

## Why Did President Green Join with the Stalinists At Shipyard Convention?

Mr. John Green, President, Industrial Union of Marine & Shipbuilding Workers, CIO, Camden, N. J.

Dear Mr. Green:

The Stalinists are overjoyed at the outcome of the convention your union just held in New York.

At the very last session of the convention, with the delegates worn out and paying no attention to what was happening, the Stalinist clique in the union put over a resolution condemning our paper, LABOR ACTION, putting it in the same category with the Hitlerites, and calling on the government to investigate and suppress it.

You, Mr. Green, aided and abetted this despicable, lying Stalinist assault directed not only at us and not even primarily at us—but at the interests of the entire labor movement. This letter is addressed to you in order to show the meaning of what happened.

### TEXT OF THE RESOLUTION

Do you know what the resolution says, what you concurred in? Read it again:

"These anonymous vermin have seen fit through a scurrilous sheet which they pass off as a labor paper called 'LABOR ACTION,' to viciously attack our president, Brother Green, and secretary-treasurer, Van Gelder, for their unshining labor in behalf of our war effort, and

"Whereas: This can only serve to strengthen the hands of Nazi agents in this country by aiding them to slow up production of our vital war machinery; now therefore be it

"Resolved: That the Industrial Union of Marine and Shipbuilding Workers, in convention assembled, vigorously condemn the traitorous fifth column activity and propaganda of this irresponsible gang and urges all of its local unions to track down and stamp out any of this activity within their reach, and be it further

"Resolved: That we urgently request the U.S. government to investigate the movement and activities of these traitors so as to quickly and efficiently smoke them out of their soles and eliminate them, just as other Nazi agents, from American life."

That's the text of the resolution as printed in the Communist Party's Daily Worker of September 27. The representative of your union in New York, whom we called on the telephone, didn't even know about the existence of such a resolution. Secretary-Treasurer Van Gelder, whom we called on the telephone at union headquarters in Camden, N. J., had only a vague and general recollection of the resolution, and couldn't even verify the text.

### DELIBERATE CAMPAIGN BY STALINISTS

But you know what was in the resolution, Mr. Green. And you know who was behind it, who cooked it up in the dark of the moon, and what purpose they had in mind.

You know it was the Stalinists, don't you! You know that this resolution, with almost the same wording, is being presented against LABOR ACTION by the Stalinist gangs in one union after another. They just tried the same thing at the convention of the United Rubber Workers Union of the CIO. They are trying to do the same thing in sections of the United Electrical & Radio Workers Union—and wherever else they can get away with it. This resolution is not the product of the "spontaneous reaction" of "indignant workers," but part of a campaign deliberately and carefully planned by the American servants of the Moscow oligarchy.

You know why they are doing it, because you have had enough experience with the Stalinists yourself. They are out to crush every critic of the Communist Party bureaucracy, and no means is too foul for them to employ, no lie too great, no trick too dirty. They are out to crush LABOR ACTION and the whole Trotskyist movement in particular, because it is not empty boasting when we say that we KNOW the Stalinists, we know all their crimes, we know their methods, we know their disguises, we know what contempt they really have for the working class and the labor movement, we know that their ONLY aim in the labor movement is to make it a docile tool of Stalin & Co., we know that they are ready to enslave every worker and shed oceans of blood in order to keep the Stalin gang in power in the Kremlin.

The Stalinists know that we know them through and through! They know who we are. They know of our years and years of single-minded devotion to the cause of the working class, to the cause and struggle of labor unionism, to the cause and ideals of revolutionary socialism. They know of our unremitting and uncompromising struggle against fascism in every country, from the day it was first heard of in Italy twenty-two years ago down to the present day of the monstrous tyranny of Hitler and Mussolini. They know that we cannot be bribed or intimidated or swayed from our attachment to the working class and to socialism. They know that no interest is higher to us than the interest of labor.

That's why they are resolved to get rid of us in the only way they know how: by lying about us, by trying to frame us up, by whistling for the cops, by calling on the capitalist government to gag and imprison us.

### YOU KNOW THIS TO BE TRUE!

You are not so blind or stupid as not to understand these simple truths, are you, Mr. Green? You know, don't you, that these are the incontestable facts?

(Continued on page 4)

# LABOR ACTION

OCTOBER 5, 1942

A PAPER IN THE INTERESTS OF LABOR

ONE CENT

# INDEPENDENT LABOR ACTION VITAL TO LABOR'S FUTURE!

## "Sh-h-h--You're Disturbing National Unity!"



## There Is No Other Answer To Those Seeking to Drive Our Living Standard Down

Speaking before a committee of retailers, Leon Henderson, OPA chief, warned that living standards must go down to 1932-33 levels.

The tendency toward depressing living standards to that level is already well under way: tax burdens, wage freezing, job freezing and the multitude of anti-labor decrees ordered or yet to be ordered by Roosevelt and Congress.

Do you recall 1932-33?

Do you recall the misery and poverty of those days during which labor's standard was anything but a LIVING one?

Then you were out of a job. Capitalist industry, with all its "brains," couldn't operate—and you, fellow workers, took the rap as industries closed down, as unemployment and hunger swept through the land.

## 3-Day Strike Forces Alcoa Plant Action

By GERALD McDERMOTT

CLEVELAND, Sept. 26—Workers in the Cleveland Plant of the Aluminum Co. of America returned to work recently after a three-day strike had shut down the smelting division of the huge plant and forced the Stalinist heads of the union to take up long-standing grievances with the company.

The walk-out of 300 furnace tenders and helpers was joined on the second day of the strike by 1,000 workers from the sand foundry. The men returned only after their Stalinist leaders, Edward Cheyfitz, national chairman of the casting division of the Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers, CIO, and Alex Balint, regional director, suddenly became aware of the grievances involved, many of them of more than a year's standing, and hastened to negotiate with the company.

The reasons for going back to work put forward by the company (Continued on page 4)

Many of you who were then unemployed are now working. War gave capitalist industry a shot in the arm, the "brains" of executive enterprise snatched profitable war contracts, and the factories reopened.

Except for those bosses who were wiped out in competition with others of their class, the bosses got along in 1932-33. They ate well, dressed warmly, lived in decent houses and had enough left over for a few luxuries.

YOU ate the cheapest food you could find, if you ate at all, dressed in rags or patched-up clothing, and tried to keep from being evicted. A repetition of that is all that boss society can offer you!

The year 1932 was not the same for you and the boss!

But listen to Henderson, and you get the impression that it was. Although he knows better, Henderson speaks of the "frills" (or what he prefers to call the "luxuries of American living standards") you lacked then, have now and must again relinquish.

Lowering the standard of living to the 1932 level will, it is true, leave the boss without a few frills. But it will leave YOU without food!

The 1932 standard of "living" was intolerable. The 1942 standard is better to the extent that you now have jobs, though wages on these jobs are nowhere what they should be (and profits 100 per cent more than they ought to be.)

But even the 1942 standard is not good enough!

The question then is: will you accept a set-back to the 1932 standard, or will you be satisfied with the miserable standard of today (seven and a half million of you earn LESS than 40 cents an hour), or will you demand a BETTER standard of living? And what can you do about it? Our answer is: INDEPENDENT LABOR ACTION!

There is only one indispensable class in modern society: THE WORKING CLASS. The working class operates the machines, runs the factories, produces the goods. The "indispensable" corporation executives are dispensable enough from the enterprises they "operate" to leave them for "dollar-a-year" jobs with the government. Their enterprises continue to operate without them.

(Continued on page 4)

## British Violence Increases in India

### British Kill 721, Wound 1,219 Indian People—But Struggle for Liberation Goes On!

By HENRY JUDD

In response to the vicious "go-ahead" signal given by Winston Churchill in Parliament, the British authorities in India have unleashed a new campaign of terror against 400,000,000 people struggling for freedom.

General Sir Allan F. Hartley—assistant to the "great" General Wavell—announced that Indian demonstrators have been machine-gunned five times by airplanes within the last month. Police and troops have been used again in Bombay and other areas where workers and students joined in independence parades. In the city of Bombay, five men were sentenced to death and four banished from the city for life after a bloody clash with police at a police station.

Airplanes sprayed incendiary bombs on the homes and villages of Moslem natives (Hurs) and parachute troops were brought into use against them. General Hartley announced that 200 were arrested and forty-five killed in the war against these people. In Madras Province, demonstrations of workers at salt factories were met with gunfire and many workers were killed. Authorities ordered the arrest of students and teachers in the Dacca district of Bengal Province in a vain effort to halt demonstrations and picketing actions. Many students of nationalist beliefs were arrested and expelled from the regions of Assam Province by the police. The number of arrests and woundings mounted daily and is already in the tens of thousands! And Mr. Churchill, sitting in

Parliament, states that "law and order" have returned to Britain's India colony!

The full meaning of all this criminal activity upon the part of the British was summarized by Sir M. Usman, British-appointed leader of the Council of State (a body made up of reactionary landlords and British business men), in a report delivered by him at the opening session of this body.

Killed by police	390
Killed by British troops	331
Total killed	721
Wounded by police	1,060
Wounded by British troops	159
Total wounded	1,219

Evidently, the British soldiers, armed with tommy guns and machine guns, are most effective in killing unarmed natives participating in parades and demonstrations!

Despite this terror, the campaign is on in full swing and now covers virtually every section of the country. British claims that they have crushed it are ludicrous and false. The only thing that has changed in the situation is the intensification of British violence and fascist-like action.

But they are finding out that a people determined to secure their full and rightful independence cannot be put down. THE STRUGGLE OF INDIA'S MASSES FOR LIBERATION FROM FOREIGN RULE IS STILL ON IN FULL FORCE!

## Militant Shipyard Delegates Fight Staggered Week

### Local 9 and Local 50 Delegates Cut Through Gab Fest, Demand Convention Give Militant Attention to a Vital Issue of Union Business

By JOHN BERNE

The shipyard workers are by no means ready to tie up all their interests in a neat bundle and hand them over to be sacrificed by their leaders. This was evidenced in the fight against the staggered week by the delegates assembled in New York at the eighth annual convention of the United Marine & Shipbuilding Workers of America.

The Committee on Wages and Conditions—with the blessing of the union officers—submitted a proposed standard agreement for all the locals which contained a clause accepting

the uninterrupted seven-day working week and three-shift system, and endorsing the staggered or rotating week as the phony method of securing the six-day week for the individual worker. This was the match which set on fire the combustibles that had been accumulating on the floor of the convention throughout the sessions.

The most telling blows against this vicious proposal were dealt by Local 50 (Maine) and Local 9 (West Coast). The delegate from Local 50 spoke of the hard struggle to raise the standard of the

CIO in the state of Maine. In the AFL yard next door the stagger system was rammed down the throats of the men. Members of Local 50 decided they will not accept such a situation—they do not want Hitler methods in their yard. There are 35,000 AFL men to be taken into the CIO—but not if the proposal for a staggered week was carried, declared the delegate.

The speakers for Local 9 acquainted the delegates with their own situation—about which readers of LABOR ACTION have been kept informed. The outstanding feature of

this situation was that after the union "appeasers" had agreed on the seven-day week with double time for the seventh day worked, the bosses came out for the seven-day week with straight pay all the way through—a vivid lesson on the consequences of giving the bosses a finger.

The delegates from Local 9 said they had come 3,000 miles to get help on their problem—such help having been withheld from them by the international officers. They said they did not want to take back to the rank and file on the

West Coast the sell-out stagger system as the solution. They called for progressive—not retrogressive—unionism to stop the business of going backward and start going forward once more.

Delegates from other locals entered into this heated argument. One delegate branded the proposed clause as "another sacrifice which is absolutely unnecessary" and called for "a halt in making sacrifices." Another declared that no union will agree to be "sold down the river by the stagger system." A third delegate pointed out that the staggered

week "knocks stabilization out of the picture."

President Green had the colossal nerve to say about all this bona fide discontent: "It's the particular beef of two locals," thus showing the depth to which he has sunk in the bureaucratic swamp. The only way he could stop the discussion was by putting his heavy steamroller into action. Therefore, on the call for the question he ignored the repeated demands for a hand count. In this case, however, his steamroller did him no good. The amendment to

(Continued on page 3)



# Europe in Revolt

News from the Socialist Camp

## FRENCH STALINIST LEADERS JOIN FASCIST PARTY

The Stalinists all over the world have been shouting for years that "Trotskyists are the allies of fascism." The Moscow whine tried to prove with the vilest and most disgusting methods that the outstanding old Russian Oppositionists were agents of Hitler. They have assassinated many thousands of Russian Trotskyists, they have killed and slandered many European Trotskyists, always under the vile cover-up that they were agents of Hitler.

Among those who stood in the first rank of the slanderers, among those who led the vilest campaigns, stood Marcel Cachin and Louis Aragon. Cachin was editor of the French Stalinist paper L'Humanité, leader of the party and for a long time representative of the party in the Senate. Aragon was editor of the evening paper of the Stalinists... Now a notice in the New York City French-language paper, La Victoire, dated September 28 and quoting from the Nazi-controlled L'Oeuvre, Paris, September 9, states that both have adhered to the Nazi-controlled collaborationist party of Doriot and Dest...

## STALINISTS GAIN IN SWEDISH ELECTIONS

Recent elections in Sweden show a decisive trend toward the Stalinists. Especially in the big cities the Stalinists have won quite a few seats from the Social Democrats. However, this is more to be interpreted as an anti-Hitler vote than as an endorsement of Stalinism. The Swedish workers are disgusted with the cautious policy of semi-collaboration to Hitler which has been followed by the Social Democrats. They want a more decisive anti-Nazi policy, but there is still no other force, no other party, to attract them than the Stalinists.

## STRIKES AND HUNGER REVOLTS

From several European countries strike movements have been reported in the last few weeks. This is a sure sign that conditions have now reached a point where, in spite of terror and death, workers are again resorting to their own means of class action. A strike was reported in the Blériot aircraft factory near Paris. The Nazis have just announced the execution of the Luxemburg miners and steel workers who went on a GENERAL STRIKE last week in protest against Nazi measures. Flemish miners recently went on strike at the Hautrage mines because they were being docked for being late to work through a train delay. The strike spread to the neighboring mines. The Nazi field police were at once sent in and attempts were made to intimidate the miners by searching for the strike leaders. When the search proved unsuccessful, however, it was finally decided that wage deductions would not be made for delays of less than one hour and that train schedules would be revised. Several miners have been arrested in the Belgian mining community of

they were paid for. Marcel Cachin had been one of the most reactionary leaders of the Socialist Party in the First World War. He was the man who brought the money of the French government to Mussolini as a bribe to get him to advocate the entry of Italy on the side of the Allies. In spite of this past he was allowed to become the leader of the French Communist Party; in spite of this he was played up as the "grand old man" of the party, its chief moral authority among the masses.

Louis Aragon, one-time fashionable surrealist poet, was suddenly made the great proletarian writer, the editor of the second most important paper of the party, all this because he had won the confidence of the Stalinists by the most viciously disgusting slanders against the framed revolutionists in the Moscow trial.

Now this whole machine, cleverly built up in order to dupe the workers, has fallen apart. These bureaucrats who think that Hitler is going to win prefer to change masters to do the same kind of jobs. Others may still cling to their old employers as Stalin's agents in Europe. They continue to slander socialists as agents of Hitler. But now more than ever their accusations sound hollow. Fundamentally, there is no difference between the Thorezes and the Cachines; both have long divested themselves of any attachments to the working class and its fight for socialism. Both are agents of a foreign power among the workers. (As we go to press we learn from the New York Times that Cachin has been kidnapped by the Stalinists... He knew too much.)

at least in countries where the working class has not had any direct experience with Stalinism, the deadly circle of Stalinist influence is still not broken. The workers evolve to the left and often go to the Stalinists because in them, for the present, they see a decisive anti-Hitler force. Until this deadly circle is broken, the socialist revolution in Europe is in deadly danger. Only in countries where the workers have gone through the experience of Stalinist wreckage and crime is the realization dawning that socialism must be the most determined foe of Stalinism and all it stands for.

St. Vaast for inciting their fellow workers to slow down production. From Holland it is announced that only 17,500 of the 525,000 organized industrial workers have joined the Nazi Netherland labor front. The Belgian Nazi paper, Le Soir, reports that a gang of about 1,500 "thieves" stormed the wheatfields at Haine-St. Pierre. "The police and gendarmes who were summoned were attacked and a violent fight took place. Three policemen were seriously wounded." The farmers are also beginning to stir. They not only try to hide their products from the Nazis and the different collaborationist controllers—which they have done since the occupation began—but, as an illegal paper called The Farmer, which has just arrived from Belgium here, certifies, they are fighting militantly against the controllers who want to take their cattle and products away. This paper relates that in many Belgian farmer communities, farmers have thrown controllers off their farms and have gathered to prevent any attempt to seize a farm. Eurpacus.

# British Sailors Strike California Crop Harvest

Volunteer to Work in Tomato Harvest, But Quit in Protest Against "Unspeakable Living Quarters" and Conditions

OAKLAND, Sept. 25—Over one hundred and fifty British sailors who had volunteered to work in the tomato harvest in California went on strike last week against "unspeakable living quarters" to which they had been assigned.

This inspiring example of militancy displayed by young British workers and farmers, even though thousands of miles away from home and while wearing the uniform of His Majesty's Navy, came about in the following manner: To "meet" the problem of a farm labor shortage, the employers have been trying to get workers to go into the country during week-ends, have had the opening of school postponed so that school children can be

exploited in the fields, and have resorted to every trick imaginable to get their perishable crops picked—as prices this year are very, very good.

It seems that over 150 sailors from a British warship which is undergoing repairs in the area responded to the gigantic propaganda campaign for farm labor and offered to help

pick the tomato crop. All money they earned was to go into the ship's "social fund," and they were to get room and board only for themselves. On arriving at Brentwood, where they were to work, they were informed by the representative of the corporation-farm to which they were assigned that the tomatoes were still too green to pick but that there was

beet-topping to be done, probably the hardest form of agricultural labor in California. The living quarters to which they were shown consisted of two dirty and unsanitary shacks, one of which had been converted into a home by a swarm of wild bees! There was one shower for the 150 men, also one "Chick Sale" type outhouse.

After two hours' work the men quit and informed their commanding officer (1) that as the work being done was so much harder than had been expected, they wished to retain the greater part of the wages earned for themselves and (2) that they would not live in the quarters provided.

A superior officer was called out from San Francisco and after inspecting the situation he agreed with the men that no one should be expected to live and work under such conditions. To avoid further embarrassment and publicity to the employment service and the notorious Associated Farmers, the British sailors were transferred to another farm in the area which had more acceptable facilities.

It should be emphasized that the English boys were taking considerable risk in making their militant stand. Also, that the conditions which they considered intolerable are simply the usual thing in California agriculture. If instead of the "King's uniform," these men had worn overalls, their protest would no doubt have been met by swarms of state police and a tear-gas barrage, as well as a full-blast press campaign on "radical agitators" and "Japanese agents."

# What India Thinks of Mr. Churchill

Editor's Note—We publish below various remarks taken from the Indian press and individuals with regard to the speech made by the British Prime Minister in which he justified the terror directed against India's people and denounced the All-India National Congress as a Japanese-Axis organization.

It is important to note that ALL the newspapers and persons quoted are CONSERVATIVE; in many cases reactionary. We can well imagine what the suppressed nationalist papers, the Congress, and the workers and peasants of India would have to say about Churchill—if they but had the opportunity!

Star of India (organ of the Moslem League): "Seldom has a speech so provocative and patronizing been delivered in Parliament. Mr. Churchill's statement would create in India more resentment than his repudiation of the Atlantic Charter for the Empire as he is a die-hard imperialist, more fond of annexation than any confederation of freedom."

Civil and Military Gazette (Reactionary Tory British-owned publication): "Winston Churchill's statement regarding the situation in India is little short of calamitous. Every real nationalist—and their ranks include

many who harbor the liveliest repugnance for Britain and who are unequivocally sincere in their support for the United Nations—can truly say that India asked for bread and has been given a stone... Mr. Churchill has ignored the undoubted fact that the Congress has for many years commanded the sympathy, if not the collaboration, of a very large proportion of politically minded Indians merely on its aims—the freedom of India."

The Hindu: (Right-wing Congress paper): "Mr. Churchill has carefully established his own record—and that is saying a good deal—by packing in a few hundred words more venom and more mischievous half-truths than he treated the House of Commons to during the discussion of the India Bill... Neither from the present government of Britain nor from the Senate Parliament that dutifully applauds Mr. Churchill's most outrageous sentiments will even the most optimistic in India entertain hereafter any hope of justice or even understanding."

The Tribune (Congress paper): "The statement was the outcome, not merely of that deep-seated prejudice against the party of freedom in India which has been the most conspicuous feature in his utterances on India during these many years, but

of profound and, in a person occupying the responsible post he does, displeasing and wholly inexcusable ignorance. Everything that he said by way of proving the 'unrepresentative' character of the Congress was demonstrably untrue."

Mr. Churchill's main purpose in his speech was to isolate the Congress. Little did he realize that in actual fact he was only isolating himself and his government, for all those to whom he referred, not excepting the Moslem League itself, are in favor of an immediate transference of real and effective power from British into Indian hands."

The Bombay Chronicle (Conservative Congress paper still allowed to be published): "Mr. Churchill's statement on India is so full of untruths and half-truths that it is utterly unworthy of any responsible Minister... To suggest that India's normal peaceful life is not thrown into confusion is a piece of wilful misrepresentation... In such an absolutely unprecedented situation, when the enemy is right at the gate, a man who complacently dismisses it as giving no occasion for undue despondency or alarm is throwing dust into the eyes of the people..."

Rajagopalachariar (Congress right-wing leader, resigned from the Con-

gress recently): "Mr. Churchill has tried to cover his Indian policy with invidious. The formal adherence to the Cripps offer is substantially falsified by the nature of the pleas and defense put forward against the Indian demand. They serve to confirm the widespread distrust of British promises and intentions." (Note: And this man wanted to ACCEPT the Cripps offer!)

Allah Baksh (Premier of Sind Province, president of the All-India Azad Muslim Conference): "Mr. Churchill's statement confirms the belief that the British government had at no time any desire to part with power and to satisfy the legitimate aspirations of India and that although they are waging the present war in defense of democracy and freedom, so far as India is concerned they wish to continue their imperialistic domination over this country. Mr. Churchill's juggling with figures and attempt to minimize the widespread discontent in this country may deceive the British public, but it will surely not deceive those who know the real situation in India. On behalf of the Azad Muslims, I emphatically repudiate his allegation that 90,000,000 Muslims of India do not desire immediate independence for their country..."

# Now Out September Issue of The New International.

## Lenin and Trotsky vs. Winston Churchill



Read Trotsky's scathing denunciation of Winston Churchill, the man who tried to destroy the Russian Revolution! Read Lenin's remarks about Winston Churchill, spokesman for British imperialism. None of this material has ever appeared in any American publication! Printed here for the first time!

- ALSO (1) Lenin and Trotsky on "The Road for India." (2) Max Shachtman's reply to the "Fourth International" on the Chinese Question. (3) A review of de Seversky's "Victory Through Air Power." (4) Afterthoughts on a CIO Convention—and other articles.

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# The Readers of Labor Action Take the Floor...

## Two Sperry Workers Defend Labor Action

Dear Editor: We have sent the following letter to the editor of Shop News, plant paper of the UERMW-CIO, Sperry Division: Editor of Shop News, UE-CIO, Sperry Div. Dear Brother: As members of the UE in Sperry Gyroscope Co., we wish to protest against an article that appeared in the first issue of our plant paper, Shop News. In this article you refer to LABOR ACTION, a labor paper distributed at our plant, in a very uncomplimentary fashion. You say "LABOR ACTION does not speak for the UE" or "for the CIO." In the many weeks that we have read this paper it has never claimed to represent the UE or the CIO. You say LABOR ACTION makes destructive attacks on the labor movement and "bears all the earmarks of a fifth column mouthpiece." To anyone who has read the paper, this is obviously untrue. LABOR ACTION, to our knowledge, has always taken labor's side against its enemies. Any of its criticisms are the criticisms of a friend and partici-

part in the struggle. Its opposition to German and Italian fascism and Japanese militarism can be seen in any issue of the paper. We are quite sure your attitude, as expressed in our plant paper, does not really represent the feeling of the members of our union nor of the people in the plant whom we are trying to organize. We believe an apology is due LABOR ACTION. Two Sperry Workers. Sept. 29, 1942.

shipyard companies, there is little hope that repair workers will get their wages raised so they are on a parity with the North. In the past the government officials have done nothing about Bethlehem's ten-hour day. Just recently the government men helped cram the staggered week down the throats of the LA shipyard workers. So what can the repair workers expect from Paul Porter? G. Ordo. San Pedro, Sept. 25.

Every worker who listens to people telling him to accept wage cuts and other sacrifices ought to be interested in these figures. For instance, Curtiss Flares got more than a billion dollars in war orders which needed no salesmanship. But Guy Vaughan, president, had his salary raised to \$175,000 in 1941 from \$25,900 in 1935. Ditto other "big executives." For example: A. P. Sloan, \$200,000; C. E. Wilson, \$288,000; O. E. Hunt, \$235,000, and Albert Bradley, \$205,000. The Senate, which ignored the \$25,000 proposal (assuming it was ever made seriously), yells blue murder when any worker thinks he ought to get 10 cents more an hour. Think that over, fellow workers, before you agree to sacrifice. M. W.

## On Boss Salaries A Word to Workers

Dear Editor: An example of how the "equality of sacrifice" program works out in practice can be found in the reports of the huge incomes of the corporation executives. In his Washington Merry-Go-Round column for September 16, Drew Pearson wrote as follows: "While the Senate Finance Committee has balked at Roosevelt's plea for a \$25,000 ceiling on big business incomes some of the fattest salaries in the nation's history are being paid to big executives. Never before, not even in the days of the lush market, have salaries been so bountiful."

## Detroit Stand Now Carries Labor Action

DETROIT — LABOR ACTION can now be bought each week at the newsstand at the corner of Fort and Woodward in this city.

## Wants More Articles Like Reed Series

Dear Editor: The new series by Reed adds the ingredient which was lacking in the paper—the socialist way out, the working class method of defeating Hitler. The theme should be kept up. Was just thinking that since we write so much about Stalinists in the

unions, we might run some articles devoted to them as a party, their lack of democracy, etc. Just a thought. The Washington letter is also very good. We here have just raised our bundle order from 50 to 150 and I hope we can raise it again soon—and again. G. McD. Cleveland, Sept. 26.

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LABOR ACTION will publish next week an analysis of the Rubber Workers Convention. Also articles on the reactionary crusade of the New York Daily News and Westbrook Pegler, and other material which was crowded out of this issue.

## Hear Shachtman At N. Y. Meeting

Despite a pounding rain, 150 people turned out to hear Max Shachtman, national secretary of the Workers Party, speak on "Labor Since Pearl Harbor" at a meeting sponsored by LABOR ACTION last Sunday, September 27.

Going over the principal aspects of American life since Pearl Harbor and subjecting them to working analysis and argument, Shachtman stressed this above all: there is only one class in society that is indispensable, the working class; there is only one answer to the attack on labor and only one solution for the ills of a diseased capitalist system: independent class action of the laboring masses, defending labor's rights and interests today, building a society of socialist freedom tomorrow.

LABOR ACTION asks you to keep these dates open: October 18: Albert Gates will speak on the Elections in New York. November 8: Max Shachtman will speak on the Russian Revolution—from the Workers State of 1917 to the Bureaucratic Collectivist State of 1942. Both meetings will take place in Irving Plaza, 15th Street and Irving Place.

## Brewster Stalls on New Pay Schedules

The long awaited job evaluation of the Brewster plant was finally announced last Friday at a special meeting of Local 368, UAW. But the hitch is that the company refuses to pay off. It has repudiated the classifications of the men worked out in the last thirty days. The company offered to pay off on the basis of the classifications of last October. The union rejected this.

The special meeting was called to inform the membership of the new rates that had been set and the resulting deadlock. In a very carefully worked out speech lasting over half an hour, President de Lorenzo asked for authorization to submit the dispute to the WLB.

Present on the speakers' platform was a lieutenant commander of the Navy. His purpose there was to become apparent in a moment. At the close of his speech, President de Lorenzo attempted to rush through a motion to submit the dispute to the WLB. At this point some militant unionists demanded discussion and succeeded in getting the floor. They pointed to the record of the WLB, its adverse decisions, the long delay before it considers a case, and asked that a strike vote be taken.

It was here that the lieutenant commander was called on. He urged the workers to support the union leadership. He told them that if they went on strike they would be confronted with a strike against them by the WLB. Brewster workers are now forced to wait and wait some more for the job evaluation and classification for which they have already waited several months. And then if they do wait for a decision, will they get what they ask for? Brewster workers will contrast the quick action of the union in getting two stewards reinstated who were fired without a hearing. The militant action of the workers (who were mainly incensed over the classification issue) in walking out of the shop got results in a few short hours. The lack of militant action in this case results in delay and the risk of an adverse decision.



## The Origin and Future of America's Most Unusual Union

## District 50, UMW - A Vital Factor in the American Labor Movement

By MIKE STEVENS

District 50, United Mine Workers of America, the most discussed and most unusual union in the American labor movement, is celebrating its sixth birthday. Originally set up as a Gas & Coke Division of the UMW, it has branched out so that today it includes workers that are employed in the cosmetic, paper, drug, chemical, electric, munitions, salt, cork and steel industries, also the widely publicized dairy farmers the recently acquired construction workers and just about anything it can get its hands on to organize.

## WHAT IS DISTRICT 50'S ORIGIN?

District 50 was formed in 1936 in the city of Boston. It was the successor of the New England Power Council, an association of local unions in the gas manufacturing and distributing industry. These local unions had a long, stormy and militant career. Over a period of years they had struggled, on the one hand, against the tremendous power trusts and, on the other hand, against the American Federation of Labor, which not only refused to allow these groups to come together in any form of effective centralized organization, but continuously tried to break them up into tiny crafts.

Delegation after delegation of the New England Power Council appeared before the general executive board of the AFL and asked to be admitted as industrial unions into the AFL. Their pleas fell on the deaf craft-bound ears of the AFL board.

But there was one member of the board who realized the potentialities of a union in that field and its close relationship to his own union. Coming from an industrial union himself, he did not have any "craft interests" to protect as did the other members of the general executive board. That man was John L. Lewis.



JOHN L. LEWIS

## WITH THE FORMATION OF THE CIO

Immediately after the CIO was formed, John L. Lewis convinced the affiliates of the New England Power Council and a few

other scattered locals (thirteen in all) that they should become a separate department within the United Mine Workers of America.

In order to allay the fears of these rank and file controlled unions that they would lose their identity and democracy in the miners' union they were given a seat on the international executive board.

The international executive board is composed of one representative from each of the thirty-one geographical districts in the United Mine Workers. And for this reason the new union was uniquely called a "district union."

But District 50 has no geographical boundaries, like the other districts in the miners' union, and since 1940 it has had no jurisdictional boundaries, with only one exception: it does not take in coal miners. Outside of that it is all-embracing. District 50 is a union within a union, and within itself it has local unions in almost every conceivable industry.

## IS IT AN AUTONOMOUS LOCAL?

District 50 as a national organization has no democracy or autonomy to speak of. John L. Lewis alone selects the international executive board members, national officers, organizers and decides all policies, financial disbursements, etc. When the United Mine Workers hold their convention, District 50 calls a "conference" which amounts to very little more than a survey of the gains the union has made, praises the leadership, and listens to a couple of good pep talks. The District 50 delegates are then invited to attend the United Mine Workers convention as "guests," with NO voice and NO vote.

But in contradistinction to the dictatorial methods which John L. applies in running the national office of District 50, he permits far more local democracy than most CIO unions allow their locals. The reason for this is that District 50 is new in so many industries that national agreements are still out of the question and every local has to negotiate its own union agreements separately.

Lewis does not, at the present moment, fear a rank and file revolt against his bureaucratic methods in District 50, because it is difficult for locals in so many industries to find a common industrial base to begin closer contact with each other. Even the dissatisfied locals really have no place to go should they desire to leave District 50. The present policies of the CIO are certainly not attractive to any local seeking more militancy and more freedom.

## THE SPLIT IN DISTRICT 50

The rapid growth of District 50 and its "all-inclusive" character has frightened the CIO leadership out of its wits. District 50 is

organizing factories and mills that come under the FORMAL jurisdiction of other CIO unions. In recent Labor Board elections, District 50 has even gone on the ballot against large CIO organizations and defeated them.

In their attempts to drive Lewis into line, the CIO leadership a few months ago forced a split in District 50 by having Martin Wagner, a Phillip Murray man, resign as international executive board member of District 50 and form a new union, known as the National Council of Gas, Coke & Chemical Workers." The locals that left District 50 to join this new organization came from two different and opposite avenues: (1) Locals that were in strong CIO centers; and (2) locals that were under the control of the Stalinists. This move fits in with the Stalinist policy of trying to destroy Lewis' influence in the labor movement.

The National Council of Gas, Coke & Chemical Workers is not affiliated to the CIO because the United Mine Workers and its District 50 are still officially in the CIO. But it is taken into account that the CIO is aiding the new union and will take it in as an affiliate at the coming convention.

## NEW ENGLAND, THE NEXT BATTLEFIELD

It is quite interesting that although District 50 is now a national organization and that Martin Wagner's union has its strength in New York, New Jersey and St. Louis, the next battlefield between these two unions will be District 50's birthplace, New England.

In New England the original locals that formed District 50 have in the past six years organized a very large section of the gas and coke industry in that area. Martin Wagner is attempting to take them away from District 50 by appealing to their rank and file traditions and by insisting that District 50 is no longer a Gas & Coke union.

Lewis, in trying to offset this criticism, has placed a former Boston gas worker, Charles Fell, on the international executive board and has shipped in a large group of seasoned lieutenants to make sure that Martin Wagner does not make any inroads.

Phillip Murray is openly aiding Martin Wagner by appointing a member of District 50, Boston Gas Local, Frank Carmichael, as New England CIO regional director, and John Collins, president of District 50, Brockton Gas Local, as New England CIO assistant regional director.

Carmichael and Collins, both anti-Lewis men, were the chief negotiators of District 50 in New England up to six months ago. They are, therefore, well known to the membership and they have the main contacts in the unorganized plants in their industry.

The recent decision to hold the CIO national convention in Boston, certainly not a central point for delegates coming from

every part of the country, is calculated, at least in part, to impress the District 50 locals in that area with the strength of the CIO. For Murray feels that it is the Gas & Coke locals in New England that give Lewis any "legitimate" authority to operate District 50. And Murray is going to great pains to have that "legitimate" right taken away.

## MINE WORKERS WILL BACK DISTRICT 50

The coming convention of the United Mine Workers will back up District 50 and its organizing drives to the limit. But even the convention decisions will not reveal exactly why Lewis is building up District 50. Lewis knows that there are millions of unorganized workers and he is making a bid for them to join his organization by putting up a militant front as against the capitulatory policies of the AFL and the CIO.

And there lies the REAL question of the day. Will the unorganized workers, suffering from speed-ups, higher costs of living, frozen wages, frozen jobs and other restrictive legislation, finding the AFL and CIO unattractive because of their non-militant policies, turn to District 50 for organization?

The old slogan of District 50—"A National Union for Gas and Coke Workers"—has been discarded and the new slogan of "A Union for the Nation" has taken its place. District 50 regional offices have been set up in 33 states and numerous sub-regional offices have been opened throughout the country. These are in addition to the 31 UMW district offices that are at the beck and call of District 50.

Lewis may have definite ideas and perspectives for the future and although there are many factors working in his favor, there are also many powerful forces over which he has no control: the AFL, the CIO, Roosevelt, war economy and the various labor boards, which will be fighting openly against him.

District 50 is feared by the AFL and CIO officials and by Roosevelt because it represents a threat to them and their policies. District 50 not only organizes workers that "jurisdictionally" belong to their respective unions, but it stands as a threatening potential base for the formation of another federation of labor, to which discontented AFL and CIO unions may secede if they object to sell-outs by their officials.

The United Mine Workers' strength has been concentrated in small cities in a few states. But John L. Lewis is now getting a toe-hold in the large industrial cities throughout the country by way of District 50, and through the dairy farmers' section he is sinking his roots in the rural areas. These are important factors in the coming political and trade union battles.

## How Soviet Russia Conquered Imperial Germany

by John Reed

(Continued from last issue)

The first week in November there was established in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs a Bureau of the Press, under Radek, and a Bureau of International Revolutionary Propaganda, in charge of Boris Reinstein, of Buffalo, N. Y., in which for a short time I held a position in the English-speaking section. I was succeeded by Albert Rhys Williams who, after the Brest-Litovsk Treaty, became Commissar of the whole bureau, then disguised under the name of Bureau of Political Literature.

We immediately began publication of a series of daily propaganda newspapers. The first of these was in German, Die Fackel (The Torch), issued in editions of half a million a day and sent by special train to the Central Army Committees in Minsk, Kiev and other cities, which, in turn, by special automobiles distributed them to different towns along the front, where a regularly-organized system of couriers brought them to the front trenches for distribution.

During the daytime, at the official fraternization points, bundles of these papers were ostentatiously carried; and they were always confiscated by the German officers. But at night the real work of distribution began. In isolated spots there were continually secret meetings, at which the bundles of propaganda literature were put into the hands of German soldiers. At other points Russian soldiers buried bundles of papers, in places agreed upon, where they were dug up by the Germans.

## PUBLISH ILLUSTRATED PAPER

After about a dozen numbers the name of Die Fackel was changed to Der Vorkriegsriede (The People's Peace). By this time we had daily papers in Hungarian, Bohemian, Rumanian (for the Transylvanian regiments) and Croatian. Williams and I also got out a weekly illustrated paper of four pages for the simpler, less educated German soldiers, called Die Russisch Revolution in Bildern (The Russian Revolution in Pictures). Each number contained twelve or fifteen photographs of revolutionary events, with a caption underneath of extremely elementary propaganda.

Under a scene wherein a workman is tearing the imperial eagles from the roof of a palace, and the crowd is burning them:

On the roof of a palace, a workman is tearing down the hateful emblem of autocracy. At the foot of the building the crowd is burning the eagles. The soldier is explaining to the crowd that the overthrow of autocracy is only the first step in the march of social revolution.

It is easy to overthrow autocracy. Autocracy rests on nothing but the blind obedience of soldiers.

The Russian soldiers merely opened their eyes, and autocracy disappeared.

For a photograph of soldiers meeting in a palace:

Soldiers have often said: "Those who build the palaces should live in them!"

This is the story of how the Bolsheviks helped blow up the Kaiser and then brought the last world war to an end.

It was written by John Reed, the brilliant revolutionary journalist, and author of the famous "Ten Days That Shook the World," who lived through the Russian Revolution of 1917 and recorded its stirring events. In the vast socialist propaganda campaign which the Bolsheviks carried on among the Germans in occupied Russia and in Germany itself, John Reed was himself an active participant. His record of that campaign, here reprinted, originally appeared in the revolutionary magazine, "The Liberator," in January, 1919.

LABOR ACTION in its issue announcing this series by John Reed, published an introductory article which contrasted the behavior of the Bolsheviks of 1917 with the behavior of the Stalinists of 1942. To understand the story John Reed tells, to understand its vital significance as it relates to today, to understand it for what it actually is, an indictment of the Stalin regime written years before that regime was established, be sure to read the introduction in LABOR ACTION of September 21.

Here in Russia for the first time you can see workmen-soldiers, whose sweat and labor built the palace, whose blood was shed defending it, enjoying a palace as their home.

And under a picture of the German Embassy in Petrograd was this:

See the great banner. It is the words of a famous German. Was it Bismarck? Was it Hindenburg? No, it is the call of immortal Karl Marx to international brotherhood: "Proletarians of all lands, unite!"

This is not only a pretty decoration of the German Embassy. In all seriousness the Russian workmen, soldiers and peasants have raised this banner. To you German people they hurl back the same words that your Karl Marx gave the whole world seventy years ago.

At last a real proletarian republic has been founded. But this republic cannot be secure until the workers of all lands conquer the power of government.

The Russian workers, peasants and soldiers will soon send a socialist as Ambassador to Berlin. When will Germany send an international socialist to this building of the German Embassy in Petrograd?

## ASK FOR RUSSIAN CITIZENSHIP

Emissaries were sent out to visit all the German prison camps in Russia and Siberia and encourage the formation of socialist organizations. For this work there were men who spoke German, Hungarian, Rumanian, Polish, Yiddish, Turkish, Croatian, Czechoslovak and Bulgarian. The response was immediate. In Moscow, for example, ten thousand German and Austrian prisoners organized along Bolshevik lines and started an active propaganda among their countrymen. Newspapers for the prisoners, published in their own languages, by their fellow prisoners, started up all over

Russia and Siberia. The money was furnished by the Soviet government and the whole work was controlled by the Bureau of War Prisoners attached to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. This work was so effective that when prisoners were returned to Austria and Germany they were confined for thirty days in "political quarantine camps," fed and treated well, and "educated" with government premises, patriotic literature and majority social-democratic propaganda.

Hundreds of thousands of these German prisoners and deserters applied for citizenship in the new Soviet Republic. Thousands enlisted in the Red Army; in fact, it was the German and Austrian prisoners who put up the only effective resistance to the imperial German and Austrian armies marching into Russia after Brest-Litovsk. On May Day, 1918, when Count von Mirbach, the German Ambassador, was watching the parade in Moscow, he was startled to see a company of German soldiers marching with the Soviet troops under red banners with inscriptions in their own language.

Another branch of the Propaganda Bureau's work was the reception of deserters, who came across the lines in a continuous stream. They always had interesting information, if it were only how our publicity was going, and what interested the German soldiers most. But sometimes they came on unusual errands; I remember a delegation from the German troops on the island of Oesel, who wanted literature AND SPEAKERS to take back with them! A couple of sailors who spoke German were sent back with them, smuggled across the lines in German uniforms; they stayed a week and converted about a thousand men.

Back of the German lines, near Kovne, at this time, was formed a camp of mutineers, about fifteen or twenty thousand of them,

according to deserters' stories. They refused to fight and declared that if the front line moved forward they would fire on it. Our delegates made their way across the lines to that camp, with detailed information about the Revolution, copies of Soviet decrees and proclamations. Just before the end of the Brest-Litovsk negotiations the camp was destroyed by artillery fire; but the poison spread.

## MAKE PEACE NEGOTIATIONS PUBLIC

During the armistice and peace negotiations, which, at Trotsky's instance were conducted in the open, the German newspapers intentionally falsified the reports. The Soviet government published daily the correct version in Der Volkerfriede, with which the German trenches were flooded. Proclamations, appeals, decrees, all in German, urging the enemy soldiers to upset their government, throw out the Kaiser, declare a revolutionary peace. Every day or so General Hoffman threatened to break off negotiations if the Russian troops were not ordered to cease fraternization and to refrain from inciting German troops to revolt. After the armistice was signed, too, the imperial government warned the Soviets that revolutionary propaganda was a violation of the armistice.

To this the Council of People's Commissars answered by apologies and promises. Krylenko, the Russian commander, publicly ordered that propaganda should cease and privately sent word to the troops to redouble their efforts.

On the 23rd of December the Soviet government passed the following resolution:

"Taking into consideration that the Soviet power is based on the principle of international proletarian solidarity and the brotherhood of workers of all countries, that the struggle against the war and against imperialism can only lead to victory if it is carried out on an international scale, the Council of People's Commissars deems it necessary to come to the assistance of the Left International wing of the labor movement of all countries, by all possible means, including funds, whether the said countries are at war with Russia, or allied to Russia, or occupying a neutral position.

"For this purpose the Council of People's Commissars resolves: That at the disposal of the foreign representative of the Commissariat of Foreign Affairs shall be placed the sum of two million rubles for the needs of the revolutionary internationalist movement.

"Chairman of the Council of People's Commissars, V. OULIANOV (Lenin), People's Commissar for Foreign Affairs, L. TROTSKY."

By September, 1918, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs had on its payroll sixty-eight agents in Austria-Hungary and more than that in Germany, as well as others in France, Switzerland and Italy.

(Concluded in next issue)

## Report on the 8th National Shipyard Workers Union Convention - -

(Continued from page 1)

strike the sell-out clause from the proposed standard contract was carried overwhelmingly. Green was completely snowed under.

In most instances, however, his steamroller and demagogic name-calling were much more effective. An illustration was the resolution to have all local books audited by the national office. There was, right or wrong, objection from the floor to the proposal. Then Green went to town.

He stormed against the "Trotzkies" and I don't care what-ites" and against "a newspaper doing a good job in trying to bust trade unions." He thus deliberately maligned LABOR ACTION, whose 100 per cent support of the CIO is well known to all its readers. President Green wished LABOR ACTION—whom he did not call by name—"plumb to hell." (Note: LABOR ACTION offered no opinion on auditing books.)

When he got around to the question before the house, the sum total of his argument was that the national officers wanted control of the purse-strings of the union to give the members protection.

This convention of the IUMSW was so cluttered up with super-pa-

triotic speeches—such as can be heard any day by simply turning on the radio—that union business was crowded out and President Green kept hurrying the delegates. And it wasn't the delegates talking either, but politicians and more politicians and a few union leaders of the anti-labor stripe of Joe Curran of the NMU. In most respects, save for the discussion of the staggered week, the convention was a talk fest.

Resolutions were passed on a mass production basis, without pause for the delegates to think about them. Some resolutions were not fully understood and President Green used his gavel to discourage requests for information. The theme song was "The Ayes Have It," mingled with the hammering of President Green's gavel.

Of the few resolutions that did receive full discussion, the one calling for the creation of a CIO committee to work on the problem of abolishing racial discrimination was very significant. For it was apparent from the sentiments expressed on the floor that the shipyard workers are ready—once and for all—to slay the beast of

racial discrimination that strangles labor's might.

On this discussion two important points were brought out by Delegate Watson of Philadelphia and by Delegate Flynn of Local 16. Delegate Watson took issue with his brother Negro from Michigan who put the matter of racial equality on a religious basis. To Delegate Watson it is a matter of economics. He said that organized labor cannot progress, cannot get security, unless it includes the Negro worker. He said that "too long have bosses used Negro against white and then turned around and used white against Negro."

Delegate Flynn warned against the hypocrites who raise the social aspects of the racial question. He said the social aspects will take care of themselves once the Negro people get real economic equality. He said the workers associate with every immoral people—the capitalist class—and don't have to worry about their associations with fellow workers of a darker skin. They must beware, he warned, of those who want to know "if you would want your sister to go to bed with a Negro."

One wide-awake delegate asked why—since the principle of racial equality is written into the constitution of the IUMSW—the officers had not done something about it before this. The answer to this question is still awaited.

## On Political Action

Judging by the reports of the shipworkers' convention printed in the capitalist press, it would appear that the only happenings worth reporting were the patriotic speeches of the big-wigs who took up so much time. And in a sense that's true. There was relatively little genuine union business. But reading these boss-paper reports, the conviction becomes greater that a worker must have a true labor paper like LABOR ACTION to understand what is going on in his own ranks. For instance, no one could gather from the capitalist press that labor has a more progressive slant on the important question of politics—at least in one respect.

From speeches made by delegates at the IUM&SW convention, there can be no doubt that labor wants to enter politics as an independent force. Recent attacks on labor's position issuing from the

seats of government have convinced shipyard workers, at any rate, that the policy of "rewarding our friends and punishing our enemies" has boomeranged and that labor must have its own candidates from its own ranks.

However, the assembled delegates were completely derailed on this point when they were persuaded to utilize the Democratic Party as their vehicle of political action, as was done by putting Irving Abramson of the CIO on the Democratic Party ticket in New Jersey. And, in general, the delegates showed confusion on what independent political action is—and the leaders deliberately contributed to the confusion by interpreting independent labor action as... support of boss party politicians!

President Green added to the confusion by making an uncalculated speech on "what would have happened if the idealism of President Wilson had prevailed." He stated that this war would not have occurred if Wilson had been followed and implied that no more wars will occur if Roosevelt is followed. This is treacherous demagoguery because war is the inevitable outcome of in-

ternational capitalism—in spite of Secretary-Treasurer Van Gelder's attempt to lull the delegates to sleep with the soothing advice: "Let us not worry too much about what has happened in the past."

One final point must be made about this convention. Throughout the proceedings—from the platform and from the floor, time and again, on various questions—the assertion was made that everything depends on labor. For instance, Van Gelder declared that the real strength of the country lies in organized labor; that "the energy to win the war will not come from the employers but from the organized workers"; that consequently "we have to go ahead on our own course regardless of how this or that employer behaves." But he did not say why it is necessary for labor to carry on its back the useless load of an employing class.

Delegates from the floor also complained of how modern yards stand idle, of how thousands of workers are not given jobs, of how the bosses maneuver for their profit, of how workers are discriminated against on so-called labor-management committees. Why didn't these delegates ask Alan Haywood, for instance, who

told them that labor alone is making the wheels go round, why it must put up with the boss class. Why did not the delegates ask that question of the glib orator of the ACWA, Charles Erwin, who said a new civilization will not be built by the Chamber of Commerce or by the National Association of Manufacturers, but by organized labor?

In a word, tacitly the eighth convention of the IUMSWA posed the question of workers taking control of industry. But only tacitly. The leaders of the union, ONCE militant socialists, refused to pose the problem in its proper light because it conflicts with their lately acquired views on the war.

Before the end of the convention the Stalinists introduced, with President Green's support, a scurrilous resolution on LABOR ACTION. This is commented on elsewhere in this issue.

In summary, it must be said, except insofar as a few militant delegates tried to change it into a businesslike union convention, the eighth convention of the IUMSWA was not a convention of which the shipyard workers can be proud.



# Our Answer to Your Attack, John Green!

(Continued from page 1)

Who are these unscrupulous rogues who dare to link LABOR ACTION, our incorruptible spokesman, with the "fifth column," with Hitlerism?

Aren't they the people who capitulated to Hitler in 1933? Wasn't it the Communist Party, with millions of workers ready to act at its command, that fled the field without firing a shot when Hitler took over Germany? Aren't they the people who criminally refused to make a united front against fascism with the Social-Democratic Party and the trade unions of Germany, which we, together with our great leader, Leon Trotsky, urged them to do? Yes, the same people!

Where were these same Stalinists on February 21, 1939? On that day the Nazi training ground and espionage nest, the German-American Bund, called its anti-labor, anti-Semitic demonstration in Madison Square Garden, in New York. We—the people of LABOR ACTION and our comrades—called a working class counter-demonstration to teach these fascist provocateurs a lesson they wouldn't quickly forget. A mass of workers estimated at between 50,000 and 100,000 responded to our call, and although the police protected the Nazis, our demonstration was a magnificent success. If you permit me to remind you, I and my comrades were leading this anti-fascist demonstration. Where were the Stalinists, where were your newly-made cronies? They were telling the workers, through the columns of their paper, the Daily Worker, to stay away from our demonstration—that is, to give the fascist hooligans a free field.

What do you say to SUCH people calling US "Nazi agents," Mr. Green?

## APPLAUDED HITLER-STALIN PACT

And don't you remember what happened only six months later? That's when Mr. Stalin and Mr. Hitler kissed and made up. That's when the infamous Russo-German alliance was signed. That's when Stalin gave Hitler the green light, which Hitler followed up by pouncing on Poland's left flank while his ally Stalin pounced on its right flank. That assassin's alliance lasted not less than twenty-two months, during which the fascists devoured almost all of Europe, with Stalin's help.

WE denounced that alliance! WE denounced Hitlerism then with all the power and argument at our command, as we denounced it before then and since then. WE hate fascism with every fibre of our being, because we know the bloody slavery into which it yokes the workers wherever it conquers. WE never signed a pact, an alliance, with Hitler or any other fascist, and we never will. You know that, don't you, Mr. Green?

But your friends, the Stalinists? They applauded that pact! They hailed it, through Mr. Browder, through the Daily Worker, through every other spokesman. They saluted it as a victory for peace—do you remember? They said England and France alone are responsible for the war, that is, they whitewashed Nazi Germany—do you remember? They said that fascism is only "a matter of taste"—do you remember? They said that the Stalin-Hitler alliance was "sealed in blood"—do you remember?

## DO YOU REMEMBER YOUR VIEWS?

And now you, Mr. Green, you who went along with this notorious, malodorous crew—don't you know better?

That foul resolution speaks of us as "anonymous vermin" and "just as other Nazi agents." But you KNOW who we are, don't you?

Not so long ago we were members of the same organization, the Socialist Party. We of LABOR ACTION fought for the principles of revolutionary socialism in that party, just as we fight for them today. You, President Green and Secretary-Treasurer Van Gelder, as co-members of the Socialist Party, fought for the principles of revolutionary socialism as you understood them. You were members of the group that called itself the "Revolutionary Policy Committee." You issued a statement of policy—only a few years ago!—which you wanted the Socialist Party to adopt as its national platform. Do you remember what you said in that statement of policy? I know—you would like to forget it! But let me remind you of some of it by quoting. This is what you said about the war, you, Mr. Green, and you, Mr. Van Gelder:

"As long as capitalism exists war is inevitable. Socialists are opposed to all capitalist wars and will exert ceaseless efforts to eliminate them. The League of Nations, Disarmament Conferences, etc., cannot be relied upon to insure peace because permanent peace for the workers can only come after capitalism has

been destroyed. It makes no vital difference to the working class which imperialist power resorts to the first act of aggression in the coming war. We stand irrevocably against all capitalist wars regardless of how or by whom they are started.

"We fight against imperialist wars through general propaganda, demonstrations, organizations and strikes in key war industries, including forcible stoppage of munition shipments by workers, and united fronts with all anti-war groups regardless of political beliefs. Anti-war activity must be carried on intensively among the workers with the ultimate aim of, (1) so organizing labor that a threat of a general strike can be held over the heads of government leaders contemplating war, and (2) preparing the working class to turn imperialist war into class war."

Do you remember these words, gentlemen? That's what you wrote a few years ago, before the war. That's the promise you made the workers. You know us, just as we know you. You know, also, the difference between us. It is this:

We have remained true to our working class principles. We said we were opposed to imperialist war before it broke out; we are still opposed to it. We said the interests of the workers come before anything else with us—before, during or after the war. We still say so.

You have repudiated your principles! You have betrayed your own words, and the spirit of those words! You are what ordinary, decent people call a turncoat, a renegade. You spit in the face of your own past. And you have so completely lost all sense of shame that you unite with the Stalinist thugs to denounce as Nazis those people who have remained loyal to the principles of working class socialism which you ONCE espoused and which you have NOW betrayed.

## SOUGHT OUR AID AGAINST THEM

But it wasn't so long ago, was it, Mr. Green, that you used to come with worry in your heart to the labor editor of our LABOR ACTION, whom you knew then as a man of character and principle—and he hasn't changed. You used to come to consult him on how to fight the Stalinists. Have you forgotten that already?

Have you forgotten that as recently as last winter's Camden convention of the union, when the Stalinist gang was after your scalp and was crowding you, Mr. Green, approached one of your many known friends of LABOR ACTION in your union for help in fighting the Stalinists, for help in preventing them from getting control of the union—control which you know means the destruction of genuine unionism? It was the same LABOR ACTION then as the one you just joined in calling "fifth columnist." We haven't changed. You have. And you've changed for the worse—much worse.

## STRAW-BOSS FOR CAPITALISM

You have sold out your principles, Mr. Green. Once labor was everything in your eyes, and the interests of labor could never be subordinated to the interests of capital. Now you are just a foreman, a straw-boss, for the American capitalist class. You spit on socialism now, and you try to besmirch those who are proud of their socialist faith. You want the workers to keep their mouths shut and work like horses for the war which they did not want, about which they were not consulted, about which they have nothing to say even now. You want them to keep their mouths shut and their noses to the grindstone while the shipbuilding corporations and the other big capitalist-monopolists coin millions upon millions of dollars in profit, hand over fist, out of the toil of the workers.

Any outrage can now be perpetrated against the workers by any reactionary scoundrel who yells "Patriotism!" Any injustice can be imposed upon the workers in the name of "Win the War!" Their rights can be taken from them, one by one, and they mustn't say a word in protest. Their economic standards can be lowered, inch by inch, and they mustn't do a thing in protest. Their official leaders, men like yourself, can do anything and everything except protect labor's interests, but the union member must hold his tongue.

That's your idea!

And when we of LABOR ACTION tell the workers what their rights are, when we tell them—as we shall always continue to tell them—that they must fight for these rights, no matter who says otherwise, you denounce both us and the workers who listen to our working class message as "trouble makers" and now—as German agents.

Mr. Green! At the New York convention, you exchanged radio greetings with the British Labor MP, David Kirkwood, and you reminded him that you, as a young shipbuilder, knew him and fought by his side on the Clyde during the last war. Did

not a flush of shame come over your face when you thought of those days? Don't you remember that David Kirkwood and John MacLean and Willie Gallacher fought openly and courageously in the last war, as leaders of the Clydeside shipbuilders in Scotland, for the same things we of LABOR ACTION are fighting for now? You are betraying that fight! Don't you remember that during the last war Kirkwood and MacLean and Gallacher were denounced as "German agents" by Lloyd George and the "patriotic" rats in the labor movement, just as you so unscrupulously and cynically denounce us today?

Those leaders of the Clydeside shipbuilders were men of character and principle. They led the workers in struggle. They were not afraid of police clubs or prison, and they got both. And they were never insulted by the praise of the capitalists.

You have lost all character and all principle, Mr. Green. That's the difference between you and LABOR ACTION; that's the difference between you and the Clydeside leaders of 1917. That's why the capitalists now praise you. Yes, they praise you! Who? The paper of Westbrook Pegler, the poison-pen of the labor-baiters. Here is what his newspaper, the New York World-Telegram, said about you on September 25, just one day before the filthy resolution adopted against LABOR ACTION:

"Good for John Green! Other leaders of organized labor have said that strikes in war industries, in violation of their solemn promise that there would be none, are due to small minorities—and stopped there...."

"But John Green goes all the way. He says that strikes, even though caused by small minorities, endanger the nation, aid its enemies and injure unionism—and he proposes to drive the trouble makers out of his union. Labor needs much more of that type of leadership."

If I am not mistaken, you are the first American labor leader whom Westbrook Pegler's paper has praised so joyfully since the beginning of the war in 1939! And I say: You deserve it, and richly! Does the praise of labor's sworn enemies make you feel proud of yourself?

## WHAT'S THE REAL ISSUE?

At the convention you spoke against "unionism as usual." We know what that means; so does every worker. Joseph Curran, president of the National Maritime Union, said at your convention that "trade unionism must go out the window for the war's duration."

That's the issue! That's what is involved! You and your Stalinist pals have the brass to attack LABOR ACTION as enemies of labor. But it is you—you and your friend Curran and your friends the Stalinists—who are the enemies of the interests of unionism and the workers. You want to suspend unionism "for the duration." Curran wants to throw unionism "out of the window." A hell of a pair of "labor leaders" you are!

We DON'T want to suspend unionism during the war or at any other time. We DON'T want to throw it out of the window. We want it maintained. We want it united. We want it strengthened. We want it made more conscious and more militant. We want it to demand its rights now, and its great historical right, too. We want them to rule. We want them to be the whole government. We want them to determine their own destiny.

That's why we say openly that we have nothing in common with either one of you—you or your new chums—and that we will fight you and your reactionary influence in the labor movement to the very end.

We won't fight with the aid of the cops, however. We have even less in common with the capitalist government or its police. You are the scabby gentlemen who call the cops to settle the problems of the labor movement. We do not. Our weapons are the legitimate arms of the working class and the labor movement.

Do not fool yourself into thinking that police, or anybody else outside the labor movement, can settle the problems of that labor movement. Don't be such a fool as to think that the voice of militant labor can be gagged by you or by anyone else.

These problems must be solved by the workers themselves, and they will be. It is their judgment that will be the final judgment. And regardless of how you may cajole or coerce them for a moment, trick or intimidate them for another moment, we, for our part, await that final judgment with the undisturbed calm which is part of our certainty of the triumph of socialism.

MAX SHACHTMAN.

# War Labor Board Devises New Strike-Breaking Scheme

By HARRY ALLEN

The War Labor Board has denied the union security clause or maintenance of membership to two locals of the Federal Union of Chemical Workers-AFL. The reason? Because these locals "struck in violation" of the national no-strike agreement of the AFL and CIO officialdom. In other words, the War Labor Board is now PENALIZING AND PUNISHING labor unions which employ their only real weapon—the strike—in fighting for their demands.

1. The first case is of 700 workers in the Monsanto Chemical Co., Everett, Mass. These workers had won a wage increase, but the employers had refused to comply with the decision. Therefore, the gyped workers, deciding to use their last and only effective weapon, conducted a five-day strike to enforce demands for a union security clause and the stalled wage increase.

2. In the case of the workers of the General Chemical Co., Buffalo, N. Y., the War Labor Board, after having the matter in its hands for OVER THREE MONTHS, scuttled the union maintenance demand of these workers. Why? Because the union engaged in a work stoppage of A FEW HOURS.

## Workers Must Use Strength

In acting to punish strikers, the War Labor Board asserts that while it is in existence, workers have no "need or justification for strikes," and hence may not use economic pressure to obtain their demands... or else!

But workers know very well, as many have learned from their own experiences with various government agencies and the bosses, that they must continue to employ economic force to achieve their ends. For in the final instance this is the

only pressure they have to back up their demands. Neglect or failure to exercise the threat of this pressure—the strike—when workers feel it necessary, means that the workers lose out. In such cases, employer pressure, which is steady, real and persistent, and is exerted on the government openly or behind closed doors, always wins out—modified only to the extent that the bosses and the government fear the workers will really exercise their economic strength.

## Workers Are Slandered

In decreeing against workers who strike (e.g., the chemical workers), the War Labor Board claims that the workers are "irresponsible" and show the "wrong spirit" in striking. The cries of "national unity" and the "war emergency" are thus employed by the government and bosses to attack workers defending their interests. But further, the WLB slanders the workers. STRIKES ARE RARELY "IRRESPONSIBLE." Workers don't leave their jobs just for fun. Very strong grievances and very real economic needs compel workers to resort to strike action and then only when they cannot prevail upon adamant employers in any other manner.

## Play Bosses' Game

The "labor representatives" on the WLB concurred in these penalizing decisions against the unions. Their disgraceful behavior is the direct result of their general and fundamental role as members of government agencies. These trade union "representatives" or labor "leaders" want a passive membership which doesn't "make trouble." They are actually afraid of the ranks. In "transferring" their union activities to, or becoming a part of, the government apparatus, they more and more sell out the workers, except in so far as the rank and file constantly show their

readiness to use their strength and pressure.

Those labor officials (in or out of the government agencies) who act as though the War Labor Board was labor's "white hope," are thus surrendering labor's normal rights to government intervention and decree, which are becoming ever more severe and permanent in their application. For unions which lack the right of authority to use their power and strength when needed are unions in name only.

Although the War Labor Board in many instances has granted unions the "maintenance of membership" provision, this is hardly sufficient to maintain a strong labor union. And when the WLB, on one pretext or another, arbitrarily takes away even such crumbs of protection for labor, it is a further warning that workers must themselves protect their own interests.

## How Build Strong Unions?

A stable union membership, confident and disciplined, can only be achieved by a membership which insists on its democratic and labor rights TODAY, in wartime—the right to strike, etc.—as before. Likewise, healthy unionism will strive to re-establish, on the economic front, genuine collective bargaining between the employers and workers—a condition which no longer exists in fact (as was pointed out by a leading delegate to the recent convention of the Auto Workers Union) since labor gave up the right to strike.

The coal miners union showed the way to get what labor wants and must have—union conditions, the closed shop—by a readiness and determination to use its striking power. They demanded. Others listened and then gave in.

Until these lessons are learned, the WLB and other government agencies will continue their arbitrary and harsh decisions against workers.

# Independent Labor Action --

(Continued from page 1)

The working class is not only indispensable, it is the largest and strongest class—numerically and from the point of view of its function—in society.

Independent labor action has unfortunately not been the line of most union leaders. That's an old story for the AFL. It has now become true of the CIO too.

But these two organizations are the most powerful labor organizations in the world. It is up to the militants in these unions to make them act like the powerful organizations they are—but act in defense of labor's needs, not in mahogany table conferences which sacrifice those needs.

LABOR ACTION has many times published the astronomical profits now being made by the bosses.

Wage cuts—and that's what wage freezing, rising prices, taxes mean—are a double injury when viewed in the light of these profits.

Labor's independent action could prevent those wage cuts (to the 1932 level). Yes, even in respect to taxes.

Acting militantly and independently through its powerful unions, labor could compel Congress to adopt a tax program satisfactory to labor—though it might not be satisfactory to the boss class.

If industry is organized today so that consumption goods must be sacrificed, that's the fault of the system. There is no over-all plan for the production of goods. There is no over-all plan which considers

the needs of the people. Industry today is concerned with one thing and one thing only: production of war materials for profit. But through independent labor action, labor could compel such a reorganization and readjustment of industry, under its directives and control as to care for the needs of the people. It could, for example, com-

pel the conscription of war industries under workers' control—so that none would make a profit out of war.

Through independent action, labor could fight for its class interests on the political scene against a reactionary Congress—fighting through an Independent Labor Party, just as for its economic needs it fights through labor unions.

Through independent class action, labor could resist the drive toward lowering its standard of living to the 1932 level. Independent labor action holds the key to a decent standard of living.

Experience after experience has taught us that there is no way of defending our class except through its own action.

Let that then be our guiding line in defense of our economic and political interests: INDEPENDENT LABOR ACTION!

Consequently, Cheyfitz had to forget his Kremlin politics and promise prompt results in negotiating the grievances, which concerned bonuses, wages, working conditions and discrimination.

Cleveland Alcoa workers have been successful in fighting off the current attack on the working class standard of living only because they have ignored the treacherous advice and "leadership" of the Stalinists. They will be in a much stronger position, however, if they take the earliest possible opportunity to replace men like Bailant with leaders who are devoted to the union.

## Alcoa --

(Continued from page 1)

and at first by the Stalinist leadership were equally obvious and unconvincing. The company shouted "sabotage" and it was right only in the sense that militant union action certainly meant "sabotage" of the lovely profits which the aluminum monopoly is piling up in these lush days of fat war contracts and wage freezing.

The Stalinists, for their part, demonstrated, as they always do, that they are interested in the well-being of their far-off dictator and not in the least concerned with the American working class. They asked the men to go back to work "so as not to lessen the chances of opening up a second front."

## Struck Twelve Times

Cleveland Alcoa workers are militant in the defense of their rights, however, and the sell-out leaders know it. Members of Local 775 have struck no less than twelve times this year rather than surrender their gains or give up the struggle for new

- BAILE
- DIVERSION PROFESSIONAL
- BAZAR

# FALL FESTIVAL

- SATURDAY
- OCTOBER 10, 9 p.m.
- IRVING PLAZA
- 15th STREET AT IRVING PLACE
- TICKETS — 75 CENTS

AUSPICES  
LABOR ACTION

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