

WORKERS FIGHT WLB!

"Hold the Line" Has Two Sides: One for Labor, One for Capital

In sharp contrast to the wage levels of all workers, including the highest paid skilled workers, all of them doing the real creative work in the nation, we have the 1942 salaries of the big business "leaders." A partial list of officials of big companies reveal that salaries paid to top officers were as high as ever last year. There are no signs that these salaries will be reduced by any presidential decree or congressional action. The list is too long to be published in this one issue. We therefore publish only a part of the list of the "captains of industry" and their salaries. More will be published next week.

Companies and Officials	1942 Salaries
Republic Steel Corp.	
Tom M. Girdler, chairman	\$275,000
R. J. Wysor, president	196,000
Pension Trust for Mr. Wysor	23,000
M. J. Clarke, vice-president	133,000
C. M. White, vice-president	133,000
American Tobacco Co.	
G. W. Hill, president	240,473
Vincent Riggio, vice-president	122,283
Paul R. Hahn, vice-president	122,283
International Nickel	
Robert C. Stanley, chairman-president	215,050
J. F. Thompson, vice-president	105,400
Westinghouse Electric	
A. W. Robertson, chairman	189,633
George H. Bucher, president	143,045
Roscoe Seybold, vice-president	57,738
Kennecott Copper Corp.	
E. T. Stannard, president	126,510
D. C. Jackling, director	76,910
American Locomotive Co.	
William C. Dickerman, chairman	114,091
Duncan Fraser, president	92,092
Mack Trucks, Inc.	
E. C. Fink, president	87,700
F. F. Staniford, vice-president	50,210
Detroit Edison Co.	
A. C. Marshall, president	60,620
Lockheed Aircraft Corp.	
R. A. Gross, president	125,000
C. A. Bagker, vice-president	90,000
Eastern Airlines	
Captain Eddie Rickenbacker, president	35,519

American labor is fed up—fed up with low wages, high prices, wage freezing, job freezing and the whole WLB set-up. In Detroit, Pittsburgh, Akron, the coal fields, in big industries and in small industries, workers are fighting mad. Mad enough, and militant enough, to strike against a mountain of obstacles—government threats, Stalinist scabbery and vilification, and, in most cases, the opposition or weakness of their own international union officials.

These workers in Detroit's auto factories, in Pittsburgh's steel mills, in Akron's rubber plants, who followed the example of the coal miners, are serving notice on the ruling class, its government boards and its labor lieutenants in the unions (the Murrays and the Greens), that they are not beaten, that they are ready and capable of putting up a good fight in defense of their interests. They are equally repudiating the pernicious wailing of those fossilized sections of the radical labor movement who see the working class in retreat.

The thousands of auto workers who struck the Chrysler and Dodge plants in Detroit, the 50,000 rubber workers who are still out in Akron as this is written, are not in retreat. They are fighting the bosses. **THEY ARE FIGHTING THE WLB!**

Wages are the issue. But that issue is increasingly becoming a fight against the WLB. The WLB and labor are thus locked in a battle, on the outcome of which depend labor's living standards, and its right to collective bargaining.

Collective bargaining went out the window when the labor leaders surrendered labor's right to strike, and when the WLB was formed. With almost every decision, the WLB has delivered a blow against labor.

Rubber Workers on Strike Against WLB Wage Ruling

AKRON, May 24—In a magnificent upsurge of labor militancy, 48,000 rubber workers have by today left their jobs in protest against the ruling made by the War Labor Board three days ago, which granted a miserable three cents an hour pay increase when even the WLB panel studying the industry had previously recommended an eight-cent raise (50,000 are on strike as we go to press).

This greatest strike movement in Akron's history got under way Saturday morning at the B. F. Goodrich Co., where the membership of Local 5 of the United Rubber Workers took things into their own hands on hearing of the raw deal. The whole huge group of plants, employing 14,000, were shut down in a few hours. Because of the strength of this local among the workers, there existed and still exists, no need for pickets. Unfortunately, this same situation does not prevail at other rubber plants.

The movement spread to Firestone Saturday afternoon, where rank and files, with the aid of workers from Goodrich, closed down these plants, employing 16,000, with little trouble. A holiday spirit seemed to move the assembled crowds in front of the gates, and what few grumblers there were, were not hard to handle.

Sunday afternoon the Goodyear local met and was presented with proposals to return to work by their Stalinist-dominated Execu-

tive Board. This followed action by International President S. H. Dalrymple calling for a return to work. The rank and file present found it hard to get the floor to express their opposition, and finally defeated the proposals by voting to table the proposals.

Leaderless and confused, with no one in authority willing to assume responsibility for any action (because of Stalinist scabbery) and against the opposition of those who refused to take the initiative in protesting the WLB farce, the plants were nevertheless half shut down by noon Monday. As this is being written, most of Goodyear's 18,000 workers are out.

The scene at the moment (Monday, 5:00 p.m.) seems to be shifting with the attention of the workers diverted to Washington, where the local union presidents, Bass of Goodrich, Treen of Firestone and Lewis of Goodyear, have gone with Dalrymple. Just what they're supposed to do there is not definitely known, but it is believed that they hope to coax Phil Murray into TRYING to coax the War Labor Board into reversing its decision.

The present view here is that the WLB, under Roosevelt's direction, will not retreat from its three-cent decision—if only because of the need to bolster the board in the face of working class opposition. However, the majority of the workers seem to

be hoping that somehow the board's decision will be reversed.

The local labor leaders have kept the rubber situation "in hand" since one year ago, when their local's cases were presented to the WLB. But the WLB's stalling, and its final phony decision, have enraged the whole labor population of the town. In today's Beacon Journal the three locals involved have a half-page advertisement stating their position, as follows:

"Our members have not always gone back easily (from previous sit-downs), for they have often felt that 'war emergency' has been a club to force them to concede some point which actually results in inflated profits for the employer.... We have shown conclusively before the War Labor Board that living costs for our own people have increased twenty-three per cent since January, 1941.... The Akron companies, with their profit mo-

He's No Help



SHERMAN DALRYMPLE

tive, have become almost impossible to deal with.... But the Akron Beacon Journal asked the WLB to refuse our just demands at the same time they have been trying to break down rent control, one of the few points at which the government has held the line against our rising living costs. This prejudiced Beacon Journal attitude had much to do with the creation of that despair in the hearts of our membership, which finally led to a stoppage of work. Loss of confidence in the fairness and impartiality of the WLB as an agency of the government finally created the work stoppage."

Although labor has "lost confidence" in the WLB, it has yet to raise a hue and cry to demand the resignation of its members from the WLB. THAT IS THE LOGICAL NEXT STEP TO TAKE!

Meanwhile, in Akron tonight there is much work to be done by (Continued on page 2)

Auto Strike Puts WLB Into Motion-- Local 7 Demands Ousting of Lamotte

DETROIT, May 24—The strikes which closed down five Chrysler Corp. plants here since last Thursday, directly involving over 24,000 workers, ended today.

In addition to the main plants which struck, the Chrysler Jefferson-Kercheval division of the corporation, the main Dodge plant at Hamtramck and the De Soto bomber plant were out for a few days, and the Detroit (Chrysler) Tank Arsenal and the Dodge truck plant were shut down because of lack of materials. At the same time, throughout the region, labor discontent grew as the big corporations refuse to engage in collective bargaining and the WLB postpones action.

At Kelsey-Hayes, 2,500 workers went on strike for a few days. At Ford Highland Park the shop committee on Friday engaged in a sit-down strike in the company's office in protest against the management's failure to settle grievances. At Muskegon, Mich., 750 employees of the Muskegon Motor Specialties Co. went on strike on Friday, ostensibly over which gate the workers should enter the plant, but, as explained by a UAW-CIO spokesman, this was "just a symbol" and

the real cause was the "complete break-down of collective bargaining in the plant."

The mass walkouts at Chrysler's resulted from the company's persistent refusal to settle accumulating grievances through collective bargaining, and the six months' delay of

His Plea Ignored



R. J. THOMAS

the War Labor Board in handling union demands.

Immediately after the outbreak of the strikes, the three-man panel of the WLB, which for a half year was "unable" to act on the Chrysler-UAW-CIO dispute, suddenly announced that it had come to a conclusion and had sent its recommendations to the board.

While supported solidly by the workers, the strikes were denounced publicly by Leo Lamotte, director of the Chrysler division of the UAW-CIO, and local Stalinist union officials. Lamotte charged that Walter Reuther and his "agents" were responsible for the strikes and that these people were "ready to sacrifice the interests of the workers and endanger the nation at war to advance their own political aggrandizement."

Reuther replied that "Lamotte's conduct will be handled through the regular channels of the international union." Reuther and R. J. Thomas both announced that the strikes were unauthorized.

Following a meeting of the War Labor Board, the company and local officials, the company promised to bargain collectively with the union and the union officials agreed to call off the strikes.

Thomas spoke over the radio urging the workers to return to the plants. But despite this, and the combined attacks on the strikes by Lamotte, Melvin Bishop, the Stalinist leaders and the local press and radio, only a few hundred workers returned to work on Saturday at one of the plants.

The workers knew that they were striking for the very existence of their union. Following the expiration of the old contract between Chrysler and the UAW-CIO last November, the union demanded a closed shop in place of a maintenance of union membership status, the appointment of an "impartial arbitrator," and the upgrading of workers on a seniority basis. The company rejected these demands, and the case went to the WLB. The latter held up the matter for half a year.

Utilizing this long delay, the company virtually refused to recognize the shop stewards and the shop committees. Workers were disciplined by the company without union consultation, stewards were laid off for taking up grievances, new workers were employed at higher rates than those having seniority, upgrading of workers to higher-paid jobs in new departments (Continued on page 2)

The leaders of the unions have realized that labor representatives on the WLB have voted against the decisions, union leaders have complained against WLB stalling, others have complained that it has become the graveyard of grievances. But the ranks of the unions are demanding something more of Murray, Green, Thomas and Dalrymple than complaints. They want ACTION. And without leadership, except for local leaders, they are spontaneously taking the road of action.

The role of the international union leaders (as in the UAW) is a disgrace. Instead of backing up the ranks, and thus delivering the death blow to the WLB, they sabotaged the struggle, fought the militants in the unions when they should have been fighting the WLB, and repeated their sour advice to exhaust the legal procedures of the WLB.

But the rubber workers did exhaust the legal procedures of the WLB. They went the gamut—from top to bottom of everything the WLB required. Their case was so strong that the WLB panel even recommended that the rubber workers be granted an increase of eight cents an hour. But the WLB granted them only three cents. They had exhausted every nook and cranny of WLB machinery. What else was there for them to do? Take a beating—and console themselves with Dalrymple's inaction? Retreat—and listen to Stalinist vituperation against John L. Lewis and the "Trotskyists"? Or strike—and show the WLB that they meant business? They struck!

And when they struck they added to that deluge of labor protest which will yet sweep into oblivion the WLB and its stranglehold on labor's standard of living.

The auto workers went back, but not before they had made it clear to their international officials that they expected some UNION leadership from them. The rubber workers are still on strike. The coal miners are prepared to strike again.

In Pittsburgh, open hearth workers at the Allegheny-Ludlum Steel Corp., members of Murray's own union, struck against a company attempt to introduce an "incentive pay" plan. In Cleveland, members of the Steel Workers Union, CIO, walked out of the American Steel & Wire Co. plant in protest against a new job-rating plan. In Baltimore, street car and bus drivers are on strike after getting the run-around from the company for a year. In Utica, N. Y., bus drivers returned to work after the company agreed to discuss grievances with the union. In Toledo, workers at the Electric Auto-Lite Co., scene of a famous strike a few years ago, are on strike against the refusal of the company to reclassify workers, and the firing of union militants. In short, strikes are flaring in every section of the country. They don't last long. But they nevertheless reveal the temper of the working class.

It is in no mood for homilies or pious strictures. It sees its living standard squeezed in the vise of prices, taxes and WLB decisions. It means to crack that vise. And if the union officials won't or don't know how to act, it means to show the way.

They know, if their high officials do not, that the WLB set-up won't be cracked, and collective bargaining restored, by taking it on the chin. They know that however much the WLB may threaten, the press may howl, and the Stalinists may fume, militant demonstrations of their power will consign the WLB to the graveyard where it belongs, formally through its dissolution, or informally through the granting of wage increases.

At this very moment there is every indication that the miners will win the substance of their demands. And they will not have gotten it by allowing themselves to be trampled upon, but by standing up and acting like men. That is a lesson that every worker in the country is learning. And that is the lesson that labor is trying to impress on every union leader.

Whether every last man or woman who is clamoring for action, and taking it spontaneously on increasing occasions, realizes it or not, the workers are demanding an end to the WLB, specifically and immediately that the "labor zombies" get off the board. They are demanding WAGE INCREASES that compensate for the increase in prices. AND THEY ARE DEMANDING AN END TO THE NO-STRIKE PLEDGE THAT FETTERS THEIR HANDS—BY SPONTANEOUSLY STRIKING OFF THIS FETTER!

NEWS AND VIEWS FROM THE LABOR FRONT

First-Hand Reports on the Auto Workers' Strikes in Detroit

Vote to Go Back--But They Haven't Stopped the Fight

DETROIT—Five thousand of the twelve thousand Dodge Local 3, UAW, members who walked out of the plant last Thursday morning in protest against the company's violation of seniority agreements and against the delays of the WLB in taking up their grievances, voted at a special local meeting at Keyworth Stadium to return to work on Sunday morning, May 23.

The workers and local leaders used this occasion to protest company provocation, the indifference and delays of the WLB, the indifferent attitude of the International Executive Board of the UAW in fighting for the Chrysler workers' demands, and in particular the anti-union activities of Leo Lamotte, head of the UAW's Chrysler division.

Two resolutions were passed at the meeting. One was a back-to-work resolution which passed with only a few dissenting votes, and the other was a motion to ask the Executive Board to remove Leo Lamotte as Chrysler division head of the UAW, which was passed unanimously, loudly and enthusiastically.

The back-to-work resolution, presented for the local Executive Board by the president of Local 3, Earl Reynolds, pointed out that the company had taken advantage of the no-strike pledge to violate seniority agreements, to delay adoption of corporation contracts, and to refuse the union's request of two years' standing for an impartial umpire to settle disputed questions. The resolution called upon the WLB to render immediately a favorable decision on these disputed questions and called upon the International Executive Board of the UAW to step in and help negotiate these grievances.

Reynolds in his speech denied that the walkout was caused by Reuther agents. He said that the walkout was the spontaneous response of the rank and file to company provocation, and accused Leo Lamotte of making a political football of the issue.

The WLB Negotiations

Perhaps the most significant speech of the day was the one describing the WLB negotiations with the union and Chrysler corporation, the day before, given by Jerry Ford, president of Local 3's plant committee.

Ford characterized the WLB case as the "rottenest thing in the labor movement." He said the WLB and the brass hats from the Army present were not interested in discussing the grievances but only in giving the unions an ultimatum to go back to work. Local 3 spokesmen were at first refused the floor, and Edward Witte, regional director of the board, said he was not interested in the case of Local 3.

Ford spoke bitterly of the attitude of the UAW International Executive Board members. He pointed out that the IEB did not contact the striking locals for two days to discuss their case. At Lamotte's office, he said, they didn't ask: "What's the trouble at Dodge?" but "just talked politics."

Ford accused the WLB and the IEB of having the attitude of "shoot the union officials" and "crucify Reynolds and Carey" (president of Chrysler Local 7). He pointed out how company lawyers sat with corporation officials in the negotiations and, whenever the of-

ficials made any slip, the lawyers jumped in to protect them, while "our International Board sat there agreeing we ought to be hung." He bitterly added: "Wooden stools would have been as much help there as the IEB was."

He demanded to know why the IEB did not help the locals. He further pointed out that during the recess, corporation officials and lawyers utilized the time to plan strategy while Lamotte used the time to accuse the local leaderships of sitting in caucuses with Reuther.

Ford wanted to know what the IEB and Frankenstein, whom President R. J. Thomas had just appointed to continue negotiations with the corporations, would do when the workers went back to work. He complained that they never saw international representatives until election time, and demanded that the "big guys" fight the case through, and that Thomas remove Lamotte as Chrysler director and put someone in "from labor, and not from management."

Resolution Against Lamotte

The resolution to remove Lamotte immediately as head of the UAW's Chrysler division was presented by Hopkins, financial secretary of Local 3. Lamotte, a Stalinist stooge, has played a vicious strike-breaking role from the start of the strike. He has made public statements to the press that the strikes were unjustified and were instigated by Reuther agents in

Booed—As Usual



RICHARD FRANKENSTEIN

the locals. He has tried to get Reynolds and Carey fired. On the WLB he has acted, according to one of the union spokesmen, as a "representative of the board and management, not of labor."

Hopkins attacked the boss press in Detroit for playing up the factional fight and for charging that the workers do not have any grievances and do not know why they are protesting. Charging that Lamotte aided and abetted this and made a farce of the workers' just cause and grievances, Hopkins moved the resolution that Lamotte be removed immediately as Chrysler director. Hopkins also urged that the structure of the international union be reorganized to gain the respect of the membership.

Thomas and Frankenstein

R. J. Thomas and Richard Frankenstein came to the meeting to

speak for the International Executive Board. Frankenstein, who was roundly booed the moment he was seen on the stadium field and consistently booed throughout his speech, spoke his usual: "I'm up from Local 3 myself and I know how lousy the Chrysler Corporation is, but the real issue is whether labor will stand back of its no-strike pledge."

In effect, this Frankenstein, who is supposed to negotiate the workers' grievances with the corporations, assured the corporation in advance that no matter what the provocation, no matter what treatment they gave the union, he would not make any real fight for the union's demands.

Thomas made a straddling, non-committal speech, attacking "caucus-

es" in general and warning the Chrysler Corporation that the union would make it pay two times over AFTER THE WAR. In answer to the membership's insistence that he make some statement on Lamotte, he merely said that he was not Homer Martin and would not remove executive board members illegally, not indicating that he intended any action at all against Lamotte.

The Dodge workers voted to go back to work. But this meeting indicates that they are not yet through with their fight. They resent the WLB run-around and the lack of support from their international union. They want guarantees that the union will fight for genuine collective bargaining. If they do not get this, the Dodge workers promise to make themselves heard from again. —V. J.

Detroit Proves It--Fink Is The Name for Stalinists

By J. JENSEN

DETROIT—Two weeks ago Earl Browder made a vicious speech in Detroit against the mine strike, in which he also attacked UAW militants for opposition to the Roosevelt Administration's anti-labor measures. He accused Walter Reuther of being for strikes (which he is not) and of being against incentive pay (which he is) and, therefore, of being a traitor to his country who ought to be driven out of the union movement.

The exact meaning of the Stalinist anti-labor, anti-militant fulminations are best understood in the context of their anti-union, strike-breaking attitude to the important auto strikes here this week. The walkout of over 30,000 auto workers—fed up with wage and job freezing, the run-around they are getting from the War Labor Board and the anti-labor, anti-collective bargaining activities of the corporations—has brought to a head the issue of the Stalinist union wreckers in the UAW. The Stalinists and their stooges in the UAW have been working overtime to help the bosses break the strength of the union.

Lamotte and Chrysler

The bulk of the workers on strike were from Chrysler Corporation plants, mainly the Dodge workers of Local 3 and the Chrysler workers of Local 7. For six months these workers have been waiting for the WLB to settle their contract. Meanwhile the company has been taking advantage of this situation to stall collective bargaining and to refuse talking up grievances. Officers of both locals have accused the corporation of deliberately provoking the walkout by their arrogant refusal to deal with union grievances, and by deliberately violating seniority agreements.

Previous to the walkout, the Chrysler Local paper had been full of examples of company chiseling, such as refusal to pay bonuses to workers who have gone into the Army, etc. The president of Local 7, Ed Carey, in a column in the local's paper on the Chrysler gun plant, wrote: "The history of the gun plant points conclusively to the fact that while labor works, fights and gives on all fronts, the Chrysler Corporation is also fighting an all-out war, but many of its guns, it seems, are trained on labor."

In spite of the many serious grievances, in spite of the fact that the union members were solid in their walkout, and were backed in their grievances by the leadership of the locals—in spite of all this, Leo Lamotte, Stalinist stooge on the Inter-

national Executive Board of the UAW and, unfortunately, director of the union's Chrysler division, tried to knife the union in the back. Lamotte said: "No one can tell me that these strikes were spontaneous. They were obviously planned by someone and I charge that those people were the agents of the Reuther group, who were trying to embarrass me in my own division." Dodge workers have accused Lamotte of sabotaging the presentation of their case before the WLB.

The Stalinist Pack

Lamotte's statement was the opening signal for the Stalinist jackals in the UAW fold to come out and howl. C. G. (Pop) Ederlen, president of Plymouth Local 51 and author of a pamphlet favoring incentive pay, came out with a statement blaming Reuther for the strikes. He also put out, in the name of his local, a leaflet attacking the strike as "not against the Chrysler Corporation, but is rather against our government," and urging the workers to go back to work.

A similar statement on Reuther was made by Nat Ganley, who follows the Stalinist line as secretary of Local 55. Melvin Bishop, of the IEB, came out in support of Lamotte's statement. And as the Free Press, which, like the rest of the Detroit press, openly groups all these people as supporters of the Stalinist line, remarks: Bishop's statement was "surprisingly like" a statement issued Thursday by Pat Quinn, president of the Wayne County CIO Council.

The Press and the UAW Fight

The press in Detroit, of course, has been only too anxious to play up the angle of the faction fight between the union leaders, and to ignore the genuine grievances of the Chrysler and other workers. In this they have been aided and abetted by the Stalinist press and their stooges. The papers have had great coverage of the fight between the Stalinists and Reuther since it broke into the open about ten days ago, following the Browder speech.

Reuther answered Browder last week in Cleveland at the CIO "little

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convention," when he said that the Stalinists had better keep their hands off the UAW, and added: "If they want a fight, we will give it to them." Reuther has openly stated his intention of bringing his fight with Frankenstein and others to the next UAW convention. And the UAW paper of May 15 carried an unsigned article attacking Browder's speech and his interference in UAW business.

Reuther and the Strikes

The presidents of the Dodge and Chrysler locals have indignantly denied that the walkouts were caused by Reuther's agents, reaffirming that it was spontaneous rank and file response to unbearable conditions and provocations on the part of the company. Meanwhile, Reuther, quite properly, refused to add fuel to the boss press' lip-smacking emphasis of the factional fight. He simply said: "Lamotte's conduct will be handled and settled through the regular channels of the international union."

However, there was one most important point on which his silence was most definitely not golden: Reuther failed to solidarize himself with the striking workers and their demands. If Reuther takes seriously his demands for pay raises and quick settlement of grievances, then he must take his place at the head of the rank and file union militants who are now

demonstrating their opposition to the employer-stacked WLB and the anti-union campaign of the corporations.

The Stalinists know that Reuther is not for strikes, that he is an ardent supporter of Roosevelt, that he is unwilling to break with the Roosevelt Administration and the WLB. Their war is not really with Reuther, but with the honest, militant rank and file of the UAW, who are unwilling to give up the fight for their rights. They are going after Reuther hot and heavy, because they are afraid that even his half-hearted opposition to oppressive government measures may rally the great majority of the UAW rank and file, now seething with discontent. They know that such a rallying of union militants would lead to a break with the Roosevelt Administration, the War Labor Board and the no-strike policy, and to a return to a policy of genuine collective bargaining, which is the real desire of most union men and women.

The Stalinists have been losing prestige in the UAW since their all-out anti-union policy from the time Germany attacked Russia. This new evidence of union wrecking and scabbery can only hasten the process. The workers must once and for all repudiate any party whose allegiance lies elsewhere than in the workers' struggle.

'The Whole Set-Up Has to Be Changed'--Dodge Worker

By JACK WEBB

DETROIT—In response to questions concerning the war, Dodge workers replied: "War or no war, workers cannot tolerate the destruction of collective bargaining that is taking place." This is the way the shop stewards feel about the charges against them, featured in the daily press, that they are sabotaging the "war effort."

The walkout occurred at noon Thursday, May 20, when the entire day shift held a meeting inside the plant. "It was just like old times," said one worker. "The stewards walked through the plant and announced the meeting, and in five minutes the plant was dead."

There was a brief announcement as to why the meeting was called; discussion was equally brief. The company had closed the door in the face of the union, which was trying to negotiate a grievance. The grievance dealt with the hiring of new employees at higher rates than men with ten to twelve years' seniority in the plant. The company had previously agreed to fill this new department by transferring the older men into it.

Speakers from the floor pointed out that this violation was merely the most recent disregard of the union by the company. One speaker suggested that they adjourn to the union hall, where they could talk their business over. This sentiment was taken up immediately and the workers voted unanimously to adjourn to the union hall.

The attitude of the rank and file was perfectly clear. "We cannot go on with the present methods of settling grievances." "The company and the WLB just don't give a damn whether or not they deal with us." "They think we can't go out on strike, so they intend to break the union." "The WLB is a company bond and in fact is a

company-union way of bargaining."

These statements voiced by Dodge shop stewards explain the crux of the walkout. With the present collective bargaining machinery, the situation has become intolerable for the men. Frank, company representative in negotiations, has literally closed the door to the union.

One steward, who has tried to settle grievances with Frank, had this to say: "Grievances have piled sky high, and Frank seems to get a big kick out of the whole thing. ... He tells us we are stuck, that we cannot strike, and what are we going to do about it? ... It's time we showed him that something can be done about it."

The company is accusing the local of violating the no-strike pledge of the UAW. The first important thing to notice in this respect is that the company has no contract with the UAW or Local 3. The contract expired over six months ago. In view of this fact, it is hard to understand why the company feels that Local 3 or the international should feel any obligation to the Dodge-Chrysler company.

Second, and most important, is what the workers themselves have to say on the no-strike pledge. Without exception, so far as I was able to discover, they maintain that they have never agreed to any such thing. One steward remarks that the local "unofficially" adopted the pledge. In concrete terms that means the question was never put to a vote. It goes without saying that such a vote would stand little chance of passing today.

It is of great importance to note that the rank and file are not confused in the least when it comes to doing something against a company that is wrecking their union. The same thing cannot be said about the UAW leadership. The workers are

He's Straddling



WALTER REUTHER

Detroit Strike--

(Continued from page 1)

men's was refused, changes were made in shifts so that fewer workers had to meet the old production schedules. The only time the company would call in union officials was when the workers threatened mass walkouts.

At the Sunday membership meetings of the two main locals involved—Local 7, covering the 8,000 workers at the Chrysler Jefferson and Kercheval plants, and Local 3, consisting of the 12,000 workers employed at the Dodge plant in Hamtramck and the 550 workers of the Dodge Lynch Road plant—the workers agreed to return to the plants on Monday but not before they expressed their anger and hostility to the international officials, particularly Lamotte and Bishop, and the local Stalinist officers of other locals who denounced the strikes.

Resolutions were unanimously adopted at both meetings denouncing Lamotte's conduct and calling for the General Executive Board to remove him as director of the Chrysler division of the union. Other Chrysler locals throughout the country were called upon to adopt similar resolutions.

At the Local 7 meeting, a resolution was also adopted attacking the strike-breaking actions of the Stalinists: Nat Gandy, business agent of Local 155, UAW-CIO; C. G. Ederlen, president of Local 51, and Melvin Bishop, assistant regional director of the UAW-CIO here.

Akron Strike--

(Continued from page 1)

those groups of devoted men and women in keeping up a spirit of militancy at Goodyear and Firestone pending the final outcome of the dispute. But not the least of their occupations should also be to examine with a microscope the result of whatever negotiations are now proceeding in Washington between their local leaders and CIO or government officials.

Goodrich Local 5, the originator of the present movement, is coming in for some heavy blows from the Beacon Journal, which well realizes that No. 5 is the heart of the Akron labor movement. George Bass, the local's president, is the particular target of abuse in an editorial today which claims: "It is an open secret that he was the directing force behind the so-called 'spontaneous' stoppages."

not embroiled in all sorts of semi-official agreements, "patriotic" commitments against the union's best interest and no-strike pledges.

A prevalent misconception among the union men interviewed was their attitude toward government intervention. Most of the Dodge workers feel that they will get a fair break if the Army should take over. The lesson so well learned, concerning the WLB and its attitude toward settling grievances, applies to the Army and other government agencies and departments. The coal miners have seen that to be a fact; the UAW should understand it in advance. However, in the words of a Dodge militant: "The whole set-up has got to be changed before we agree to go back to work."

J. B. (Scranton, Pa.)

The Readers of Labor Action Take the Floor...

Pays Tribute to Our Labor Reporting

Dear Friend:

I was comparing the report of the Michigan UAW conference, which was held in Detroit recently, as published in LABOR ACTION and in the May 15 issue of the United Auto Worker. The difference in the two accounts is really a tribute to the labor reporting of LABOR ACTION.

One of the most significant actions of the conference was completely omitted from the United Auto Worker article. The fact that the delegates voted to support Lewis and the miners' strike was not considered worthy of attention. Could it be that this was because the delegates' militant action was against the wishes of the union's bureaucrats—Frankenstein, Adde and Reuther?

The other major action of the conference was the decisive rejection by the delegates of incentive pay. This was given a small paragraph in the United Auto Worker, which tried to cover up Frankenstein's reactionary defense of the piecework system by

saying that he merely wanted the union to "consider" incentive pay plans.

It seems that the only place you can get accurate reports of labor news, written in the interests of the rank and file worker is in LABOR ACTION. Keep up the good work!
H. B. (Detroit).

Where Can You Buy Potatoes?

Dear Editor:
The price of potatoes is up 110 percent in Detroit. And you can't get any in three out of four stores.
Indignant Housewife.

Some Facts About Consolidated Ship

Dear Editor:

I'd like you to bring out the facts about what is going on in Consolidated Steel Shipyard in Wilmington, Calif. We belong to the AFL Boiler-

makers Union, and twice in the past month the company has had run-ins with the union because of trying to take away our conditions.

First, they tried to put helpers on grinding, although this work has always been done by journeymen in the past. The union ordered us to stick by our contract and our conditions, and the company fired helpers who refused to work out of their classification. They also started to hire open-shoppers, in complete violation of the contract that they voluntarily signed with the union.

Well, we all stuck together, including boilermakers working on field construction jobs for the Consolidated Steel Corp. in Southern California, and the company soon saw that it was licked and cut it out. All the men they hired in open-shop were required to join the union, and the helpers who were fired were reinstated and are not to do grinding work. The company wants welding takers to do shipfitters' helpers' work, but the union isn't going to allow this either.

I'd also like to bring out some of the rackets that are going on. Some

of the check pools are used by the big shots to make money for themselves. You're made to put your dollar in, but there never are any winners. This makes plenty of money for the right guys. Another thing is that the company is refusing to give releases to men who want to quit, but for a small sum of money you can get a bit shot to fire you for "cause." I know of one case where a man paid fifteen dollars in order to be "fired" so that he could get an availability certificate and get work somewhere else. Can't something be done about this?
I. P. (Wilmington, Calif.)

No Contract--No Coal, Says Miner

Dear Editor:

While penning these words, fifteen days of the miners' waiting period is running its course out. Meanwhile the enemies of the miners are getting ready. Some are even getting panicky. The leader of the American Legion, a fascist, is shouting

himself hoarse condemning J. L. L., while the workers in his own organization are protesting against their own Fuehrer.

Well, the result will be some of the more honest working class elements will be expelled from the fascist-ridden Legion, and I hope they'll have enough sense to organize themselves into a real Workers Veterans' Legion.

The government agencies are getting ready; the Army is getting ready; J. L. L. is ready. The Communist Party is threatening the miners with the "Red" Army, but in spite of them all, if there is no contract by May 19 the miners will be as silent as they are now, only not one will step out of doors. They will simply say: we have an involuntary vacation, and not a pound of coal will be mined under ground.

Roosevelt will shout, the Legion boys will shout, the legislators will shout, the Army boys will shout, the press will shout, the pulpit will shout, the school teachers will shout, but the miners will stay home and no coal will be mined, unless J. L. Lewis gets frightened by the Con-

LABOR ACTION

Announces a Series of Lectures on the War

By MAX SHACHTMAN

FRIDAYS AT 8:15 P.M.

June 11—Russia in the War.

June 18—Socialism or the Third World War?

Place—Labor Temple, 14th St. and 2nd Ave., New York

Admission—25 cents per lecture.

Stalin Announces the 'Dissolution' of the Communist International— He Long Ago Destroyed It as an Instrument of Socialism!

By ALBERT GATES

The announcement on May 22 by the Praesidium of the Executive Committee of the Communist International that it was proposing its dissolution to its affiliated sections came with the suddenness we have become accustomed to expect from Stalin's Russia. The parties affiliated to the Comintern were not advised beforehand that its Praesidium had such a proposal under consideration. In a completely totalitarian manner, the proposal was given to the capitalist press and the "Communist" parties learned of it from this source. As was to be expected, those parties which continue to exist have declared their complete agreement with the Moscow action.

What is the significance of this FORMAL action taken by the Communist International? Does it mean that the Comintern will actually dissolve? Does it mean the end of an international organization of socialism?

In order to answer these questions it is necessary to understand that with the advent of Stalinism, the Communist International ceased to be an organization devoted to the task of fighting for the establishment of a world socialist society. With the degeneration

sion of labor, and the interdependence of nations. One of the main contradictions of this capitalist order is that while it is international in character, it remains national in form. Thus the national capitalist states remain in competition with each other, reaching periodic stages of crisis, war, destruction, poverty and unemployment.

Because capitalism had outlived its usefulness, that is, its progressive function, socialism was on the order of the day. To realize socialism, an international organization of the revolutionary socialist movements was indispensable. This was the underlying purpose behind the organization of the Communist International of Lenin and Trotsky.

Thus, when the Praesidium of the Stalinist International declares the contrary, it lies. In this lie, it pays verbal allegiance to the idea of internationalism while it carries out in practice the reactionary doctrines of nationalism, a nationalism based on a new type of ruling class (the Stalinist bureaucracy) resting upon a new type of property (nationalized property). Listen to what the Comintern says about the reasons which prompted its action:

"But long before the war it had already become increasingly clear that to the extent that the internal as well as the international situation of the individual countries became more complicated, the solution of the problems of the labor movement of each individual country through the medium of some international center would meet insuperable obstacles.

"The deep difference in the historical roads of development of each country of the world; the diverse character and even the contradiction in their social orders; the difference in level and rate of their social and political development, and finally, the difference in the degree of consciousness and organization of the workers, conditioned also the various problems which face the working class of each individual country.

"The entire course of a century, as well as the events for the past quarter accumulated experiences of the Communist International, have convincingly proved that the organizational form for uniting the workers as chosen by the First Congress of the Comintern corresponded to the needs of the initial period of the rebirth of the labor movement, more and more outlived itself in proportion to the growth of this movement and to the increasing complexity of problems in each country; and that this form even became a hindrance to the further strengthening of the national workers' parties.

The three paragraphs are filled with distortions. What it actually says is that the organization of the Communist International was a mistake! Reading it, one would believe that the Communist International was formed because it believed the conditions in all countries to be alike, that the rate of political development was the same internationally, and that the problems of the workers' organizations everywhere were the same. This is an utter falsification.

WORLD SITUATION—THEN AND NOW

When the Communist International was formed it was also extremely difficult to maintain good relationships between the parties and the international because of the persecution of the movement and the objective situation in which the Soviet Russia of Lenin found itself. That, however, did not prevent the formation of the International and its functioning.

The outbreak of the present war did not prevent Stalin's International from functioning. Witness how well the Communist Parties in Great Britain, France and the United States carried on a struggle against the war during the Hitler-Stalin pact. Communicating its decision to sabotage the Allies was found to be quite easy.

Recall the First World War. The Socialist International destroyed its basis for existence when the national parties supported their respective imperialist governments. The International could not meet, and it too experienced "difficulties," but not even the Social Democratic misleaders of that body dared to "formally" dissolve it.

In its founding Congress, the Communist International clearly stipulated the reasons for its formation. It was based on world conditions not unlike the present. The "internal as well as the international situation of the individual countries" was "complicated," and "the solution of the problems of the labor movement of each individual country through the medium of some international center... (met) ...insuperable obstacles."

At that time there also existed a "deep difference in the historical roads of development of each country of the world." Their characters were "diverse" and even their social orders were "contradictory." The whole Communist International understood that capitalism developed "unevenly," that the degree of consciousness and organization of the workers in all countries were different, and that their problems were different.

Here is what Lenin had to say about the formation of the Communist International:

"The Third International was in reality created in 1918, after the protracted struggle with opportunism, and 'social chauvinism,' especially during the war, had resulted in the formation of a Communist Party in various countries. The formal recognition of the International dates from the first congress of its members held in Moscow in March, 1919. The most prominent feature of the Third International, namely, its mission to carry out the principles of Marxism and to realize the ideals of socialism and the labor movement, manifested itself immediately in that this 'third international association of working men' has to a certain extent BECOME IDENTICAL WITH THE LEAGUE OF SOCIALISTIC 'SOVIET' REPUBLICS.

"The First International laid the basis of the international struggle of the proletariat for socialism.

"The Second International marked a period of preparation,

a period in which the soil was tilled with a view to the widest possible propagation of the movement in many of the countries....

"The importance of the Third Communist International in the world's history is that it was the first to put into life the greatest of all Marx's principles, the principle of summarizing the process of the development of socialist and the labor movement, and expressed in the words, the dictatorship of the proletariat" (the democratic workers' state—Ed.)

As if in anticipation of the present decision of the Praesidium of the Comintern, Lenin added:

"Any Marxist, nay, anyone conversant with modern science, if asked whether he believed in the probability of a uniform, harmonious and perfectly-proportioned transition of various capitalist countries to the dictatorship of the proletariat, would undoubtedly answer that question in the negative. In the capitalist world there had never been any room for uniformity, harmony and perfect proportions. Every country has brought into prominence now one, then another, feature or features of capitalism, and of the labor movement. The rate of development has been varied.

In the early years of the Communist International, this was the prevailing theory. Difficulties of communication, objective difficulties of functioning, uneven development of capitalist countries, different tactics for different parties, varying rates in the growth and activities of the national parties, had nothing whatever to do with the necessity for the existence of the international organization of the revolutionary socialists of the world. It only stressed the nature of the problems which had to be overcome, and the general difficulty of ushering in the new society of genuine freedom and security for the whole of mankind.

STALIN'S TOTALITARIAN RULE

But this Communist International died a long time ago. Only the formal structure and the name remained. For it truly became a Stalinist International, interested only in the preservation of the rule of Stalin's bureaucratic regime in Russia. Its chief role has been to act as the shock troops of Russian diplomacy. The national parties enjoyed no independence. Their policies were decided in Moscow; their leaderships were changed at will. The question which interested Stalin and his cohorts was simply this: What service can these organizations render me? And thus the Communist International was completely subordinated to the interests of the new Russia of Stalin!

When it was first formed, the Communist International was a democratic body. Its statutes required that it meet at least once every two years, to examine its policies, to correct them if necessary, to adopt new ones, and in general to take an inventory of the condition of the world organization and to ELECT its international leadership. Between the years 1919 and 1922, four congresses were held. The Fifth Congress met in

1924. Under Stalin, however, the Sixth Congress met four years afterward in 1928, and the Seventh Congress, or the last held by the Comintern, convened in 1935. Thus, in a period of almost nineteen years, the Communist International, under Stalin, met only twice!

The war has undoubtedly changed Stalin's mind about how to use his international apparatus, in what form it may further be employed. For his present purpose, the establishment of a closer working alliance with Great Britain and the United States, the formal existence of the Comintern seems to be cumbersome and expensive. Moreover, in the present campaign to make Stalin and his state acceptable to millions in both countries and to enhance the alliance which is being worked out by these nations, the Comintern is a stumbling block. Thus, if it stands in the way of the national interests of the bureaucratic collectivist state in Russia, then there is nothing left to do but to dissolve it.

How? By the simple expedient of killing it at the top. The Praesidium, meeting in Moscow under the patronage of the Kremlin regime, needed only a signal from Stalin. It acted at once. The decision was made. The parties throughout the world are "freed" from their obligations and with their customary docility they accept this formal self-destruction.

ONLY A FORMAL DISSOLUTION

Will these parties actually dissolve? This is very unlikely. They will in their "new form" continue as they have in the past to serve the best nationalist interests of Stalinist Russia. That is the ONLY basis for their existence: as the international arm of the Stalin dictatorship.

When the Comintern says that it hopes the end of the war will make possible the reorganization of an international upon a new basis, it merely signifies that the present Stalinist organizations throughout the world will hold themselves in readiness for whatever order will come from Moscow. Thus the present "dissolution" is merely a subterfuge to improve the international position of Stalin in the war, and in preparation for a post-war period.

Nothing has fundamentally been changed by the action of the Comintern. One of the greatest menaces to the international working class remains organized Stalinism throughout the world, whether in a functioning international or in one FORMALLY, BUT NOT ACTUALLY, dissolved.

The future of the workers' movement, the future of socialism, depends upon the quickest divorce of the labor movement from the cancerous influence of international Stalinism—that enemy of the free society of world socialism.

The future lies in a reorganization of the international movement of the oppressed of the world, in the re-establishment of a true socialist international based on the teachings and the spirit of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Trotsky, those valiant fighters against oppression, exploitation, war and poverty.

THEY BUILT THE REVOLUTION



LENIN AND TROTSKY

of the Russian Revolution and the destruction of the workers' state, Stalinist society has evolved a new type of state, a state of bureaucratic collectivism—the rule of a new class of bureaucrats owning and controlling the nationalized property.

Stalin's Russia is a nationalist society; it is the enemy of socialism and any movement which seeks to establish the socialist society—the free order of the exploited peoples of the world. Under Stalin, the Communist International was made to conform to the nationalist interests of Russia. Every situation which developed in other countries, promising to further the new world order of socialism, was brutally destroyed—not only by the forces of reaction and fascism, but by international Stalinism acting through its agents in the "Communist" parties of other countries, and through the GPU, which operates throughout the world.

WHY THE COMINTERN WAS FORMED

The Communist International was formed in March of 1919 in Moscow. The victory of the Russian workers in the Revolution of November, 1917, made it possible to convene the representatives of the revolutionary socialist parties of the world and to form this once brilliant international of socialism. But its real origin lay in the ruins of the labor movement brought about by the chaos of the First World War. The men responsible for the convening of the 1919 Congress were Lenin and Trotsky and their international co-thinkers.

They regarded the victory of the Russian workers as only the first step in the triumph of world socialism. As Marxists, they knew that socialism could exist only as a world society, and that the task of the Communist International was to gather the independent revolutionary socialist parties of the world into one united organization, to exchange ideas and experiences for the single purpose of advancing the international interests of the oppressed.

This concept was not based on the idea that the problems of the workers were the same in all countries. On the contrary, the leaders of the Communist International understood full well that the problems of the various parties were quite different and that their specific tactics would be different. What, then, would bind these parties in one international organization?

This bond was the recognition that the principal aim of the workers everywhere—that is, the establishment of the power of the workers as the first step toward socialism—was the same, that it was an international problem. Moreover, the concept of socialism as an international social order based on the cooperative relationship of the peoples of all countries made such a world organization necessary.

This was not wishful thinking. It was the outgrowth of the conditions prevalent in capitalist society. Marxism pointed out that in an economic sense, capitalism was itself an international order. Modern capitalism is based upon world trade, a world divi-

HE DESTROYED IT



Why the Stalintern Was 'Dissolved' And What Its Next Plans May Be

Nobody in his right mind believes that the "dissolution" of the Stalinist International actually means that Stalin is going to disperse with the services of his servants in the various Communist Parties throughout the world. It is true that Stalin has an infinite contempt for them. He always has had. Long before he completely fastened his hold on the International, and converted it into an arm of the Russian Foreign Office, Stalin spoke contemptuously of the International and the Parties in it. However, it is not at all unusual for masters to have an utter contempt for their servants—even where these servants are most indispensable. It is further true that as a COMMUNIST International, the CI was dissolved (more accurately, destroyed) a long time ago.

Stalin needs his servants. For example, he finds it most useful to have parties which will be for or against war in their respective countries, according to what Russia's national interests dictate. Further, these parties are useful to him as supplements to the GPU and as destructive instruments inside the working class movement to prevent its development on a socialist path. Socialism is as great a menace to Stalinism as it is to fascism and international capitalism. Thus, the first point to establish in connection with the "dissolution" is that in one form or another the Stalinist parties will continue to operate—and to operate under the orders of the Kremlin.

Why, then, the gesture of formal dissolution? There are many reasons, among which the most important are:

ONE GESTURE FOR ANOTHER

1. It is a gesture to the United States and Great Britain designed at helping these countries counteract Hitler's "anti-Bolshevik" propaganda. Hitler knows that Stalin is as much a Bolshevik as he himself is—which is to say, no Bolshevik at all. However, he finds it a valuable propaganda weapon. Roosevelt and Churchill, therefore, welcome a gesture which enables them to counteract Hitler's propaganda among those unregenerate and die-hard sections of their own capitalist class which are irked by the alliance with Russia.

2. It is a half-promise that in the occupied countries the Stalinists will string along with the Roosevelt-Churchill plans for those countries—for the present, anyway. The occupied countries are a thorny problem for the Allied imperialists. They confront a multitude of problems—conflicts of interest between the would-be rulers (for example, de Gaulle and Girard), and so forth. Not the least of these problems is the potential influence of the Stalinists who have the only forces that approximate disciplined organization.

3. It is, consequently and in general, a token of good will given to Roosevelt and Churchill in return for similar gestures, and concrete assistance, given Russia. No doubt this dissolution has been under discussion for a long time—not with the Stalinist parties (which, in this country, at least, were yelling up to the day of the announcement that the demands in the capitalist press for the dis-

solution of the Stalintern were the inspiration of arch-reaction), but with the Allied diplomats.

Under lend-lease, Roosevelt has sent Stalin such offerings of good will as the production of that monstrosity of monstrosities—the movie, "Mission to Moscow." He even sent Joseph Davies, who helped the movie producers commit mayhem on his bad-enough book, on a second mission to Moscow—together with a print of the movie. (Stalin on viewing it said it is "wonderful." It is—for him!) We are not saying that the movie led to the dissolution. Imperialist politics are not that simple. But the sequence of events, which include the production of the movie and the second visit of Mr. Davies undoubtedly are related to the gesture. Far more importantly, of course, more substantial agreements were no doubt exchanged—possibly boundary agreements, possibly agreements on the locale of the second front (Stalin is dead-set against the Balkans as the place), possibly offers of increased supplies. We don't know, and won't know until we see what actually happens, or until the workers of the world open up the secret archives of their government and read, for example, what was in the note Roosevelt sent to Stalin through Davies.

GUARD AGAINST THE MENACE!

4. Finally, and of equal importance, the dissolution of the Stalintern is probably part of a scheme to integrate the Stalinist parties into other mass working class movements or parties—socialist or general peoples' parties—with the aim of directing them into Stalinist channels. In England, the Communist Party has already asked for admission to the Labor Party. In France, the Stalinists have officially affiliated with the de Gaulle movement. It is possible that, at a later date, with France freed of Hitler rule, and with the certain development of a mass socialist party, the Stalinists will seek to fuse with, or enter into, such a party. In this country there is no mass party for them to enter, unless they create such a party through something like the American Labor Party.

Many left socialist leaders and ranks may welcome such a move as a rebirth of the socialist movement. It must consequently be pointed out that this is an incalculable menace. To allow the Stalinists into the socialist movement is to give them an opportunity to behead it. They are the mortal enemies of socialism—not the ranks who may have been misled into believing that the Communist Parties stand for communism, but the Stalinist parties themselves which stand for nothing else but for a particular brand of reaction. Regardless of the "dissolution," it is as certain as death that Stalinism the world over will continue to be organized and will continue to work under the directives of Moscow through some committee or front organization.

Thus, dissolution or no dissolution, the menace of the Stalinists remains—and it remains the task of socialists and other militants to drive these union wreckers, GPU assassins and Kremlin servants out of the labor movement.

E. G.

Who Led It Once? Who Leads It Now?

The difference between the Communist International of its early years and the one under Stalin can easily be understood by the type of leadership it had between the years 1919-24, and the leadership it had after that.

The signers of the manifesto of the First Congress of the Communist International were: Christian Rakovsky (killed by Stalin); N. Lenin (died); Gregory Zinoviev (killed by Stalin); Leon Trotsky (assassinated by an agent of Stalin); and Fritz Platten.

In these early years, the finest minds, the best organizers and most devoted international socialists directed and led the work of the Comintern. For example, the representatives of the Russian Communist Party on the executive committee of the CI during the years 1919-24 were: N. Lenin, Leon Trotsky, Karl Radek (killed in a Stalinist jail); Gregory Zinoviev and N. Bucharin (killed by Stalin). This was the heroic period of the International, the one in which it enjoyed its greatest progress, prestige and authority with the working class of the world.

This generation of internationalists has been wiped out by the Stalin regime. Under Stalin, the course has been downward, the degeneration rapid.

Observe the list of the members of the Praesidium of the Comintern which presented the proposals for dissolution: Gottwald, Dimitrov, Zhdanov, Kolarov, Koplenig, Kuusinen, Manuilsk, Marty, Pieck, Thorez, Florin, Ercoli. These are some of the representative organizers of the defeats suffered by the workers in Czechoslovakia, Bulgaria, Germany, Finland, France and Italy. These are the men who have helped to tear the Comintern apart. Puppets of Stalin's regime, they have worked to destroy the accomplishments of the early Comintern.

CHICAGO READERS:

Hear **MAX SHACHTMAN**,

National Secretary of the Workers Party and Contributor to Labor Action

SPEAK ON "LABOR AND THE WAR"

Friday, June 4, at 8:00 p.m.

Hotel Hamilton, 20 S. Dearborn

An Editorial on the UMW's Application to Enter the AFL

Miners Must Guard Their Strong Position!

In the light of the application of the United Mine Workers for readmission to the AFL, the question of first importance today for labor militants and the whole labor movement is, what will be its effect, if any, on the struggle in which the miners are now engaged? Other matters of far-reaching concern to organized labor are involved in this latest move of the UMW, but their clarification and solution are an integral part of the present dispute between the mine union on one side and the WLB and coal operators on the other.

This is true for the reason that, while almost all of labor is active to one degree or another against the virulent anti-labor campaign of the bosses, the pliant attitude of the WLB toward the demands of industry and the Roosevelt stabilization decree, it is the miners who first came out of the trenches with an open mass attack. There is reason to believe that the increased mass activity of the past two weeks has in no small way been inspired by the example of the miners in going on strike when it became clear that there was no other way to gain their economic demands and preserve their union. The miners therefore play the extremely important role of militant spearhead of the labor movement.

MINERS MUST GUARD THEIR POSITION

The demands of the miners were an expression of the basic demands of all organized labor. The action which the miners took when no concessions were granted was in line with the thinking of the ranks of labor, and in line with the direction which one union after another was taking or urging on its leadership. This struggle of the UMW then is, at bottom, the fight of all the workers for higher wages, better working conditions and the restoration of collective bargaining in practice between the unions and the employers. That is why labor is correctly concerned; and that is why the miners have received the support of the ranks even against the opposition of their union leaders.



Therefore, the first consideration for the miners is to guard their present strong position well and not let anything, no matter what it may be, derail them in the fight they have started and assumed the leadership of.

We do not know what is in Lewis' mind. We have no means by which to "explore his mind." We do not agree with the milk-fed liberals, the Stalinists, the WLB and the very class-conscious employers that this is decisive. To know what is in the head of Lewis would be no more decisive for us than to know what is in the heads of Murray, Thomas, Hutchinson, Tobin or Green. We know what they say, and we know what they do. What is far more important, we know what the working class is feeling today, and we know what the working class is feeling today, and we know something of their reactions and their feelings.

We know that labor is not quiescent, that it is increasingly showing a tendency to strike back, and that the mine union is the leading union force today in labor's struggle against the bosses, the Stalinist more-production-incentive-pay howlers, and the WLB. We want this trend to continue, and we want the miners to continue to lead. They have demonstrated that they are the most competent and determined in this struggle.

ENTRY AND INDUSTRIAL UNIONISM

How will the entry of the UMW into the AFL affect the course and progress of industrial unionism? We cannot see that such a step today will be any obstacle to the progress of industrial unionism. For decades the miners were in the AFL as an industrial union.

The CIO remains the center for the organization of the mass production workers into industrial unions. So far as we can see, its organization program will not be retarded by the entrance of the miners into the AFL. Two years ago next fall, the CIO, at its Detroit convention, announced a Southern organizing campaign. Very little has been done, despite the fact that this is the most unorganized section of the country, with the lowest paid and most exploited workers. In this section, too, are the great majority of the Negro workers ready to flock into an industrial union organization.

The UMW at its last convention announced that District 50 would begin operations among agricultural workers. So far as we know, nothing much has been done. We do not see that entry into

the AFL should have any restrictive effect on such an organizing drive, since the AFL has no organization in this field and carries on no activities there. And there is the matter of the organization of the powder industry. There need be no conflict here between District 50 and any AFL union that could not be easily adjusted.

What we are emphasizing is that mere entrance into the AFL should not, in itself, retard the organization of vast numbers of unorganized workers into industrial unions. This is true for the UMW inside the AFL, just as it is true for the CIO outside the AFL. The CIO is the mass organization of the mass production workers, and it will remain so until some other industrial union set-up takes its place.

In this connection the question arises of why the miners did not apply for admission to the CIO. The answer to this question involves matters that we will go into in a later part of this editorial. They are serious matters, but they are not relevant to a discussion of the course of industrial unionism in the given objective circumstances. We have stated above how and why, right now and concretely, the progress of industrial unionism is not retarded by the UMW joining the AFL. On the other hand, the entrance of the UMW into the CIO would not necessarily, in practice, cause an increase in that organization's industrial union campaigning. To say otherwise, with full knowledge of the facts in connection with the activities of the CIO and District 50, is to claim wonder-working properties for the WORDS, "industrial unionism."

WHAT HINDERS ORGANIZING DRIVES?

The impact of the war, the effects of intra-union conflict and the pressure of the government, have a tremendous influence on organizing drives for the spread of industrial unionism. This type of organization cannot be effected, especially among the workers who should be the main recruits to industrial unionism, in the same way that craft unions can be organized. To organize agricultural workers, for instance in the South, would call for long-drawn-out and persistent efforts, including organizing strikes. This is the main reason that the CIO has done very little in carrying out the decision of the Detroit convention for an organizing campaign in the South. Further, Lewis announced at the last miners' convention that the organization of the powder industry by the UMW (District 50) would not begin until after the war was over.

The main obstacle to the expansion of the industrial union movement today is not the matter of whether the miners are in the AFL or the CIO, but the fact that the leaders of both the UMW and the CIO are in full support of the war. Both capitulate to the demands of the government and the bosses for all-out allegiance to the war plans of the Roosevelt government. To be sure, there are those who deny that Lewis supports the war, but this group is a hodge-podge of individuals which includes some who also say that Roosevelt is a socialist, and some who say this is a "workers' war."

Lewis has his own manner of giving support to the war, and he gives it. He will call a strike, while Murray and Green will not. But the aircraft, rubber and other workers strike anyhow. This only demonstrates that these workers are approaching the class militancy of the miners. This class militancy of the mine workers is not something that has been served up to them by John L. Lewis. They had it before Lewis was their president and they will have it after he has passed on.

The emerging class militancy of other workers follows the pattern of the miners because it must. Who knows, we may yet see Murray or Thomas calling a strike. If they do it will be for the same basic reason that Lewis "permitted" the miners to strike. The 500,000 miners had something to say about that strike.

To ignore all of these factors and simply intone the phrase "industrial unionism," as a criticism of the entry of the UMW into the AFL, is to become a worshipper of the industrial union structure while ignoring the far more important matter of how this type of labor organization is supposed to function.

LABOR ACTION did not favor the UMW's leaving the CIO. We were and remain in accord with the position of the Workers Party on this question as expressed in its last resolution on the trade union situation. This resolution said that "bureaucratic interests also, determined the departure of the UMW from the CIO. No problem existed between the two that could not have been adjudicated within the united CIO. The Lewis group could not gain control of the CIO because the bulk of its leadership (CIO leadership) is actively supporting the war machine and the Roosevelt policy, and would not turn over the CIO to a group which had more or less followed the 'isolationist' line in the past. Whatever the bureaucratic considerations prompting Lewis may be, the fact remains that the UMW is not as closely bound to the war machine as are the AFL and the CIO. It is important for trade union militants to take advantage of the possibilities without falling victim to, or sowing any illusions about, the fundamentally class-collabo-

rationist and bureaucratic policy pursued by Lewis no less than by others."

Despite the fact that LABOR ACTION prefers the success of the industrial union movement as against the thoroughly unprogressive and reactionary craft union set-up of the AFL, we make no distinction in principle between the two. Therefore we are not in principle for or against the miners going into the AFL or into the CIO. This in no manner breaches our position that we prefer the success of the industrial union movement.

AFL AND CIO FACE SIMILAR PROBLEMS

The AFL, the CIO and all of labor today face the same problems in a way that was not true before the war began. In a sense, it is correct to say that labor has been forced into the same pen. Both organizations face revolts from the ranks because of the situation confronting labor. Both organizations are harassed alike by the WLB, OPA, Byrnes and Roosevelt. The leadership of both have been forced to oppose the WLB. It is a fact, despite the published nonsense of the New York Post and PM, that none of the labor leaders today has any liking for the WLB and Byrnes. (Their criticism of Byrnes is a cautious way of telling Roosevelt that he has made them very sad.)

The AFL is against the WLB, first, because of its general position against too much government interference. The AFL prefers to "sit down around the council table and work out solutions mutually favorable to capital and labor." But, specifically, it is against the Roosevelt-Byrnes-WLB brake on wage increases.

The CIO, which believes in and looks to Roosevelt New Dealism for benevolent and preferential treatment, has been left in the ditch and is also against the WLB. Both organizations are against incentive pay, and only the Stalinists give it real support in the unions.

CONSIDERATIONS IN THE ENTRY

Thus up to this point there is nothing about the entry of the UMW into the AFL that can be interpreted as against the interests of labor. To ask the question, "Is it progressive or not progressive?" is to talk in terms of catch-words, or to talk in a vacuum. There is a history behind what is going on, and there are all manner of ramifications and relationships. The entry might turn out to be progressive, reactionary or just an entry. The coming weeks and months will reveal which. In the meantime, however, it is necessary to make some observations that must be added to what we have said about the importance of the miners continuing their present struggle.

First, the miners should not tolerate any attitude by the AFL calculated to get their support for raids on the CIO in the interest of craft unionism and the craft unions. The miners should render no support whatsoever to craft unionism, but on the contrary should remain AS THEY ARE TODAY, the advance guard of militant industrial unionism.

If the entry of the miners into the AFL is part of a move on the part of Lewis and others to form a base for an anti-Roosevelt, pro-Republican labor bloc in 1944, then labor may be faced with a similar situation, only more aggravated, to that of 1940, when Lewis supported Willkie against Roosevelt. In this case, we would repeat and emphasize what we said on that occasion, namely, that Lewis had given his support to the most reactionary section of the ruling class. We did not advocate, and most certainly will not advocate, that he support Roosevelt. What we said, and what we still say, is that a labor leader who limits himself to Roosevelt or Willkie, the New Deal or the "economic Tories," and selects the "economic Tories," has climbed on the bandwagon of the most reactionary section of the boss class. Labor was mistaken in supporting any boss candidate, but the instincts which impelled it to support what it considered the New Deal were far healthier than Lewis' "thinking" which impelled him to support Willkie. We think that it is too early to say more on this matter at this time.

What were some other reasons that may have prompted the UMW to apply for admission to the AFL? We suspect that Lewis came to the conclusion that this step would relieve him of the burden of criticism that he was a disrupter in the labor movement, going back to the AFL would demonstrate that he has not abandoned his unity efforts of over a year ago. Perhaps he came to the conclusion that even a union so strong as the UMW would be benefitted by being a part of a large federation with millions of members.

No matter what motives of this type are behind the application, it would be foolish to ignore the fact that Lewis will be the strongest single figure in the AFL. This will be true, not only because of the size and financial strength of the UMW, but because Lewis is a more competent leader than any of the AFL bureaucracy.

LABOR MOVEMENT NOT STATIC

This new development in the trade union movement emphasizes once again the significant fact that the labor movement in the United States is not static but moving today in a series of realignments and changes. These changes, realignments and upheavals have come in more rapid succession in the past ten years than in the previous fifty-year period. The break away from the AFL began definitely in 1935. The CIO was formed. Six years later, the UMW, which was the main support of the new CIO, split from the CIO. And now the UMW seeks to return to the AFL. While this is going on, the International Association of Machinists conducts a referendum to determine whether or not this group will leave the AFL.

Labor today is reacting against the Little Steel formula, wage-freezing, job stabilization and the attack on collective bargaining in the fact of a rising cost of living, taxes, big profits and dividends. The working class begins a confused, but real, revolt against the regimentation of labor while the employers remain free to do just about as they please. Big business is solidly entrenched in Washington; in the WLB as well as the OPA and WPB. The "representatives of labor" on these boards are helpless and they know it. Even the most ardent and bootlicking of them admits, in effect, that when they gave Roosevelt the no-strike pledge, they were suckers.

We haven't seen the end of these developments yet. The events we are witnessing today in the movement of labor—all of them, including the entrance of the miners into the AFL—must be viewed, not in isolation, but in relation to all relevant labor-management-government interrelations.

The important general fact for us is that labor shows no tendency toward further retreat. The action of the miners, followed by the workers in Detroit and Akron, show which way the wind is blowing. This holds our attention and is more impressive than the organizational status of the UMW.

The increased solidification of labor across the boundaries of national federations, prompted by common grievances of a specific nature tend to drive them together organizationally. These grievances that grow out of situations created by the Second World War tend to erase the line dividing the workers in the AFL from those in the CIO.

The basic and present interests of these workers run counter to the hat-in-hand attitude of their leaders in both AFL and CIO. This is the REAL trend toward labor unity based on the only considerations that can produce effective results for all workers.

The 'Daily Scabber' And the Akron Strike

The lead editorial in the May 26 issue of the Daily Worker on the Akron rubber strike reveals as clearly as anything else the scabbing role of the Daily Worker and the Communist Party.

The step-by-step, conservative and bootlicking handling of the long-drawn-out case by the leaders of the Rubber Workers Union has robbed the workers of millions of dollars. At the same time it has left the Daily Worker without a shred of clothing to hide its naked sell-out policies.

The Daily Worker has been attempting to hide its miserable role in the various struggles of the workers. It insists that it recognizes that the workers have legitimate grievances and demands, but it opposes militant action because the WLB is the place where labor can get "equitable adjustments" of its grievances. Thus, in denouncing the miners' strike, its cloak was that Lewis was defying the government's established procedure.

But the rubber union utilized to the full all of the "lawfully established procedures" before the workers struck. What is the Daily Worker's answer here? Simply and brazenly this: "The strikers should return to work immediately."

The same editorial informs us that the strike did not come out of thin air—it was fomented by "agents of John L. Lewis and Trotskyites who have been eating into Akron's life for years..." The Stalinists know, as we know, that the workers went on strike after waiting a full year for a WLB decision which, when handed down, offered them less than half the WLB panel itself had recommended. If followers of LABOR ACTION and the Workers Party (presumably what the Daily Worker means by the "Trotskyites" who have been eating into Akron's life for years...) have participated in the labor movement there and helped educate and encourage the workers, then, we feel sure, these workers will judge whether it is we or the Stalinists who need to be "driven out as enemies of the labor movement."

WORKERS PARTY PLATFORM

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

LABOR MUST DEFEND ITSELF!

- Hands off the right to strike! For the defense of civil rights and all workers' rights! Against any wartime dictatorship measures!
- \$1.00-an-hour minimum pay! Time and a half for overtime; double time for Sunday and holiday work.
- Wage increases to meet rising costs. No wage or job freezing! Equal pay for equal work!
- For a greater share of the increasing national income. For a higher standard of living!
- No sales tax on consumer goods! No tax on wages! Against forced savings!
- For control of price fixing and rationing by committees of working class organizations. Freeze rents and consumer goods prices at the 1940 level to stop the rise in the cost of living.
- No government contract without a union contract. The closed shop in all war industries!
- Maintain and increase all government social services!

SOAK THE RICH—LET THEM PAY FOR THEIR WAR!

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

DEMOCRATIC RIGHTS TO THE DRAFTEES!

- The right of free speech, free press and free assembly for the men in the armed forces.
- The right of soldiers to vote in all elections.
- The right of all youth, male or female, to vote at the age of eighteen. Old enough to fight; old enough to work; old enough to vote!
- For adequate dependency allowances paid by the government with NO deductions from the soldier's pay.

SMASH JIM CROW!

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

BE PREPARED!

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

Subscription Drive Nears Smashing Climax

By HENRY COLEMAN (Campaign Director)

	Eleventh Week: May 16-22 Returns	Per Cent of Total Quota Achieved
Detroit	3	208
Buffalo	7	133
Chicago	10	132
Cleveland	9	112
Los Angeles	22	97
Sierraville	—	80
Streator	—	80
New York	20	78
Akron	2	72
National Office	14	48
Reading	—	40
St. Louis and Missouri	—	30
Philadelphia	—	15
WEEKLY TOTAL	87	
GRAND TOTAL	829	82.9

Our returns this week dropped a little, but there is every indication that we are driving through to a

LABOR ACTION

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smashing climax on June 19, at the end of the last week of our fifteen-week campaign. We will have our 1,000 new subscribers. And will we crow about it? Just wait!

Our friends have shown such an excellent understanding of the meaning of the sub drive that we don't think it's necessary to dwell on the bad effect it would have if any of our sub-getters got the notion that the drive is over already and that they can forget about it from now on.

THE DRIVE IS NOT OVER, for one thing. And the last couple of weeks of the drive give us the opportunity (1) to CLEAN UP every remaining prospect for a sub—to do it in a really systematic and thorough manner; and (2) to go OVER THE TOP, to EXCEED our quota of 1,000 subs by a substantial margin. THAT'S our goal now! It's not CAN we get 1,000 subs, but HOW MANY MORE can we get, over and above that 1,000!

Think about that first point. The last couple of weeks of the drive should be devoted to SOMETHING MORE than routine sub-getting; a little drive should be PLANNED within the main drive, to CASH IN on every single remaining opportunity. Then we WILL go over the top in a big way!

And don't overlook RENEWALS! Every new sub must be followed up for a renewal—every TRIAL subscriber must become a REGULAR subscriber. Our Business Manager says that renewals are coming in remarkably well; but GETTING the renewals in a systematic way will be one of our main jobs after the conclusion of the drive.

LOS ANGELES makes the best showing this week, by far. It's just THREE subs short of its quota. Next week it will be on the Honor Roll. CLEVELAND just missed LAST week; but on May 17 it topped its quota, and this week joins DETROIT, BUFFALO and CHICAGO. (Detroit's percentage was calculated INCORRECTLY on last week's scoreboard. It's OK this week.) And miners who have been receiving sample copies of LA are sending their subs in regularly—from Virginia, West Virginia, Iowa and Pennsylvania.

BUFFALO and CHICAGO have exactly the same quotas and have brought in almost exactly the same number of subs (Buffalo 100, Chicago 99). How about a little socialist competition? We might even make it a three-cornered race for the last two or three weeks of the drive, since DETROIT, although it has a lower quota, has about the same number of subs to its credit—104.

LET'S GET TOGETHER FOR THE BIG PUSH THAT WILL ADD AT LEAST 100 SUBS TO OUR QUOTA OF 1,000! And watch for the announcement of a new and better means of keeping the subs rolling in after the official end of the drive.

LABOR ACTION

114 West 14th St., New York City

LABOR ACTION, 6 mos., 25c.; 1 yr., 50c.
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LABOR ACTION and New International, 6 mos., \$1.00; 1 yr., \$1.75.

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