

UAW WORKERS, TAKE THE LEAD!

Unfinished Business!



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

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 line.

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.

Yet—
This powerful organization, in many respects the model of the best in present-day American labor unionism, is threatened by the consequences of a cunning and vicious capitalist offensive.

The UAW leadership has prevailed 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 operating.

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 give?

What did WE get, and what did THEY get?

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

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 in ANY of America's big industries give up?

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 been!

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 by it).

THE RIGHT TO STRIKE

Now, what did labor give? What did it sacrifice?

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

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, FORMALLY. 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 2½ 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)

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.

It was during this convention that the 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 been decreed.

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, Frankenstein and the UAW regional directors 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 discussion.

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)

GAINS ARE THREATENED

All the great gains it made for the 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 industry.

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.

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 \$149,803.
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 mere \$90,900.
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 industry 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 earnings 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?)

Policy of Retreat Hurts UAW

(Continued from page 1)
one can say without qualification 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 principle.

The next retreat was on the matter of "premium pay" for Saturdays, Sundays and holidays. Under the lash 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 holidays.

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 to 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 anyhow.

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 on North American.

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, Frankenstein, Reuther and others must face at this convention. This is what the UAW gave up.

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

OF SACRIFICE." According to the CIO-UAW slogan-makers this meant that labor and management were to sacrifice equally! Concretely they said that management was to be limited to annual incomes of \$25,000. This is equality of sacrifice!

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

Labor was confronted with the fact that Standard Oil of New Jersey was practicing equality of sacrifice by maintaining a relation with Germany that was called "treason."

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.

It is probable that the leadership 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 retreat.

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 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?

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 rabble-rouser 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 laddling 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 plenty for it.

Many workers in Pennsylvania towns, in Akron, Flint, Toledo, Chicago and Detroit must recall participating in CIO picketing of Gerald Smith's hangar. 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 FASCIST MOVEMENT. THE WORKERS MUST CRACK HIM DOWN.

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 top-capitalism 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

They are not. Thomas' pay is \$5,500 and Addes' is \$5,000. The Heller Committee of the University of California 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 enough. They are the leaders of workers, not capitalist corporation officials.

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?

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-a-day increase and got it. Not only did the miners get a dollar-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 dollar-a-day increase, however, with any such slogan as "victory through equality of sacrifice."

Questions Raised by a PM Reporter for UAW Members

Is This What Union Leaders Are For? Is This What Union Editors Are For?

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. Reuther—are thinking. It tells what the union editor is doing—and 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 unions.

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 bomber plant.

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 that 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:

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 sacrifices)....

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

Aircraft Workers Want a Wage Raise!

By H. ALLEN

Aircraft workers are indignant at the rumor 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 1,250,000 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 85 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, employers and government in Los Angeles, July 9. The conference was called "to prevent possible migration of employees from one plant to another, 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 jobs.

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 destabilize employee relation in other war and essential industries, especially on the Pacific Coast."

Need Wage Increase

Clearly, by "unstabiling" employee relations, Porter means that if workers in one industry get their just raise, workers in other industries who need a raise will also want one. But that is to the interest of all workers and though stated by Porter as a threat, it should be interpreted by aircraft workers differently:

namely, that they can assist in giving 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 processes.

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-

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 increases.

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 manufacturers' 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 do not cite weekly and hourly wages 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

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 Frontiers 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 anti-labor 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 way of life."

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 INDEPENDENT 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 leaders.

Hitler exploited the post-war suffering of the German people. He promised them the Nazi millennium. He gave them the hell of a Nazi dictatorship. Gerald Smith exploits the discontent 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!

(Continued from page 1)

try in peacetime OR in wartime; that their main concern is 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 CAPITAL IS MAKING THE PROFITS!

LABOR IS FIGHTING ON THE BATTLEFIELDS AND TOILING AT HOME—AND CAPITAL IS DRAWING THE DIVIDENDS!

LABOR IS WORKING FOR THE WAR—AND CAPITAL IS DIRECTING THE WAR PRODUCTION BOARD, THE WAR LABOR BOARD AND ALL THE OTHER BOARDS—NOT ONE OF WHICH IS CONTROLLED 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 standards.

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 position.

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-

man wants to see that happen. But it WILL happen, whether we want it or not, if the appeasement 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 appeasement policy is no good. Labor gives everything and gets nothing but a sharpened capitalist offensive.

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 labor.

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

MILITANTS MUST TAKE LEAD

Will Thomas, Frankenstein, 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 Families!

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 of it.

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 UAW asked? By no means!

It may be sufficient to keep them at their January level. (Although we doubt even that. Prices have risen more precipitously than the board admits. Further, prices rise rapidly, unhindered by yards 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 CAREFULLY 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

\$2,500 a year was essential for any kind of decent 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 STANDARD OF LIVING!

For the Agenda:

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

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 limit.

The drive has a number of obstacles 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 Gilespie, 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 usual."

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."

The North American and Vultee locals—high points in labor militancy 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 unaware 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.

education of what to expect in the way of "pending legislation.")

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 paying jobs.

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 of living?"

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.
Europeans on the Underground Movement in Germany.

WORKERS PARTY PLATFORM

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

LABOR MUST DEFEND ITSELF!

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

SOAK THE RICH—LET THEM PAY FOR THEIR WAR!

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

DEMOCRATIC RIGHTS TO THE DRAFTEES!

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

SMASH JIM CROW!

- Down with Jim Crow and anti-Semitism! All discrimination against Negroes in the Army and Navy or by employers in industry must be made a criminal offense!
- For full political, social and economic equality for Negroes.

BE PREPARED!

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