# Socialist Appeal

Official Weekly Organ of the Socialist Workers Party, Section of the Fourth International

We propose that the regular 1940 session of the Congress of the United States shall enact emergency legislation to put into immediate effect the following:

- 1. Appropriation of \$10,000,000,000 to provide, at once, jobs on housing and other public works projects for unemployed workers.
- 2. Amendment of the Wages and Hours Act to provide throughout private industry and public works a maximum work week of 30 hours and a minimum weekly pay of 30 dollars.
  - 3. 30 dollar weekly old age and disability pensions.
  - 4. Appropriation of \$3,000,000,000 to guarantee either maintenance at school or jobs for all youth.

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FIVE (5) CENTS

# MINNEAPOLIS WPA INDICTMENTS QUASHED

# FIGHT OPENS ON ANTI-LYNCH BILL

Unions Must Act To Put Heat On In Washington

through the Senate began at the hearing before a Senate subcommittee on February 6. Here the representatives of the Southern plantation owners will make their next attempt to kill the bill.

Senator Tom Conally, who is border state of West Virginia) the only Southerner on the subcommittee, was the leader of the seven-week filibuster that detime ago that he would ask for for the expenses of witnesses the money to defeat this bill will not be withheld by its landlordemployer opponents.

### Supporters Mobilizing

The supporters of the bill are also preparing to send their wit- ed by administrators why they nesses. The Texas branch of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People in particular will send a large contingent from the native state of Conally (as well as of such other

This bill, however, will not be force the Northern capitalist-rep against their Southern class-

author of the bill and is also chairman of the subcommittee hearing testimony on the bill.

"Most of Finland's remark-

ably capable army officers have

had very little contact with

democratic traditions," writes

This is why newsmen "have

rarely encountered greater ob-

stacles to procuring informa-

tion" and why the war in Fin-

land "from a journalistic stand-

point is the toughest proposi-

tion that they have ever en-

"The real censorship," he

continues, "seems to come

while you are in contact-a

careful control of what you

shall be allowed to learn-long

before you sit down to write."

often confusing and contradict-

ory, it is largely because circum-

stances compel us to report all

important military engagements

either at second hand or after the

event. We are probably the only

alleged war correspondents of

this century who have had to try

to report two months of fierce

and fluctuating hostilities without

getting within hearing distance

of gunfire more than two or three

:imes at the most."

"If reports from Finland are

countered."

Behind the Lines

By GEORGE STERN

to say that the dearth of news lessen the impression of criminal

about little democratic Finland clumsiness, faulty staff work,

is due largely to the fact that poor communications, and gener-

this alleged fight for democracy al ineptitude which Stalin's gen-

is being conducted by a band of eral staff has given in this mis-

warning not to swallow whole-

sale all the pap that is being fed

to us, all the vicious propaganda

whose real purpose is not to sup-

port a non-existent "democracy"

in Finland (ruled by the "auto-

cratic generals", remember) but

to whip up anti-Soviet feeling in

this country and to prepare it for

An example, incidentally, of

what the handling of "news"

by the meeting of the Balkan

Entente. Here was a meeting of

small states divided into groups

that are already definitely link-

ed to this or that great power

or else are the scenes of con-

flict among them. Yugoslavia

is in Italy's orbit and Turkey

and Greece in that of the Al-

ticklishly balanced between the

Anglo-French bloc and the

Reich. The conference took

place and of course decided

nothing, and from every capi-

tal representing violently con-

flicting interests, came "expres-

sions of satisfaction" over the

outcome. You pays your money

and you takes your choice.

while Rumania remains

can do was afforded last week

entry into the war.

# NYA Seeks to Drive Youth into Army

Officials Turn Over NYA Lists To Army; Youth Asking Relief Told To Join The Army

ing, more attractive."

feated the bill in the Senate two the interests of the Army, and the CCC is cutting down the numyears ago. He told the press some its government, to keep NYA ber of applicants. wages and funds as low as pos- In response to demands from a Senate appropriation to pay sible in order to make army pay apprehensive parents, farm lead-"more attractive." Roosevelt's ers are asking for the formation against the bill, but nothing more budget cut of NYA funds thus of special conservation projects has been heard about this. But serves as economic pressure up- apart from the CCC. They are beon needy youth to enlist in the ing told by government spokes-

> Relief Applicants Pressured In the Middle West, young men are available. applying for relief are being ask-

The National Youth Adminis- turned over to recruiting officers tration announced Feb. 2 that it Where young relief applicants had instructed state NYA direct- refuse to join some branch of the pass the Anti-Lynching Bill ors to turn over to the Army Re- armed forces, they are being eruiting Service a list of all male urged to apply for CCC jobs. Reenrollees between 18 and 25. lief applications are often turned The order followed a sugges- down or held up for weeks in the tion by the Army Recruiting Ser- hope that applicants will join the vice that-in the words of the CCC. In the CCC camps, boys are A.P. dispatch reporting this- writing home that Army admin-"perhaps many young men now istrators are exerting pressure on receiving \$14 to \$21 a month them to join the Army after com-(if we except Neeley from the from the NYA would find the ar- pleting their CCC terms. In a my's base pay of \$21 a month North Carolina camp two months for a recruit, plus food and cloth- ago the boys conducted a demonstration against militarization. Thus it becomes very much to Growing fear of militarization of

be started so long as CCC jobs

"Recruiting Hints" A list of "recruiting hints" dò not enlist in the Army or Na- sent to U.S. Army reserve offivy. Their names, together with the names of military eligibles the most likely "prospects" for already on relief, are being enlistment.

30-Hour Week Is Raised For Miners As Jobless Aid

war . . . and will hold to strict the problem of unemployment. accountability any statesman who departs from this policy."

Lewis stated in his final address to the convention "that the workers of America are opposed to war and that under no circumstances will labor support a pol-

lending of any money, or the parrectly in the wars now going on

Lewis and all of his lieutenants made numerous militant speeches throughout the convention. This UNEMPLOYED, to finance the is explained by the fact that all above program. of them are keenly aware of the

(Continued on Page 2)

For Red Sundays!

Red Sundays will work, if the branches will only give it a fair

Here's the first report of a party local that tried the Red Sunday plan and made good. Writes the Boston literature agent: "The Boston branch has APPEAL house-to-house sales twice a week, on Tuesday or Thursday, and a Red Sunday. This has been very successful as we get into the hands of workers about 40 APPEALS each day we go out. This is only with three or four crews of two comrades to a crew, one girl comrade and a male comrade if possible. We are going to have a complete mobilization of the branch and will be able to get rid of more Appeals. THE COMRADES ENJOY THIS VERY MUCH. They meet new contacts and discuss the war question, unemployment, etc. Through this we will be able to build neighborhood discussion groups and build a neighborhood APPEAL route, as well as make

Good work, Boston! That makes at least two branches, Boston and Detroit, we know definitely are actively putting over the Red Sunday plan. How about it Chicago, Los Angeles, San Francisco and the rest of you throughout the country?

One more word for the hesitant comrades: the Boston letter says, "at first comrades were of the opinion that it was foolish to try it (Red Sundays)...." But once it got under way, distribution went like a house afire.

Give the plan a chance! Its the only way to stabilize the Appeal and increase the circulation.

One of the Minneapolis Strike Meetings



5,000 workers were present at this, one of the mass meetings held by the WPA strikers at the Minneapolis Parade Grounds last summer. They stayed together after the strike, too, and with the backing of the organized labor movement of the organized labor movement of the city, state and nation, forced the government to call a halt to the WPA strike trials.

# ing told by government spokesmen that such projects will not be started to long as CCC tobs. MINERS' CONFAB WPA Workers Ask OCCUPIED WITH Large Scale Aid

Jobless in Flint, Michigan, and Montana Adopt Militant Resolutions; Ask War Funds for Unemployed

FLINT, Mich., Feb. 3—Con-lemining Roosevelt's slash of meeting of Federal Labor Union The historic 36th constitution- WPA and relief funds, WPA Lo- No. 21760, AFL, held here Jan. al convention of the United Mine cal No. 12 of the United Auto 28, the following resolution was the prosecutions. Workers concluded its sessions on Workers, CIO, voted unanimously unanimously adopted and ordered ry 1, by sharp- at their last meeting to fight for forwarded to Senators Wheeler ly warning the Roosevelt admin- an aggressive 6-point program and Murray and Congressmen istration "that labor wants no designed to give a real answer to O'Connor and Torkelson for ac- wanted its pound of flesh, of

The program reads as follows: "In order to meet the unem-

for the millions of unemployed of America we demand the following: 1. A \$10,000,000,000 Public

Works Program for America's and 10,000,000 unemployed citizens.

3. A WPA job for every ableof America.

5. Adequate relief for all those unable to work. 6. ALL WAR FUNDS TO THE

Fight Local Ruling

The press is whipping up a considerable fuss over the issue of money bags of the war mongers relief clients owning cars, and it as witness the last great war, looks like a maneuver to divert and attention from the real issues which face the workers. The the Senators and the Congressunion is not allowing itself to get men cannot be ignorant of a fact

New Crisis Coming

More important is the fact that n one month or a little more the City of Flint will be faced with holesale closing down of WPA projects, throwing several hunired men out of work, and floodng the welfare rolls.

When this happens, there will WPA crisis. Relief allocations are now already inadequate to meeet the rolls would mean a situation siming proposals: ilar to what happened in Cleve-

The WPA union is making careful plans to stage a real fight to prevent such a crisis occurring. The union is growing by leaps and bounds, and a general realization of the imminent crisis has spread through the ranks of the workers. A militant struggle will undoubtedly result.

2. 30 hours a week at \$30 pay further aggravated the situation to 6, finally to 5. Attempts of the months' sentence. by his proposal to Congress that Department of Justice to have bodied person who is unemployed. public relief funds, amounting to were also unavailing. 4. An adequate program to a cut of one-half billion dollars take care of all unemployed youth while in the same breath he pro-

war machine, and . . . "Whereas, this procedure is nothing more than a widespread preparation to force an imperialist war on the already crushed workers of the nation who have nothing to gain by protecting the

"Whereas, the President and sidetracked on this issue by giv- which every undernourished child

are left to wander aimlessly General), the President discussed about the country without suffi- the matter of these cases with cient funds to keep body and him. The President felt the duty soul together and are often forced of the WPA workers had been to depend for their sustenance on made clear; that while they may slandering him with the usual the "kindly" influence which is organize like others on the govse a simultaneous relief and offered by alley garbage cans, ernment pay roll, they have no agitator who, like all agitators,

"Therefore be it resolved that gage in acts of violence. . . . It need. Another thousand on the Local 21760 forward the follow-

1. All war funds be turned over to the maintenance of the unemployed.

2. That the Federal Government immediately launch a ten billion dollar public works and housing program on a trade union basis:

3. That Congress appropriate three billion dollars for youth

# 'Conspiracy' Charge Against 130 Dropped

Five Plead on Minor Charge; 17 of 32 Already Convicted Get Sentences From 30 Days to Eight Months

By CARL O'SHEA

MINNEAPOLIS, Feb. 3-The expanding pressure of the ity, state and national trade union movement upon the Roosevelt administration finally cracked the WPA strike prosecutions wide open this week, as organized labor's magnificent defense of the unemployed victims brought the Department of Justice to terms.

In return for a face-saving plea of nolo contendere (no defense) on a minor charge by five of the accused jobless workers, the government dropped entirely its "conspiracy" and other indictments against all 130 remaining defendants.

O. J. Rogge, head of the criminal division of the Department of Justice, arrived here last Monday with orders to get out of this fight with the unions as gracefully as possible. Of the 162 indicted for "conspiracy" and overt acts for par-

ticipating in last summer's WPA strike here, 32 had minute speech in praise of Amer-The judge opened with a tenican citizenship; attacked the efbeen convicted in three trials. frontery of the WPA strikers; The resultant outcry through- declared himself completely in acout the labor movement was cord with Roosevelt and Murphy in their statements that "the developing nation-wide pro- strikers had no right to strike portions. Each trial was a ma- against the government." Tom Davis, defense counsel, jor engagement between the government and the WPA resemblance to political persecu-Defense Committee set up by tion and pled for moderate senthe Central Labor Union.

gotiations with the defense

FDR's Pound of

against all 130.

to the court, Rogge sought to in-

terpret the government's retreat

velt's amiable intercession, and

that such intercession had not the

remotest connection with organ-

right to conduct a strike or en-

was felt that this lesson had been

duly learned and that the object

Mask Slips Off

three trials. The enormous weight

mobilized by organized labor re-

dictive as he could be.

sought had been attained. . . .

ized labor's pressure.

as being merely due to Roose

pointed out the trials born a faint

Then the judge went to work, Rogge arrived and opened ne- in a burst of invective against the working class militants, whom he called cruel, heartless, ruthless, committee for termination of cowardly, etc. He warned them that next time they would receive much heavier sentences.

# Leaders Get Worst

All through the grand jury procourse, to settle the fight. Simply ceedings and the trials, the gov-"Whereas, despite the mislead- to quash the remaining 130 in- ernment had concentrated its ing propaganda of business revi- dictments would be too bald a main fire on General Drivers Unployment and relief crisks and val and the so-called assimilation confession of defeat for the gov- ion Local 544's Federal Workers provide jobs and a decent living of millions of workers into industry, a conservative estimate Rogge, therefore, presented a list model militant organization reshows that upwards of ten mil- of forty men among the 130 ceived the heaviest sentences tolions of workers and their fam- from whom the government was day. Ed Palmquist and Max Geldilles are at present unemployed demanding pleas of nolo conten- man, chairman and organizer, in the United States of America dere-no defense. The defense each got eight months. Leslie committee put its foot down, and Wachter, FWS steward, was the "Whereas, President Roosevelt the list was pared to 21, to 11, only other to receive an eight-Charles Grider received seven

a slash of one-third be made in the five plead guilty to conspiracy months; William Riley and George Toteno, six months; Mil-On Wednesday, Feb. 1, the five ton McLean, four months; Eddie pleaded nolo contendere to one Alberts, Frank Stevens, Floud posed an increase of two and one- charge each, after which, on mo- Hurley, Myron Philips and Richhalf billion dollars to feed his pet tion of Rogge, indictments were ard Connell, 90 days; Ralph Gore, dismissed against the other 125, 60 days; Charles Connors, 30 Conspiracy charges were dropped days; Ben Palmer and Oscar Schoenfeld received suspended Hypocritical Statement sentences and were placed on probation for 18 months, and Carl In a prepared statement read Pemble received a suspended sen-

tence and 24-months' probation. Class Lines Clear

The judge gave suspended sentences to the ex-preacher the student and the graduate chemist, the intellectuals among the vic-"The Department of Justice," tims, lecturing them that intelliing it undue consideration, mere- knows, viz, that one-third of the he stated, "feels that the 32 most gent people of their sort should ly doing what is possible to com- American people are ill-housed, culpable persons have already not be consorting with the low most of them living in vermin- been convicted. . . . It should be riff-raff. I am not, of course, reinfested, unhealthy ramshackles noted that such dismissal is made cording this fact to the detriment for the purpose of clearing the of the three, all of whom are reb-"Whereas, several millions of docket. Shortly before Mr. Jus- els to one degree or another, but young people now out of school tice Murphy retired (as Attorney only to show the sharp class character of the sentencing.

> When the judge came to little Max Geldman, FWS organizer, he literally brimmed with hatred, bourgeois lie that here was an was not found in the melee but sent others into the danger zone.

# Judge "Corrects" Error

The dignity of the court was somewhat ruffled when, after lec-This hypocritical mask of good turing Riley, he sentenced him to will slipped off Judge Joyce's six months on a substantive count ace today, when he sentenced and placed him on probation for seventeen men convicted in the two years on the conspiracy charge. Defense attorneys called sulted in limiting his sen- the judge's attention to the fact tences; but the judge was as vin- that Riley had been tried only (Continued on Page 2)

passed merely on the basis of facts. It is mass pressure, and only mass pressure, that can resentatives to take a stand

brothers. Act Now! Write, and get your union and club to send resolutions, to Senator Frederick Van Nuys, Senate Office Building, Washington, D.C. in support of the bill. Van Nuys, with Wagner and Capper, is co-

# Southern gentlemen as Garner and Dies), and from such advance reports as are available their testimony will be so overwhelming as to embarrass even him. This bill, however, will not be

Viceroy Refuses Even To Promise New Status For India After the War; Gandhi Finds "Solution Impossible"

By SHERMAN STANLEY

After a two and a half hour discussion with the British Viceroy, Mahatma Gandhi was reluctantly forced to admit in a statement on Feb. 6 that, "A peaceful solution to the problem of India's freedom is apparently impossible."

The British authorities, rejecting completely even the conservative demand of Gandhi for a promise of Dominion Status for India after the war, have slammed the door in the face of

the Congress Party once more. Gandhi has admitted that renegotiations is useless. Mean- adopted a resolution urging the while, the left-wing forces within government "to withhold the the Nationalist Congress have openly stated that they will split ticipation either directly or indithe Congress from top to bottom Leland Stowe of the Chicago | This does not modify, of course, if Gandhi should sign any agree-Daily News writes rather frankly certain obvious general facts ment with the British, or attempt of the plight of newsmen sent to about the military situation on any sell-out of India's demand

Finland. He even goes so far as the Finnish fronts. It does not for freedom. "England's difficulty is India's or of the 400,000,000 workers, peasants, students and middle American labor. They know that

"autocratic generals" led by Man- erable adventure. But it is a class people of India, when the the labor movement has been on (Continued on Page 3)

in Europe and Asia." ppportunity"—this was the clam- seething discontent that prevails

# icy of killing off young men on In direct contrast to the position taken by the current quarterly meeting of the AFL Execsumption of the long-drawn out utive Council, the convention

# A New Chapter Begins in American Labor History: Some Lessons of the Recent UMW Convention

By E. R. FRANK

The recently concluded convention of the United Mine and factories of America, feels in Lewis himself does not know. He quent warfare that ensued be- the AFL national leadership. Workers ushered in a new stage in the history of American its very bones how important and is extremely bold in method and tween the two labor factions labor and revealed once again that the CIO is the progressive life of the country and it underwing of the trade union movement, because it is based on the stands better than anyone else workers of America's mass production industries.

in the fall of 1937, the CIO? upsurge, they found the courage lessly pushed backwards. to do in the days of labor's re- LEWIS COULD NOT IGNORE treat. The courts began harass- THE PERMANENT CRISIS ing the labor movement with anti-union judicial legislation. The state legislatures regained their sage of oppressive labor legisla- for the labor movement, at the lost courage. Beginning with pastion in Washington and Oregon, at San Francisco. But Lewis the reactionary wave swept eastward, until today almost threefourths of the states have new tyrannical laws designed to cripple the labor unions.

# TAKEN UP BY FOR

In the past year, this unionbusting campaign has been taken auto, rubber, glass, oil-the nerve over by the federal government itself. The campaign against the WPA strikers and the infamous Thurman Arnold "Anti-trust law" indictments are but high-lights ir the anti-union campaign launched by Roosevelt as a part of his feverish preparations for war.

stands today about 10% higher the last ten years and they know than in 1929. Ten million workers that, in spite of this, one third of still remain unemployed without the labor population still remains the possibility of being re-ab- unemployed, and given present

After the smashing defeat of the "Little Steel" strike strength inherent in the labor all capitalist politics, correctly greater importance is the policy the CIO faces, by the measure of ost the monientum of its huge army constitutes an eversplendid offensive and retreat- menaces the wage standards of ed slowly before the counter- the employed workers, and hindrive of the employers. As the movement. Partly because of militancy of the workers these employment conditions, the WHY LEWIS BROKE WITH vistas for the entire labor move- ution to the problems of unem- forward onto the broad highways cooled off after the first taste unions have made no important ROOSEVELT of defeat, the rear line trench- advances during the past year. For the last two years, they es of the capitalist class opened other great ventures, it is impos- gislatures attempt to hurl them fire. What they dared not at-sible to stand still. Either you back to the slavery of the open tempt during the period of labor move forward or you are ruth- shop. They have further seen

istence of this permanent economic crisis and its significance could not afford to ignore these matters for long. He is not some Matthew Woll, who bases himself on the aristocratic Photo-Engravers and a million dollar insur-UNION-BUSTING CAMPAIGN ance company. Lewis is the leader of the unions in the mass production industries: coal, steel centers of American economy

These mass production workers are not experts in economics or statistics. They have not delved into reports of the Federal Retheir own eyes production The index of business activity stepped up to the highest level of sorbed into private industry. This conditions, will always remain

# N.Y. Laundry Workers Win Five-Day Week

New Agreement, Taking Effect March 15, Represents Another Step Forward

of the employers of the laundry Within a few short weeks union- sleep in the other and daughter industry it. New York City, the ization was proceeding in bang-up 12 years old has slept on the floor industry is scheduled, on March fashion and in two months the for the past YEAR and the RE-15, to go on the 5-day work-week new union had grown from 1,300 LIEF IS AWARE OF THIS and aces the wage standards of the laundry workers in New York in dry workers. contrast to the chaotic conditions prevailing in the industry a few hattan and Bronx local and there years age when work schedules are eight other local unions in the of 60 hours a week for wages of Joint Board, including five cov- Alameda County is of Spanish- far-reaching proposal to reduce \$6 or less were not uncommon

Laundry work remains, however one of the dirtiest and most ville, Boro Park, Queens and Nas- and country charities! The Feder one of the diffiest and most unhealthful occupations. Laundry sau, a Linen Supply Local, a eral Unemployed Union in the that this demand was to constiemployees work amid sloppy wa-ter and scalding steam on clothing which frequently is nauseating to handle. With few excep- drivers are organized directly in- relief authorities who deprive clitions, laundries are generally lo- to the Joint Board) affiliated di- ents of the necessities of life. cated in broken-down, unsanitary lofts where poor ventilation is the rule and the toll in workers' lives is very high in terms of rheumatism, sciatica, pneumonia their laurels or be content mere- to work out their relief, because for a national conference of bus-

60-hour work-week, and a living health protection are still fre- worked the required amount of standard based on weekly wages quently non-existent or mere ex- hours. of \$6 to \$12 with no vacations, a cuses for what they should be. 7-day work week and the intim- The Chinese laundries have hardidation exerted by union-hating ly been touched by unionization,

organize the various crafts in the ganized plants. New York industry for more than Despite the great victory of workers who are in need of as-abolition of all discriminatory twenty years. Petty racketeering the 5-day week, the wages re- sistance. In Alameda County the wage differentials in and between and competition between the main as low as between \$12 to majority of the former leadership districts and the inclusion of all ately an executive order to this arrested and placed in prison for craft unions, however, played \$22 per week. The victories al- of the WAA is now to be found captive mines under the next unright into the hands of the bosses, ready won are only an indication in the relief stations seated bewith the result that the AFL met of what can be done. The bosses hind the desks as case aides, etc. with little success. Today the re- claimed that the present condimaining AFL local No. 280 has tions could not be granted withless than 10 per cent of the work- out bankrupting the industry. ers in the industry.

How Union Was Built

The history of the Laundry Workers Joint Board which nego- press forward for the 100 per tiated the new 5-day week con- cent unionization of the laundry tract, dates back less than three industry and the achievement of years, to March 1937, when over a minimum \$30 weekly wage victory provided a favorable op- laundry workers achieve full realits chance and gave no support nomic security. to the drive. The militants of Lo-

Local 300 remains as the Man- case. rectly to the ACWA.

Much to Be Done

But the workers won these im-

proved conditions anyway. Program for Today The union militants must now

1,000 laundry workers struck in throughout the industry. The 5the Brownsville section of New day week must be converted to York (Brooklyn). After five a maximum 40 hour week with weeks the strike was favorably no reduction in pay. Only through settled for Local 280. This initial such a fighting program will the portunity for further organiza- ization of their struggle for de- MODERN BOOKSHOP tion advances. The AFL missed cent working conditions and eco-

A LAUNDRY WORKER

This industrial proletariat, employed in the huge plants, mills Where is he leading the CIO? in labor's ranks and the conse- the timid and cowardly policies of six months and the probation on Printing Trades Council, and the achieve this goal.

Roosevelt and the New Dealers, whom they considered to be labor's friends, take the lead of this reactionary open-shop campaign. Lewis chose to ignore the exindustrial proletariat is storing up and creating a powder keg of social dissatisfaction and revolt that will inevitably explode. Lewis MINERS' CONFAB derstand this fact. They know full well that they must adapt themselves to this mood, if they are to retain the leadership of the CIO. This is the explanation and the only explanation for Lewis's

# OAKLAND DOLE

nia and County of Alameda:

aware of this. The family is forc- ment of nearly 90,000 steel worked to sleep in this room in the ers within the next months.

employed Union stepped into the

Attempt Forced Labor

The average family on relief in ering family laundries in West- speaking extraction, and what a chester, Williamsburg, Browns- beating they take from the relief dustry through the establishment local of agent-drivers (regular a relentless struggle against the

The policy of WORKING OUT and other occupational diseases. ly to safeguard victories already not only is it a policy of FORCED achievements of the last three not receive the promised 15% in-Add this to the picture of a years, the sanitary facilities and crease in budget after they have

Where Stalinists Are

There is a great need of organbosses and foremen, and you have and as long as this large section people on relief, WPA, and other er to explain. some idea of the industry before of the industry remains unorgan- forms of relief. Especially is this

### Now Is Your Chance On Sale for Two Weeks Only-February 1 to February 15 ANTI-DUHRING by Engels Regularly \$2.00 for only \$1.67

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dramatic break with Roosevelt in the recent period, have ascrib- be explained by the split in lab-

the full potentialities and latent is to break once and for all with ranks? No! Of equal and even of measure of the problems which movement. These workers are de- dubbed "company unionism" in of the labor movement. Labor is the desperate needs of its memtermined to win economic secur- the political field, and march for- today marking time, first of all, bership, the policies of the CIO ity for themselves and their fami- ward onto the broad highways of because of the inadequate, con- leadership are almost as bankrupt lies and they are groping around an independent political party of servative, class-collaboration pol- as those of the AFL. Lewis' lack and looking for the labor leaders labor, with an aggressive, fighting icies of its leadership; the lack of of confidence in the independent who will show them the path to program for jobs and security a militant, realistic program to strength of labor, in the ability pale into insignificance the ad-threatening war.

> PLAIN WEAKNESS Many bourgeois writers, com-

# UNEMPLOYMENT

(Continued from Page 1) he retreat for the past two years before the onslaughts of reaction and that the whole union structure of the CIO stands in jeopar-

dy if this retreat is not halted.

Cite Unemployment Effects Phil Murray expressed these ears very clearly when ne warned the American capitalists that if the problem of unemploy-OAKLAND, California-Here ment remains unsolved there are a few typical cases of people would inevitably occur "uprisings who exist on State Relief Admin- and strikes of workers for the istration in the state of Califor- right to live, for the chance to work." Murray called attention of (1) Family of thirteen have the convention delegates to the ed unanimously to strike. The over the City Council in order of protest from the labor movebeen living in a one-room barn in newly perfected continuous proc-Russell City for over two months, ess for manufacturing of steel, 7.90 a.m. refused to enter the and the relief social service is which will cause the unemploy-

following manner: mother and The coal industry suffers very father in one bed, two oldest acutely the ravages of unemploydaughters in 1, two girls, 13 and ment. Murray described the new 15, and a boy 5, sleep in another; coal loading machine which actwo boys in another and two counted for only 7 per cent of the

Menaces Wage Scales

Unemployment further mentheir union wage structures "agreed" to a possible 5 per cent (official) are aligned. would inevitably be destroyed if they have to compete continually with ten million idle men.

The convention adopted the unemployment in the mining inof the 6-hour day, 5-day week and coal operators this spring.

Still for "Conference" The 30-hour week was not pushed, however, as the answer relief allowances is being enacted to the national unemployment by any means afford to rest on membership that they can refuse Murray continued campaigning won. In spite of the great LABOR, but those who work will ernment as the panacea to solve ages of 18 and 40 may be required prevailing wage, usually less than we protest the usurpation of dicthe unemployment question, de- to work as carriers or motor twenty-five cents a day. propose to such a conference, stores for the military forces. when and if it is convoked, the In practice it means that the arrests" the leaders who would ization throughout the country of mine union leaders did not both-

The convention further inance of America has sold out the ing the entire coal industry, the struction and common labor.

ion agreement. Resolutions were adopted suppersons over 60 years of age.

Attacks Roosevelt Again guilty of violating the Wagner Partisan League." upon Roosevelt to issue immedi-Kentucky.

two years can be ascribed solely

this poor resistance, percharce, to the necessary direction.

These timid and cowardly poli-

cies make those of the CIO leadership shine by comparison. But The indicated policy for the CIO or mainly to the split in labor's only by this comparison. By the Such a policy would open up new point the way for a genuine sol- of the working class to march ment and would, by comparison, ployment, insecurity and the of an independent political party of labor, merely means that he vances made by the CIO in its | For example, the AFL is today does not visualize the policies golden period from 1935 to1937, being subjected to an attack ua- which organized labo would re-But this step Lewis will not take. precedented in recent labor his- quire on that road. His vacillat-He does not have confidence in tory, in the form of the "anti- ing policies won't work on that the independent strength of la-|trust" indictments, which threat-| road. But that only means that en the very existence of numer- the necessary policies must be pul AFL-CIO SPLIT DOESN'T EX- ous AFL Internationals. How is forward in place of those of Lewis.

the AFL responding to this mort- There is no short cut to pushing al threat? It is confining its res- the CIO along the road it must go menting on the lack of progress istance to the hiring of lawyers, to solve the needs of the masses. the drawing up of briefs and the Only as voices arise which artibutton-holing of individual poli- culately and accurately reflect ticians. A pitiable campaign! Is these needs, will the CIO move in

# OCCUPIED WITH Strike Begins at Toledo Gas Plant As Talks Fail

By DOYLE CLARK ure of the Ohio Fuel Gas Co. to rates in the company's favor. come to terms with the Gas and Obviously the company was By-Products Workers local un- using the threat of strike as a workers due to go on duty at to get the rate they want." plants and the strike was in full

Scabs Imported

out-of-town scabs while with the via implication abuse upon the fact 1940 is an election year. same breath they launched an at- union. A front page editorial altack on the union for bringing in so appeared in which it is pointmore in another; baby 2 yrs. old coal loaded in 1929, but has risen "outside elements" to help lead ed out that the gas company is in a crib; baby 10 months in a to 29 per cent by 1939. In ten the strike, Offers of union men, a "PUBLIC" utility. The undercrib; ALL SLEEP IN THIS ONE years, he estimated, 70 per cent thoroughly trained in gas-ma-handed aim of the editors is evi-

union finks.

TOLEDO, Ohio, Feb. 1-Fail- cil was able to adjust local gas the singing of "Solidarity".

had proceeded in vain until 5.30 Vice President of the United Mine tration and its supporters-

Press Anti-Union

The Toledo Blade, a Hearst-Paul Block rag of the smelliest With customary alacrity the sort, wrote up heavily biased forced the administration to back

raised the company equivocated. sions. In this struggle, as in all They held out against the de- similar struggles it is not diffi-15, to go on the 5-day work-week new union had grown from 1,300 Like 15 AWARE OF 1711S and employed, Murray pointed out, and for an increase of 12½ per cult to see on which side the poschedule. This constitutes anoth- to 15,000 members. Today it has situation, until the Federal Un- and warned the delegates that cent, and very tentatively lice, press, radio, public opinion

# BRITISH DECREE FORCED LABOR FOR NEGROES IN COLONIES

British colonies in Africa. The out of every one hundred men and ions throughout the country. On soon the party he heads and the British Government has invoked work them for seven consecutive July 31, 1939, the Sailors Union class he represents would have to the forced labor regulations instidays, or it may take twenty-five of the Pacific adopted a resolu- present itself as best it could as tuted at the beginning of the sec- out of every hundred and use tion comparing the New Deal a "friend of the unemployed," The workers, however, cannot now and the Union is telling its problem. Instead, both Lewis and ond world war, the Baltimore them for fifty days. If the ser- with "the typical raw deal that President Roosevelt made an Afro-American reports.

> iness, labor, agriculture and gov. able-bodied natives between the out pay. Otherwise he gets the politicians," and resolving: "That gracefully as he could. scribed by the convention as drivers to facilitate the movement "America's Problem No. 1," of military forces or for the What Lewis or Murray would transport of arms, equipment or ulations which allows the British

natives may be taken from their protest against any of the war villages and used in any kind of regulations imposed on the nawork essential to carrying on the tives, have been arrested. ized it constitutes a constant true in vicinities where the Com- structed its leadership to negoti- war. This includes farming, for-The AFL had been trying to threat to the standards of the or- munist - controlled Workers Alli- ate a national agreement cover- estry, manufacturing, road con- son, organizer of the West Afri-

effect.

UMW, and in a sense of the CIO, Trinidad in 1938 has been arrestporting the Wagner Health Bill, remained hanging in mid-air. Aft- ed under the emergency war regfive billion dollar low cost pub- er vigorous debate, the conven- ulations. lic housing program and the CIO tion adopted the Lewis recomlegislative program of old age mendations empowering the "Inpensions of \$60 per month for all ternational Executive Board to take "appropriate action" and to render "such reasonable financial Lewis again lashed out at the support as circumstances may African young men are not rallylatter part of the convention at warrant at the proper time in the Roosevelt administration for support of the program that may its failure to support the CIO de- be agreed upon and worked out mand that all corporations found in cooperation with Labor's Non-

Labor Relations Act be barred The convention paid silent tribfrom receiving government con- ute in its last session to its worktracts. The convention adopted a ing class heroes when all the delresolution demanding the passage egates stood in silence in comof Bill HR 331, establishing guar- memoration of the three union antees of collective bargaining in members killed last year by gungovernment contracts and called men in "Bloody" Harian County,

Protest Leaders Arrested Under the emergency war regauthorities to make "preventive

Some time ago, Wallace John-

In the West Indies, Uriah But-The political program of the ler who led the general strike in

Reports that the French Gov-Dauf, native deputy from Senegal back home on a mission to boost native recruiting indicates that ing to the colors in the way that France would like them to.

DOWNTOWN LABOR CENTER presents A NIGHT OF RED STARS. Professional Entertainment including dramatic skit, a group dance recital, chorus and Red folksong recordings on FEBRUARY 17. Dance Music, Refreshments. 51 East 7 Street Adm. 25c

# Indictments Quashed In Minneapolis Trials

(Continued from Page 1) on a conspiracy charge, whereup- Minneapolis Central Labor Union, But where is Lewis going? ed this decline solely to the split or's ranks? No! It is explained by on the judge gave him both the the Building Trades Council, the

> the conspiracy charge. torney Tom Davis that the ex- strikers. It was this Defense ecution of the sentences be de- Committee that carried the burayed pending a possible appeal, den of the defense, and it did a the men were taken to the Hen- magnificent job. One measure of nepin County jail where they will the Herculean efforts put forth remain until Monday or Tuesday, by labor is seen in the \$25,000

appeal will be made, because of fense Committee. lack of funds. To bail out the seventeen would cost \$3,700 for bail bonds; to have the enormous the cases be appealed.

The fourteen women who were convicted, the judge announced, persecution. would appear before him Feb. 10 for sentencing, at which time the five who pled nolo contendere are pursued by the government at a also expected to appear.

### Prisoners' Inspiring Meeting

Geldman and Ed Palmquist spoke, explaining the meaning of in Minneapolis. the new developments. Charles ican Federation of Labor will ex-Connors, only Negro among the tend to these persecuted people defendants, rose and spoke of the their sympathy and full measure brotherly way he had always their sympathy and full measure of moral support. The work of the Minneapolis Central Lator pledged their abiding faith in the cuted workers is to be commend-Federal Workers Section. The cuted workers is to be commendincrease-provided the city coun- moving meeting was closed with

### Who Quashed Indictments?

Roosevelt's "amiable" interces ion No. 12024 resulted in a strike club with which to force city pol- sion—that is the interpretation here early toway. Negotiations iticians to raise rates. C. H. Fell, being circulated by the adminisa.m. this morning, when, as the Workers, with which the strikers doesn't fool the millions of work-Company officials showed no are affiliated, summed the situa- ers who know that it was Roosesigns of yielding to the union de- tion up aptly when he remarked: velt himself who directed the mands of a 121/2 per cent wage ". . . the gas companies are at- vicious attack against the Minneincrease, full seniority rights, tempting to use the union as a apolis strikers, and that he has closed shop, and a signed con- 'guinea pig'. We refuse to be a only been brought up short betract, the union membership vot- but which the companies can hold cause of the tremendous outburst

labor protest against the govern- met and voted to pledge its \$78,ment's persecution of the Minneunemployed that finally strikers bail bonds. company proceeded to import stories on the situation heaping down. This, combined with the

# Labor Warned Persecutors

The Minneapolis union movement, as far back as July 28th WPA Defense Committee held a Under an agreement negotiated in November between the Laundry Workers' Joint Board, affiliated with the Amalgamated with the Amalgamated with the Amalgamated Workers of America, and representatives of America, and representatives of 75 per cent of the among the property of the property of the among the property of the among the property of the property o each year and enables its owners trai Labor Union, speaking over unions and unemployed organiza-On all points which the union to loll in limousines and manstate, warned that "We are de-solidarity with the Minneapolis termined to protect the legal strikers. rights of our members and de- In the middle of October the fend them against any attempted American Federation of Labor's frame-ups. . . . The fight for jobs executive council passed a resoluat union wages and conditions, tion protesting against the fedand for decent relief standards eral courts for the persecution of for those who have no jobs, did the WPA strikers. not begin or end with the WPA

strike in Minneapolis." Shortly after Roosevelt and Murphy proclaimed their inten-bluff nor coerce organized labor tion to institute criminal proceed- to back away from its declared ings against the WPA strikers, solidarity with the indicted and Forced labor is now in force in The British authorities may go particularly in Minneapolis, pro- convicted strikers, realizing that Nigeria, the Cameroons and other to a village and take seventy-five tests began to emanate from un- it is an election year and that vice required is less than one hour organized labor has always got- about-face and decided to get out The regulations provide that the natives must perform it with- ten from labor-hating bosses and of the Minneapolis situation as tatorial power implicit in the that in Minneapolis will become threats to prosecute workers for more and more frequent the closstriking to defend their liveli- er the ruling class pushes this hood and declare that we will re- nation towards war. In the days sist to the utmost any attempt to come, it is worth remembering at fascist regimentation of Amer- that the freeing of the Minneican labor. . . .

# Defense Organized

seen the Department of Justice tion of the Minneapolis strikers can Youth League and of the was out to indict as many WPA are concerned, all efforts of West African native miners was strikers as possible, the Minne- Roosevelt and his supporters to apolis labor movement set up its whitewash the New Deal in this WPA Defense Committee, made case will be unavailing.

up of representatives from the Teamsters Joint Council, and be-On the motion of defense at- gan raising funds to defend the Actually, it is doubtful if an raised and expended by the De-

### Green Joined Defense

On September 4, President Wiltranscript printed, another \$10,- liam Green of the AFL joined the 000. The judge estimated to a defense movement by pledging nicety just how heavy he could the united support of the AFL to go on the sentences without pro- the persecuted Minneapolis WPA voking an insistent demand that strikers. "It seems clear," stated Green, "that the prosecution of relief workers in Minneapolis is

"Working people everywhere protest against such a policy time when more than 10,000,000 are unemployed. It is bad enough for workers to suffer pain of un-Friday night in the Drivers the government adds to this sufemployment. It is cruelty when Julion Hall the indicted strikers fering through persecution such net in an inspiring meeting. Max as is being inflicted on workers

### Federation Rebukes Roosevelt

The president and the secretary of the Minnesota State Federation of Labor added their protests to Green's, dispatching a to Murphy protesting against the persecution and the high bail. A few days later the State Federation of Labor held its 57th annual convention at which it adopted a stinging resolution condemning the Roosevelt administration for supporting the WPA wage cut, and endorsed the

WPA Defense Committee. Early in September the Minne-It was the steadily mounting apolis Labor Temple Association 000 property as surety for the

The St. Paul Trades & Labor Assembly in September set up a WPA Defense Committee patterned after the Minneapolis

Om October 6th and 7th, the

# Pressure Wins Victory

Seeing that he could neither

Such labor defense cases as apolis strikers was the work of the unions of this city and this

nation. So far as those who have On August 22, when it was been close to the hellish persecu-

# Sensational Offer!!

(for month of February)

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Marxists have always insisted that lynching has nothing to do with the protection of "the purity of womanhood." The most cursory reading of the evidence collected about lynching shows that the savagery with which the Negro is usually charged applies, not to the lynched Negroes but to the lynchers. Marxists insist further that lynching is rooted in the social and economic conditions of the South. It is not enough to say these things. They must be proved, directly and indirectly.

Some years ago Arthur F. Raper made a careful study of lynching. The results were published in the Tragedy of Lynching (The University of North Carolina Press, 1933). They are worth

### Black Belt Lynching

The Negroes in the South are most heavily concentrated in the old Black Belt. In this area frequently one-half of the population is colored. There the Negro is safer from lynching than anywhere else. Why? Says Raper, "In the Black Belt race relations revolve about the plantation system, under which Negro tenants and wage hands are practically indispensable. Here the variant economic and cultural levels of the mass of whites and the mass of Negroes are well defined, and far removed." The December number of the New International contains a long and well documented article by Robert Birchman that analyzes these conditions, and shows the Negro's status to be little removed from the slavery of pre-Civil War days. Tied hand and foot by the economic system, kept in his place by the laws of capitalist production, the Negro is lynched least in these areas.

The lynchings that do occur, however, are of a special type, corresponding to the economic set-up and the political and social conditions cre-

"The Black Belt lynching is something of a business transaction." (p. 56) "The whites there, chiefly of the planter class and consciously dependent upon the Negro for labor, lynch him to conserve traditional landlord-tenant relations rather than to wreak vengeance upon his race. Black Belt white men demand that the Negroes stay out of their politics and dining rooms, the better to keep them in their fields and kitchens."

There is no "widespread hysteria." The mob is usually small. In cases examined by Raper, the "mob proceeded in routine fashion . . . with almost clock-like precision." In these areas politics is the white employer's business. The Negro must not interfere. The country officials are direct agents of the plantation owners and are well paid. The sheriff of Bolivar County, for instance, received in 1931 \$40,000 a year, ten times the salary of the Governor of Mississippi. "In these Black Belt plantation areas, where modified slave patterns still persist, any crime which occurs among the propertyless Negroes is considered a labor matter to be handled by the white landlord or his overseer.

We see now why these fellows are so fiercely opposed to the anti-lynching bill. It will be a powerful means of awakening the Negroes to the fact that they have rights, which are recognized in theory at any rate by the Federal Government. The bill will not stop lynching but it will strike a blow at the whole system.

# The Mob Lynching

Frank Shay, in his Judge Lynch (Ives Washburn, 1938), gives us a picture of the other type of lynching, where the mob grows wild and tears the living flesh from the burning Negro. This mob, he says, is made up of young men between their teens and their middle twenties with a sprinkling of morons of all ages. "Its members are native whites, mostly the underprivileged, the unemployed, the dispossessed, and the unattached. . . . They are grocery-clerks, soda-jerkers, low-paid employees in jobs that require neither training nor intelligence; jobs that might often be filled more competently by Negroes and at lower wages. In rural communities this mob is made up of day-workers and wage-hands, the more shiftless type of tenants, those who through birth and former position are bound to the lo-

cality." There we have it. Their own misery, defeat, and the fear for the scraps by which they live drive them periodically to terrorize and wreak their wrath against the social system on the Negroes, whom they see as their greatest enemy and whom they are traditionally taught to despise. Here again lynching is rooted in the economic system and even the very forms it takes are conditioned by the specific class relations of the two races.

Raper illustrates this principle in many ways. Take the situation in North Texas and Central Oklahoma. This is not a Black Belt area, and in the urban communities of these counties many business and professional Negroes own comfortable homes and other property. A considerable proportion of the colored people regularly participate in local and national elections. The propertied whites, not dependent upon Negro labor as are the whites in the Black Belt area, do not circumscribe the Negro's activity to the same degree. But the poorer whites in the rural areas are hostile. By violence and threats they drive the Negroes from the rural neighborhoods. The

lynch-mobs number over one thousand. Raper makes one truly astonishing observation. While the propertied whites here allow the Negroes a certain freedom, they do not need them for labor and are therefore indifferent to Negro persecution by the poor whites. In the Black Belt, however, the plantation owners protect their Negro serfs from the hostility of the poor whites. They are not going to have their labor force interfered with by a rival labor force. When there is any lynching to be done, they themselves will do it, in a systematic and organized manner.

One last point. Going on data compiled by Woofter, Raper shows that between 1900 and 1930, whenever the price of cotton is above the usual trend, the number of lynchings is below the average. Whenever the price of cotton is depressed, the number of lynchings increases.

The Fourth International struggles wherever a battle in the class war is being waged. We utilize the capitalist parliament for our own purposes, and that is why we do all we can to defeat the attempt of the Senators to block the bill. But we never lose sight of the fact that the greatest enemy of all is the capitalist system. It cannot exist in the South without mob law. The workers, white and black, must steadily prepare to destroy capitalism, the root-source of lynching.

ON THE WAR IN FINLAND

# Why We Should Defend the Soviet Union

By ALBERT GOLDMAN

the Soviet-Finnish war? so difficult as some people would proletarian revolution. have us believe. The worker who adopted by the Socialist Work- tifies to that fact. ers Party is not only clear and REACTIONARY ROOTS simple to understand, but is the OF BOURGEOIS FINLAND only policy that is in harmony

### hundred per cent correct. REVOLUTIONARY ROOTS

OF THE SOVIET UNION The revolutionary worker, in trying to arrive at a correct conbetween the Soviet Union and establishing on their blood and should take towards the struggle Finland, cannot possibly forget the different roots of these two states. The Soviet Union was born as the result of the greatest revolutionary upheaval in the history of mankind. Under the leadership of Lenin the Russian masses destroyed the capitalist army, police force, jails, legislative, executive and judicial organs, in a word, the capitalist state that protected the interests of the Russian capitalists and landlords. Under the leadership of Lenin the Russian masses created a new type of state, the Soviet state, based on the idea that the workers should control their own destinies both politically and economically. The workers' state proceeded to nationalize all industry. The capitalists fled the

There are some people, pretending to be the super-Marxists of the century, who claim that there never was a proletarian revolution in Russia. We shall let these people argue with the for- IS ANYTHING LEFT OF mer Russian capitalists who are THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTION? now living in France, England

defend democratic Finland. To This is the second question that the imperialist war, the civil war of foreign trade remain essen What attitude should a class- the worker who is not misled by we must ask ourselves. For, ob- and the throttling of the prole- tially as they were established by

class intellectuals, including those mocracy that Lenin dreamed of, Soviet Union?

with the principles of revolutionary socialism and therefore one Mannerheim and supported, first by the German imperialists and then by the English imperialists, the Finnish white guards succeeded in defeating the Finnish clusion as to what attitude he workers, exterminating tens of thousands of them physically and bones a country which was to serve as one of the buffer states against the Soviet Union. In the course of some years a veneer of captialist democracy was smeared over but hardly succeeded in concealing the capitalist exploitation which exists there. Essentially it is the same Finland that was created by virtue of the defeat of the Finnish workers and the same Mannerheim is still at the head of this country.

Thus in the struggle between the Soviet Union and Finland we have one born under the leadershin of Lenin in a victorious struggle against the capitalists and the other born under the leadership of Mannerheim in a victorious struggle against the workers.

He who ignores this fact is ikely to go far astray and land welfare of the Finnish or any

ferously proclaiming the need to Russian masses guided by Lenin? treme backwardness of Russia,

onscious worker adopt towards phrases any revolution in which viously, if there is nothing left tarian revolution in Germany by the revolution the masses take the industries of the revolution we need not con- the Social Democratic leaders, l'OLITICAL REVOLUTION The problem is in reality not away from the capitalists is a cern ourselves at all with the made impossible the attainment IN THE SOVIET UNION question whether or not to defend of a really democratic state. The Following and analyzing events It is true that the terrible con- the Soviet Union. The revolution- bureaucratic forces generated by in the Soviet Union, Tretsky has does not permit himself to be ditions under which the revolu- ary worker can make up his mind these objective conditions finally proposed cert; in changes in our confused by the propaganda of tion was consummated did not only on the basis of the answer gained control. The victory of attitude to the Stalinist bureauthe capitalist press, by the whin- permit the workers' state to put to the question: Is there any- Stalin over Trotsky expressed the cracy. For a long time 't appear-

the democratic forces. who call themselves "socialists" but in spite of everything the The leaders of the revolution Step by step the bureaucracy form, but when that possibility and those who use Marxist phras- Russian workers had greater of November 1917 had as their under Stalin's leadership consoli- disappeared Trotsky did not heseology; the worker who bases freedom and greater rights un- fundamental aim the achieve- dated its control. Soviet, party, itate to propose the idea, and the nimself on the fundamentals of der the early Soviet regime than ment of socialism, the establish- trade union democracy were Fourth Internationalists did not revolutionary Marxism and who any group of workers ever had in ment of a social system where crushed. Initiative and freedom nesitate to eccept the proposal, approaches the whole problem the history of mankind. Their vic- the means of production would of thought were suppressed. The that reform was no longer posfrom the standpoint of the histor- torious struggle against the ar- be owned by society as a whole, process of degeneration set in sine and trut a political revoluic interests of the working class, mies of the Russian, French, Eng- where every human being would and the advanced Russian work- tion was necessary to overthrow will readily agree that the policy lish and American capitalists tes- have a very high standard of liv- ers were unable to stem the tide the Stalinist bureaucracy. ing, where there would be no of reaction. The bureaucracy classes and consequently where gained complete control. there would be no state, that is,

> vanced workers, however, under- jumped to the conclusion that, in's policies. stood well enough that such a since the Russian workers lost all But a revolutionary worker has social system could not be their democratic rights, there was a different attitude to a company achieved unless the proletarian no longer any workers' state. On union than he has to an indepenrevolution was extended to the the other hand Trotsky and those dent union, no matter how reacmost advanced capitalist coun- who accept his theories have been tionary the leadership of the lat-

The rule of any class can assume different forms. Under capprevailing. But the aim of the advanced workers has always ly, is far from interested in the and of the Russian workers.

### DEMOCRATIC SOVIETS TO BUREAUCRACY

no instruments of force for the either do not know or have for- the Soviet Union. No one denies origin of Finland. The story is simple. Under the leadership of vanced workers bowever under the story is simple. Under the leadership of vanced workers bowever under the story is simple. The more immediate aim, long as the basic achievement of tionary worker, by analyzing all therefore, of the advanced Rus- the November revolution remains, the factors involved, comes to the sian workers was to overthrow so long as nationalized property conclusion that the Soviet Union their own capitalists, establish a has not been destroyed by the is still a workers' state, though workers' state to prevent a pos-| Stalinist bureaucracy, so long degenerated; once a revolutionary sible restoration of capitalism, to does the Soviet Union remain a worker clearly sees that nationorganize production, and continue workers' state. It is true, no long- alized property still exists and to work for the extension of the er the kind of workers' state that therefore there is something revolution. The rule of the work- we would like to see; it is true, worth while saving he can easily ers expresses itself fundamental- that it is now a workers' state solve the problem of what his atly in the fact that they have abol- that has degenerated; but it is titude should be in the war that ished private property in the still a workers state and will re- is being waged between the Sovimeans of production and have es- main such so long as national- et Union and Finland. tablished nationalized property, ized property and the monopoly

ings of all the varieties of middle- into practice the degree of de- thing worth while saving in the victory of the bureaucratic over el possible to change the nature of the regime by methods of re-

No one denies that Stalin has introduced some changes which Some overly-hasty people who affect nationalized property in

tireless in pointing out that so ter union may be. Once a revolu-

# italism we have absolute or limited monarchies, democratic or fascist governments. The rule of the working class can also assume different forms depending upon the particular conditions Proposed Deal Fails

(Continued from Page 1)

achieve the greatest possible demass action was heard on all have been conducting feverish

But the Gandhi crowd who hold Nehru. They brought Sir Stafthe reins of the Congress move- ford Cripps to India for discusment tightly in their hands trem- sions with Gandhi, Nehru and bled before the prospects of revo- Moslem leaders. But Sir Stafford But circumstances prevented lution. Representing the native accomplished next to nothing and Is there anything left of the the achievement of the ideal of a landowning class, merchants, has already left the country via and the United States and voci- revoltuion, of the work of the democratic Soviet state. The ex- money lenders and mill owners China and is on his way to Amerwho fear for their property at ica. least as much as do the British rulers, the Gandhi-Nehru reactionaries deliberately set about quelling and dampening the spir-

### it of the masses Beheading the Movement

along and issued "radical" slog- They realize that Gandhi's influans and demands for demagogic ence is on the wane and that lit purposes (immediate independ- tle can be expected even if they ence, a Constituent Assembly, should sign an agreement with the country, except continuous exhortations to refrain from ac-

tion and violence. At the last meeting of the Extute a "Civil Disobedience" camnot be unfair to the British."

Left Wing Purged At the same time a fierce drive launched against the Congress radical wing made up of left-wing dia from imperialism. nationalists (Bose), socialists and Stalinists. They, who were demanding action, were considered the real enemy by the Gandhi traitors. Subhas Bose, leading left - wing Nationalist, neatly summed up the whole struggle when, after denouncing Gandhi as a traitor to India, he wrote, "The

essence of Gandhism is to lick the

Stirrings of Revolt To cite but a few instances: On October 2 there was a one-day "This lynching was a surface political strike against the war Cannily home. Here a mon esti two objects, first, to intimidate an anti-war demonstration of Calcutta are still going on, and "There are too many niggers rapid growth of the peasant unpeople who wanted to participate riding the rear bumper cut the and too many white people look- ions in Madras, Punjab and Bengal provinces is reported.

negotiations with Gandhi and

## Many Arrests

The authorities have begun a campaign of arrests against numerous trade union and peasant leaders, with hundreds being sentenced. The British well under-For a time they were swept stand who their real enemy is.

### Distrust of Stalinists To summarize: the past three

months has seen the deliberate and wilful sabotage by Gandhi of ecutive Working Committee of the anti-war sentiment of the the Congress (December, 1939), masses. The fighting spirit of In-Gandhi was appointed Supreme dia's workers and peasant has Dictator, with authority to make been momentarily set back. The decisions, set aside previous de- Indian people are justifiably hesiradical and demagogic slogans an agreement with the British. flung at them by the Indian Com-His weekly paper, Harijan, has munist Party. The Indian C.P .become the weekly instruction as all sections of the Communist bulletin for Congress organizers International - works solely in and workers. Any effort to insti- the interests of the Moscow bureaucracy and in the interests of posed. Gandhi stated, "We can- alism. The "radical" slegans of the Indian Stalinists are aimed at furthering the successes of the Russo-German military war alliance and not at really freeing In-

Naturally, Indian revolutionists will support each and every action directed against British imperialism-no matter if it is led by the Stalinists, while at the same time pitilessly exposing the motives of the Stalinists, which are clear to all.

### Country Stripped for War As the war progesses British

foot which has kicked it in the exploitation in India heightens. The country is being drained of its food products, its silver and cotton - all for Brtain's war needs. The determination of the workers and peasants to resist will redouble. The growth of the Congress left-wing is assured. Today India's struggle centers within the Congress-the struggle against Gandhist sell out.

## **Dutch Queen Ready** For A Rainy Day

WASHINGTON, D. C. -Queen Wilhelmina of Holland is the owner of the Westchester, the big and very costly apartment house block here.

She purchased it through dummy corporation just in case!

# In This Corner

• by MAX SHACHTMAN •

# An Appeal From Our **Polish Comrades**

Through one of those devious routes which revolutionists in Europe are now forced to take to communicate with their comrades and friends abroad, a letter has just come which is at once an urgent appeal and a stirring summons to action. It is written by a Polish Bolshevik-Leninist with whom I am personally acquainted and for whose standing in the revolutionary movement I am able to vouch; here is a translation

"Today I received my first information of the whereabouts of our friends, who escaped the Polish disaster. At present they are at Wilno, the temporary capital of Lithuania.

"Primarily I am writing on their behalf through you to Max. I am asking you to put forward this case vigorously. It cannot be delayed any longer. It is imperative to save them. "Imagine journeying on foot from Warsaw through Lublin, Chelm, Kowel, Lwow to Wilno. All the way facing the impending danger of German bullets and bombs. But more gruesome than this, having Stalin's barbaric hordes on their trail all the time. These bands make the Czar's Cossacks look like playboys in comparison. It is still a mystery to me how, through all these horrible events, they got to Wilno.

"They have been there already two months, and only now was I able to establish contact with them. The winter Is bitter and earning a living is out of the question. We must help them

"My friend, if you only knew these people. They are all young and very militant, but have suffered more than the old. They suffered immensely before and during the war. In spite of this, they are still able to prove their devotion to the cause. But their situation is such that their activities may be brought to a standstill forever. I am unable, for reasons obvious to all, to give the accurate characteristics of each. Believe me, they are the people with whom our future is

bound up. They must be rescued at all costs.
"I am not speaking of their struggle. Glance at the map of Europe and you will discover little Lithuania, hugging a spot on the Baltic. It appears as a little dot on the brink of the angry seas of Hitlerism and Stalinism. How long will she last? Only the miracles of the time threw part of Poland to Lithuania. What has European history heard of her lately? Practically nothing. My friends have found temporary shelter there. But for how long?

## A Word from the Survivors

"I write you a few quotations from their letters. 'We must flee before German bombers and tanks, and leave behind the mad fanatics who are hot on our pursuit. We did not always have the good fortune to dodge these frenzied maniacs, who at every opportunity would let their bloodthirsty passions run away with them and strike terror into the hearts of their innocent victims. Many of those dear to us fell as victims to one or the other. We, the handful of survivors, trod our way to Wilno. The first days, with an unknown feeling of joy and wonder, we proved to ourselves that we were alive and safe. But a few days later we were forced to come to an alarming decision that our freedom was only problematical. What will happen if one of these days the enraged hordes of Stalinists invade Lithuania?'

If so, our friends will undoubtedly perish. "Dear friend, I know that we, the Polish immigrants abroad, cannot be of much aid. Leaving aside the fact that we are poor, it is impossible to send money out of this country. Even if the money should be raised, it is improbable that this country would accept them. Yet these people must be saved. I am appealing to you to provide immediate aid for them.

"In a few days I will send you their addresses. Send them at least money to keep warm and alive, and eventually get them out of Lithuania. We understand that you have no money. Let Max lay it out. By everything that is ours, sacredly and mutually, I adjure you not to let these men die. I will shoulder the responsibility for that money as a private citizen in the name of our friends. If you have the slightest faith in our future, you ought to trust this unofficial note which I am signing below. Send them at least

"I have hope that you will do all in your pow-6r and more. Clasping your palms firmly and waiting for your prompt reply and the reply of Max and his associates, I remain,

It is true that we have no money, but we are not so poor that such an appeal will go unheeded. Our only fear is that the material aid that we must and will collect for our Polish comrades may come too late. Fortunately, there is not yet any reason why we should believe this to be the case, and that is why not a minute is to be lost.

The American Labor Aid, to which a similar appeal was addressed, has already acted in exemplary fashion. It has forwarded, we are informed, half of the extremely modest sum requested by the Polish revolutionists. In turn, our party has warmly subscribed to the campaign launched by the American Labor Ald.

Through this column, I earnestly beg all our readers and friends to send generous contributions by air mail to the A.L.A. Its address is 125 West 33rd Street, New York, N.Y. Contributions -not loans, for the "note" which my good comrade sent along with his moving letter is entirely superfluous.

Our Polish comrades, fearless partisans of the Fourth International, have long ago redeemed a thousand such "notes" by their spotless record of revolutionary proletarian activity. I know something of their work; I feel some of the pride we share at being comrades-in-arms in a movement which has these fighters in its ranks.

For the sake of the great cause of labor, for the sake of that spirit of international revolutionary solidarity which stands above all else, for the sake of the new Poland that will surely arise over the dirty ashes of Hitlerism and Stalinism -the Poland of the workers' and peasants' Soviets-help our stranded, imperilled comrades!

# The Lynching of Claude Neal

How Democracy Works in the Sunny South

of being carefully checked at ev- bama. . . . ery point. What follows is a sum-

mary of that account. was arrested by Deputy Sheriff detail: J. P. Couliette for the murder of

miles. . . "From the moment that Neal was arrested a blood-thirsty mob JUST TO KILL HIM

elentlessly pursued him. pama—a distance of 61 miles. . .

was brought screaming and cry-cided just to kill him." ing and placed in the front car mob had triumphed. . . .

### RADIO BROADCAST CALLS LYNCHING PARTY

in the lynching, the original mob rope.

of human feelings, in more than be unwise for a larger mob to over him.' dictionary words, what is a lynch- handle the victim. They preferred that his last hours on earth be time was horribly mutilated, was The lynching of Claude Neal in filled with the greatest possible taken by the mob to Marianna, 1934 was not in any important humiliation and agony. However, respect exceptional. The crowd the word was passed all over on the northeast corner of the was not unusually brutal. The Northeastern Florida and South- courthouse square. Pictures were lynched man did not suffer more eastern Alabama that there was taken of the mutilated form and than most victims. It was, we to be a lynching party to which hundreds of photographs were may say, a typical lynching. The all white people are invited, near sold for fifty cents each. . Fin-NAACP has published a brochure the Cannidy home Friday night. gers and toes from Neal's body self. He was authorized to make describing in some detail the It is also reported that the informob-murder of this Negro, an ac- mation was broadcast from the nirs. . . count that gives every evidence radio station at Dothan, Ala-

also of Greenwood, Florida. . . . Greenwood, they cut off his penis. ered) and ran across the street It is alleged that a confession was He was made to eat it. Then they and into the courthouse, where he wrung from Neal and that he as- cut off his testicles and made him was given protection by a friendsumed entire responsibility for eat them and say he liked it.' (I ly group of white men. The mob the crime. Sheriff W. F. Cham- gathered that this barbarous act clamored for another victim . . bliss . . . ordered Neal to be taken consumed considerable time and and began a systematic attempt

# FINALLY THEY DECIDED

" 'Then they sliced his sides and "The angry mood of the crowd stomach with knives and every at Chipley caused the sheriff now and then somebody would

"Neal's body was tied to a rope in front of the county jail. The on the rear of an automobile and eruption. The basic cause was by 90,000 textile workers of Bomdragged over the highway to the economic. . . . The lynching had bay. In Madras, Bose addressed mated to number somewhere be- and threaten the white employers 100,000 people. At Nagpur on Octween 3,000 and 7,000 people from of Negro labor and secondly to tober 9 an anti-imperialist con-"According to a member of the eleven southern states was excit- scare and terrorize the Negroes ference under the presidency of mob with whom I talked, Claude edly waiting his arrival. When so that they would leave the Bose was attended by 30,000 del-Neal was lynched in a lonely spot the car which was dragging county and their jobs could be egates. Strikes of jute workers in about four miles from Greenwood. Neal's body came in front of the taken over by white men.' . . Due to the great number of Cannidy home, a man who was

What does the Anti-Lynching which secured Neal from the jail; "'A woman came out of the Bill, to go before the Senate Feb- at Brewton evidently decided that Cannidy house and drove a butchruary 6, seek to prevent? What if all of the niceties of a modern er knife into his heart. Then the of aimless, endless and demoral-depend upon military and police is a lynching? It is a murder by Twentieth Century lynching were crowd came by and some kicked izing negotiations with the Vice- force to remain in India. a mob, you will say. But in terms to be inflicted upon Neal it would him and some drove their cars roy began. No lead was given ". . . The body, which by this

. . . where it was hung to a tree

have been exhibited as souve-"The body was cut down about

eight-thirty Saturday morning, "A member of the lynching October 27. . . . Toward noon a party with whom I talked de- white man struck a Negro who "On October 19, 1934, Claude scribed the lynching in all of its sought to defend himself and in paign was frowned upon and op- its alliance with German imperi-Neal, 23, of Greenwood, Florida ghastliness, down to the minutest the struggle with the white man, hurled a pop bottle at him. . . "'After taking the nigger to The Negro finally tore himself Lola Cannidy, 20, a white girl the woods about four miles from away from the mob (that gath-

to Chipley, Florida, for safekeep- that other means of torture were to drive all Negroes from the ing, a distance of about 20 used from time to time on Neal.) town. Saturday was a day of terror and madness, never to be forgotten by anyone.'. . .

### ECONOMIC BACKGROUND OF THAT LYNCHING

"It is claimed that a large num- face!" there to remove Neal to Panama cut off a finger or toe. Red hot ber of those who participated in But the country has not been City. From Panama City he was irons were used on the nigger to the rioting in Marianna on Sat-silent during this period. It is taken by boat to Pensacola. From burn him from top to bottom.' urday, October 27, had been on still absolutely correct to say that gold, its mineral ores, its jute and Pensacola Neal was taken across From time to time during the the county relief rolls for some India is solidly against support of the Florida line to Brewton, Ala- torture a rope would be tied time. Relief had been cut off the war and is proving this in acaround Neal's neck and he was about two weeks before the tion. The organized opposition is "An armed mob of approxi- pulled up over a limb and held lynching occurred. . . . An organ- led by the Congress left-wing: the this super-colonial exploitation mately 100 men stormed the there until he almost choked to ization known as the Jackson unions of workers and peasants, county jail at Brewton on the death, when he would be let down county FERA Purification League the Socialists, the Stalinists, and morning of October 26. Neal was and the torture begun all over headed by W. Pooser led a dem- the supporters of Subhas Bose. seized after Mike Shanholster, the again. After several hours of this onstration through the streets of ailer, unlocked his cell door, and unspeakable torture, 'they de- Marianna on the Saturday preceding the lynching. . . .

ing for the same job."

**L** heir by James Burnham

Government

John L. Lewis and

The Labor Party

# SOCIALIST APPEAL

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# FIGHT WITH THE SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY FOR:

- 1. A job and a decent living for every worker. 2. Open the idle factories-operate them under workers' control.
- 3. A Twenty-Billion dollar Federal public works and housing program.
- 4. Thirty-thirty-\$30-weekly minimum wage-30hour weekly maximum for all workers on all jobs. 5. Thirty dollar weekly old-age and disability
- 6. Expropriate the Sixty Families.
- 7. All war funds to the unemployed. 8. A people's referendum on any and all wars.
- No secret diplomacy.
- An independent Labor Party.
- Workers' Defense Guards against vigilante and Fascist attacks.
- 12. Full social, political and economic equality for the Negro people.

# The New "Recession"

You will recall that barrage of statements by government and business spokesmen which flooded the press the first week of January, heralding a year of unprecedented prosperity. It is interesting to note how deliberate the capitalists are in their duplicity. While holding carrots in front of our noses to keep us plodding along, they don't deceive themselves. While, for example, the New York Times-read by many workers-was printing the abovementioned optimistic forecasts, its own business weekly, the Annalist read primarily by substantial businessmen-was telling an entirely different story. The January 4 Annalist described the economic tendencies as "almost as pronounced as those which preceded the 1937-38 depression"; two weeks later it was saying bluntly: "The art of business forecasting has become very simple and business activity is declining." Its perspective was, indeed, as black as one could paint it: "The longer we get away from the year 1937," it confessed, "the more that year for some industries looks like a halcyon period of prosperity never again to be duplicated, just as the year 1929 looked for many years." Compare these utterances with what the Times was saying for mass consumption!

It is clear we are sliding into a new "recession" -or to be more accurate, into a further dip in the permanent economic crisis. For five weeks the authoritative New York Times business index has been moving downward from 107, dropping about a point a week. Time magazine's index, which attempts, with some success, to report "not on business volume but on changes in underlying conditions likely to affect the volume of business," skidded this week from 100.1 to 97.6, the meaning of which is plain from Time's comment: "Since this approximates the weekly average for last summer, the Index thus fails to show any net improvement in basic conditions since the outbreak of war." Do you remember Madame Perkins' predictions on New Year's that construction would jump 25%? First figures available are for the first three weeks of the year: a drop of 39% from the same period last year, the drop being mostly due to curtailment of PWA. Steel production, the most important item in any index, dropped to 71.7% from its pre-Christmas high of 94.4% of capacity-and this is only the beginning, for steel orders are reported as coming in at 45% of capacity.

In a word, there are no jobs for the ten million unemployed and their families, and more men and women and their children are being added to the unemployed army every week. Roosevelt proposes, in his budget, to dump some 800,000 of these unemployed, now subsisting on WPA, into the streets; for it is clear he will not be throwing them off the WPA into private jobs. In addition, about 250,000 who worked on PWA jobs during the last year are to have their jobs wiped out under the budget; in fact their jobs are already being wiped out, more than half of those working on PWA in September having already been fired as the PWA tapers off to its complete extinction on June 30. Ten million unemployed, no private jobs to be had, and Roosevelt wipes out more than a million jobs-there's the picture.

We don't believe that Roosevelt and the Congressmen and Senators are going to get away with their starvation budget. The American working class has the strength and the will to throw that budget into the Potomac. To replace that budget at this session of Congress, we propose the program for this session of Congress which we carry beside our front-page masthead. Clip it out and present it for adoption by your

After living for more than a year with the Aborigines of Australia, the largest group of primitives in the world, Dr. D. S. Davidson, anthropology professor of the University of Pennsylvania, concludes they are as intelligent as modern Americans. "They have adjusted themselves to their environment as intelligently-sometimes I think more intelligently-than we have to ours," says Dr. Davidson, just returned from an expedition. It seems these aborigines don't go around begging some slaver to enslave them, or go hungry with plenty food around.

# A Lesson Learned

Perhaps more than any other section of the American labor movement, the union men and women of Minneapolis have learned a profoundly important lesson in recent months-the need for MASS DEFENSE, for WORKING CLASS SOLIDARITY, against the bosses and the boss government.

Minneapolis is the best-organized city of its size in the country. It got that way through STRUGGLE AGAINST THE BOSSES AND THEIR POLITICAL AGENCIES. When the federal government struck at Minneapolis labor by indicting 162 participants in last summer's WPA strike, a MASS DEFENSE was organized. The Central Labor Union, together with the Teamsters Joint Council, the Building Trades Council, and the Printing Trades Council, set up an authoritative WPA Defense Committee. It was joined soon by a similarly-constituted committee of the St. Paul trade unions. It was backed by the Minnesota Federation of Labor and the AFL executive council. Equally important, at meetings and demonstrations and tag days, it mobilized the masses on behalf of the indicted WPA strikers. Throughout the country labor unions came to their defense. A great wave of protest rolled up to the White House.

Roosevelt retreated. But he tried to make a virtue out of necessity. In quashing the indictments against the remaining 125 indicted WPA workers, Assistant Attorney General Rogge quoted Roosevelt as saying the indicted men and women had "learned their lesson"-the lesson being "they have no right to conduct a strike." "The President felt the duty of the WPA workers had been made clear . . . '

But that courtroom full of defendants and their union brothers gave the lie to Roosevelt's hypocritical statement. They didn't, they would-'learn the lesson' that Roosevelt tried to teach them by indicting them and jailing them. Those 125 men and women who were walking out free KNEW that if Roosevelt had been able to go through with it, they would, instead, be marching handcuffed to long jail terms.

Those 125 men and women are free today thanks only to the magnificent MASS DE-FENSE organized by the labor movement of Minneapolis.

That's the lesson they learned in Minneapolis!

# Sailors Speak Out

In last week's issue, we discussed a pro-Finnish, pro-preparedness resolution adopted at two branch membership meetings of the Sailors Union of the Pacifis. We ventured the opinion that the resolution did not speak the mind of the union membership. The Feb. 2 issue of the West Coast Sailor, the union's weekly, indicates that we were right.

An editorial, discussing a Stalinist booklet, "The Yanks Are Not Coming," exposes the fakery of the Stalinist "peace" line, and then concludes:

"If we are sincere about staying out of the war we must accept the fact that it will only be done through prolonged and militant struggle on the part of the workers. . . .

"We have only one road to follow if we are going to keep the politicians and the Wall Street exploiters from sacrificing the lives of thousands of American workers. That is the road of Gene Debs and Bill Haywood. It is not the road that (the Stalinists) Mike Quin and his cronies have in mind for us, because theirs is lined with misinformation and illusions and can only prepare the lamb for the slaughter."

This West Coast Sailor editorial expresses the proletarian stand against the imperialist war and s at the opposite pole from the pro-Finnish resolution. If the sailors consistently take this position, they will repudiate the Finnish resolution. The road of Gene Debs and Bill Haywood is not the road of Mannerheim's army.

# Kept Press Wants More Funds for Arnold's Union-Busting Drive

A drive was launched last week sary labor." in the capitalist press to increase division, headed by Assistant At- It says: torney-General Thurman Arnold. which is concentrating on a reac-Arnold as a crusader who is funds." slashing building costs, spurring

One need go no further than HIGH COST OF HOUSING these articles, however, to sec that behind the nice phrases about "eliminating corruption," Arnold's campaign is a direct assault on wage and hour standards of union men. Among the types

of "restraints" exercised by unions which Arnold is attempting to outlaw, the Scripps-Howard series lists first, "prevention of cheaper materials, improved equipment and more efficient methods," and, second, "hiring of unnecessary labor in order to make work.

# WHAT ARNOLD'S LEGAL

PHRASES REALLY MEAN An example of "cheaper mateors to bring to a building job plumbing fixtures, completely as- that housing costs could be low- "THEREFORE BE IT REtion. The assembling and adjust- carrying charge from 5 to 4 per go on record protesting the union ing has been done, after the actu- cent than by cutting wages 50 busting campaign initiated by ing shall be done on the job by tion housing director, who esti- istration, and as opposed to the union plumbers at union wages. mated that a 20 per cent cut in appropriation of further monies over wages and working condi- 16.69 per cent; that 20 per cent mula of "cheaper materials" 9.33 per cent off monthly fixed CIO (or AFL) to inaugurate a will be cheaper!—Arnold seeks to bor costs would subtract only posing the aims and purposes of rule for the bosses against the 4.67 per cent!

Letter from Canada

to the tracks.

hummed. The worst yet.

angels from the navel down.

ing the 'doings' across the way.

tionary sheet. . .

friend in Winnipeg, Manitoba:

people here are taking th

A friend sends in a letter he received from a

that is beyond me. I can only tell of one section,

of a stroll I took late yesterday on Main Street,

along those few blocks north from the city hall

"That was quite an unsavory district late Sat-

guess you will recall. Last night it really

"Hundreds of troops packed the sidewalks. Ob-

viously they had just drawn their first army pay.

Indeed, for many of them it must have been the first pay day in their hungry, thwarted, distorted

lives, and with pennies to jingle, 'patriotism' cer-

tainly reached new mad, drunken heights. Boys

became base, girls cheap. For you know, dear

R. . . ., you can't take thwarted kids straight

from prolonged chronic starvation, make them

murderers above the eyes, stuff their pockets

with unfamiliar dollars, and expect them to be

street, bulging saloons slopped out Polish-speak-

ing 'Scots' in kilts. Waiting prostitutes patriotic-

ally set bargain prices for the ejected soaks. . . .

was selling like hot cakes. I got a great kick

when I spotted Lucille B. . . . buying one-you

remember her? Tom, her boy friend, may yet

have to go. It was an inspiriting sight-harmless

little Lucille red-facedly buying an illegal revolu-

"I crossed the street to the 'politer' side to buy

some matches. The storekeeper, usually a jolly

ellow, appeared very downcast. He'd been watch-

in, said there'd been 20,000 recruits in Manitoba

are, merely added that in ancient Egypt the fig-

ure 1,000,000 was represented by a picture of a

man bent in bewilderment at the enormity.

already. . . . There'll be millions killed again'." "I agreed, and, the War Acts being what they

''Cold tonight, isn't it?. . . . Fellow's just been

"A little mimeographed socialist anti-war sheet

to two and a quarter million dol- dicted over 400 labor union offi- closely interlocking directorates. lars the annual subsidy for the cials, with many more indict-"anti trust" division of the De- ments to come, doesn't begin to partment of Justice. That is the satisfy the Scripps-Howard press.

compared with what can be done in unions in New York, a copy tionary drive to destroy the build- by a widening of the inquiry as of which has just been received ng trades unions. Typical of the planned by the Justice Depart- by us: barrage of newspaper propagan- ment, the ultimate large-scale da is a featured series in the success depending now only upon Justice and other governmental Scripps-Howard chain. It pictures a grant by Congress of sufficient agencies have indicted over 100

# the construction industry on, etc. BANKS RESPONSIBLE FOR

The indisputable testimony-Committee - which proved conclusively that labor is actually the least significant factor in the high cost of housing, and that the strangle-hold of the banks over the industry is by far the most important-is never once alluded which blandly ignored the testimony when it was given.

pages the testimony of Dr. The- through many years of effort, and odore Kreps of the TNEC conimportant point to attack, and tinue unchallenged. sembled and adjusted for installa- ered more by cutting the monthly SOLVED! That local Union No,. at manufacture of the fixtures, by per cent. The papers never pub- Thurman Arnold and the Departcoolie labor. The plumbers unions lished at all the testimony of ment of Justice, with the aid and nsist that assembling and adjust- Robert Davison, Pierce Founda- approval of the Roosevelt admin-Here is a clear example of a con- interest and amortization charges by Congress for this purpose, and flict between bosses and unions would cut monthly fixed charges be it further tions. Yet, under the crooked for- off material cost would knock our International Office and the naturally all coolie-worked goods charges-but that alike cut in la- great educational campaign ex-

The papers never bothered to it further "Hiring of unnecessary labor" reveal that the banks, which ecomes a crime under Arnold's Arnold declared as "not within out, etc., is always countered by except labor, in the construction press."

SPARKS IN THE NEWS

urday nights even when you lived here, as I uary 25, Col. Harrington announced that of these

by Dwight Macdonald

"My Dear R. . . . As for your request for news teers were unemployed."

. . . Along the

That Arnold has already in- construction companies through

# SHOULD TAKE NOW

"Results thus far are small el-resolution, already introduced

"RESOLVED: That we request this anti-union campaign, and be

"RESOLVED: That copies of this resolution be sent to John L ruling. But the whole fight of the scope" of his investigation, Lewis (or Wm. Green), our Inunions against speed-up, stretch- control every important factor, ternational office and the labor

"'But now it's the million who are bent,' was

One thing might be added to this account: it

Last July and August, 775,000 men and wo-

men were dropped from the WPA rolls. On Jan-

775,000, just 100,750 (or 13 per cent) had found

jobs in private industry by the end of last No-

vember. (And half of these lucky 13 per cent

were earning less in their private jobs than they

had received on WPA.) Remember this figure,

the next time you hear Roosevelt getting off his

line about private industry absorbing those

dropped from WPA. That is a lie, and Roosevelt

find jobs? According to Col. Harrington, 28 per

cent of them got onto local relief rolls (where

a family of four lives on from \$4.50 to \$34 a

month), 27 per cent were taken back onto WPA

"and 32 per cent were without support of any

kind except what they could procure through

Federal surplus commodities, by the sale of their

effects, by doubling up with relatives, or by beg-

The Colonel also pointed out that before the

end of June he must drop 700,000 more men and

women from the WPA rolls. "Does your report

point to a reduced WPA appropriation for next

year?" he was asked, "Hardly," answered the

Colonel. But his boss in the White House has

already indicated he means to slash WPA next

to take it in silence and submission? A few real-

ly militant mass demonstrations, the sort of

thing that scared the bosses and their political

stooges in 1931 and 1932, that's what is needed

to show Franklin D. he can't get away with it.

The White House lawn can be used for other

How much longer are the unemployed going

year, just as he did this year.

things besides Easter egg rolling!

What became of the 87 per cent who did not

is estimated that 75 per cent of Canada's volun-

How Much Longer

Will They Be Patient?

the bosses as adding "unneces- industry-real estate, financing, land even the giant supply and

# ONE STEP ALL UNIONS

Following is an excellent mod-

"Whereas, the Department of union officials under the terms of the Sherman Anti-Trust Act, and

"Whereas, this persecution of labor constitutes a direct violation of the terms of the Sherman presented last summer before the Anti-Trust Act, which specifical-Temporary National Economic ly exempts labor organizations from its provisions and is specifically directed only against the huge industrial monopolies and trusts, and

"Whereas, these anti-union acts of the Department of Justice are part of a large campaign of the to in the newspapers, most of present national administration to destroy the effectiveness and fighting strength of the entire labor movement, and thus to de-The papers buried in their back stroy the gains achieved by labor

"Whereas, both the unions afsulting staff, who said that the filiated with the AFL and the monthly carrying charge dic- CIO will suffer if this union-bustrials" is the attempt by contract- tated by the banks is the really ing campaign is allowed to con-

What, exactly, led John L. Lewis to open up against Roosevelt and the Democratic Party at the recent convention of the United Mine Workers? Where does

it suggest that he is leading?

There is no doubt that Lewis is a sensitive reflector of mass opinion. He has proved this by his whole career, outstandingly by the organization of the CIO itself. He now feels a groundswell of discontent, or resentment against Roosevelt, beginning to grow among the workers. It is undoubtedly there, though not yet explicit enough to be noticed by the Gallup

Roosevelt is becoming too open and too crude in his drive toward reaction. During the last year, he has had to appear more and more into the open: his budgets propose the slashing of relief; he gives the quotation to help break the WPA strike; his department of Justice smashes down on civil right; he becomes brazenly the head war-monger.

Lewis' speeches at the convention articulated the resentment felt at this lengthening series of actions. He went-in words-farther than the workers themselves have yet gone-in words, and thereby holds on to his position of leadership, at the front of the rising

### CIO and the Administration

But there was additional motivation as well. Until a year and a half or so ago, it was undoubtedly the case that the administration favored the CIO as against the AFL. This was shown by many decisions of the Labor Board, by the designation of bargaining units, etc.; and was marked for Lewis himself by his easy personal entry to the White House. He was made to feel very much at home around the Presidential fireside

It would hardly be correct to say that the pendulum has swung today all the distance to the AFL side, but this has certainly been the trend. Last Spring the private Washington letters had already begun to note that Congress and the White House were paying more serious attention to the AFL leaders than to the CIO.

The Labor Board, with Leiserson replacing Smith, has been handing down frequent decisions with an AFL slant. It is rumored that, in the talks dealing with war plans in their relation to labor, Lewis is not being given much consideration. At the same time, Lewis has more difficulty arranging conversations with the smiling chief of the White House.

Here, then, was a second group of reasons calling for public action by Lewis.

### What Is Lewis After?

Lewis seemed to be burning a good many bridges by his remarks. But a careful study of what he said, and left unsaid, shows that there were not so many teeth behind the barks.

For a labor bureaucrat to express the resentment of the workers does not at all mean that he will act to implement this resentment. Indeed, history shows that most often the expression serves to quiet down and divert the resentment: if it were allowed to remain bottled up, it might explode in ways most awkward for the bureaucrat. There is no good reason to imagine that Lewis intended to do much more than carry out this time-worn function of the labor bureau-

In order to keep his hold on the workers, he has got to show more than he has been able to during the past year. Unquestionably his speeches were meant as bargaining threats directed to the leaders of both the Republican and Democratic parties. He is trying to remind them that if they want to get labor votes, they will at the very least have to give more

I do not, however, think that he himself took even his predictions of "inglorious defeat" for Roosevelt, if Roosevelt tries a third term, as literally as the words would seem to say. If Roosevelt runs again -and it seems to me the most probable variant-I think Lewis will still want to go along. Roosevelt is clever enough to give him a formula which will help him in re-writing his convention predictions

There has been much gossip in Washington of Lewis' dickering with members of the Republican National Committee. Many of the younger men in the administration are convinced that Lewis wants to swing the CIO into the Republican column next November-the Republican Party, until a few years ago, has been Lewis' traditional allegiance.

In the face of the attitude of most of the other union heads, this would seem to be a move almost too dangerous even for Lewis. It is noteworthy that his remarks at the convention were almost all in the mode of a critical, "left" supporter of the Democrats. He was calling on the Democratic Party to "be sensible" about labor.

# What of a Labor Party?

There is not the slightest indication in Lewis' actions that he is moving toward a labor party for this year. Here also, his words were, if anything, designed to head off, not to further, incipient labor party sentiment. Lewis remains convinced that a labor party is "unrealistic politics" in this country, with its two-party parliamentary structure.

Nevertheless, Lewis was compelled to say more than he doubtless wanted to. The only possible logical conclusion from his attack was, in actuality, a clean break with both of the boss parties and the building of a labor party. Though he refused to state the conclusion, Lewis really proved that labor cannot make use of the boss parties and must have a party of its own. There must have been many delegates at the convention, and many workers throughout the country, who drew this conclusion for themselves in spite of their not hearing it from the platform.

A first step to put this conclusion into practise will have to be the realization that a fight for an independent labor party now is a fight against Lewis. We must not allow Lewis' bold words to deceive us into thinking that he intends to follow them with bold actions next summer and autumn. If Lewis goes into a labor party, it will be because he sees as the alternative getting out of the labor movement altogether. It would be a fine thing if that choice could be put before him.

ANTI-WAR MEETING

# **HOW CLOSE ARE WE TO WAR?**

JAMES P. CANNON

SARAH RICE

FRIDAY, FEBRUARY 16, 8 p.m.

YORKVILLE CASINO, 210 EAST 86th STREET, N. Y. C.

Auspices: Local New York, S.W.P.

Admission: TWENTY-FIVE CENTS