

# UE Convention Issue: Restore Democracy, Militancy to Union

## Communist Domination Paralyzes Union's Progress

How soon the members of the United Electrical, Radio & Machine Workers of America will be able to defeat present systematic efforts to rob their union of all its functions as a spirited and aggressive collective bargaining agency will be largely determined at the union's tenth annual convention, opening September 25 in New York City.

Not content with paralyzing the union in the face of the employers' attacks by surrendering the right to strike now, the Communist-dominated UE leadership is carefully nurturing plans to impose the no-strike pledge on the membership even after the war.

A statement by the Canadian district officers, which is favorably reported in the UE News of July 8, clearly indicates the intention of the UE leadership to prohibit the use of labor's most effective weapon:

"We see no reason why labor's no-strike pledge cannot be a continued policy in the post-war years..."

Although the Executive Board and the general officers of the UE may not dare to endorse any statement as open as the above statement by the Canadian district officers, it is well known that they are in full sympathy not only with that statement but also with Harry Bridges' stand in favor of continuing the no-strike pledge into the post-war period.

### GLOFRIED COMPANY UNIONISM?

While the manufacturers in the radio, electrical and machine industries are openly preparing a grim campaign to lower wages and destroy the union, the Communist-led UE officers blithely speak of "national unity," "cooperation" and "partnership" with these self-same manufacturers.

The UE leaders are substituting this "cooperation" and "unity" with the employers for collective bargaining. They are trying to reduce the UE to the level of glorified company unionism.

However, the growing dissatisfaction of the rank and file with the UE officers' policy of retreat, surrender and collaboration with the employers offers an excellent opportunity for an aggressive leadership to come forward and sweep the Communist elements out of office.

It is evident that the delegates at the convention will overwhelmingly reject any open proposal to extend the no-strike pledge into the post-war period, because every honest union man clearly realizes that the loss of the strike weapon would render labor impotent. But this realization is not enough. If the absence of the right to strike would render labor impotent in the future, then it must be concluded that the no-strike pledge renders labor helpless now as well.

To revitalize the UE as a union and make it an effective independent force capable of fighting for the demands of the workers it is essential first of all that the no-strike pledge be WITHDRAWN and that the UE call upon labor to GET OFF THE WAGE-FREEZING WAR LABOR BOARD.

While the Communist machine of paid organizers and key men in the UE have effectively smothered much of the rank and file sentiment for re-asserting the right to strike, the discontent of the membership has made itself felt in its attitude to the WLB.

### UE MEMBERS RESENT WLB PROCEDURE

After months of subservience to the policies of the War Labor Board, and open approval of the principle of LIMITING wage increases, the UE leaders encountered such a wave of resentment by the workers in the shops against WLB procedure that they were compelled to make at least a mild criticism of the WLB.

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## Autonomy Bid Loses in UMWA

By DAVID COOLIDGE

CINCINNATI—At the time this is being written, the thirty-eighth constitutional convention of the United Mine Workers of America has been in session for four days and the most important of the questions to come before the convention, except for the report of the committees on scale and constitution, have been disposed of. The really controversial matters—the autonomy issue and the Roosevelt-Dewey election question—were disposed of a day before the convention recessed over Saturday and Sunday.

Before I take up the autonomy and political questions I want to remark that this is perhaps the only labor convention taking place this fall in which the no-strike pledge does not enter. Nobody here seems to be conscious of the fact that there is such a thing as a no-strike pledge. There has been no mention of it in the convention either from the platform or from the floor. Also there has been no report from the battle fronts by officers who had to travel to Europe to discover the sentiment of the soldiers on strikes and the production needs of the armed forces. To this must be added the fact that there was no telegram of greetings from the President. There have been no speeches by cabinet officers or assistant secretaries or members of

Congress. No photograph of Roosevelt is on display. There is only one of John L. Lewis. The flags of "our allies" are absent; one sees only the United States and Canadian flags. There are two bands, the Monagh, W. Va., and the band of the Canadian miners. After the usual opening speeches of local officials on the opening day, the only "outsider" to address the convention was a representative of the United Service Organizations.

### AUTONOMY ISSUE

The autonomy issue came before the convention in the report of the Resolutions Committee on the third day of the sessions. Percy Tetlow, provisional president of District 17, West Virginia, reported that there were 138 resolutions dealing with the topic, 86 in opposition to autonomy and 52 in favor. The committee recommended that "upon proper presentation of substantial requests for autonomy in any district or districts, the International Executive Board shall take into consideration such requests and with due consideration for the protection or advancement of the rights of our members in such districts and the stability and efficiency of the organization, shall be authorized at its discretion to instruct any such district that substantial autonomy is granted."

"Under the precise supervision of

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# LABOR ACTION

SEPTEMBER 25, 1944

A PAPER IN THE INTERESTS OF LABOR



ONE CENT

## Fighting UAW Convention Votes --

# REFERENDUM ON NO-STRIKE PLEDGE!

By MAX SHAHTMAN, Nat'l Sec'y, Workers Party

GRAND RAPIDS—The membership of the United Automobile Workers Union will have the first opportunity yet offered any of the rank and file of the organized labor movement of this country to express its opinion on the no-strike pledge, according to a two-to-one decision made by the delegates to the ninth annual convention of the UAW-CIO in favor of a referendum on the pledge to be held throughout the union within the next ninety days.

The decision was taken on a roll-call vote after the convention had spent two days of stormy debate on "the pledge."

It was significant of the temper of the 2,300 delegates attending the Grand Rapids convention that they voted for the membership referendum in the face of the opposition of almost the entire union leadership and despite the severe pressure that the leadership exerted upon the convention as a whole.

The decision for a referendum climaxed a number of stirring floor battles.

To begin with, the convention resoundingly defeated an attempt by the Rules Committee to prevent the opponents of the no-strike pledge from bringing a resolution and report of their own before the delegates. It also defeated an attempt to jam through the election of international officers before the pledge could be discussed and acted upon.

### PROGRAM OF RANK AND FILE

The program, which was widely circulated throughout the convention at its first session, has attracted not only great attention but considerable support. The first four points emphasized in it, under the heading, "Save Our Union, Restore Our Rights," read:

"1. Rescind the No-Strike Pledge.  
"2. Break the WLB by Removing UAW Members from Regional and National War Labor Boards.

"3. Smash the Little Steel Formula by Hitching Wages to the Rising Cost of Living.  
"4. Begin Today to Build for an Independent Labor Party Tomorrow."

The five other planks in the Rank and File Caucus program read as follows:

"5. Wage Policy and Reconversion:  
"A. An industry-wide wage policy guaranteeing equal pay for equal work throughout the nation.

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## Opening Days at the Rubberworkers Gathering

By JOHN BERNE

NEW YORK CITY—At the time of this writing, the ninth annual convention of the United Rubber Workers of America has not yet taken up any of the important questions before it. Outstanding among these are, of course, the appeal of the militant rank-and-filers of General Local against their dictatorial expulsion from the union by the Dalrymple hierarchy as well as the whole question of the no-strike pledge.

However, the power of the international officialdom has already been challenged from the floor of the convention on two points. The first related to the appointment of committees other than provided in the constitution. The president appointed the committees on officers' report, on rules and on appeals—on the ground that he had always done so. A motion from the floor—made by Delegate Herrold—was to the effect that the convention body as such appoint the members of these committees, especially the one on appeals.

### FIGHT FOR DEMOCRACY

Dalrymple ruled the motion out of order and an appeal from the ruling of the chair was had. Those for the motion stressed the point that, in effect, Dalrymple was appointing his own trial board in appointing the Committee on Appeals and to some extent in appointing the Committee on Officers' Reports. They also argued that what the president was permitted to do at former conventions no longer holds because of the situation in the URWA today. A show-of-hands vote sustained Dalrymple, 242 to 147—Dalrymple's main argument being that the convention body would, in the final count, decide all questions.

The other question of moment which drew fire from the floor during the first two days was the recommendation of the Committee on Amendments not to concur in Amendment No. 16 submitted by Local 9 and Amendment No. 17, sub-

mitted by Local 2. Both of these amendments were aimed at breaking the bureaucratic grip of the officialdom, providing in essence that no member of the International Executive Board shall serve as field or district representative and that all the appointments by the general president of field or district representatives be subject to the approval of the local union of which the appointees are members.

On a roll-call vote—demanded by

the supporters of the amendment—this splendid effort to broaden the democratic base of the URWA was defeated. The vote to sustain the recommendation of the committee was approximately two to one against.

Of the speeches delivered to the delegates assembled at the Hotel Park Central during the first two days, those worthy of comment—though chiefly adverse comment—were made by Philip Murray, presi-

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## How the UAW Ranks Organized for Victory

By MAX SHAHTMAN

GRAND RAPIDS—The open formation of a rank and file "third group," ready to challenge the policies of the administration of the United Auto Workers Union, CIO, and operating independently of the two old "power caucuses" in the union—the one led by Secretary-Treasurer George F. Addes, which the Communist Party supports, as well as the one led by Vice-President Walter Reuther—along with a successful rank and file revolt during the first day of the convention against two significant recommendations in the report of the Rules Committee, gave promise of a clear-cut fight on the floor of the ninth annual convention of the United Automobile, Aircraft & Agricultural Implement Workers of America, UAW-CIO, for a course and a leadership that would release that powerful labor organization from the paralyzing bonds with which it has been fettered since the United States entered the Second World War.

The third group, which calls itself the "UAW Rank and File Caucus," was organized at the Michigan State CIO convention last July on the initiative of such militants as Larry Yost, chairman of the Aircraft division of Ford Local 600; William Jenkins, president of Chrysler Local 490 of Detroit; Bert Boone, president of Chevrolet Local 659 of Flint; John McGill, former president of Buick Local 599 of Flint, and others.

The first meeting of the Rank and File Caucus on a national scale, which was held the evening before the formal opening of the convention, had delegates in attendance from some of the most important locals in the country, including not only several from Michigan, but also from New York City, Buffalo, Chicago and elsewhere.

The tragic error made by rank and file militants and progressives at past conventions, of acting as mere tails to the kite of either the Reuther or Addes factions, is being carefully avoided by the new group. Its very first meeting decided to act as an independent force in the convention and, following the convention, in the

locals all over the country, on the basis of an aggressive program of its own.

The five other planks in the Rank and File Caucus program read as follows:

"5. Wage Policy and Reconversion:  
"A. An industry-wide wage policy guaranteeing equal pay for equal work throughout the nation.

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## Labor Action Makes a Hit with UAW Delegates; 60 Subscribe

The biggest labor news of the year came out of Grand Rapids, Mich., last week, where the convention of the United Auto Workers Union voted for a national referendum on the no-strike pledge. And with it came a thrilling report from Martin Harvey of Detroit, who attended the historic proceedings.

Brother Harvey writes:

"LABOR ACTION did itself proud in the cause of militant, progressive unionism at the ninth annual convention of the United Auto Workers Union.

"We conducted a timely distribution of one thousand copies of LABOR ACTION to delegates and visitors to the convention, which took place as the debate on the no-strike pledge was drawing to a close.

"Looking down from a vantage point in the balcony of the convention hall, we saw the banner head of LABOR ACTION visible in all parts of the auditorium as delegates spread its pages to read the fighting message addressed to the Auto Workers Union convention. A number of delegates expressed their appreciation of the aid rendered by our paper to the struggle for militant unionism.

"Then we opened our Michigan subscription drive with a bang! We sold from sixty to seventy subs to delegates from all parts of the country. From Buffalo and Boston in the East, from Chicago, Muncie, Toledo and Cincinnati in the Midwest, from Flint, Detroit and Lansing in the heart of the auto industry, and from other cities and towns scattered over the country there came not only new recruits to LABOR ACTION's growing army of subscribers, but promises of more subs to come.

"A number of delegates not only took subs for themselves but took sub cards to take back to their plants with them so that their fellow workers would also have the chance to subscribe. A particular source of satisfaction was the praise of many auto workers who were already regular readers of LABOR ACTION.

"Every new subscriber to LABOR ACTION is another soldier in the working class army of freedom. The strength and size of that army was swelled at the UAW convention in Grand Rapids."

There's nothing we can possibly add to such an inspiring letter, except to say that the won-

derful fighting spirit displayed by the auto workers at their convention is the best indication of what a paper like LABOR ACTION means to progressive unionism. We also think that Detroit will have little trouble going over the top of its quota in our sub drive, if this and



past performances are any guide.

The first official week of LABOR ACTION's drive for 4,000 new six-month subscriptions is complete and our Box-Score shows a total of 196 subs. received, including those sent in by Chicago and Seattle in their "false start" of a week ago.

Not bad for a warm-up, not bad at all. When our team works the kinks out of its muscles and limbers up to machine-like efficiency, just watch our steady march down the field to a touchdown.

### LABOR ACTION

714 West 14th St., New York 11, N. Y.

YES, I want LABOR ACTION. Please send it to me regularly. Enclosed find twenty-five cents in stamps or coin for a six-month subscription  fifty cents for a year's subscription  (Check which.)

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The score after the kick-off is:

Akron	29
Buffalo	1
Detroit	51
Philadelphia	4
Chicago	47
Seattle	19
Streator	16
New York	23
National Office	6
Total	196

Cleveland, Los Angeles, St. Louis, Reading, San Francisco and Youngstown are still under wraps, but we're confident they won't be on the scrub bench by next week.

Our Enthusiasm Department makes this notation: "Only 3,804 subs to go!"

## NEWS AND VIEWS FROM THE LABOR FRONT

## Rank and File Organize at UAW Convention --

(Continued from page 1)

"B. Fight general unemployment by instituting a thirty-hour week at a livable wage.

"C. Fight seasonal unemployment with a guaranteed annual wage.

"D. Adequate severance pay for all workers, to be based on seniority."

"E. Reduction of age limits on social security retirement.

"6. Election for all national union department heads, such as Ford, GM, Chrysler, etc.

"7. Establishment of a national UAW daily paper.

"8. Fifty per cent of all international union assessments to be retained by the local unions.

"9. Elect officers who support the program of the workers in the shops."

For the purpose of acquainting the delegates more intimately with the purposes of the Rank and File Caucus and of organizing them for an effective fight on the convention floor, the caucus has already arranged for a series of meetings, to which all delegates have been invited.

## FOR A REAL CONVENTION

How successful the fight of the Rank and File Caucus will be at this convention cannot be established in advance, with only the first session completed. By the time this issue of LABOR ACTION appears, the convention will have concluded its most important sessions and the reader will know from the general press what the outcome was. But it is already clear that the temper of the delegates as a whole is one of extreme discontentment with the policies pursued up to now by the union officials, one of extreme impatience with the unprincipled "power politics" being played behind the scenes by the cliques running the union, and one of determination to fight through the main issues facing the union.

This temper could be judged by the very first day of the convention, even though the first day is usually con-

finied to routine questions of organizing the convention procedure. The first fight on which the administration received a resounding and overwhelming rebuff from the delegates came on the report of the Rules Committee.

From every corner of the vast convention floor delegates clamored to be recognized to discuss the Rules Committee recommendation that the election of the principal national union officers and board members take place midway in the convention sessions.

One delegate after another pointed out that they were sick and tired of their experiences with this form of election. As one delegate pointed out, the first three or four days of the convention are consumed by long-winded speeches by "invited guests" from the outside, so that the delegates have little or no opportunity to debate the issues before the convention, and see where the union leaders stand on these issues, before the actual elections take place.

The demand for holding the elections on the last day of the convention, AFTER all the issues, especially the controversial issues, have been decided, and everybody has shown publicly where he stands on them, was so strong, that in spite of the urgent recommendation of the Rules Committee, its proposal was voted down by an overwhelming majority, and the recommendation of the committee minority, represented by Tom De Lorenzo, of Brewster Local 365, adopted by just as tremendous a vote.

A rebuff that was just as vigorous and thoroughgoing was administered to the other controversial recommendation of the Rules Committee which proposed, in effect, to put a gag on discussion. Point 11 in the proposed rules declared that there would be only a majority and minority report from the Resolutions Committee and that only these two reports could be discussed on the floor. That this was

aimed at choking off a clear-cut discussion of the no-strike pledge was pointed out by Delegate Ben Garrison, former president of Ford Local 400. Himself a member of the Resolutions Committee, he called attention to the fact that both the majority and the minority of this committee favored retention of the infamous pledge and that if the provisions of Point 11 of the Rules Committee were adopted the "sub-minority," which advocates rescinding the no-strike pledge, would not have the opportunity to discuss its point of view on the floor.

The delegates showed their contempt at this cheap parliamentary trick devised by the Rules Committee by voting, again overwhelmingly, to reject its proposal, and compelled it to come back with a revised version which makes formal provision for a genuine discussion of the no-strike pledge, which, in the given case, means a genuine discussion of the numerous proposals before the Resolutions Committee for rescinding the no-strike pledge.

## RESCINDING RESOLUTIONS

Resolutions before the Resolutions Committee which call for the revocation of the no-strike pledge, number no less than eleven already, although many more than that number of UAW locals have taken such a position. Among the locals officially calling upon the convention to withdraw the pledge are Ford Local 50, of the famous Willow Run bomber plant, the militant Briggs Local 212 of Detroit, Chrysler Local 490 of Detroit, Amalgamated Local 14 of Toledo, Bryant Heater Local 337 of Cleveland, AC Spark Plug Local 651 of Flint, and others.

As is known, such locals as Brewster 365 of Long Island City, Electromotive 719 of Chicago and numerous others are committed to voting to rescind the pledge. A stiff fight on this question—which is the nub of

the problem of the UAW today—is clearly indicated.

The growth of the sentiment for revocation has been so great and obvious in the rank and file that the conservative union leaders are trying desperate measures to circumvent a plain expression of opinion. An attempt at outright reaffirmation of the pledge will certainly be made. But if it fails of support in the convention, as may well be the case, some "clever" dodges are being prepared to pull the wool over the eyes of the delegates and to thwart their desires.

One such dodge, reportedly conceived or backed by Reuther, has taken the form of a resolution calling for the rescinding of the no-strike pledge—in non-war industries! This would alter the situation only for an utterly insignificant section of the UAW members, the vast majority of whom are, of course, engaged in war industry.

Another dodge appears in the form of a resolution calling for the withdrawal of the no-strike pledge—at the end of war hostilities. This is a thoroughgoing fraud, inasmuch as the pledge was made in the first place only "for the duration."

## COMMUNIST DODGE

A third dodge, which has been supported in some of the local elections by the Communist Party people, provides for a membership referendum on the no-strike pledge, not in addition to a revocation of the pledge by the convention, but as a substitute for it. Naturally, the rank and file militants will not be taken in by such a transparent trick. While most of them have no objection whatsoever to a membership referendum on the question—for they are confident of the decision that the membership would make—they want, first of all, that the convention itself do its duty by taking an unambiguous position. Were the convention to vote for

a referendum as a substitute for a proposal to rescind the pledge, this would actually leave the union on record for its previous and still unrevoked position, namely, of endorsing the no-strike pledge. There is no doubt that this sly device will be exposed and fought on the floor by the militants who, this time, are not only determined to fight but are better organized for such a fight than ever before.

It is still too early to report on the prospects of a fight on other issues before the convention, two of the most important of which are the question of independent working-class political action through a national Labor Party and the question of a systematic fight for a post-war program that will assure the economic standards and political rights of labor, menaced on the one side by the anti-labor drive being prepared by monopoly capital and its government agents, and on the other side by the worthy impotence of the present union leadership.

But one issue is already certain to be fought out on the floor and fought out vigorously. Practically every delegate is already aware of the clique battles, jockeying for position and unprincipled office-hunting that are being conducted among the union leaders behind the scenes. Each of the old cliques, neither of which brings forward any substantial differences on program, is working in the dark of the moon to fix its fences in the Administration.

## FIGHT FOR OFFICE

It all revolves around the fight to create, quite artificially, a third vice-presidency, the two existing vice-presidential positions now being occupied by Richard T. Frankenstein and Walter Reuther. The third vice-presidency is to be filled by Richard Leonard, formerly a wheelhorse of the Reuther group who failed to win through at the last national convention in Buffalo, a defeat which does not seem to have quenched his ambition for high office.

In the hope of healing the rift that has developed between Leonard and Reuther, the latter is supporting the move for a third vice-presidency. It appears that President Thomas is acting along the same lines, especially in view of Leonard's recent shift to the position of a "Thomas man." The Adde crowd is violently opposed to the move out of fear that it will upset the present "balance" in the top leadership. The Stalinists will support Leonard, it seems, but only if he runs against Reuther, whom they are out to clean up.

This rotten bureaucratic hunt for power, in which principles are simply non-existent, is turning the stomachs of the serious rank and file delegates, who are fed up with this sort of thing, which has cursed their union and its leadership for years. The general sentiment among them is to oppose the creation of a third vice-presidency and to oppose it vigorously. If anything, the popular tendency is to cut down the size and the power of the union bureaucracy—not to increase it. The next few days will be decisive for the UAW-CIO.

was given the endorsement as an individual candidate. The Democratic Party was not included." This is pure nonsense. The CIO leaders will say today that they are not including the endorsement of Hague, Kelly and Bilbo in their endorsement of Roosevelt. But what do Hague, Kelly, Bilbo and the rest of the Democratic Party leaders care about this? We suppose that they are only endorsing Dewey and the Republican Party labor planks. They are not endorsing Taft, Mellon, Pew, the Republican Party politicians who are at the same time owners of coal mines and fascist and semi-fascist elements who are on the Republican bandwagon? Yet, as a matter of fact, a change only from Roosevelt to Dewey is merely a swing from one boss party to another. Support of either party is detrimental to the best interests of labor.

The convention is not over as this is written and I will resume this report in the next number of LABOR ACTION.

## Here Are Some of the Important Problems Before UE Convention --

(Continued from page 1)

In their stand on revision of the Little Steel formula, the UE leaders merely followed the other large CIO unions. But in all other respects the UE leaders have failed to wage a struggle against the delays, hindrances and wage curbs of the WLB.

Of great importance in this connection is the present WLB resistance to permitting periodic increases from minimum to maximum labor grades, and its setting of so-called "bracket rates" (which fix permissible job rates in each region) even below rates already prevailing in each area. These two policies of the WLB have effectively cut off almost all remaining methods of getting wage increase in UE shops.

Yet apart from arguing with board officials and passing resolutions, the UE leadership has failed to fight the WLB effectively on these and other policies.

A large number of cases which the UE brings before the WLB are "consent cases"—contracts already signed by the company and union. Yet the WLB usually holds up and often disallows even these contracts. The UE to date has failed to protest the WLB's interference with "consent cases" where there is no dispute whatever.

## UE TIED TO ROOSEVELT MACHINE

Although the present leaders of the UE were loud in their uncompromising condemnation of Roosevelt's anti-labor activities before June of 1941, Russia's switch-over in the war brought a quick about-face in their attitude. They immediately became and now remain the wildest and most extreme supporters of Roosevelt and the Democratic Party.

They are now endeavoring to tie all of labor completely to the Roosevelt machine. They are trying to transform the UE into an appendage of the Democratic Party. Their answer to every grievance of the worker is "elect Roosevelt." They promise that political actions of this type will solve all problems and attempt to counterpose political action to collective bargaining.

The political policy followed by the UE is a desperately false one for the union and its members, since it endangers unionism because it ties the union, hand and foot, to one of the boss political parties. Every convention delegate knows that the "equality of sacrifice" program is Roosevelt's. Under it, big business has gotten away with everything, high profits, increased salaries, pensions and other forms of remuneration. In turn, Roosevelt gave labor the wage freeze, the job freeze, the Little Steel formula and a war economy program directed and controlled by big business.

Among the qualifications of the vice-presidential candidate of the Democratic Party, Senator Truman, is his support of the infamous Smith-Connelly bill, which Roosevelt vetoed because it was not strong enough. He also supported the income tax law of 1943 which heavily increased the living burdens of the workers. But the UE is supporting both as though they were the only hope for labor. There is no thought whatever given to a policy of genuine labor independent political action through a Labor Party.



## The Homestead Strike—An Early Struggle Against the Steel Trust

## Out of the Past

By RUTH PHILLIPS

Towering over the giant monopolies of American industry stands the steel trust. This powerful group of capitalists has always taken the lead in the ceaseless fight of the bosses against unionism and for the open shop. The fiercest struggles in American labor history have taken place in the steel mill towns of this country.

Fifty-two years ago, the workers of the Carnegie Steel Corporation in Homestead, Pa., were locked out when they refused to accept a reduction in wages. The company hoped not only to force the men to accept a wage cut, but at the same time to break their union.

Henry C. Frick, a notorious union-buster, was the superintendent of the Homestead plant of the Carnegie Corporation. He "declared war" on the men by importing armed thugs from the Pinkerton detective agency.

The men knew that the Pinkertons were coming, three hundred strong and armed to the teeth. When the Pinkertons tried to enter the town, the steel workers engaged them in a battle during which ten men were killed and thirty wounded. The workers captured all three hundred Pinkertons, disarmed them, and ran them out of town.

Frick was defeated, but he had more powerful weapons at his disposal. At his request, the Governor of Pennsylvania sent the militia into Homestead. The men held out for five months, from July to November. By November the union treasury was empty, the strikers and their families hungry. The men were forced to return to work without a union contract.

Frick and the steel trust had scored a victory for open-shopism. It was a victory that had cost men's lives, and hunger and suffering for hundreds of women and children.

The strikers at Homestead in 1892 won nothing for themselves. But they helped to launch the long struggle of the steel workers to better their conditions and gain a union shop. It was a struggle that went on for almost half a century until the CIO brought the union back to the mill towns.

## First Account of Rubber Conclave --

(Continued from page 1)

dent of the CIO, and by Sidney Hillman, head of the CIO-PAC. President Dalrymple's speech was mainly an attempt to cash in on his trip to the battle areas.

## MURRAY AND HILLMAN SPEAK

Murray divided his speech into three distinct parts—the no-strike pledge, wages, PAC. Having made a pledge to President Roosevelt "in the presence of God Almighty," Murray vowed to keep his commitment. He did not mention that union officials—though they have forgotten this simple fact—owe their commitments solely to those very lowly people known as the rank and file of labor who were not consulted before the Murrays made that high-handed no-strike commitment.

Mr. Murray concocted the very clever but very false and misleading argument that the military victories today are due directly to the observance of the no-strike pledge by labor, implying that without the cuffs on labor's wrists the workers would have acted like wild men striking for the holy hell of it. This is rank nonsense. The workers, after years of unemployment, were glad to get jobs and would have stayed on them. The only difference would be that, without that no-strike pledge, which gave the green light for an anti-labor line-up resulting in a wage free, job freeze, tax and other war burdens, the threat of labor's economic might would limit the abuses of the bosses and their government servants.

It would be interesting to know how many delegates got hot under the collar when the president of the

mighty CIO referred to strikes as a "peacetime luxury." This is an indication of progress downward. From an all-time RIGHT of labor, the right to strike has become—in the eyes of the president of the CIO—a "peacetime LUXURY."

The question of wages, sandwiched in between Mr. Murray's misleading eloquence on the no-strike pledge and his defense of the PAC, was handled very shabbily. It was clear enough from what was said that, although the steel workers made their wage demand a year ago, nothing has yet been done about it. But it was not even indicated that labor was to do about this intolerable brush-off—except re-elect Roosevelt, who gave labor the obnoxious Little Steel formula.

In speaking about the PAC, Mr. Murray did make some excellent points against the racial bigotry stirred up by labor's enemies regarding Hillman. Murray rightly promised that organized labor will fight all racial bigotry until it is completely licked. But the CIO officialdom has still to explain why—at this crisis in capitalist society—the political strength of 13,000,000 organized workers, of their families, of the section of the population they influence—why the financial strength and organizing power of labor—should be used for the purpose of supporting capitalist politicians and capitalist parties.

The solution for labor is its own independent political party, a question which will also come before the convention of the URWA—about which LABOR ACTION will have more to say in its next issue.

## Autonomy Issue at Miners Meet --

(Continued from page 1)

The International Executive Board the district shall meet in district convention and adopt a constitution... provide for the nomination and election of district officers, except president and secretary-treasurer; and otherwise provide for district self-government... The only exception to the above recommendations are the offices of presidents and secretary-treasurers in such districts, who shall continue to be selected by the International Executive Board and designated to hold such offices subject to international and district laws until such time as the International Executive Board shall provide otherwise."

This was only a reaffirmation of the policy established by the conventions of 1938 and 1940 and reaffirmed in 1942. The reasons given by the committee for reaffirmation and also the reasons given by Lewis in his speech on the question, are extremely interesting, despite the fact that they are somewhat irrelevant and beside the point. "We believe," said the resolution, "that the above suggestions fully meet the needs of the situation, are protective of the rights of the membership and at the same time give to the international organization that small measure of advisory supervision that is conducive to the proper discharge of the obligations resting upon the international organization." Furthermore, inherent in the resolution was the necessity that the present set-up is necessary to protect the organization in facing the "competitive problems arising out of producing and marketing coal." The connection was also made with the problems of government control over wages and problems of the post-war period.

## BUREAUCRACY, DEMOCRACY

In his speech on the subject, Lewis went into more detail. He said: "This is not a question to be decided in emotion or amid excitement, because it is a cold, mathematical, business proposition for the United Mine Workers to consider."

Lewis then went on to say that while some locals in a district may desire autonomy, the majority of locals may not "and the overwhelming number of local unions and the overwhelming number of our membership do not lightly accept the suggestion that their district union be turned over, sometimes, to men without the necessary experience to operate it properly."

Lewis then recited events that had taken place in certain autonomous districts. There was District 26 in Canada, where the officers "affiliated their union with the Red Trade Union Communist International and repudiated their contractual agreements with the coal industry. I threw them out of office on the toe of my boot... In District No. 10, Washington... those officers... either got scared or they sold out, and they negotiated a wage reduction, contrary to the policy of this union, with the coal operators of that state. Well, what was I to do? Have that contract taken for a base for a general wage reduction in this country?"

Lewis said that there was more to the autonomy proposition than meets the eye. "I don't think our membership should get excited. I don't think they will, and I am sure they will not follow behind some prancing windbag with a tin whistle trying to imitate the Pied Piper of Hamelin." This was evidently a reference to Ray Edmundson. Lewis intimated that the autonomy move in part was a desire for jobs. "I think it is too bad, but it cannot be helped, that apparently in some districts there are just not enough offices to go around to meet the demand."

When the vote came on the resolution, out of 2,500 delegates only about 100 voted for autonomy for the districts. Someone on the platform said that there were only thirty-eight votes for, while I read one estimate of fifty. But with a rapid count there were certainly nearer to a hundred voting for autonomy. Twenty-five delegates from fifteen different locals asked that their votes against the motion of the Resolutions Committee be recorded in the minutes.

## AUTONOMY ISSUE NOT SOLVED

The vote in the convention cannot be taken as a gauge of the sentiment of the delegates on this question. The Edmundson autonomy campaign had such a bad odor that even rank and file delegates who were for autonomy hesitated to carry on a fight for fear they would get smeared with the bad-smelling Edmundson brush.

It was very clear that the Edmundson group was not a pure and simple autonomy group and that non-union, anti-Lewis and anti-UMWA forces were interested in the struggle which Edmundson was engaged in.

One can agree that the Edmundson fight was not a real autonomy struggle. One can agree with all that Lewis said about the history of defalcations, ineptitude and inefficiency on the part of some district officers in the past. One can agree that the coal operators are interested, for their own purposes, in dealing with autonomous districts. One can agree that it may be difficult now to find efficient officers for all the districts.

Yet this is no reason for such a non-democratic, medieval and unprogressive attitude as that apparently held by the leadership of the union. The significant thing that the statements of Lewis proved is that there is a crying need for educational work in the UMWA. Lewis' speech only demonstrated that among this magnificent, loyal and courageous group of workers there is a tragic lack of education in the principles of trade unionism, its history and the many problems of capitalist society that the miners are confronted with.

The International should spend some of the \$10,000,000 in its treasury to educate the membership by a sound and progressive program of trade union education in all of its many phases.

## POLITICAL ACTION

There are some other aspects of the autonomy issue that I will discuss in a later article. This will include the role of the Negro delegates on this question and more on the Edmundson affair. Right now it is necessary to

get to the resolution on political action. This is a very strange resolution. It was presented to a convention after the president of the union and the Mine Workers Journal had already endorsed the Republican Party and its presidential candidate.

The same situation exists in the CIO. Before any of its affiliates had held their national conventions, the top officers of the CIO had already endorsed the Democratic Party and its candidate, Roosevelt.

Despite the fact that Lewis and the UMWA official organ had already endorsed Dewey and the Republican Party, the resolution called for no endorsement. After vigorously and correctly flaying Roosevelt for six triple-spaced pages, fifteen lines of the mimeographed resolution are devoted to the praises of Dewey and the Republican Party. Very naively the sponsors of the resolution tell the coal diggers and the country that "the labor plank of the Republican Party's platform promises labor the recognition and representation that belongs to labor. It promises economic freedom and to abolish all policies that lead to regimentation, the freezing of wages and binding men to their jobs."

The only assumption that one can make is that the officers of the UMWA believe that the only alternative to the anti-labor acts of the Roosevelt Administration is to swallow whole the "promises" of Dewey and the big business Republicans. There was one resolution in the convention for a Labor Party, but of course the Resolutions Committee recommended "non-concurrence."

## PLUGGING HOOVER'S DEWEY

"Dewey has not met the expectations of the betrayers of labor, the misleaders of labor, or the Communists who dominate the CIO and the Political Actionites. Such leaders are appendages geared to the Roosevelt Administration and, in many instances, old-world ideologies, and are ready and willing to sacrifice the economic freedom of the American way of life if need be to promote their personal welfare."

What do these mysterious and cryptic sentences mean? Who are the betrayers of labor whom Dewey has disappointed? And why do the officers of the UMWA persist in the lie that Communists dominate the CIO? The CIO is dominated by Philip Murray and Lewis should know this. And who are the "Political Actionites"? What are the old-world ideologies mentioned in the above quoted paragraph? The most harassing, oppressive and strangling "old-world ideology" that labor is confronted with today is capitalism, the capitalist state and a capitalist government. This is an "old-world ideology" which was imported into this country directly from England. It is the only ideology dominant in this country. This ideology is sponsored, defended and accepted by both Roosevelt and Dewey, and by Republicans and Democrats.

The 1936 convention endorsed Roosevelt and the union contributed a huge sum to his campaign. To be sure, the resolution says that Roosevelt

# UAW Votes First National Referendum on No-Strike Pledge!

(Continued from page 1)  
tion of the deity, to observe their "commitments."

## THE MINORITY RESOLUTION

The minority report was sponsored by Victor Reuther, Local 174; H. A. Moon, Local 645, and Harold Johnson, Local 814. As one of the delegates sarcastically remarked, "It's full of the splinters you get from squatting hard on top of a fence." He was expressing the real sentiments of about nine-tenths of the delegates. The minority resolution was a typical Reuther straddle, full of sonorous phrases, lots of wind, no fury and no proposal for ACTION to meet the crisis

pose to extend indefinitely labor's wartime no-strike pledge in time of peace." But these provisions fell on pretty deaf ears, inasmuch as the issue was obviously whether or not the paralyzing no-strike pledge should be kept or rescinded NOW. As everyone knew, only case-hardened Stalinists, headed by Harry Bridges and following the line of bowing and scraping before the National Manufacturers' Association, are in favor of keeping the no-strike pledge indefinitely, even after the war.

## THE RESCIND RESOLUTION

A third resolution, called the "Super-Minority" or, jokingly, the "Super-Duper" resolution, was reported out by a committee minority of one, Ben Garrison of Local 400. Even though its wording at certain points was open to objection from the standpoint of the militant progressives, it nevertheless came to clear grips with the problem.

It reminded the convention of the auto workers' conference in Detroit on April 7-8, 1942, at which the ten-point "Victory Through Equality of Sacrifice" program was agreed to. These points included a demand for limitation of corporation profits to three per cent; a limitation on individual or family income to a maximum of \$25,000 annually; rigid price control to prevent inflation; a fair aid just rationing program; wage increases commensurate with increases in cost of living; a living wage to the dependents of men in the armed forces; a moratorium on all debts during the reconversion period, and so forth.

Although the no-strike pledge was given, so far as workers were concerned, on the condition that these points be carried out, not a single one of them had been put into effect. As a result, continued the resolution, "labor has been forced to take a retreating position." While it has continued to make sacrifices, "the moneyed interests and large corporations have drawn tremendous surpluses and instituted a policy of abrogation of collective bargaining, which if allowed to continue will surely mean the disintegration of all labor unions as has been the fate of the labor movement in Germany, Italy and other fascist countries."

The Super-Minority resolution therefore proposed flatly "that we assembled in this great convention rescind our no-strike pledge." It also called for a referendum vote of the membership sixty days after adjournment of the convention "to either uphold or reject the action of this convention."

One after another the top leaders of the UAW came to the fore to fight for reaffirming the pledge. The air was thick with flag-waving speeches until you almost felt like you were attending a convention of the American Legion. The leaders tried to bear down with all the authority and prestige at their command. Thomas had even gone so far as to declare, before the convention assembled, that if the no-strike pledge was rescinded, he would not run for president of the union.

## RANK AND FILE WIN TEST

Murray was brought down to the convention for the special purpose

of defeating the movement to rescind the pledge. Toward this end he even pulled a "sensation" out of his hat with the announcement that he could give full assurances that the infamous Little Steel formula was going to be abandoned by an upward revision. He was listened to with considerable coolness by most of the delegates, and several attempts to give him an ovation fell flat.

The sentiment of the militants in the convention toward the attempt by the flag-wavers to muddy the issue was well represented by the aggressive delegates from the Briggs Local. Every time one of the "patriots" would start the old song about "Our Commander-in-Chief," "our duty to our country," or "the fox-holes," the Briggs delegates would raise up tiny American flags and wave them mockingly at the speaker. There is not the slightest doubt that the Briggs men are as sincerely patriotic as the next man, but they, like hundreds of others, were fed up with the attempts to drown their legitimate demands in a flood of "patriotic" oratory.

There was a tense atmosphere when the first roll-call was taken, on the Super-Minority resolution. Everyone understood that this was the first real test of the no-strike pledge, and that the convention's action could mark a real turning point for the American labor movement.

When the final tabulation was made, the rank and file militants were vastly elated at their initial success and the officialdom looked as glum as it felt. In spite of all the handicaps and difficulties, the Super-Minority resolution received more

## to rescind the no-strike pledge

The Reuther resolution fared miserably. The Rank and File Caucus, following the defeat of the "Rescind" resolution, promptly issued a leaflet to the delegates announcing that "the fight has only begun" and urging them to vote down both the other resolutions. Hitherto the isolated militants all had the tendency, once their own views were defeated, to vote for a "half-way" Reutherite position as a "lesser evil" in comparison with the Communist or the Adde-Frankensteen position. This time they clearly and intelligently avoided any traps. Vote against both the Matthews-Ganley and the Reuther resolutions, they said.

## DEFEAT MAJORITY RESOLUTION

The vote against the Reuther resolution the second report to be considered, was overwhelming. It did so badly on the voice vote that the Reutherites decided it was the better part of wisdom not even to call for a roll-call vote.

At last came the vote on the majority resolution—the third test. The vote was close. Many of the Reutherites voted with the resolution supporters as a "lesser evil." Others, however, followed the counsel of the Rank and File Caucus and voted against the majority resolution. A tremendous cheer went up from the floor when the final roll-call disclosed that the majority resolution had been DEFEATED by something like 298 votes.

As matters stood at this point, the union no longer had a no-strike pledge! The harassed officialdom was dismayed. Heads were put together. Then the inevitable happened. The Reutherites, the Communist Party gang, Adde, Frankensteen and Thomas came forward with a united resolution which simply stated, in a few words, that the pledge was reaffirmed. Reuther's "reservations" were revealed for what they really were—of second, third, even tenth-rate importance!

Then came one of the most contemptible pieces of trickery ever tried at a labor convention. The new "united" majority came forward with the announcement that in view of the defeat of all three resolutions, the convention would have the opportunity to vote simply on whether to reaffirm or rescind the pledge, and just as simply on whether to hold a membership referendum or not. The new majority, that is, the whole officialdom, therefore came forward with two motions: one, to reaffirm the pledge; two, to hold a referendum. Garrison, still a minority of one on the Resolutions Committee, came forward merely with a proposal to hold a referendum.

## A BUREAUCRATIC TRICK

With Reuther openly rejoicing the rest of the top leaders, the motion to reaffirm the pledge was carried by a standing vote. Then came the trick! The majority announced that inasmuch as the convention had already made a positive decision, it withdrew its proposal for a referendum! The bores of the delegates shook the roof of the Civic Auditorium. Tapes, the Stalinist leader, and others of his stripe made the most transparently demagogic speeches yet heard at a UAW convention, which is saying a good deal. They argued that a referendum is a bad thing, it will mean "strife" in the locals, it will impair

the working efficiency of the union, it will stand in the way of the reelection of "our Commander-in-Chief" and more of the same.

But the delegates saw through all this as if it were plate glass. The officialdom had held its referendum motion in reserve in case the resolution to reaffirm the pledge would be defeated. In that event they were ready to try to overturn the convention decision. But once the convention voted to reaffirm, they did not want to give the minority the same opportunity to appeal to the membership. No speaker was needed on the floor to point this out. Everybody understood it.

Garrison persisted in his motion for a referendum. An apparently close standing vote precipitated a demand for a roll-call. It was obvious that many delegates who had voted against a referendum under official pressure feared a roll-call which would put them on record where their membership could see that they had opposed a rank and file consultation. When the roll-call was finally taken, it was a run-away victory for the militants. The decision for a referendum was adopted by the stunning majority of two to one.

It should be pointed out that after the Adde-Stalinist crowd had withdrawn their own motion for a referendum, Victor Reuther and Harold Johnson switched over to Garrison in favor of a referendum. To go along with the others against the referendum would have been too much!

It should also be pointed out that the Garrison motion provided that the referendum be supervised, not by the International Executive Board, but by a special nine-man committee

the hotel-room convention to decide the question of the division of power among the cliques and individuals making up the leadership.

This question revolved, at Grand Rapids, around the office-hunting aspirations of National Ford Director Richard Leonard. He wanted to become a union vice-president, and to make sure that he got the post, he was working for the artificial creation of a third vice-presidency, the first two being occupied by Richard Frankensteen and Walter Reuther. Reuther, supported by Leonard up to this convention, played for a while with the idea of supporting Leonard's ambitions in order not to alienate him. The Adde crowd was adamant against a third vice-president, for fear of disturbing the "balance of power" in the union leadership, but was ready to support him for second vice-president against Reuther.

The conferences behind the scenes on this question were endless. It is known that Murray stayed over at Grand Rapids in the hope of straightening out this mess. Hillman came to the convention largely for this purpose, representing not so much himself as Roosevelt. It was authoritatively reported to me that even Mr. Hanegan, national chairman of the Democratic Party, took a hand in this dispute through the offices of his personal emissary, whom he sent to the convention from New York—an emissary who has as much to do with the labor movement as any corporation lawyer.

The CIO heads, Murray and Hillman in particular, were extremely anxious to avoid a division among the UAW leaders. They wanted peace in their ranks and unity. But they wanted it for a special purpose this time. They wanted, and want, unity among all of the top leaders against the alarming growth of independent, militant rank and file sentiment. For the same reason, Murray and Hillman were insistent that, come what may, Reuther should not be defeated in his candidacy for vice-president. That would mean Reuther's return to the ranks. Under such conditions, Reuther could very easily become, in a bid for a return to the leadership, the spokesman and organizer of a wide rank and file movement. That he would not be an authentic and reliable leader of such a movement was beside the point, from Murray's and Hillman's standpoint. It sufficed that Reuther could, willy-nilly, create a dangerous situation for the whole precarious top set-up in the UAW and therefore in the CIO as a whole.

Their fears were only partly dispelled by the convention. The delegates voted overwhelmingly against creating a third vice-presidency. They are suspicious and resentful enough of their leaders as it is, without adding a new one, and an obvious office-chaser at that. In the same spirit they shouted down a motion that provided for electing international officers for a two-year term instead of for one year, as at present.

In the first vice-presidential election, Frankensteen defeated Reuther by a small majority, while Leonard ran a very poor third. In the second, Reuther won handsily over Leonard, in spite of the Adde-Frankensteen support thrown to the latter. Incumbent Adde was elected again as secretary-treasurer without any opposition candidate running against him.

R. J. Thomas was not let off so easily. Running as a candidate for union president against him, for the first time in the years since Thomas took that office, was a young militant from Flint, Robert Carter, acting president of the Flint Industrial Union Council, who was placed in nomination by Larry Yost, leader of the Rank and File Caucus. Carter of course had no chance to win and as a matter of fact he conceded defeat half-way through the roll-call vote. But it was a significant act for him to run at all. The notion that the present UAW leaders are to be in office for good and aye, is breaking down. The old attitude is giving way to the view that the union must have



SIDNEY: ALL NOT CLEAR

leaders who stand committed to a militant, uncompromising fight to defend and build the union with the same weapons that marked the early years of the union, plus new weapons—such as independent political action—which more and more militants are learning to realize that the union must have.

The long fight on the vital question of the no-strike pledge made it practically impossible to have any discussion on such important questions as a Labor Party, which many delegates favor, and a fighting post-war program, which the UAW leadership has abandoned in practice for the sake of giving blind, covering support to the Great White Father in Washington.

But the outstanding fact is that the militants in the UAW showed their hand for the first time in an organized and impressive way and on the basis of a clear program. The outstanding fact is that these militants are inspired with the feeling that "the fight has only begun."

Now they are determined to put all their weight behind the movement to rescind the no-strike pledge in the coming referendum and to see to it that the Rank and File Caucus remains an organized, year-around and nation-wide movement. There is no sign that they intend to fold up and hibernate following the convention. That is good and heralds a new day for the UAW and the whole labor movement. A profound change is coming and the rank and file militants are the promoters of the change. They will have the ardent support of all the healthy and progressive forces in the union whose hearts are lifted at the prospect of an end to the days of capitulation and a beginning of the days of victorious fighting.



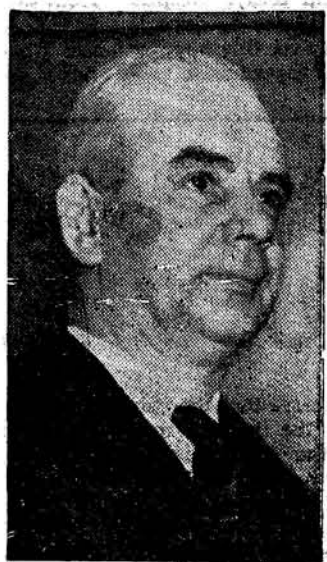
REUTHER: GOT CAUGHT!

which the resolution found itself compelled to point out.

The resolution boasted of the contributions and sacrifices labor has made for the war and gave assurances that these would be continued. At the same time, whimpered the resolution, "the successful maintenance of continuous production is a responsibility of management and the government as well as of labor." It went on to admit that "management continues to provoke stoppages by taking advantage of the no-strike pledge." It argued that "slogan and lip-service will not insure continuous production; only genuine collective bargaining and fair play can achieve that end." No mention was made of how collective bargaining, destroyed by the no-strike pledge and the War Labor Board set-up, was to be restored.

Having recited as delicately as possible the disastrous results to labor of the pledge, and the fact that it has been a brutal weapon in the hands of "management"—this is the tender term Reuther likes to use when referring to the do-nothing plutocrats of monopoly capital—the resolution ended with typical Reuther cowardice in a proposal to reaffirm the fatal pledge "in those plants wholly or partially engaged in war production."

To be sure, the Reuther resolution provided for abandoning the pledge "in those plants reconverted to the exclusive and sole manufacture of civilian production." And it also condemned "those individuals inside or outside the labor movement who pro-



MURRAY: HE PLEADED

than thirty-seven per cent of the total vote, lacking only about 1,300 out of the more than 10,000 votes cast for a clear majority. The militants felt that they had gained a victory, and they were right. In the first big contest they had shown a strength that not even the most optimistic had looked for. They had polled three-eighths of the total vote, despite the barrage of charges of "unpatriotism" laid down against them, despite the fact that the whole officialdom was against them, despite the fact that their own leaders were comparatively unknown and despite the fact that any number of the small, out-of-the-way locals, feeling themselves dependent upon the good will of the international officers, voted pretty solidly against the resolution



"DICK": BOOED—AS USUAL

composed of three representatives from the supporters of each of the three original resolutions. It further provided that while international officers and representatives retain their ordinary rights, they are forbidden to use their offices, their positions, the union press or union funds for the purpose of influencing the vote in the referendum. This expression of non-confidence in the officialdom carried, along with the main motion for the referendum itself.

## FIGHT FOR POWER

Properly speaking, the convention came to an end at this point. But the behind-the-scenes convention was only then getting under way. It was

## Public Meeting

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Nat'l Sec'y of Workers Party

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# Dewey's Daily Double-Talk

By W. WHITE

Candidate Dewey made the big "labor speech" of his campaign at Seattle on September 18. He hammered away especially at one point: that the Roosevelt Administration treats labor problems by a system of "planned confusion." There are countless boards and agencies, he said, which quarrel with one another. Any one of these boards, especially the War Labor Board, is capable of delaying a case for a year or two or more, while the workers suffer. Result: there have been many strikes.

True! True! The workers hardly need to be told about the Washington Run-Around.

Mr. Dewey claims that he, for his part, would put an end to all the stalling by abolishing most of the agencies and consolidating the rest in the Labor Department. We are afraid, though, that our efficiency expert has forgotten, in his zeal to replace Roosevelt as labor's "best friend," that he is the self-proclaimed "states' rights" candidate.

## PHONY "STATES' RIGHTS" ISSUE

Now, states' rights is one of the fanciest forms of stalling ever invented. It has a long tradition behind it. Should the government abolish child labor? Make lynching a little tougher to get away with? Set minimum wages? Provide higher unemployment benefits?

Perhaps, says a good states' rights man. If he is more of a hypocrite, he will say, of course. But the state governments should be the ones to make all these reforms, he hastens to add. They are closer to the people. The state governments, however, do nothing. Some just refuse, while others say that they can't act alone.

How can a states' rights candidate be against stalling on the demands of labor? He can only oppose the kind of stalling done by his rival. Didn't almost every Republican—along with

those original and unreformed heroes of states' rights, the Southern Democratic backbone of Roosevelt's party—oppose even the puny Kilgore bill for liberalizing unemployment benefits? Candidate Dewey has nothing to say about this. What can he say? He is for states' rights—that means, if we take off the disguise, for keeping unemployment benefits low. That means that wage rates can be kept down.

## TWO STALLERS

Yes, Roosevelt has designed his boards to give the workers a good long ride. But Dewey is not planning a pleasure trip for the workers, either.

Here's another form of stalling in Dewey's speech. He ventured to attack the Connally-Smith anti-strike law. Did he also suggest that Republican congressmen should take immediate steps to repeal it? What's your hurry, brothers? The law will, and should, expire at the end of the war, says he.

He attacked the anti-strike law, but not the Congress which passed it. Of course, he points out—quite correctly—that Connally and Smith are both Democrats. But it would be hard to state how, on this law as well as on most other recent legislation, the Democrats and Republicans differ. Therefore, he is forced to say that "honest men" passed the law in desperation. Roosevelt has made the labor situation so bad that Congress figured nothing could make things worse—so they, being honest men, passed this vicious law. The real desperation, Candidate Dewey, is to be found in this explanation of yours.

Worst of all the agencies is the War Labor Board, says Dewey. First, it stalls cases endlessly. Second, it interferes with free collective bar-

gaining by dictating the terms of contracts. One hundred per cent correct, we say.

Candidate Dewey wants to know "who gains by this planned confusion?" Not the workers, he answers, nor the public, nor the war effort. The only gainer is the New Deal, which by these methods forces the labor leaders to "come to the White House hat in hand" to beg for favors. Here again Dewey has scored a bulls-eye against Roosevelt. But once more he has managed to "forget" something. He has "forgotten" to say anything about the employers, a group which is insignificant in size but still of considerable importance under the capitalist system of "free enterprise." Isn't it true, Mr. Dewey, that they have been the biggest gainers?

Labor works for the capitalists because it has to. Roosevelt—and Dewey—serve these masters willingly.

## NO REAL DIFFERENCES

So there you are: What really important difference is there between the two candidates and their two parties? Workers surely don't have much to get excited about, when the only choice is between two different faces, two different voices, and two more or less different methods of stalling, lying and deception.

Roosevelt or Dewey? Dewey or Roosevelt? Both serve the same big capitalists. The workers need candidates and a party who will serve the working class. That means a party of the working class. Many unions are already wise to the Democratic run-around, the Republican run-around (which John L. Lewis seems to go for), which consists of running from the Republicans to the Democrats to the Republicans—and so on forever. These wise unions have already passed resolutions and, in Michigan, even taken the first steps to form their own political party.

# The Cost of Living A Big Joke to FDR

President Roosevelt has quite a reputation for charm and wit. He doesn't allow the grave responsibilities of his office to get him down.

Almost a year ago, on last November 9, the New York Times carried a little article headed "President Wisecracks on the Cost of Living."

When a reporter at a press conference asked him whether he thought the Little Steel formula should be altered, the President answered that the first thing was to find out what the cost of living really was.

Then, with that unfailing humor of his, he added that "an individual's idea of the cost of living depended upon his wife, his stomach and the place of his abode."

Some joke, huh? The textile and steel workers would still be laughing—if their leaders had seen fit to print this wisecrack in the union papers.

The real joke, however,—and FDR must still be chucking to himself over this one—is that he also informed reporters that the special committee of the War Labor Board, which he had named the week before to study the cost of living index, would report within sixty days. As you know, this committee never did report. They never could agree on any one report but collected five of them, the last being the Mitchell report of this June, a mere six months late.

The President surely fooled the reporters on that one—and he fooled Phil Murray and Bill Green and all the workers too. I suppose you could call it a practical joke on a supercolossal scale, as befits a President, with the whole country (except the big business men) as victims.

Just a few weeks ago another press conference was held, during which the President's wit was so sparkling that Newsweek magazine of September 11 couldn't resist quoting the record in great detail.

Raymond Brandt of the liberal St. Louis Post-Dispatch started the ball rolling by asking: "Mr. President, speaking of employment, have you had time to read the Kilgore and George bills?" (on unemployment compensation).

"The President," said Newsweek, "indicated that he had read the originals but had not kept track of the various amendments since tacked on." "Reached any conclusions?" asked Brandt, obviously a serious and persistent fellow.

"None," Mr. Roosevelt replied, then launched into his next point. He had thought of making a speech on a subject very close to his heart—because he would make a little money on it: a dissertation to the public on the raising, planting and selling of Christmas trees. He had really thought of making a radio speech on it and then having somebody say that it was a political subject, then demand equal time on the air (titfers for some reporters).

This Christmas tree stuff went on for some time getting funnier and funnier. Then, later in the conference, some reporter asked when and where Mr. Roosevelt was going to meet Churchill. Obviously this fellow was a "straight man" for the President, who shot right back with this sarcastic honey: He was going to tell them all an intimate fact—he had had a bath that morning. Snappy stuff, isn't it? Even a little risqué, because there were some lady reporters present.

Here is a side-splitter for Mr. Roosevelt to think of during his next bath: Where is he going to find enough consumer purchasing power to buy all those Hyde Park Christmas trees he raises, if he doesn't give a little more thought to unemployment insurance!

# Platform of Workers Party

For a People's Peace and a Workers' World! Against Both Imperialist Camps! For the Victory of World Labor and the Colonial Peoples! For the Victory of the Third Camp of Socialism!

The Workers Party recommends this platform for adoption as the fighting program of the trade union movement and of the national Independent Labor Party which it must form.

### LABOR MUST DEFEND ITSELF NOW!

1. For the defense of all democratic rights! Against wartime dictatorship measures! Abolish wage-freezing and job-freezing!
2. Restore full and unrestricted collective bargaining rights of the unions! Rescind the no-strike pledge! Repeal the Smith-Connally anti-strike law!
3. A higher, not a lower, standard of living! For a \$1.00-an-hour minimum wage law, with time and a half for overtime, double time for Sunday and holiday work, and equal pay for equal work for all industrial and agricultural workers! An "escalator clause" in all wage contracts, hitching wages to the rising cost of living, plus a margin for comfort—a "cost-plus" wage!
4. No tax on wages and no sales tax on consumers' goods! Abolish all taxes on annual incomes of \$5,000 or less!
5. Down with control of rationing and price-fixing by the monopolists and the government bureaucrats! For democratic control of rationing and price-fixing by joint committees of working class organizations, farmers' organizations, cooperatives and consumers' organizations and housewives' leagues.
6. No government contract to plants without a union contract.
7. Maintain and increase all government social services and establish adequate federal medical service, health and accident insurance, old-age pensions, child care, protection for the unemployed!

### SOAK THE RICH—LET THEM PAY FOR THEIR WAR!

8. Expropriate the "Sixty Families"—the plutocratic three per cent of the population who own ninety-six per cent of the national wealth!
9. A one hundred per cent tax on all war profits above a five per cent maximum on invested capital! Immediate renegotiation of all war contracts to cut the fabulous profits to this level!
10. A \$25,000 ceiling on total individual incomes!
11. A graduated capital levy on all accumulated wealth over \$50,000 to cover war costs and provide post-war security for labor!

### PREPARE NOW TO WIN POST-WAR JOB SECURITY AND PLENTY

12. Government planning to guarantee the highest national production and income, a year-around job and a minimum annual wage to all, and a rising standard of living!
13. Conscript all war industries! Nationalize the banks, big industrial monopolies and transportation systems. No handing over of government-built and owned plants and facilities to private ownership!
14. For a two hundred and fifty billion dollar five year program to provide decent housing for all, extensive public works, rural electrification and modernization!
15. For a guaranteed \$5,000 annual income to all workers' families, made possible by a planned rise in the total national income and a thirty-hour maximum work-week.

### DEMOCRATIC RIGHTS TO DRAFTEES

16. The right of free speech, free press and free assembly for the men and women in the armed forces! The unrestricted right of the armed forces to vote in all elections and participate in all political campaigns!
17. For doubling present dependency allowances paid by the government with no deductions from the serviceman's pay!

18. For a two years' base pay grant to all demobilized veterans, with option of trade school and higher education facilities at government expense, and guarantee of decent jobs!

### DOWN WITH JIM CROW AND ANTI-SEMITISM

19. All discrimination against Negroes, Jews or other minorities in the armed forces or by employers in industry must be made a criminal offense!
20. For complete political, social and economic equality for Negroes!
21. For lifting all immigration barriers against Jewish and other victims of fascist terror! For government aid in rescuing and transporting these victims to safety!

### PROTECT THE FARMER

22. Adequate government provision of land, technical aid, machinery and supplies to all small farmers! Cancellation of all small farmers' debts to government and banks!
23. Nationalize all absentee-owned farms lands. Abolish tenancy and sharecropping by turning over the land to those who till it.

### PROTECT THE YOUTH

24. Adequate government provision for free education of all youth, including trade schools and universities! The right of all youth, male and female, to vote at the age of eighteen! Government-maintained nurseries for the children of working mothers.

### AGAINST REACTION—FOR A LABOR PARTY, A WORKERS' GOVERNMENT

25. For Union Defense Guards, trained and controlled by the unions, to defend labor, the Negroes, Jews and all racial minorities from native fascists, Jim Crow rioters, anti-Semites, Klansmen, Silver Shirts and other capitalist tools!
26. For a break with bankrupt and reactionary capitalist politics and politicians and complete independence of labor from them! No political support to the Roosevelt government! For a party that is labor's own, an Independent Labor Party, based on the unions and controlled by them!
27. For a workers' government to organize the country for freedom, security, peace and plenty for the masses of the people!
28. Operate all big industry for the welfare of the plain people, with workers' control of production through the unions and plant committees!
29. Democratic control of the distribution and price-fixing of consumers' goods by the labor unions, farmers, consumers' and cooperative organizations.

### FOR A DEMOCRATIC PEOPLE'S PEACE AND A WORKER'S WORLD

30. For an end to the war and fascism by a democratic people's peace, without annexations, indemnities, tribute, or the dismemberment and oppression of sovereign nations and peoples!
31. For complete, immediate national independence to all colonial or semi-colonial peoples! Against all old or new annexations, or depriving nations of their sovereignty and independence, by American, British, Russian, German or Japanese imperialism!
32. For a Socialist United States of Europe and a World Socialist Federation! A socialist world will destroy capitalist imperialism, recurrent wars, fascist barbarism, oppression and exploitation, and establish a new order of freedom, plenty, peace and security, and world brotherhood!

## How the Workers Party Foretold

# THE STRUGGLE IN EUROPE

A New York Times dispatch by David Anderson, dated September 9, carries the following information concerning the attitude of the Parisian workers toward their employers who collaborated with the Germans:

"French workers—no one knows how many thousands of them—are striving to gain a substantial measure of control in the industries employing them. Committees manned by the rank and file of some of the most important factories in the Paris area are growing in strength daily. The men serving on them refer to themselves as 'les responsables' and profess to be the forerunners of permanent groups that will represent the workers in the direction of the plants after the war. They envision an equal three-way division of power among the workers, the technical staffs and the management."

A group of workers' representatives from the Hispano-Suiza plant told Anderson that the management had fled on August 18, on the eve of the liberation of Paris, that the workers are now running the plant, and were "confident that they will retain some of the power they enjoy today."

As for the attitude of the owners of this plant, as well as many others, Anderson reports:

"The Hispano-Suiza management's position can be made clearer when it is pointed out that the heads of many French firms deemed it wise to remain away from their plants until the fever of excitement over the liberation had died down and they could explain

why valuable aid had been given to the Germans during occupation. The reason in most cases is merely that French factories were faced with the choice of producing for the enemy or being rifled and destroyed and losing their workers (Ed.—Read: profits) to Germany. The great majority of industries elected to carry on and, where they could, to hinder the German war effort by sabotage and delays and, in the end, to have effective plants to serve liberated France. This reasoning was not always understood or accepted by most of the employees."

Compare what is actually happening in France today with what the Workers Party foretold nearly two years ago in its resolution on the national question. We quote from a section of that resolution entitled "Likely Developments in Europe."

"On the other hand, however, a phenomenon of the highest importance manifests itself. It is the duality of power right in the very midst of the new and by no means stabilized bourgeois regime. To overthrow the regime of national oppression, armed struggle was needed. Even assuming that the burden of this struggle is borne by advancing Allied imperialist troops, a good deal of it will have been accomplished by armed, organized workers who have not been incorporated into regular imperialist formations. There, at the very outset, is the core of the future proletarian army. Despite all democratic illusions, experience has shown that this popular armed force will regard with sus-

picion and meet with resistance any attempts by the new bourgeois government to disarm it in favor of 'regular' troops.

"Secondly, in the very process of driving out the Germans, the most natural, elementary and immediate step that the workers will take through their factory committees (which will be promptly created if they do not already exist) is to run out all German factory superintendents and managers or those who did the dirty work of the Germans. In most cases, steps will be taken to replace them outright with factory committee control. Now that the Nazis or pro-Nazis have been driven out of the factories, who is to own and control them? To be sure, the old owners, especially those who fled when the Germans came, will put in appearance and coolly claim ownership of their property, on legal grounds and on the political grounds that they remained good patriots throughout the trying days. It is incredible that in all or even in most cases, the workers will simply bow to these claims and, without another word, resume work where and how they left off in 1939. In many cases they will demand that the 'state' take over the factories, mines and mills, that they be 'nationalized.' And, until this is done, they will probably continue to hold the properties 'in trust,' under their own control. In other words, the dual power in the factories will exist from the very first day of the 'national' revolution."—Resolution of the Workers Party, New International, February, 1943.

## AN EDITORIAL

### Miners' Union and Real Democracy

The report from the United Mine Workers convention by our correspondent indicates that one of the reasons given by John L. Lewis against autonomy of districts now functioning under appointed directors is that these districts do not have qualified leaders of their own.

We can assume that by qualifications he has in mind education, training and experience. If there were such qualified persons in the numerous districts making up the UMWA, these districts presumably would be allowed to select democratically their own leaders and direct the affairs of their particular district and sub-district organizations.

While we agree that the autonomy movement of Ray Edmondson is suspect, i.e., has threads running to Roosevelt's Democratic Party machine and the CIO-PAC, the movement for genuine independence and democracy in the Mine Workers Union is an old one, for which the miners have fought valiantly many times in past years.

The older struggles for autonomy were not "tainted," as is charged against the present movement led by one of Lewis' erstwhile henchmen. They were genuine rank and file movements which expressed the deepest desires of the coal miners for the right to administer their own affairs free of bureaucratic domination by the international officers, that is to say, Lewis himself.

Each of these movements was beaten back by Lewis, who employed every legal and illegal means against the rank and file of the union. His present charge of malfeasance in office on the part of officials in the districts where autonomy was ended is really beside the point. The history of the labor movement shows that in a genuinely democratic union such malfeasance is reduced to a minimum, if it exists at all. We can point to the UAW as an example. A democratic UMWA could easily resolve such a problem.

As to the point made about the absence of qualified persons in a union of several hundred thousand members, in our opinion it is merely an excuse to resist the autonomy movement. Our knowledge of the union and the history of its origin, growth and struggles, strengthens our belief that there are more than enough available and qualified persons to conduct the affairs of the union—to conduct them with at least the same intelligence and efficiency as those now at the helm of the union.

Moreover, a democratic administration of the union would make possible not only progressive economic action, but would open the door to progressive political action of a union now dominated by the politically reactionary Lewis. The Lewis action is motivated by a determination to control bureaucratically the UMWA and to prevent its democratization.

(Continued from second column)

the extermination of the working class vanguard, the intellectuals and the progressives.

In a word, the line of demarcation between the Nazi overlords and the German people is no less than a battlefield. And lying propaganda, lumping all Germans under the head of Nazi, attributing the villainies of the Nazis to all Germans, and calling for the extermination of "every German" has—to put it mildly—held out neither hope nor help to the German people in their grim and unpublicized struggle against the Nazis.

### ALLIED PLANS FOR GERMANY

The Roosevelt-Churchill-Stalin triumvirate has not given the German masses any hope or help in their anti-Nazi struggle because these supermen are frightened by the mere thought of the overthrow of the Nazis by the German people. For this would mean the establishment of a people's government in Germany, claiming the land and industries as their own, establishing their complete independence from foreign rule, and instituting socialist solutions to the overwhelming social problems facing them.

Roosevelt-Churchill-Stalin aim for a military debacle of the whole German people, for the division of Germany among themselves, for plundering the industries of the country, for the complete subjugation of the sincerely anti-Nazi German working people.

# Extermination of German People -- Allied Plan

By SUSAN GREEN

The Nazi vogue of exterminating whole peoples has filled the normal human being with loathing for the barbarians guilty of such contempt for mankind.

Today, however, with the Nazi armies on the run, we are being propagandized to follow the vogue set by the Nazis themselves, and exterminate not the Nazis as such—but the whole German people. Even so-called men of God, quoting the Bible as authority, come out with such ungodly statements as, "What remains to be done is to kill every German."

It is easy to understand how the embittered European peoples, so long under the Nazi heel—suffering torture, horror and degradation in the cruelly refined manner the Nazis have mastered—might passionately hate all Germans and, out of bitterness, believe that all of them are capable of such inhumanity.

### THE PROPAGANDA MILL

But the truth is that "Exterminate the Germans" is not as much a cry from the hearts of tortured people as grist in the propaganda mills of the United Nations. We are expected to believe that all Germans alike are responsible for the murder factories on the Lublin model. Newspaper reports, editorials, radio comments increasingly have that slant. And there is a reason why now, more than ever before, hatred of all Germans is the theme of the propaganda of the United Nations. With this propaganda they are laying the so-called moral basis for their plans regarding Germany, namely: to divide the country among the victor nations, dismantle its industries, and impose foreign dictatorships over every phase of life of the German people.

At this crucial stage in human history, the working people here and everywhere can little afford to be duped by lying propaganda. They must have a complete and realistic understanding of Nazism and its relation to the German people. To draw no line between the Nazis and their first and foremost victims—THE GERMAN PEOPLE—is to play directly into the hands of the very elements responsible for Nazism.

In reading about the extermination factories the Nazis established in conquered Europe, we

must not forget that the Nazi butchers started their human slaughter houses inside of Germany first. In shaking our heads over the torture and terror the Nazis inflicted on Europe, we must remember that the Nazis came into power—and to this day continue in power—by torturing and terrorizing the Germans!

The working people of this country, of England, of Russia, of France, of Italy, have been encouraged by United Nations leaders to forget that the German workers once stood foremost in the world because of the strength of their economic and political organizations, and the class-consciousness of their political views. The Nazis annihilated a generation of advanced working people before they could go ahead and twist the minds and feelings of German youth to do the dirty work of Nazism.

To serve the imperialist plans of the United Nations powers, we are supposed to forget such facts. Let us see what other facts we are supposed to forget—facts that give evidence to the truth that German working people are like all other working people.

### THEY FOUGHT BACK

There are the eye-witness reports about German common people aiding the Jews in the days of the terrible pogroms—and being themselves jailed and tortured for giving such aid. There are the personal stories of foreign workers escaped from Germany, telling of the comradeship shown by German workers to the slave-workers from Poland, Russia, France, Italy; the sharing of meager rations with those who had less; the assistance in escapes given to foreign workers who wanted to join the partisan forces of their own countries—all done at the risk of death at the hands of the Gestapo.

There are, furthermore, the accounts of how older German workers, still clinging to the ideals of working class emancipation, sought to teach the Nazified young workers some of the principles of working class struggle—this with Gestapo spies honeycombing every factory. There are reports of strikes by German workers and demonstrations by German housewives—even under the machine guns of the Nazi rulers. And there is an underground in Germany; yes, an underground in Germany, and a secret labor movement, even after

(Continued in last column)

# World Events Are of Great Importance to U. S. Labor

By J. R. JOHNSON

In 1933 the American working class was battling with an economic crisis such as had never before struck this rich and prosperous country. Unaccustomed to think in terms of danger to its national existence, the American working class took little interest in the accession to power of Adolf Hitler in Germany. Two years before, the Japanese imperialists had invaded Manchuria. The event had caused even less excitement among the American workers.

Yet these two happenings were the beginnings of what became a worldwide catastrophe, dragging the whole of humanity into a whirlpool of blood and destruction. The American working class is paying and will continue to pay for the fact that it did not recognize then the true significance of the invasion of Manchuria and the Nazi victory.

### THE RULERS KNEW

The American ruling class, however, knew quite well what was involved. Many of the biggest capitalists, Ford, for example, rejoiced openly at the destruction of the German working class movement by Hitler. Had the U. S. government exerted its influence in Europe, Hitler could have been blown out of existence before he had an army of a quarter of a million men. China could have been supported in an effort to strengthen itself against Japan. But imperialists never fight wars for any purpose except imperialist interests.

The American government was kept informed of all the intrigues in Europe with and against Hitler. It formally expressed sympathy for the Chinese, while American capitalism armed Japan for that war as for the present one. It stood by and saw Ethiopia raped. It joined Britain, France and Stalinist Russia in the blockade and strangulation of the workers of Spain in their fight against the fascist uprising.

### MASSES ARE RISING

Now today after this most dreadful of wars, the European workers are holding up again. Italy is seething with discontent, the French masses

have shown once more that the spirit which produced the great French Revolution and the Commune still burns as brightly as ever in France. In every occupied country the masses are ready to fight for their liberation and the creation of a new Europe.

But once more the American ruling class is alive to the situation. Having had to join in the crushing of an imperialist rival which had grown too dangerous, they are, as ever, alert to the necessity of destroying the working class as an independent force in European society. They are as determined as ever to crush the nationalist aspirations of the Oriental peoples. To the Anglo-American ruling classes has been added a formidable ally. Stalinist Russia, trading on the traditions and achievements of the October Revolution, is now at c.i.c. with Britain and America in the determination to reduce the European workers to submission and impotence in their efforts to carve out their own destiny.

### LABOR'S GREAT INTEREST

The American working class, in its own interest, cannot afford to allow European affairs to be ordered and regulated by the imperialists in the interests of American and other capital. The American proletariat cannot afford to stand by and see the hundreds of millions of Asiatics made once more into milk cows over whom imperialists, Eastern and Western, fight their bloody wars. The American workers must intervene with an independent policy. We failed to intervene in 1933, when the German workers were crushed. We failed to intervene in 1936 to save the Spanish Revolution. See how bitterly we have paid!

Today as the European war begins to draw to a close, the signs are thick in the heavens that the imperialists are using the prestige of victory (the power of their arms, and the power of the productive system AGAINST the working masses of Europe. Darlan, Badoglio, Giraud and then de Gaulle all tell the tale. Stalin, afraid of the Warsaw workers, pushed it into the jaws of the German army

and left it to bleed to death or to paralysis.

Let us have no misunderstandings. This is a matter of life and death for us. If the imperialists are left free to recreate the old Europe, economic crisis and political reaction will once more radiate to all corners of the globe. The American workers cannot escape it. Therefore in our own interests we must intervene. We must speak in our own voice, in the voice of organized labor, declaring our solidarity with the struggles for freedom of the European proletariat and the Asiatic peoples.

### WORKERS MUST SPEAK OUT

We must denounce the counter-revolution of Roosevelt, Churchill and Stalin, and we must denounce it in the voice of American labor, speaking on behalf of the great majority of the American people.

We must organize assistance, assistance to the fighters, relief to the suffering masses, aid to the workers' organizations. All this we must do in the name of organized labor.

Let us speak and act in our own voice. Let us show the great masses everywhere that there is another America besides the America of Roosevelt, of Dewey, of the financiers and industrialists.

Let us make it clear that there is an America which is the friend of liberty everywhere, that is in complete solidarity with all the oppressed, against all the oppressors everywhere.

Such an America is the organized labor movement of this country, the greatest in the world. Today it is asserting itself splendidly on the national scene. But as we think of 1933 to the present day, we cannot but see that labor's independence must be felt on the international scene as well.

This we must do not only for good will and comradeship but from hard necessity and self-protection. The time is ripe. There can be no delay. Roosevelt, Churchill and Stalin are in full action for their own aims. Labor must rise to the occasion and challenge their foreign policy with a foreign policy of its own.

### DETROIT MEETING:

## "The Labor Movement in Crisis"

What White and Negro Unionists Can Do

### SPEAKER

DAVID COOLIDGE

National Labor Secretary, Workers Party

Friday, Sept. 29, 8:00 p.m. Hofman Bldg.

ADMISSION, 25 Cents

Woodward at Sibley

### NEXT WEEK:

### SHIPBUILDERS' CONVENTION

ANALYSES OF AUTO AND RUBBER WORKERS' CONVENTIONS

PROFITEERING COAL OPERATORS

By Walter Weiss

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