

What Labor Action Means to Shipyard Workers of America

By ERNEST LUND

Hundreds of IUMSWA convention delegates who see this issue of LABOR ACTION will recognize an old and familiar friend. They have received it many times before at shipyard gates and union halls, if they are not yet among the growing army of subscribers.

However, there will be other hundreds from various parts of the country who will see LABOR ACTION for the first time. It is mainly to introduce ourselves to them that these lines are written. For LABOR ACTION has nothing to hide. Quite the contrary, we are most anxious that everyone know all about us. It is for this purpose that we will try to say who we are, what we stand for, and what we hope to accomplish.

LABOR ACTION is not the publication of any particular trade union, though it supports all unions that are legitimately engaged in a fight for the interests of labor. LABOR ACTION depends entirely upon the support of the loyal and devoted trade union activists engaged in the fight for a basic solution to labor's problems. It is their self-sacrificing contributions that make LABOR ACTION possible. It is their paper in the fullest sense of the word.

LABOR ACTION is, therefore, part and parcel of the organized labor movement. The problems of labor are our problems and the future of labor is our future. We, therefore, discuss the problems of the various unions, not as "outsiders" giving unsolicited advice, but rather as part of our constant fight for a progressive union movement.

LABOR ACTION has as its chief aim the education of workers to an understanding of the economic and political reasons for the present condition of labor and to help establish an economic system in which the working people will, for the first time, enjoy the full fruits of their labor.

LABOR ACTION maintains that the ills that beset the working class arise from the capitalist system of production for the profit of a few. It further maintains that it should be the aim of the labor movement to establish a system of planned production for use, which will guarantee plenty of the good things of life for all.

We say that the fight for such a system of socialist production is primarily a political fight, for it requires that the power of government be lodged in the hands of the working people, who form the overwhelming majority of the population. That is why LABOR

ACTION is more than just a "labor paper." It is a labor-political paper with a definite political and economic program, expressed in the platform of the Workers Party, printed in these pages from time to time.

This platform sums up our basic beliefs that capital and labor have no interests in common; that since the beginning of modern industry there has been a constant struggle between the working class, seeking a better living, and the capitalist class, seeking greater profits; that labor has made gains only when it was prepared to wage a fight for them; that the advancement of the working people depends entirely upon their own organized efforts, rather than upon generous employers or so-called friends of labor in government; that labor must stand united, regardless of race, creed or color; that labor needs trade unions that are industrial in form, progressive in policy, democratic in procedure, and based upon an enlightened, well informed and active membership; that labor must organize itself on the political as well as on the economic field; and that labor needs a political party of its own, independent of all capitalist parties and their candidates—a Labor Party.

In line with this basic approach to the problems of the labor

movement, LABOR ACTION has consistently opposed the policy of surrendering collective bargaining by giving up the right to strike and placing the welfare of labor in the hands of the War Labor Board. The no-strike pledge has been one of the greatest follies in the history of the labor movement. LABOR ACTION has campaigned consistently, from the day the pledge was given by labor's leaders, for its repeal.

THE NO-STRIKE PLEDGE

No one knows better the harm the no-strike pledge has been to the trade union movement than the active union men of the CIO Shipbuilders Union. There has been little real collective bargaining in the shipbuilding industry since "the pledge" was given. The results of negotiations are almost always that the minor points are agreed upon by the company and wages and other important clauses are submitted to the WLB. Everyone knows what happens to labor's demands once they reach the files of the WLB. It has become known as "the graveyard of labor's hopes."

Why should the WLB want to give labor what it rightly deserves? Why should the corporations want to honor the terms of

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U.S. Workers: Aid Our Anti-Hitler German Brothers

By ALBERT GATES

The plans of the Allied powers for Germany are coming out into the open. The United States, Great Britain and Stalinist Russia have evolved a plan which calls for the dismemberment of the German nation, its division into at least three parts, the destruction of its industries and the transformation of the country into an agricultural, potato-eating land!

This is an act of simple revenge, not against the fascist beasts alone, but against the German people in general and in particular against the German workers. How is this act of imperialist vandalism justified against seventy to eighty million people who inhabit the country? By identifying the people, especially the German working class, with their fascist rulers, the national oppressors, with the very party and government which for the past twelve years have ruled through a reign of terror against their opponents and the entire working class of Germany.

The rulers of the Allied countries are fostering a great lie, a lie as great and detestable as any invented by one of the arch-liars of our time, Adolph Hitler. The overwhelming majority of the German people, including practically every single worker, were anti-Hitler.

HITLER—AGENT OF CAPITALISM

Hitler and his bloody party, acting as the paid agents of Germany's industrialists and financiers, yes, the German capitalist class, never won a majority in any election held before his party seized complete power.

Hitler and his party followers were nursed by the direct assistance of the German steel owners, the chemical industrialists, the bankers, the boss class of that country, as a weapon against the German labor movement and for the purpose of warring against the "have" nations.

Hitler and his party were hailed by the capitalists of other countries, by capitalists in Great Britain and the United States. Not a few of them rendered financial assistance to the German fascists.

Hitler and his party were hailed by every labor-baiter, open-shopper and enemy of the workers in all countries, because his first act was to destroy the German labor movement, the most powerful in all the world.

Hitler was made Chancellor and his party put into power by German capitalism against the opposition of the great majority of the German people and the whole German working class. Even as Chancellor, when he held the reins of government, controlled the press and the radio, and dominated the police, Hitler could not win a majority in the last "free" election which the country held.

The workers of Germany never ceased their opposition to the fascists. They were ready to fight at a moment's notice, at the first sign given them by the leaders of their many organizations.

GERMAN LABOR WANTED TO FIGHT

The German trade unionists wanted to fight. The German working class as a whole wanted to fight. They knew the meaning of fascism, they understood its national and international consequences.

They knew that a victory for Hitler meant the end of the labor movement; they knew that a victory for Hitler meant a new world war, more bloody, more catastrophic than ever before.

They knew that such a war could and would benefit only the German capitalists and the capitalists of all countries. They knew that such a war could bring only increased misery, poverty, death and destruction for the overwhelming majority of the workers of the world.

But the German working class was betrayed by its leaders. The workers in the unions were betrayed by their leaders, who did not take a single step to organize the struggle against the Brown Shirts.

The Social Democratic Party and its leaders betrayed the workers by playing the game of capitalist politics, taking not a single serious step to organize a fight against the fascists, pleading with Stalin's Communist Party to join with them in some kind of fight.

STALINIST CRIMES

But the worst culprit of them all was Stalin's Communist Party of Germany. It fought against a united front of all labor to give battle to Hitler and his beasts. Yet it was this potential united front which the fascists feared above all else. They knew they could not stand up against the united will of the German labor movement. But the German Communists stood like a stone wall, blocking the path of the workers who desired, begged and enjoined their leaders to do something before it was too late.

The worst crime that Stalin's German Communist Party committed against the German workers, as well as the people as a whole, was the theory they espoused that it would be a good thing if Hitler and the fascists won, because that would make it easier for the workers to come to power! They advocated this theory up to the very day that the fascists won out. And it was only after Hitler came to power that they issued a call for a general strike! They issued a call to struggle when it was too late!

It was Stalin personally who admonished the revolutionary German workers as early as 1923 not to make a struggle for power, otherwise they might incite the German fascists. Imagine! Struggle by the German workers would "incite" the fascist horde which was determined to take power anyway. Yet the fact was that the only real fear of the fascists was action by the working class.

The Stalinists consummated this policy of betrayal when Stalin signed a

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LABOR ACTION

OCTOBER 2, 1944

A PAPER IN THE INTERESTS OF LABOR.



ONE CENT

IUMSWA: Forward to A Progressive Policy!

Militants Make Strong Bid at URW Convention

By SUSAN GREEN

For the first time in the history of the United Rubber Workers, President Sherman H. Dalrymple was opposed for re-election as head of the 190,000 members of the union. The opposition candidate, George Bass, president of Goodrich Local 5, polled 394 votes—nearly thirty-five per cent of the total—to Dalrymple's 756.

The forces behind Bass, which shook the earth under the feet of the Dalrymple administration—represented the rank and file discontent of the powerful Akron locals and included some of the small unions.

This vote can be understood properly only in the light of all the surrounding circumstances. It was apparent from the beginning of the convention proceedings that the Dalrymple strategists would take every advantage that their official position afforded them. Thus they steam-rolled through a convention rule to hold the elections on Friday morning—come hell or high water. Consequently the elections took place before hearing the appeals of the General Tire workers, of the Goodrich workers and of other locals. The appeals, which were the crux of the case against the administration, were not heard until Saturday. By that time many of the delegates had gone home, all were tired out, all welcomed a compromise; so that not only was the case against Dalrymple and the outgoing General Executive Board not heard before the election of new officers—it was not properly heard at all.

Under the circumstances, the vote of 394 for Candidate Bass opposing Dalrymple, of 422 for Wheeler of Local 2 opposing Buckmaster for vice-president, of 370 for Watson of Local 7 opposing Lanning for general secretary-treasurer, means more of a shake-up than the mere numbers indicate. A truly democratic convention

procedure on the appeals would have influenced the elections.

Aside from the cases on appeal—which will be dealt with later—the big issue before this ninth convention of the rubber workers was the re-issuing of the no-strike pledge. This is true not only because of the growing rank and file sentiment throughout organized labor for repudiating this anti-union policy, but because the rubber workers specifically have been so grossly victimized by it.

The question was on the floor of the convention for practically a full day.

It was apparent that there were three distinct divisions among the delegates: (1) those who had learned nothing from the abuses under the pledge and those who wanted to learn nothing—the flag-waving Stalinists prominent among the latter—standing for reaffirming the pledge; (2) those who had learned their lessons well—strongest among these being the Akron locals—who are unshakably for rescinding; (3) those middle-of-the-road delegates who had come to do something about the abuses under

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Rumanian People Victims Of Russian Imperialism

By T. R. COBB

The terms of the "lenient" armistice granted to Rumania by the Russian and Allied governments puts the Kremlin clique squarely in the ranks of past and present imperialist oppressors of the working class of small and subject nations.

Not only do the terms of the armistice emphasize the view that Russia is not a "workers' state" but they create specific problems regarding working class political action toward Russia and its army which are among the most serious in size and scope that the class-conscious labor movement has faced in this century. With representatives of Britain and the United States agreeing, the treaty was signed by Marshall R. Y. Malinovsky for Russia and the chief Rumanian negotiator, Lucretiu Patrascanu, as servile and cynical a betrayer of his people as his pro-Nazi predecessors.

It provides for Rumania's switch to the Allied side of the fighting "for

the democratic way of life" and adherence to the frontiers established by the joint aggression of Russia and the Nazis in 1940. Bessarabia and northern Bukovina will thereby become Russian territory. Only ten per cent of the people of these regions are Russians!

In return for this, Rumania is to get back Transylvanian territory that the Germans gave to Hungary in 1940 in an "arbitration" decision in Vienna. Thirty-seven per cent of the people in this region are Hungarians. The armistice does not provide for any consultation with the peoples of Bessarabia, Bukovina or Transylvania as to their desires in the matter.

Thus the Russians demanded—and received—the privilege of shifting peoples and territories around arbitrarily and dictatorially, without consideration for the economic and human rights of the thousands of workers and peasants affected.

Russia also extorted reparations payments of \$300,000,000 from Ruma-

nia, to be paid in goods, industrial equipment and foodstuffs over a six-year period.

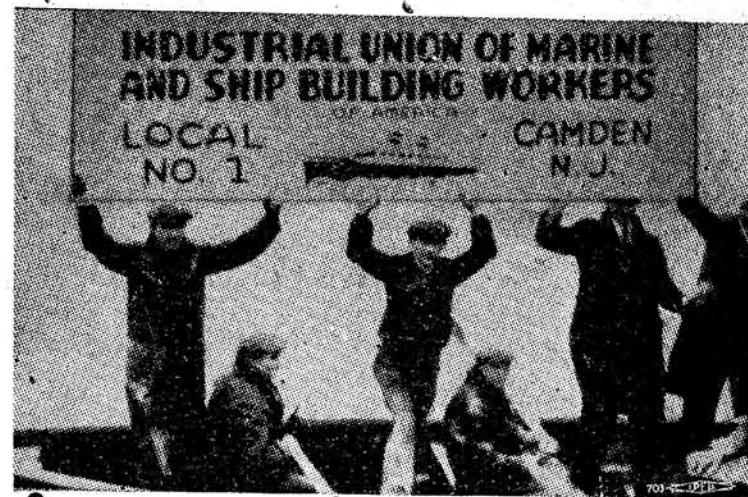
It has been the common practice of imperialist nations to make the vic-

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This convention will mark the first time in recent years that Green will find a serious rival in the field. The seriousness with which Green is taking the Saul campaign is indicated by reports from various parts of the country telling of the drive for Green being put on by national organizers sent into the field to "sew up" the locals. As a result of this drive, many of the smaller delegations will come instructed to vote for Green on the basis of motions pushed through by national organizers.

The last-minute, frantic campaign

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Detroit Leads Sub Drive; Two-Week Total Reaches 415 Mark



Our second annual sub drive concluded its second week with a surprising spurt that brought the week's total up to 219 and our grand total up to the 415 mark; 3,585 to go!

While we're running behind schedule in these opening laps of our run, we haven't the slightest doubt that the drive will pick up considerable momentum in the coming weeks.

We're happy to report that we were in error about the number of subs obtained at the convention of the United Auto Workers Union in Grand Rapids, Mich. The total is now closer to eighty than the sixty we reported last week. Visitors and delegates to the convention from cities outside of Michigan accounted for more than twenty of these and gave Detroit some hot competition.

While the Detroit Tigers and the St. Louis Browns are tied for first place in the American League pennant race at the present writing,

OUR Detroit team holds undisputed leadership in the sub drive box-score. New York is runner-up, with Los Angeles and Chicago rounding out the first division.

The Youngstown branch of the Workers Party ordered an extra bundle of one hundred

LABOR ACTION

114 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.)

Name _____
Address _____
City _____ Zone _____ State _____

papers last week and Go-Getter Jimmy Walters writes: "We'll use these to cover a CIO anti-discrimination rally in Canton, Ohio." Need we say that we expect to find some subs from the Canton area in this week's mail?

New York swelled its grand total to 86 by soliciting subs at the United Rubber Workers convention, which was held in the nation's metropolis. Many delegates greeted LABOR ACTION as an old friend, having received the paper in the past at their plant gates in Akron. New York gives a nod of thanks to our Akron brothers and sisters for making their task a much easier one.

Louisville, Ky., made a grand entry into our sub drive derby with an order of twenty-five prepaid sub cards. Incidentally, prepaid cards will now be credited to branches at the time of purchase and next week's box-score will list those not previously credited.

The complete totals as of the week ending September 23 follow:

| | |
|-----------------|----|
| Akron | 29 |
| Buffalo | 9 |
| Chicago | 47 |
| Cleveland | 3 |
| Detroit | 88 |
| Los Angeles | 60 |
| Louisville | 25 |
| Philadelphia | 4 |
| Reading | 0 |
| St. Louis | 1 |
| San Francisco | 0 |
| Seattle | 19 |
| Streator | 30 |
| Youngstown | 0 |
| New York | 86 |
| National Office | 14 |

Total _____ 415
Our printer willing, next week we'll post the graphic chart we've prepared that will show the week's total, the grand total, and percentage of quota reached by all the cities participating in the drive.

NEWS AND VIEWS FROM THE LABOR FRONT

Unsolved Issues in the Mine Workers Union

By DAVID COOLIDGE

In connection with the biennial convention of the coal miners, I wrote last week about the autonomy scramble and the resolution on political action. It is necessary to add a few words on these two important questions. In the first place it is clear now that the attitude of the UMWA leadership in relation to autonomy for the districts was only part of a more general attitude. This more general attitude was the belief of Lewis and the other leaders that at this time a high degree of centralization is necessary in the international during the post-war years.

AUTONOMY ISSUE WILL GO ON

It is my opinion that the autonomy issue will not down in the UMWA. As the miners acquire more and more grasp of the fundamental issues facing all labor in the country and begin to learn that if the union is to maintain its strength and prestige, it will be necessary for the present leadership to be strengthened by new people arising out of the ranks. This will not occur under the present method of procedure and the present somewhat bureaucratic set-up, no matter how benevolent, efficient and determined it is to protect the interests of the coal diggers.

employers. The Roosevelt government attempted to break the UMWA because this union by its actions was upsetting the wage-freeze appeacart and in fact repudiating the no-strike pledge. Its leader, Lewis, unlike Murray, Green and Thomas, did not rush from mine to mine exhorting the men to return to work.

The mine strikes of 1943 were political strikes; they were strikes that might have brought the whole labor movement into rapid and militant action.

STRIKE, A POLITICAL FIGHT

A capitalist government will not tolerate political strikes, if it can help itself, not even in peacetime. The fact which the miners must learn sooner or later is that the same treatment would have been handed out to the automobile workers or the shipyard workers if they had done the same thing. It is a safe guess to say that if the automobile workers had walked out in a mass, as did the miners, and Thomas had acted in the same way that Lewis did, the attitude of Roosevelt and the government would have been worse than it was with the miners. The Roosevelt government attempted to bust the UMWA because it feared that the actions of the miners would inspire other workers to follow suit.

For the miners to believe that what was done to them was occasioned by some personal dislike of Lewis on Roosevelt's part or in a fit of petteulance by Davis, "the little patent lawyer," is to miss what is really important and fundamental in the whole situation. And for the UMWA to attempt to solve the problem by flying into the arms of Dewey and the Republican Party is a tragedy from which these workers will suffer for years to come.

The Republican Party, if it had been in office, would have acted precisely as did Roosevelt. When dealing with a militant and fighting union, coal operators, automobile manufacturers or steel companies do not function as Republican or Democrats but as capitalist employers. They do not look to see whether the name is UMWA, UAW, AFL or CIO. They do not care whether the leader's name is Lewis, Green, Murray or Tobin. They consider only what is being done, what action is taking place and act accordingly to protect their class interests. I say again that the government was not concerned with Murray and Green because Murray and Green were bootlicking around the White House while the miners were, to a man, refusing to "work without a contract."

The steel workers' contract expired last December and they asked for a seventeen-cent increase. They did not get it. They remained at work and are still at work. Why should Roosevelt, the steel companies and the capitalist press be worried about Murray and the steel workers? Capitalist employers and capitalist Presidents do not concern themselves to try to smash unions that give them no trouble.

The miners and all other labor organizations have to learn and understand that it is the strength of the labor movement and not its weakness that makes capitalist employers and capitalist governments organize campaigns of union wrecking. The UMWA began a struggle last year. They have not completed that struggle yet. They will have many more days of "refusing to work without a contract." This is recognized in the scale resolution approved by the convention and which contains the following wage agreement proposals:

(a) All explosives, cables, detonators, batteries, fuses and all accessories used in blasting be furnished by the employers without charge to the mine workers.

(b) To limit the number of supervisory and technical employees exempted in the wage agreement and provide for their proper classification in the wage schedule.

(c) To insert in the next agreement



JOHN L. LEWIS

a provision requiring the employers to furnish union-made tools and explosives.

(d) That it will not be a violation of the wage agreement for the mine workers to cease work to prevent shipment of coal to a consumer whose employees are engaged in a legal strike.

To this must be added the statement of Lewis that the time has come for the miners to refuse to work in a mine that is not considered safe.

This is a militant program such as has been adopted by no union in any convention that has been held so far. But do Lewis and the rank and file militants among the miners have any childish illusions that such a correct and militant program will endear the UMWA to Dewey and the Republican Party?

It would be very embarrassing to Governor Dewey and to Lewis also for the Governor to be asked in a public meeting what he thinks of these UMWA proposals. It would be embarrassing to Lewis, because Dewey could not support such proposals any more than could Roosevelt.

In an important sense these proposals are anti-capitalist in that they would tend to promote the militant

solidarity of labor. Furthermore, the implication in paragraph (c) is that the UMWA plans to organize the du Pont empire and the companies making mining tools and machinery.

A highlight of the convention was the exchange of telegrams between the Interior Department and the UMWA. We only have space for some of the best paragraphs from these replies of the convention.

FIRST TELEGRAM TO ICKES

The Secretary of the Interior Washington, D. C.

Your telegram addressed to the president of this union has been referred to the delegates of this convention for action and reply. We do not like the anonymity of the message. We think you should sign your name to messages bearing your title.

We note what the message says about the legal strike of supervisors at certain mines. We have been trying to be helpful on this matter; and our officers, too. The trouble as you know is the pulling and hauling of the various government agencies, all at cross purposes, and each issuing orders that conflict with the other. We think one of the main troubles is that Park Avenue fellow, the big industry patent man, named Davis, who always has his knife out for our union and our officers. He is always having the President sign something which causes more trouble. The clerical, technical and supervisory employees in the mines are getting a rotten deal from the government. This, of course, follows the rotten deal which the government gave to all the coal miners in 1943 and 1944.

You know, Mr. Secretary of the Interior, the coal miners are doing a job producing coal to win the war; they are buying bonds, too. We hope you will study the record on these facts. With nearly 300,000 less men employed in the anthracite and the bituminous industries, we will produce this year nearly 45,000,000 tons more than was produced in the war year of 1918.

This brings up another question about how our men are being killed off in the coal industry. The records of this convention reveal that there were more than 276,000 casualties in the coal industry in the four years 1940-43, inclusive. The ratio of accidents is increasing, and in this year of 1944 every ton of coal will be smeared with mine workers' blood. The President is now seizing a lot of coal mines, and you, Mr. Secretary of Interior, are supposed to be operating them. We think that this government seizure and operation are a farce and is merely a device on the part of the President and the coal operators to defeat the aims of the coal miners and to deprive them of their rights. We think, however, that as long as you purport to operate these mines you should keep them safe. The United States Bureau of Mines, which is under your orders, have authority under a federal statute to inspect that mines at will. As government operator of coal mines,

you have the authority to instruct coal operators to make immediately effective each and every order and recommendation of the inspectors of the United States Bureau of Mines. Why not do so and save the lives of some human beings, so that we can continue to produce coal for the war effort? We urge you to order a rigid forthwith inspection of each coal mine which the government has pretended to seize and ask that you publicly direct the coal operators in these mines to make the safety findings of the federal inspectors effective. This will help a lot and will restore confidence to thousands of mine workers now who have no confidence in the non-union supervisors, who are joining with the coal operators and agencies of government to fight our union.

Do they get it, Harold—do they get it?

Signed—Thirty-eight constitutional Convention, United Mine Workers of America.

you have the authority to instruct coal operators to make immediately effective each and every order and recommendation of the inspectors of the United States Bureau of Mines. Why not do so and save the lives of some human beings, so that we can continue to produce coal for the war effort? We urge you to order a rigid forthwith inspection of each coal mine which the government has pretended to seize and ask that you publicly direct the coal operators in these mines to make the safety findings of the federal inspectors effective. This will help a lot and will restore confidence to thousands of mine workers now who have no confidence in the non-union supervisors, who are joining with the coal operators and agencies of government to fight our union.

SECOND TELEGRAM TO ICKES

Honorable Harold L. Ickes Secretary of the Interior Washington, D. C.

Your wire. You do not seem to understand that our telegram to you was adopted by the unanimous standing vote of 2,700 delegates elected by the mine workers of the nation in their home communities. This convention is the supreme authority of the union. We are the employers of John Lewis and he is responsive to our orders. While this convention is in session we will answer his telegram if we elect to do so. When we go home you can move in on him if you desire, but watch your guard and protect your wind—protect your wind. We think that he will go around you like a cooper around a barrel. We told you in our message that we are trying to be helpful. Our officers too.

Your suggestion that we do not keep our agreement is an insult to every mine worker in the nation. We have an unbroken record of fifty-four years of meticulous observance and punctilious regard for the sanctity of contracts. Your statement that the mine workers could produce more coal is based on absolute ignorance of mining practice and is a display of personal malice unbecoming a cabinet officer.

No, Harold, our message was not political. Bread and butter are not political. Dead men in coal mines are not political. The tears of women and the cries of children around blasted mine tipples are not political, Harold. They are elemental human considerations that the shallow vapors of professional politicians cannot hold in check.

The mine workers of this country, through this convention, are asking for fair treatment from you who are a public officer grown fat in public office.

Do they get it, Harold—do they get it?

Signed—Thirty-eight constitutional Convention, United Mine Workers of America.

The Ludlow Massacre Out of the Past

By RUTH PHILLIPS

In 1913 in the state of Colorado, thirty-three people, some of them women and children, were shot or burned to death, and over one hundred others were wounded or seriously burned. All of these people were the victims of the "sacred principle" of the open shop.

The coal fields of southern Colorado were one of the many domains of the Rockefeller empire. Long hours and low wages were the lot of the men who worked the mines. They were forced to trade at company stores. They were cheated when the coal was weighed in. The Rockefeller refused to deal with their union.

THE MINERS STRUCK

In September, 1913, the miners went out on strike for the eighth day, a ten per cent wage increase, the right to trade in any store they pleased, recognition of their union, and correction of other abuses from which they suffered at the hands of the coal operators. Some of the demands that the men made were supposedly guaranteed by the laws of the state. But the state was run by the Rockefeller interests through a gang of bought politicians.

John D. Rockefeller, Jr., the apostle of the open shop, was determined to break the strike and, above all, not to recognize the union. Scabs were brought into the mines. The state militia was called out, and hundreds of gunmen were imported to protect the scabs and terrorize the strikers.

A LOST BATTLE

To protect themselves against the terror of the hired "guards," the strikers moved their families off company property and set up a tent-camp outside of Ludlow, Colo. They armed themselves in self-defense with small arms and ammunition.

One day the camp was attacked by state militia, composed mostly of the deputized gunmen. They riddled the camp with machine-gun bullets, setting fire to the camp. Women and children were trapped by the flames and burned alive.

The miners fought back with their inferior ammunition. The battle went on for fourteen hours. Then the miners, after getting their families out of the camp and to another town, took to the hills. The battle continued, but the forces of "law and order" won. The Rockefeller were again undisputed masters of the coal fields, free to exploit their workers and defy the labor laws of the state of Colorado, without the restriction of a union.

Another bloody chapter had been written in the history of the employers' fight to maintain the "sacred principle" of the open shop!

Shachtman Speaks on Auto Convention at Detroit Meeting

DETROIT—Speaking at a meeting held by the Detroit branch of the Workers Party, Max Shachtman, national secretary of the organization, presented the lessons of the auto workers convention to a group of interested workers.

Just returned from the UAW convention in Grand Rapids, Shachtman described the fight on the convention floor to rescind the no-strike pledge and make possible a referendum of the UAW membership on the question. He noted how the continued attempts of the top leaders to railroad through this all-important question were time and again thwarted by the determined opposition of the militant rank and file delegates under the leadership of the newly organized Rank and File Caucus.

After pointing to the impressive victories achieved by the militant delegates, voting down the two original resolutions for reaffirming the no-

strike pledge, passing the resolution for a membership referendum on the question, preventing the addition of a third vice-presidency and so forth, Comrade Shachtman indicated the enormous effect this would have on unions both in and out of the CIO. The UAW, he said, has again taken the lead in the fight for progressive unionism.

The job in the days ahead, he said, is to broaden and strengthen the growing militant union movement. This can be done if the most advanced workers, those most conscious of the needs of the labor movement, provide leadership in the struggle.

Shachtman concluded by pointing to the fact that the Workers Party has always been in the forefront of this fight and he presented a plea to all workers who are aware of the need for fighting for its program to join the Workers Party and participate in the struggle.

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a contract in grievance procedure and upgrading? Don't they know that labor lies helpless, without weapons, once it gives up the right to strike? Little wonder that President John Green has traveled so often between

WLB. That is why we say to the labor leaders: "Get off the WLB. Go back to the shops and shipyards and restore real collective bargaining."

WHAT IS LABOR POLITICS?

But today it is becoming obvious to an increasing number of workers that economic action alone will not do the job. The interests of both capital and labor are closely tied in with the machinery of government. Every step on the economic field today involves some agency or board of government. It becomes a question of who will control the machinery of government—capital or labor?

It is a fact known to every experienced union man that the forces of government are, in the last analysis, on the side of capital. This is true whether a Democratic or a Republican Administration is in control. If they vary in their treatment of labor it is a matter of method and not of principle. That is why LABOR ACTION has been consistently campaigning for the labor movement to take the machinery of government into its own hands and use it for the vast majority of the people and not for the select few.

Is there anything wrong with this idea? Are not the working people the vast majority of the population? Do they not create the vast wealth of the country? Are they not its most useful citizens? Then why must we go, in hand, to beg some political appointees of capital on some government board or other for a few cents so that our families will be adequately provided for?

LABOR ACTION has been consistently campaigning to win the labor movement to the idea of organizing its own Labor Party, independent of the capitalist parties. This is the necessary first step toward placing the power of government in the hands of the working people through establishing a workers government.

Of all workers in the country today, shipbuilding workers should be interested in labor's political role. The war is drawing to a close. The ship industry will once more shrink

to its pre-war employment levels. If one out of ten ship workers is still employed in the industry after the war it will surpass all expectations. What will happen to the other nine ship workers?

RECONVERSION ISSUE

In other industries there is some hope for reconversion from wartime to peacetime production. The assembly lines in Detroit that have been turning out tanks may again turn out trucks or cars. But what can one turn out on the ship yards except more ships? With the present surplus there will be little need for shipbuilding for another ten or fifteen years.

Ship Workers Convention --

(Continued from page 1)

being conducted by Green is being sponsored, in large measure, by the Communist Party elements in the union. Though Green has a long record of opposition to the Communists, much of it conducted with the familiar "red-baiting techniques, the Communists support Green because he has carried out their program of appeasement to the corporations and Washington politicians, 100 per cent support to the no-strike pledge and political support to the Democratic Party. The Communist appeasement policy is based upon their desire to help Russia. Green's appeasement policy is based upon his desire to make a name for himself with the Administration in Washington as a "responsible" labor leader.

RIISING OPPOSITION

Due to the rising tide of opposition from the ranks, Green finds it increasingly necessary to rely upon Communist support to maintain a majority. The present national secretary of the union, Phillip Vangelder, was considered the liaison man between Green and the Communist elements. In recent months Green has taken

The future of nine-tenths of the ship workers depends directly upon what happens to this country after the war. If we permit the capitalist system to continue to limit production for the sake of profits, the army of the unemployed will exceed that of the Hoover days. Yet the capacity of America to produce and provide work for everyone has been fully demonstrated during the course of the war. It is far more possible in time of peace. We can all enjoy a guaranteed annual wage, job security, decent home, and good education for our children. But it is not possible under the present system where all production is limited to what will

pass through the bottle-neck called "guaranteed profits." It requires a system of planned production for use, possible only with government ownership of industry and working class ownership of government.

These are the ideas of LABOR ACTION. We are sure that few workers will disagree with them once they are understood. We hope that this issue of our paper will become the first introduction to a lasting friendship. Subscribe to it. Carry it back to your local and get others to subscribe. Join in the fight for a progressive labor movement and an independent Labor Party.

over the Communist tactic of labeling all opposition from the ranks as "Trotskyist." This label has been applied to so many first rate union men that it is beginning to back-fire. Workers are beginning to believe that "Trotskyist" is the designation given anyone who consistently fights for the interests of the rank and file and does not compromise to advance his personal interests in the union.

The support for repeal of the no-strike pledge comes mostly from those fighting locals that have done everything possible within the framework of national union policy to advance the interests of the men but found it impossible, in the end, to gain anything important except by the threat to strike. These locals have found the appeasement policy of the Green administration a millstone around their necks in negotiations and arbitrations.

The company officials and the Washington boards always relied upon the fact that Green would crack the whip over any local leadership that went too far in its efforts to protect the men. Time and again Green has lifted the charters of locals that

refused to toe the line of his appeasement policy.

The forces fighting for the repeal of the no-strike pledge have been much encouraged by the big support given for repeal resolutions at the auto workers and rubber workers conventions of a week ago. They are determined to make the shipbuilders the first union in the CIO to go on record for repeal of the pledge.

NEXT WEEK:

Report of the Shipworkers' Convention

Imperialist Politics in Poland, by Mary Bell

Who Will Purge the Italian Fascists? by Ernest Luid

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Camden and Washington that he knows every telephone post along the railroad line and still has not got anything worthwhile for the ship workers.

We say that capital and labor have no interests in common. Neither do they have interests in common on the

California Employers Seek to Outlaw Closed Shop by the Ballot

Sponsored by a small but powerful group of traditionally anti-union employers, a proposed constitutional amendment to make the closed shop illegal will appear on the November ballot in California as Proposition No. 12. The intention of this group, the Merchants & Manufacturers Association of Southern California, is to outlaw every type of union security and, behind the pious declaration of every man's right to work, to establish open shop conditions throughout the state. This has been the goal of the Merchants & Manufacturers Association for more than forty years. It is also the announced policy of the National Association of Manufacturers.

No more deadly attack upon organized labor has ever been made in California nor one better timed or calculated to crush the unions. If this constitutional amendment is adopted, it will go into effect at the start of the tidal wave of post-war unemployment, which even the most powerful unions will need all their strength to withstand.

Once again, therefore, the workers are forced to defend the rights that they have won slowly and painfully over the years through strikes, boycotts and hard, unremitting, day-in and day-out efforts to organize themselves, better their wages and conditions, and protect these advances by the inclusion of union security provisions in their collective bargaining agreements.

The device which the supporters of Proposition No. 12 would use to destroy the unions is a simple but exceedingly effective one. On the heels of the declaration in the California Constitution of the inalienable rights of all men—enjoying and defending life and liberty; acquiring, possessing and protecting property; pursuing and obtaining safety and happiness—they would place the following:

Every person has the right to work and to seek, obtain and hold employment, without interference with or impairment or abridgment of that right because he does or does not belong to or pay money to a labor organization.

Following this would come a paragraph declaring unlawful any interference or threat of interference with the right to work, and providing remedy by court action, which could be instigated by anyone in the state. All existing laws conflicting with this measure would be invalidated. Legislation could be passed to facilitate its operation, but not to limit it or restrict it in any way.

That the proposal is unconstitutional is obvious. It violates the First, Fifth and Fourteenth Amendments of the United States Constitution. It runs counter to the whole body of U. S. Supreme Court decisions defining and upholding the rights of labor organizations in their collective bargaining relations with employers. But the matter of the unconstitutionality of Proposition No. 12 is of rela-

tively little importance. Long before the Supreme Court could hand down its decision on this point, the California unions would be engaged in an all-out fight to maintain positions heretofore butwarped by law, while having to meet at the same time the new and tremendously difficult problems that labor will undoubtedly face in the post-war period.

NATION-WIDE ATTACK

It is not impossible, moreover, that by that time the various federal laws protecting the rights of labor may be seriously weakened. The attack in the states is only the beginning. The NAM's methods have altered from time to time during the years; it aims, never. The newest plan is first to strike down the unions by means of state laws, then to clinch the victory with national legislation. One of the earliest manifestations of the recent resurgence of "states' rights" sentiment throughout the nation has been the pressure by anti-labor groups for "relief" by state legislatures from the ever-increasing strength of organized workers. Many a state supreme court justice, constrained to hand down decisions favorable to unions, has said in almost so many words to employers: "We in the courts cannot help you. Legislative relief is what you must obtain."

As a result of this advice, a nationwide, concerted attack has been launched and is being vigorously prosecuted in the states to legislate unions out of existence for all practical purposes. The closed shop is severely restricted by law today in several states; in many others the fight for the enactment of such legislation has just begun.

On the same day that Californians will vote on Proposition 12, Floridians will go to the polls to decide upon an identical measure; it is also pending in Arkansas. In numerous other ways as well, labor organizations are being shackled by state laws. That the drive will open in Congress in the near future is beyond question.

The centering of the attack upon the union security issue is of utmost gravity. Other legislation regulating unions, requiring them to register, file financial statements and the like have a high nuisance value, but they are not the threat to the very existence of unions that the anti-closed shop drive is. The presence of a closed or union shop provision in a collective bargaining agreement is, of course, the sole guarantee that the wages, hours and conditions—all the gains—won by the workers through the strength of their organization, will be retained by them, and not be dissipated by the infiltration into the plant or the industry of workers who are not and refuse to become members of the union.

Take away this guarantee by making the closed shop illegal, and the unions will immediately be forced to throw all their resources into a colossal and bitterly contested fight to recapture positions vital to main-

taining ad continually improving the conditions of their members.

Particularly unprincipled is the deception practiced upon the workers by a measure like California's Proposition No. 12, which, by presenting the illegalization of the closed shop in the guise of a proposal to give everyone a job, permits the workers to put the handcuffs on themselves.

The horror of the decade of unemployment on a monstrous scale during the 1930's is still so vivid that the average worker is likely to respond to almost anything that promises to prevent its repetition. No less unprincipled, however, is the use being made of this anti-labor proposal to drive a splitting wedge between the workers and the members of the

armed forces. When the proposition was still in petition form the favoring use to obtain signatures to qualify it for the ballot was the plea: Sign here and guarantee a job for every returning service man! The identical plea is being used now to obtain votes.

How is labor in California meeting this threat?

So far the campaign being waged by organized labor to defeat Proposition No. 12 is even less coordinated, vigorous and purposeful than on previous occasions when California labor has been on the defensive at the polls. The AFL union leaders are naturally in the foreground, since AFL workers in the state outnumber those of the CIO by at least four to one. But while the State Federation of Labor is nominally directing the campaign from its headquarters in San Francisco, the AFL unions in the southern part of the state early announced their intention to conduct an independent campaign. To date, however, the latter campaign has not made much headway. The position of the Communist-dominated State CIO is clear: "Defeat of No. 12 is vital, but not at the expense of the pro-Roosevelt ticket."

The State Federation of Labor has assessed every one of its members—between six and seven hundred thousand—one dollar to finance the campaign against the proposition. It is circulating pamphlets of indifferent effectiveness, has contracted for signboards, street car advertisements, radio time, etc. A Northern California Citizens Committee has been set up. Emphasis has been placed upon the expressed disapproval of the measure by certain employers' organizations, church groups and the like. But the single important job—getting out the vote of the workers—is being left up to the various central labor bodies and individual unions, who have no more idea of how this can be accomplished than the Federation has.

This is the third time since 1938 that the workers in California have had to defend their rights with the ballot. They won in 1938 by a comfortable margin; war was as yet below the horizon and the citizenry as a whole was still enjoying the New Deal's rediscovery of the Bill of Rights and still complaisant toward the national pro-labor legislation of the 30s. In 1942, in the midst of war, the California workers lost.

From neither campaign did the leaders of the AFL in California learn the one thing essential for them to know: how to get the workers to the polls. It was evident that neither election had called out anything approaching the full voting strength of organized labor. Middle class enthusiasm had defeated the anti-labor Proposition No. 1 in 1938; working class indifference was responsible for the adoption of the "hot cargo" and secondary boycott law in 1942.

NO REAL FIGHT

Thus, facing 1944's Proposition No. 12, the Federation has been confused and uncertain as to how the campaign should be conducted. Can reliance be placed upon the workers to protect their interests? Will it be safer to concentrate upon appealing to the middle class to guard the Constitution and to the "good" employers to ensure the continuance of the

peaceful relations they have been enjoying with the unions?

To these and similar questions the Federation has been unable to find clear, definite answers. The upshot has been, so far, a timid, half-hearted campaign, characterized by reluctance to mention the sponsors of the proposed amendment, the notorious M&M, for fear lest the "good" employers be offended, as well as even the term "closed shop." Much has been made of the measure's unconstitutionality, the violation of the "sanctity of contract," and, of course, the disastrous effects the adoption of the proposition would have upon war production.

In spite of this muddled and inept leadership, however, the response by many of the individual local unions and councils to this challenge to their existence has been excellent. In their local labor press and in pamphlets and leaflets issued independently of the Federation they are not afraid to speak out vigorously in defense of the closed shop, in loathing of the open shop, and in bitter hatred of the M&M, pointing out how relentlessly it has fought the unions and how, until the passage of the NIRA and the NLRA, it had made Los Angeles the open shop "paradise" of the United States.

Nevertheless, whether the individual locals and councils will be able to acquire their memberships with the issue and get out their votes on election day remains to be seen. They have never yet employed, except on a very small scale, the door-to-door method first perfected in Southern California by the Epitones, the Townsendites and the Ham 'n' Eggers, and now inherited by the CIO Political Action Committee.

Experience has proved that not even the added attraction of the election of a President of their country will bring the workers voluntarily and purposefully to the polls to vote at the same time against an attack on their organizations, their wages, hours and working conditions, and their standard of living.

Never more clearly has the need for the workers to have their own party been demonstrated in California. The lack of worker interest in defeating Proposition No. 12 is due entirely to the lack of clear-cut distinctions between parties and candidates. Anti-labor legislation is sponsored by Democrats in one part of the state or nation, by Republicans in another. One political party is their friend today, their enemy tomorrow.

In large numbers, therefore, the workers refuse to participate in politics or take the trouble to vote. But, no matter how justifiable, the consequences of this indifference may be disastrous. It is to be hoped that it will not be necessary for the workers to lose the closed shop in order to realize that they must form, without delay, their own political party, dedicated to their own interests—an independent Labor Party.

WLB Holds to Wage Freeze While Profiteers Rake it in

By WALTER WEISS

As our readers may recall, the steel companies about a year ago complained to the OPA that on certain products they weren't making any money—or hardly any. To be sure, the War Labor Board's steel panel had just reported that before taxes the companies' 1943 income increased 300 per cent over the 1936-39 average and even 56 per cent after taxes. The general wage increase of seventeen cents an hour requested by the union would, if granted in full last year, still have left the companies better off than in the pre-defense and pre-war years. These conclusions of the panel, it should be added, are only too fair to the companies, since they are based on the phony book-keeping practices so common in big business.

How could they possibly ask for price boosts if their own figures show such profiteering? It's simple, very simple. The capitalists feel that it is their patriotic duty to make big profits on every single item produced, not just in general. If the government inspects their total profits, they call that profit control instead of price control. And profit control destroys our free American way of life.

BOOST FOR STEEL COMPANIES

OPA was reported, some months back, to have decided that the companies were right, but no general action was taken, although some individual "hard pressed" companies were given "relief." Evidently OPA decided that price rises, while the workers were being stalled on their wage demands, would cause too great a storm. However, if and when the War Labor Board recommends any changes in the Little Steel formula, the OPA will probably be ready.

Iron Age, a journal of the steel industry, reports (September 7) that some people in the industry believe that a pay rise would lead to price increases on certain steel products; that the steel companies have had their "brief" in for some time; and that, if the OPA favors a price rise, long deliberation would not be necessary.

In its September 14 issue Iron Age is less optimistic, doubling a price rise because of post-war savings on labor costs that will arise from the elimination of overtime pay and from down-grading. On the other hand, the Journal of Commerce, also on September 14, reports that "the OPA has been holding up a schedule of price increases for a number of steel products. This will probably go to Vinson (Economic Stabilization Director) at the same time (as the War Labor Board's wage report)."

In this connection it is interesting to look at a precedent set in the coal industry, which was granted some nice price boosts when the miners were given a few dollars of portal-to-portal pay and more overtime work. The price rise was necessary, because higher wages raised the costs of production. That's the evil of wage increases, they tell us: prices go up even more, and the "inflationary spiral" is started.

COAL OWNERS' HIGH PROFITS

Now Business Week of September 16 carries a sensational article on coal profits. Everybody thought that the railroads, in comparison with their pre-war situation, were reaping the richest war harvest, but the coal companies appear to have done better yet. So much have their profits soared that their stocks are being quoted at figures 280 per cent above the August, 1939, level.

ANOTHER MODEST EXAMPLE

The other two bituminous companies cited by Business Week did even better. We have given you the most modest example of profiteering.

Now let's take the most modest example among the anthracite coal companies. The Glen Alden Co. boosted its sales only about forty per cent from 1939 to 1943, from \$42,800,000 to \$59,400,000, but its profits increased a cool ONE THOUSAND per cent, from \$300,000 to \$3,300,000!

On June 12, 1943, during the Senate debate on the coal strikes and on the Smith-Connelly anti-strike law, Senator Langer, arguing against the

bill, informed his colleagues of Glen Alden's profits. He cited figures to show, from 1939, to 1942, a FIFTEEN HUNDRED per cent rise in profits after taxes, from about 300,000 to about \$4,900,000. His figures are nearer to the real profits than Business Week's because he added back again bookkeeping allowances for contingencies, post-war adjustments, etc., to the company's own net income figures. The senators, of course, were unimpressed, being interested only in the "unpatriotic" behavior of Lewis and the miners.

Business Week attributes the incredible coal profits more or less to chance. "Fortuitous" is the word this magazine uses. By chance there was a shortage of other fuels, and by chance the government decided to allow "compensatory price rises to balance somewhat the higher labor costs."

WHO IS RESPONSIBLE?

Nice expressions, "compensatory" and "balance somewhat," aren't they? What really caused these profits? A capitalist government, of course, which does its duty and serves the capitalists. The Roosevelt Administration, of course. Who but Mr. Roosevelt appointed Bowles as OPA Administrator and Vinson as Economic Stabilization Director with orders to hold the line—against the workers? How else can anybody explain what happened?

It is argued, to be sure, that conditions in the industry may be bad for the owners after the war. So what? Aren't they just aching to take risks? Isn't risk-taking the life-blood of the capitalist system of free enterprise? Yes, for the miners who risk their lives every day. And, for the miners, conditions will be still worse after the war, when unemployment returns. Those additions to working capital are made by the companies in order to buy more efficient machinery with which to displace workers.

We think that this is a story really worth telling to the armed forces.

Sperry Union Needs Control by Ranks

NEW YORK CITY—In previous articles, the lack of democracy in Sperry Local 450, UER&MWA, has been dealt with in detail. One of the arguments that Local 450's leadership has always cited boastfully when charges of undemocratic management of the union are put to them, is that the shop steward system, being completely representative, ensures democracy in their union.

The shop steward system IS a democratic set-up WHEN it is used the way it was INTENDED to be used. In a union where the membership attends regular monthly membership meetings, where every important issue confronting the union is brought up and discussed in those meetings, and every member has his part in deciding policy by his voice and vote at those meetings—in this type of union the shop steward system becomes an aid to carrying on the necessary activities of the union.

The shop steward is democratically elected by a group of people usually numbering about twenty-five, to be their representative in carrying out negotiations with their particular foreman or supervisor in the shop, and also in certain negotiations with the union. The shop steward is elected for the precise purpose of safeguarding to each member the rights that his union constitution and his union contract give to him. He is elected because people know that he will fight well for any right guaranteed them that their boss tries to ignore or to take away.

It is the shop steward's business to know the grievance machinery of the union, to know what is and what is not permitted by the contract, and to stand up for the people who elected him in every case. It is NOT his business, however, to go to meetings and vote for his members, while the members themselves are not consulted. When he does that he has usurped their democratic rights as a union member: he is helping to make the union LESS democratic, NOT MORE democratic.

NO MEMBERSHIP CONTROL

This is exactly what has happened in the Sperry local. The shop stewards have become the only active group in the union because the constitution forbids frequent and regular meetings of the local. They go to

meetings every month, where they discuss and decide important matters of union policy, without ever consulting their particular members to find out their ideas on the subject.

For instance, the membership was not consulted when the union decided to accept the last cutback in hours, but in some cases the stewards made some pretense of asking them which of two proposed arrangements of the hours they would prefer. Only in one other case is the Sperry membership consulted, and that is on some issue which, according to the constitution, has to be decided by a majority vote of the membership. And, Local 450's constitution being what it is, there are very few cases where that has to happen. When it does, Local 450 calls one of its rare membership meetings. This takes place on an average of about twice a year.

Sperry's is one of the most blatant examples of how the shop steward system has replaced the democratic operation of the union. The stewards in Local 450 act for themselves, and not for the members they represent. The strength of the shop steward system is that it supplements and strengthens the union, but only on the condition that it does not REPLACE the union.

The Stewards' Council of Local 450 has the deciding vote on almost every important issue confronting the union. At every monthly meeting of the council, they usurp the rights of the membership to vote on the questions that involve wages, hours, whether and how there should be layoffs, and so on—the vital business of the local.

In that voting, time and again, the Stewards' Council shows that it is only the pawn of the Executive Board itself, the small, powerful clique that has fought to control the local since the beginning of the organizing drive in Sperry, more than two years ago.

In the beginning the Stewards' Council was more of a democratic group; there were some stewards who thought the membership should have a lot more to say about how their union was run and who constantly fought for a democratic local. But slowly and surely in the last two years most of the militant stewards were forced from the Stewards' Council.

By now Local 450's stewards are almost unanimously a group of yes-men to the Executive Board, and the membership just barely finds out what is going on in their union by reading the monthly shop paper, Shop News. This condition allows things to happen that wouldn't be tolerated in any local where the membership is its own boss.

TWO DANGEROUS EVENTS

About three months ago Jerry Steiner, building chairman at the Nassau plant, just disappeared from the plant and from the union, and the vice-president of the union was appointed by the president to fill the missing man's place. Weeks later, Shop News carried a small and insignificant-looking paragraph saying Steiner had been tried by the complaint board and found guilty and had therefore been expelled from the union. This means he had to be fired from the plant, too, in accordance with the local's maintenance of membership clause. No mention was made of the charges brought against Steiner. When some members asked questions, they were given a variety of reasons why Steiner had been brought up on charges, but no official report has been given to the local.

The latest event of this kind in Local 450 was the recent expulsion and firing of Steve Balick, a militant steward who was also a member of the complaint board, the board which tried Steiner. Shop News made very vague and general statements that Balick was charged with "anti-union and anti-war talk," but since Balick was neither anti-union nor anti-war, it is obvious that these were either trumped-up charges or else Shop News deliberately lied when it gave those reasons for the charges.

No one in the plant heard very much about Steiner's case. The Executive Board saw to that. And no one heard very much about Steve

Balick's case either, but they will before long, because Balick has appealed his case to the Stewards' Council, which followed the lead of the Executive Board and declared him guilty. Balick knows that the stewards are sewed up, lock, stock and barrel. He's been a member of that body. Now he is appealing his case to the membership itself, whose second meeting this year has been announced for some time in the first two weeks of October.

ATTEND MEMBERSHIP MEETING

At that membership meeting a lot of complaints about how Local 450 is being run by an iron-fisted little clique of sell-out artists will probably be aired. Steve Balick's case should be thrown into the Executive Board's face as one of the most blatant in a long list of crimes that have been committed against Local 450's members. For the past two years the Executive Board, with the stewards helping them out, have cooperated with the company time and again, against the wishes of the membership and the best interest of the union on the important question of layoffs, loss of pay due to transfers, shorter hours and time schedules for those shorter hours, and job re-evaluation.

In the last two weeks they have helped the company in handing out time-study sheets, signed by a company foreman and an Executive Board member, giving impossible quotas for each machine's hourly output, quotas which no one has been able to meet.

The only time the membership can fight this vicious bureaucratic control of the union is at their meetings, for then they have the supreme power of the local in their hands. A majority vote of the membership is a pretty hard thing to set aside, no matter what the Executive Board wants. And sometime in October '44 that chance is coming to the membership.

Rubber Convention - -

(Continued from page 1)

the no-strike pledge, but were not yet wise enough to see that the only thing to be done was to repudiate it.

It was right here that the unpreparedness of the opposition became apparent. Basing itself primarily upon the fight to dislodge Dalrymple for his unconstitutional and high-handed conduct, it neglected to give adequate formulation to a program of union policies. Such a clear-cut statement of progressive union aims by the opposition was necessary to enlighten and influence the doubtful delegates. But fearful that they might alienate the doubtful delegates on the appeals cases and on the elections if they pressed too hard on questions of policy such as rescinding of the no-strike pledge, the opposition was hurt from this fundamental point of view.

THEY FOUGHT A GOOD FIGHT

Still, a darned good fight was put up to rescind the no-strike pledge and some excellent speeches were made. Harrell, Local 5, compared the no-strike pledge to a yellow-dog contract. Watson, Local 7, said the no-strike pledge gives flag-wavers a chance to tie workers' hands in order to frisk their pockets. A delegate pointed out that Dalrymple was going further than the Smith-Connelly law. A delegate from Local 102—a small local—showed how under the no-strike pledge, the company calls on the union president to do its dirty work against the rank and file. Delegate Treash, Local 5, enumerated what the workers have under the "equality of sacrifice" farce, namely, violations of contracts, firing of union militants, break-down of collective bargaining, wage and job freeze, Smith-Connelly law, with prices and profits sky-high.

The flag-waving performed by Dalrymple was repeated by many well-known Stalinists, especially from Local 101. Vice-President Buckmaster, on the other hand, set himself the task of befuddling the doubtful delegates. The gist of his argument was that the no-strike pledge must be separated from the abuses committed because of it. He admitted the justice of complaints against management and the WLB, but stated these must be covered "by another attack." "Attack WLB from front and not from back," he said. Yet in the statement of policy—adopted Saturday afternoon, when many delegates had

gone home and others were asleep, reading or kibitzing at their tables—there is a clause complimenting the WLB for its "courageous" blah-blah-blah.

The vote on the no-strike pledge was 782 to reaffirm and 375 opposed. The opposition unfortunately did not take occasion to call for a referendum vote on the no-strike pledge by the union membership, as was done at the United Auto Workers convention, although it was given an opening to do so when Buckmaster stated his doubts that the 35,000 rubber workers of Akron are against the no-strike pledge.

THE APPEALS COMPROMISE

The long-delayed report of the Committee on Appeals, which should have come up before the elections, finally saw the light of day Saturday morning. The majority report on the case of the sixty-two General Tire workers was to uphold Dalrymple and the GEB. There was also a minority report by one member of the committee, Delegate Culver of Local 98. However, he never got to reading it because a motion came from the floor to take up the case of Howard Haas immediately. Haas had been granted permission by his commanding officer to attend the convention, on unanimous request of that body, and he wanted to get to see his fam-

ily in Akron before returning to the Army.

The motion passed, and much time was consumed reading documents. After lunch, as time was getting short and it was evident a real airing of the appeals would be impossible, Delegate Bass moved for a compromise to cover all the cases. The body finally agreed to have two leading delegates from each side withdraw to prepare a compromise motion.

The motion finally submitted was a four-point compromise: (1) all suspended or expelled members to be reinstated with all their rights; (2) claims for back pay to be denied; (3) Local 5's appeal from the GEB on the Dalrymple case to be denied; (4) fifty per cent of the fines collected from penalized members to be refunded.

The motion was adopted overwhelmingly. Whereupon Harold Haas was called on to speak. The convention rose and applauded him with spirit. He said that he had in his briefcase material which would not further the unity the compromise aimed to achieve. And as he shook hands with Dalrymple, the uniform he wore was itself an eloquent condemnation of Dalrymple's conduct. The delegates had indicated their good feeling toward Haas by taking up a collection of \$212 for him.

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U. S. Workers: Defend the Rights Of Anti-Nazi German Workers

(Continued from page 1)

pact with Hitler which opened up the Second World War. Stalin helped divide Poland with the German Hitlerites, and Molotov, Stalin's Foreign Minister, made public the statement that "fascism was a matter of personal taste!"

The capitalist powers were playing a game with Hitler. France was trying to line up countries against Germany. This was the official government policy. But in France, the bulk of the French ruling class favored Hitler as against their own working class.

England was playing Germany against France and Russia in order to keep her balance of power on the Continent.

The American capitalists played at politics with a big section of them greatly admiring the German fascists because they destroyed the labor movement.

Russia played its own game, first calling for collective security against Hitler and then making a pact with him.

And since the bloody Second World War broke out, the Allied powers, the inventors of the Four Freedoms and the Atlantic Charter, which they never meant seriously, did not once make the kind of appeal to the German people that would hasten their struggle against their own rulers, the fascists. Quite the contrary, they made every conceivable threat to the German people and the German workers, telling them, in effect, that no matter what they did, whether they overthrew Hitler or not, the Allies were preparing a fate for them even worse than fascism.

Thus the overwhelming majority of the German people stand on the edge of an abyss with dismal alternatives. They face either continued misery under fascism, or dismemberment, poverty and revenge at the hands of the Allies.

Thus the German masses, living under a police regime, under the worst kind of torture, now face new police regimes and new tortures under the rule of the United States, Great Britain and Stalin's Russia.

Germany's great industries will be destroyed! The country will be reduced to an agricultural status! And the Allies expect eighty million Germans to live under such conditions! Would it not be better just to shoot every single German? Would that not be more humane?

What the capitalist rulers of the Allied powers want is to exploit the German people for profit! That's what Great Britain wants, that's what the United States wants and that's what Russia wants.

These powers are holding the German masses responsible for their rulers, the same rulers who now terrorize and exploit them. Russia pursues the same policy as the other imperialists, even more ruthlessly. Russia wants to make the German working class pay for the crimes of Stalin in betraying the German masses to fascism and for making the infamous pact with Hitler.

The crowning point of Allied policy is to prevent the resurgence of the German masses, their organization and their struggle for power that would free them from the exploitation of capitalist private property and the profit system as a whole.

The Allies are united in their determination to prevent any socialist rebellion of the German workers which would sweep away the whole rotten edifice of capitalist barbarism which rules the world today.

The Allies are afraid to let the German people loose on their fascist exploiters. While the Allied diplomats sit in their foreign offices, gambling with the lives of the people of the world, the German masses could really take care of their fascist exploiters.

That is exactly what the Allies fear. They fear the "anarchy" of workers' revenge! They fear that this revenge will include the German ruling class, the industrialists and financiers who put Hitler into power and should suffer the same fate as the black-hearted murderers. And, to repeat, they fear that the German masses will go beyond this revenge to set up their own state power, a workers' government that will put an end to capitalism in Germany, a capitalism which has brought them nothing but repeated wars, exploitation and, finally, fascism.

If the Allied powers get away with their plan to exterminate the German working class which has not forgotten its past and which undoubtedly understands its future and what has to be done, a blow will be dealt to the workers of all countries, yes, even to the workers of the United States.

DEFEND GERMAN LABOR!

The interests of American labor dictate that we rise to the support of German labor. Against dismemberment of Germany! For the right of the German masses to set up their own democratic government of toilers, a workers' government!

Hand over the task of settling with Hitler and his satellites to the German working class rather than to a War Crimes Commission which does not even have Hitler's name on its list!

If the German workers are crushed a second time by the Allied powers, the European workers will suffer another terrible blow, a blow which could not fail to have its repercussions in this country. That is just what American big business wants. It would gain heart by such an event; it would be strengthened in its constant anti-labor offensive.

Freedom for German labor!

Demand full democratic rights for the German masses!

The German workers must have full control over settling with their native fascists!

Reject the dismemberment of a country of eighty million people now ruled over by a regime they never wanted, but which was supported up to this war by the capitalists of all nations!

Italian Anti-Fascist Masses Act; N. Y. Times Deplores!

The people of Rome last week showed their dissatisfaction with the Allied pampering of the fascist officials when they stormed a court house and killed one Donato Carretta, fascist jailer accused of brutality to anti-fascist prisoners.

The crowd was originally looking for Mussolini's chief of police, Caruso, responsible for turning over hostages to the Germans to be shot. Caruso was hidden from the crowd by a British officer and escaped with his life. Carretta, who had turned state's evidence against his former chief, was found among the witnesses and taken out by the people and killed.

After twenty long years of persecution, imprisonment, torture and death at the hands of Mussolini's fascist police agents, the people thought that the Allied "liberation" would at last give them an opportunity to rid Italy of this fascist scum. But instead of letting the people have their way and carrying out a thorough cleansing and purging, the Allied Military Government and the weak-kneed "six-party" government have taken the fascists under their protection.

Except for the higher government posts, the people see the old fascist officials everywhere remaining in office. Instead of rounding up the fascists and bringing them to justice, the AMG is busy rounding up the anti-fascist fighters in order to disarm them. These fighters, who were hailed as heroes when they helped liberate Rome from the Germans, are now being referred to as "unreliable elements" with a high proportion of "hoodlums and bad characters" among them.

After one year of AMG rule the people are becoming completely exasperated with this situation. They are becoming convinced that nothing serious will happen to the fascist criminals. With 700 cases pending, it will take years to dispose of them through the court procedure being used in the so-called High Court of Justice. It was this situation which brought about the outbreak of violence that resulted in the killing of Carretta.

The American capitalist press and radio commentators let out a wail over the action of the people in killing this fascist swine. They expressed themselves as "shocked" at his "horrible death." Herbert L. Matthews, New York Times correspondent, took almost half a page to describe how "vicious and brutal" the people were in ridding Rome of this fascist murderer.

It would be most touching to see this display of humanity on the part of the capitalist press if it were not so obvious as to what really affected

them. At the time Mussolini was consolidating his power with castor oil, torture chambers and firing squads, these same papers had little to say except to admire the "efficiency and order" which prevailed in Italy and that Mussolini had got "the trains to run on time."

In those years there were no half pages of paper devoted to describing the agonies of trade unionists and revolutionary workers who were tortured and killed in cold blood by the dreaded OVRA, Mussolini's secret police. Correspondents wrote, instead, or how fascism was electrifying the railroads and draining the marshes.

Describing how the fascist OVRA developed the "castor oil treatment" and other tortures, R. W. Rowan writes in his book on "Terror in Our Times" as follows:

"Italians and others arrested and held on suspicion of anti-fascist tendencies were compelled to swallow quickly a pint of this medicine. Such a dose would be fatal if the arrested person was not hurried to a hospital. Sometimes, when a bit annoyed by recalcitrant cases, the OVRA inquisitors became too preoccupied to remember about the hospital treatment; whereat the suspect died in agony. But the OVRA chiefs always wished it to be known that such a vindictive outcome was sheer 'negligence'..."

"Besides their introduction of castor oil into the crowded arsenal of political-police technique, the Italian fascists were inspired to develop a new sort of 'blunt instrument' for use in interrogating 'enemies' of the dictatorial regime. With this instrument the OVRA paladins scored many a triumph of the 'third degree' in the 'back rooms' of police stations. It was a weapon designed both for intimidation and prolonged incapacitation. With one sharp, well aimed stroke it could break the jaw of a suspected anti-fascist, thus laying him up for a painful period, yet without permanently disfiguring him, fracturing his skull, or otherwise endangering his life."

Did Matthews expect the victims of such treatment to be polite and considerate in their treatment of a fascist jailer like Carretta? Did he expect them to stand by calmly day after day while the fascist officials were kept in office by the AMG?

Did he expect them to hold their tempers calmly while butchers like Caruso were being given a long drawn out trial during which their lawyers operated behind a barricade of legal technicalities and phony pleas about Caruso "acting under orders" and really being in sympathy with the

anti-fascists at heart? Or listening to the testimony that Caruso's uncle was in an insane asylum and that insanity ran in the family?

This method of trying fascist murderers must indeed seem strange to a people who for twenty years have seen the fascist police and courts act swiftly and surely in the cases of workers and students arrested for opposition to Mussolini.

Matthews calls the conduct of these Italians "worse than fascism." Why? Because 7,000 outraged citizens killed a brutal jailer in hot blood on the street in broad daylight, unshamed and completely convinced of the justice of their acts? Is this to be compared to the hired gangs of degenerates who operated in the dead of night to hunt down, torture and kill anti-fascists in cold blood upon the orders of their chief?

Carretta was killed, writes Matthews, "in so cowardly and vicious a fashion that none can help entertaining fears for the future of Italy." What does Matthews fear will come of this action? That the people will get "out of hand" and start a real blood-letting of the fascist scoundrels who have tormented them for twenty years and degraded the nation? That the people may not stop with the killing of brutal police agents but go on to get the real men behind Mussolini, the industrialists and bankers who put fascism in power to save their capital from socialism? There were 3,000 socialist victims alone during the first year of Mussolini's terror. Why should the American capitalist press be so alarmed over the prospect that harm may befall those responsible for fascism in Italy?

The truth is that the American press is not too concerned over the death of a fascist police agent. Nor is it concerned if a few hundred of them are put to death. It is always possible to hire new police officers. But what arouses them is that the action was carried out by the people themselves. This they cannot permit.

To have the Bonomi government conduct long drawn out proceedings and execute a few minor officials as scapegoats to placate the people while the wealthy fascists live in Switzerland is quite in keeping with the brand of "anti-fascism" practiced by the American authorities in North Africa and, until now, in Italy. But the kind of anti-fascism believed in by the Italian working class, the main victim of fascism, cannot be permitted by American capitalism. For such anti-fascism would make a clean sweep and pull up fascism by its roots. And the roots are none other than the capitalist system and the capitalist class of Italy.

Russia's Rumanian Policy - -

(Continued from page 1)

tims of tyranny pay for the crimes of their tyrant masters. Thus the Kaiser demanded tribute from the newly formed Soviets at Brest-Litovsk in the last war, forcing the burdens of the Czar's war upon a half-starved populace that was overwhelmingly against both the Czar and the war. Upon the defeat of Germany, the Allies likewise saddled the German working class with the "war guilt" and reparations of the Versailles Treaty—this after the German working class had overthrown the Hohenzollern monarchy and after it had been bled white by four years of deprivation and death.

Having long ago discarded and buried the elementary principles of working class internationalism and solidarity that were the cardinal tenets of Lenin and Trotsky and the entire revolutionary labor movement, Stalin follows unhesitatingly in the footsteps of his imperialist contemporaries. He suppresses the popular uprisings, and loots the "liberated" territories.

The Rumanian armistice only fosters antagonism and hatred by the Rumanian workers of their Russian brothers, none of whom are responsible for the imperialist appetite of Stalin and his regime. That isn't all. The published armistice contains terms which are perhaps the clearest indication of the reactionary road that Russian political policy travels in the present and post-war period.

While Point 13 buttresses the economic status quo by providing the re-establishment of property "intact" to the old owners, Points 15 and 16 intervene in the most direct fashion in the political life of Rumania and establish the Russian high command as virtual dictator over the political rights of the people.

What the armistice creates is a monster in the image of the police dictatorship of the GPU in Russia. Point 15 provides for the elimination of not only pro-Nazi organizations, but of "other organizations of fascist type... which are conducting propaganda hostile to the Allied nations, in particular to the Soviet Union, and not to tolerate the existence of such organizations in the future."

Anyone familiar with the GPU conception of organizations "hostile" to Russia knows that this can mean any non-Stalinist group that does not kowtow to the dictates of the Kremlin oligarchy. By this token, any working class or revolutionary socialist party that rejects the monstrous slave system of the Russian

ruling class is subject to the Stalinist type of persecution that is rivaled only by the Hitler brand.

WHAT STALIN WANTS

Here is the naked essence of what Stalin wishes to create in Eastern Europe. By "governments friendly to the Soviet Union" he means governments which he can directly control or governments which agree to wipe out all criticism or opposition to the Russian dictatorship.

What if the Rumanian workers decide to band together in revolutionary organizations to overthrow the barbarous and decadent monarchy that first marched them at the point of a bayonet into Hitler's bloody legions and now marches them at the point of a bayonet into the Allied columns? Such organizations, says Stalin, must be wiped out, for he has signed the armistice with the same corrupt monarchy, which is the vested authority to carry out the terms of the truce.

What would happen if the Rumanian workers and peasants made a social revolution and threw overboard the monarchy, the feudal landlords and the industrialists and established a real socialist government? And what if this new socialist government fore up Stalin's armistice with its \$300,000,000 reparations provision and its dictation of what political rights the people are to have? That might compel Stalin to order his "Red" Army to drown such a movement for freedom in blood!

Point 16 of the armistice is worth quoting in full: "Publication import and distribution in Rumania of periodical and non-periodical literature, production of theater plays and films, and the work of the radio stations, of the post, telegraph and telephone are to be carried out in accordance with an agreement with the Allied (Soviet) high command."

And to think that the chief Rumanian negotiator, who is also the new Minister of Justice, Lucretiu Patrascanu, had the unmitigated gall to declare: "We don't have a right to be dissatisfied with the terms." Laval, Degrelle, Doriot, Antonescu were all Hitler's servants; Patrascanu is

Stalin's servant. They all blotted out freedom of thought and expression in their homelands.

What the United States and Britain did not dare attempt in Italy and France, Russia does openly in Rumania. The Allied imperialists in the meantime send their observers and tactfully reserve comment. They have other pressing problems now. It is certain, however, that they are filled with envious misgivings and hope to overcome Stalin's growing power in Europe at another time.

LIBERATION STILL AHEAD

The armistice is more than a scrap of paper to those who have carefully studied the political evolution of the bureaucratic collectivist state in Russia. If the Russian state had extracted a single penny from the Rumanian workers for the crimes of their rulers, it would have been sufficient to alter all current arguments in its behalf as a "workers' state." Obviously, it is not the nationalized property in Russia which commits such anti-working class acts or prepares to oppress the people of Eastern Europe. It is the Russian STATE and its bureaucracy, led by the counter-revolutionary Stalin, which does so. It is not the nationalized property in Russia which prepares to crush the European revolution, but Russia's "Red" Army, the military arm of this anti-working class STATE that does so.

If class-conscious workers in Europe are not aware of this as yet, the terms of the Russian armistice with Rumania will help them realize it more quickly. The Polish workers in particular, socialist and anti-Stalinist, have been apprised of this reality by Russia's sabotage of the Warsaw revolt. When troops of the "Red" Army enter Warsaw these revolutionary workers who have been fighting the Nazis will be compelled to wage the same struggle for freedom against their new conquerors, the so-called "Red" Army.

The liberation of Europe has only begun with the expulsion of the fascists. The Allied "liberators," Stalinist and "democratic" alike, are preparing to extend the sentences, with a few privileges for good behavior here and there, of the workers in the prison that is Europe.

But the real liberation of the European workers and peasants remains, as it always has been, in their own hands. The workers of Rome, Paris and Warsaw have given the world an inkling of the fate that awaits their jailers.

"THE GRAVEDIGGERS"

How French Rulers Sold Out to Hitler

By J. R. JOHNSON

The victories of the Allied armies over the armies of fascism and the driving out of the Nazi invader from the occupied countries pose an important question: why did France come under the heel of Nazi domination?

The answer is revealed in the fact, not apparent to all, that France, like every country, was composed of two nations. One was the bourgeoisie, the ruling or capitalist class. An important section of this class not only found it possible to collaborate with Hitlerites, but actively worked to achieve such a union. Arrayed against the collaborationists was the other nation of France, the working class, together with smaller layers of the middle class and farmers.

We have evidence, even from sources which would deny this existence of classes, that proves beyond any doubt the guilt of these representatives of the ruling class of France.

Is this so? Let us see.

A French journalist has just written a book describing the history of France before, during and after the 1940 catastrophe. The book is called "The Grave-Diggers" and it lays the blame on Gamelin, Daladier, Weygand, Reynaud and Laval. It is a masterpiece of description and analysis and should certainly be read. There the reader will see, among other things, the behavior of Weygand, the commander-in-chief of the French army in 1934, and Petain, the Minister of War at the same period. Pertinax, the author of "The Grave-Diggers," gives chapter and verse for the following:

Weygand hated democracy, trade unions, socialism and everything connected with the working class. With him this amounted to a frenzy.

Petaim was governed always by the fear of a "social upheaval," in other words, fear of the revolution of the workers.

In 1934 they were in command and control of the military preparations for the coming war. Weygand, commander-in-chief, told Petain, War Minister: "In case we are defeated you can become the Hindenburg of France." Hindenburg was the German general who, as President of the German Republic, prepared the way for Hitler.

Weren't these a noble pair of patriots to be leaders of the "national defense" of France?

But worse is to come. Petain, for years before the catastrophe, went about saying that France needed Laval. And Laval's program was capitulation of France to Hitler and incorporation of France as junior partner in Hitler's "new" European "order." He said so openly, even when he was Prime Minister of France in 1935!

Were all the French political leaders and generals like that? Let us note the significance of the fact that Blum, the socialist Prime Minister, bowed humbly before Petain. Blum also gave the support of himself and his Socialist Party to Reynaud. And after the first defeat of France in early May, Reynaud, with the support of Blum, appointed Weygand as commander-in-chief and Petain as Vice-Premier of the government.

In other words, these "democrats" appointed these notorious pro-fascists as leaders of the nation in its moment of greatest crisis!

Pertinax describes what happened. He shows how Weygand's generalship was governed by his fear of the French workers and his anxiety to get rid of the alliance with Britain. Pertinax shows also how Weygand bungled the defense and rushed to the cabinet to tell Reynaud that they must make an armistice at once. If they didn't, said Weygand, the army would disintegrate and there would be Soviets in France. While Weygand spoke, Petain kept nodding his head in agreement.

The French people as a whole were willing to continue the fight but, as usual, the "democratic" leaders capitulated to the fascists, and Laval, Petain and Weygand became masters of France under Hitler's domination.

For seventy years the French ruling classes had preached to the French workers submission to the ruling class government, of course. Why? Because the French "nation" had to be saved from the German menace. Now, frightened at the growth of the working class movement and the threat of socialism, they had capitulated to Hitler without making any real fight. Henceforth they preached to the French workers a new doctrine—submission to Hitler's "new order." Some of them ran away with their fortunes to Algiers but supported Hitler from there. The French masses were bewildered at first but soon settled down to magnificent resistance.

The French government persecuted them without mercy. But when the British and Americans began to show signs of winning the war, then the French rulers, in Algiers in particular, turned away from the Germans and began to support the "democratic" imperialists. These utterly shameless capitalists from start to finish were concerned not with the nation but with their property. They would support Beelzebub himself if he could guarantee their profits.

Now we ask one question. If the French working class, as a whole, from the start had realized that the ruling class, the bourgeoisie, as a whole, was its main enemy, wouldn't it have been better off today? The treachery of Petain and Weygand, the rush to support Hitler, the rush back to support Roosevelt, all these treacheries could not have taken place, to the sorrow and confusion of the French masses.

If anyone wants to have a clear example of what is meant by the idea that in an imperialist war the main enemy is at home, he should read "The Grave-Diggers."

(Read also a review in The New Internationalist for September, where this book is fully reviewed and Pertinax's own role as grave-digger is exposed.)

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Editorials

URW Convention Compromise Vindicates General Tire Strikers

The compromise on the appeals report effected in the closing hours of the Rubber Workers convention unfortunately prevented the airing before the entire delegation of the high-handed actions of President Dalrymple. These appeals contained most importantly the case of the seventy-two expelled General Tire & Rubber Company employees. The report of the appeals committee should logically have been heard before the election of officers. But not so in the bureaucratically-run URWA. "Dal" and his henchmen on the executive board saw to that by setting a time for the elections—the only definite hour set on the convention's entire agenda.

The compromise meant, as in all compromises, that each side gave up something. In return for dropping the appeal to expel Dalrymple from Goodrich Local, an action taken as a result of the General expulsions and rescinded due to international ruling, the Dalrymple forces ceded on a return of the expelled members to full union status and a partial refund of their fines.

The compromise was a bigger victory for the ranks of the URWA than for the leadership. While it may be questionable constitutionally to expel the international president from his local union, everyone understood that this action was a form of protest against his methods. However, when Dalrymple agreed to reinstate the members he had expelled without trial, counsel or any legality whatsoever, it was an admission that he knew he was wrong.

"Dal" should thank his lucky stars that some of the material on him was not read to the assembly of delegates. His forced exoneration of the workers he took action against should warn him to keep "hands off" in the future.

It should be strongly noted by the out-of-town locals that the fight of the Akron workers for their wronged brothers was a fight for the democratic rights of all the locals—not merely for the "big locals" in Akron.

The progressive Akron opposition, on the other hand, needs to make its program heard among the outlying districts, rather than make it appear, as often was the case at the convention, that they were merely striving for offices.