself and its standards.

The UAW is in many ways the standard bearer of the American labor movement. It should take the lead. It can and must smash the capitalist offensive against

That is the problem to which the August convention of the UAW in Chicago must consecrate its efforts.

MILITANTS MUST TAKE LEAD

Will Thomas, Frankensteen, Reuther and Addes take the lead in solving this problem? We don't believe they will. These union bureaucrats are good at internal intrigues and factional fights and giving up labor's rights in the name of the "war effort"-but they have no stomach for a consistent working class fight. Will the Stalinist stooges in the union lead such a fight? No, they won't either. All they're concerned with is serving the interests of the Stalinist bureaucracy, which is for the "war effort" (this season, at least), even if it means the enslavement of every worker.

It's up to the sincere, fighting union militants, then.

It is they who must push the fighting program of union defense.

No more retreats, not another inch backward, not another concession!

Put the war burden on the shoulders that can carry it—the big monopolists, the coupon clippers, the Sixty

Complete control of rationing and price-fixing by labor unions and by the housewives! Only they can protect the people from wealthy chiselers and bureaucrats who don't care a toot about the workers.

Workers' control of production! The "labor-management" committees have proved to be a device for getting labor to sweat for the bosses. Labor should have full control of production which the monopoly-capitalists have botched and crippled time and again and which they direct EXCLUSIVELY for the profit they get out

The UAW should take the lead in organizing a national Labor Party! Isn't it high time labor had a party of its own? The old political policy of labor has produced the most reactionary Congress in years and years -that's the net result. Labor is strong only when it relies on itself and its strength—and its strength can make it invincible. That's been shown on the economic front. Let us show it on the key front of national politics-form an independent Labor Party to fight for a Workers' Congress.

A Workers' Congress means a Workers' Government! A Workers' Government means simply that labor takes control of its own destiny.

UAW Members! It is in your power to give the whole labor movement a fresh start, a fresh inspiration, as you have done many times before. You have the fearless courage, the indomitable resoluteness, the great endurance. Show them once more, and the capitalist offensive can be smashed. Show them once more, and labor can take the offensive again and break through to victory all along the line.

Editorials

Case in Point--

(Continued from page 2)

We further said that while we were pleased to see a government board recognizing that wages must AT LEAST keep pace with the cost of living: "The starting point and approach of the WLB order are easily punctured deceptions." The Remington - Rand decision punctures whatever remains of the deception.

No wonder, then, that the board could brag that its Little Steel formula had already served as a decelerator (should that read "depressor"?) and stabilizer of the wage movement.

That's just the point. The WLB formula "decelerates" and "stabilizes" the wage movement at a point unsatisfactory to labor!

Take the Remington-Rand facts. Taken as a whole and averaged on the basis of nine selected occupations, the board found that Remington-Rand was paying 80.3 cents an hour.

That's the figure published in the press. All it means, however, is that taking the wages of skilled and unskilled workers, an AVERAGE wage of 80.3 cents is paid. OR—that considerable sections of the 1,200 workers affected make LESS than 80.3 cents!

But suppose even that all were making 80.3. Does that mean that they are not entitled to the 10 cent increase the UEW asked? By no means!

LABOR MUST DEFEND ITSELF!

1. Hands off the right to strike! For the

2. Thirty hours a week; thirty dollars the

3. Wage increases which meet rising costs!

4. No government contract without a union

5. Maintain and increase all government so-

6. A government levy on capital to cover the

7. Conscript all war industries under work-

8. Expropriate the "Sixty Families"—the 3

cent of the national wealth!

per cent of the people who own 96 per

cost of the imperialist war. Confiscate all

the rise in the cost of living!

SOAK THE RICH-LET THEM

PAY FOR THEIR WAR!

dustries!

cial services!

war profits!

defense of civil rights and all workers'

rights! Against any wartime dictatorship

minimum wage; time and a half for over-

time! Rehire the jobless millions by a

No sales tax on consumer goods; no taxes

on wages! Freeze rents and food and

clothing prices at the 1940 level to stop

contract! The closed shop in all war in-

It may be sufficient to keep them at their Janu- \$2,500 a year was essential for any kind of decent ary level. (Although we doubt even that. Prices have risen more precipitously than the board admits. Further, prices rise rapidly, unhindered by vards of red tape-price fixing notwithstanding. Wages are settled in contract and are "adjusted" only in long negotiations and struggle.) But the more important fact is this: THE JANUARY STANDARD OF LIVING WAS INADEQUATE!

What luxuries did Remington-Rand workers enjoy in January? What clothes, food and shelter? Were they adequate or desirable? Who will dare say "yes"? Certainly no Remington-Rand worker!

The fact is plain: the WLB formula is merely a "liberal" disguise, pending more formal legal restrictions which may be enacted after election day to keep labor's living standard down-to cheat and confuse workers with a lot of CARE-FULLY SELECTED statistics. And while its apparent intention is merely to sustain the January living standard, its net result, given the movement of prices, may be to DEPRESS labor's living standard.

Take note of the fact that in all this the board said nothing about "decelerating" profits.

Take note also that the WLB fact-finding panel held that Little Steel was fully capable of paying the \$1.00 increase. In all probability the facts are the same for Remington-Rand.

Take note also that years ago the Department of Labor calculated that a minimum income of

9. The right of free speech, free press

10. Sixty dollars a month minimum for

11. Down with Jim Crow and anti-Semi-

12. For full political, social and economic

13. For Workers' Defense Guards, trained

14. For an Independent Labor Party and

15. For Peace Through Socialism! For im-

vigilante and fascist attacks!

and controlled by the unions, against

a Workers' Government! No political

support to the Roosevelt government!

mediate independence of all colonies!

Only a socialist world will destroy capi-

talist imperialism and fascist barbar-

ism. For a League of Socialist National

tism! All discrimination against Ne-

groes in the Army and Navy or by em-

ployers in industry must be made a

and free assembly for the men in the

DEMOCRATIC RIGHTS

TO THE DRAFTEES!

armed forces!

SMASH JIM CROW!

criminal offense!

equality for Negroes.

draftees!

BE PREPARED!

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!

standard of living in which health could be properly maintained. No doubt this must now be raised to \$3,000 or \$3,500 a year. And that's where WE begin. That's where

UAW delegates must begin to deciding THEIR future wage demands: a wage rate equal to a DECENT standard of living; a minimum wage rate of \$1.00 an hour for ALL workers; and then, once having established a DECENT MINIMUM, a rising scale of wages to meet the increased cost of living.

Bear this in mind, UAW delegates: the labor members on the board in both the Little Steel and Remington-Rand cases voted against the decision. With some pressure and determined resistance. their votes could have outweighed the mythical "public" (which always seems to exclude labor) and management

You are 600,000 strong. You are the men whose skills and ability turn the machines and produce the goods. By making your demands unqualifiedly known you can establish wage rates and a living standard satisfactory to YOURSELVES. And by so doing give courage to ALL workers, "sub-standard" and "standard" alike, in seeking a RISE IN THE STANDARD OF LIVING!

That must be our goal: A BETTER STAND-ARD OF LIVING!

For the Agenda:

Here's a point for the UAW agenda: What about union papers in the army

It has come to our attention that many, if not all camps, refuse to allow the union press to enter.

Why not? And by whose order?

We know that the CIO has a special fund to send the union press to drafted union men.

We know that union men in the army are anxious to receive their union's paper.

It seems to us that the UAW convention could do something about this. It could choose an investigating committee. It could demand an explanation.

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Douglas Drive Injects New Life into Los Angeles UAW

LOS ANGELES, July 23-Until the opening of the Douglas organizational campaign, the UAW in Los Angeles had shown none of the militancy that marked its activity in the North American and Vultee strikes.

The Douglas drive has injected new life into the organization's hardening arteries. William Taylor, known locally as "the guy who organized Ford," has gathered a group of militant anti-Stalinists around him and is pushing the organization of West Coast aviation to the hilt.

The drive has a number of obstables to meet at present. Primarily the workers are skeptical of the union's potency, since it has given up the strike weapon for the duration. Those who have not joined give the excuse that the government will probably stabilize wages, so there is no need for a union.

That is the negative side of the picture. The positive side is that Douglas is being organized from the inside by volunteer organizers. This is a thousand per cent more effective than any amount of outside work could ever be. The volunteers work for the union openly and this gives the more timid workers confidence.

They distribute leaflets at the company gates, before and after work, while wearing work badges. They use every free moment off company time to sign up more men. Frequent "talks" from the personnel department have so far failed to daunt them. Since the local president, William Gilelspie, was ordered reinstated by the NLRB, firing for union activity has stopped.

The significance of this Douglas drive cannot be overestimated. It marks a significant change in UAW activity, and stands in sharp contrast with union life in other plane plants. Bridges' Attitude

The reason for the change from the militancy of the Vultee and North American strikes to the present apathy is not hard to find. At that time certain of the unions leaders of the two powerful aviation locals thought that this was an imperialist war. With Hitler's attack on Russia, black became white. And the UAW suffered the consequences of this shift in opinion.

Honest trade unionists in this area found themselves with two fights on their hands-the fight against the bosses, and the fight against the elements who had suddenly discovered that the war left no time for "trade unionism as

Translated into action, this glib phrase coined by Harry Bridges meant virtual sabotage of labor. One Stalinist openly stated that "too much union activity takes too much time from defense activity."

locals-high points in labor militancy way of "pending legislation.") a year ago-dwindled under Stalinist influence to skeleton organizations. The educational director of the Vultee local complained that they were holding meetings with only ten to fifteen members in attendance. At North American, although a maintenance of membership clause is in the contract, many workers were un- paying jobs. aware of the existence of a union.

Shot in the Arm

But Douglas has been a shot in the arm. The currently quoted rumor is that Douglas is at least 68 per cent organized. It is impossible to verify this figure, but even the speculation is a good thing.

But-there is one big question, an all-important question, the international has to answer for the newly organized workers here. "What is the UAW going to do about wage and job freezing?" Taylor's attitude after the breakdown of the wage stabilization conference here was unsatisfactory. He continued to ask the workers to put their faith in the impartiality of the government. And this after the OPA had flatly refused wage gains for aircraft.

Plane Facts said openly that "the reports of the OPA contained a policy that would henceforth prevent the right of trade unions to function as a collective bargaining agency for its members." The essential point of this statement was that war profits were created by the "war demands of the government and as such they were not labor's demand nor the industry's to give away in the form of swollen salaries of management, unwarranted dividends or wages. They belong to the government through pending legislation and administrative action by various agencies, under existing powers. The government will find a way to claim its own." (Labor already has a good in-

UAW Wins Buick Vote

CHICAGO - Workers in the new Chicago Buick aviation engine plant accepted the UAW-CIO as bargaining agent by a majority of 86 per cent. It is the 95th General Motors factory in which the workers have chosen the union to represent them.

Robert Wright, UAW organizer for the area, announced that this was the eighth election victory in Chicago for the union in recent weeks. The most recent, previous success was at the Chicago Studebaker plant.

The vote at Buick was 8 to 1 for the UAW in the production and maintenance departments and 2 to 1 in the toolroom.

The North American and Vulteedication of what to expect in the A Vital Question

So far Taylor's only answer to this has been to reassure the Douglas workers that the War Production Board would back labor at further conferences because the board didn't want the continued loss of time caused by labor migration to better

The question that must come to the mind of any intelligent worker now is: "If we can't strike for higher wages and the government refuses to grant us higher wages. what is to prevent the government from freezing us on our jobs if it is only interested in stopping us from changing jobs and not in helping us maintain our standard

This question must be answered by the UAW as it must be answered by the entire CIO.

Stabilization --

(Continued from page 3) The aircraft workers are obviously

pressing on their representatives, the union officials, for action, wondering why "equality of sacrifice" must mean only workers' sacrifice. As the UAW-CIO statement on the parleys admitted: "The UAW-CIO views with alarm the reaction of the workers" if the conference does not provide the necessary relief. That is another way of saying that the aircraft workers are sore and demand the raises to which they are entitled; that they can stand so much and no more, or else must consider more drastic action on their part to achieve their demands. No wonder "STRIKE" is in their minds more and more as the only road to take.

The aircraft workers cannot wait around while government agencies make up their minds upon some way to save President Roosevelt's face (which was supposed to be turned toward labor) while actually at the same time freezing the workers' wages. Even now, during the recess, one Administration group is reported "favoring a law by Congress to freeze for a period of 90 days all wages over 50 or 60 cents an hour" while the Administration and Congress "observe" the movement of living costs. Then the wage question would be "restudied" and a decision would emerge in due course.

In Next Issue:

H. Allen on the WLB. Henry Judd on Latin America. William Brad on Hull's speech. Europacus on the Underground

Movement in Germany.