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MINNEAPOLIS WPA INDICTMENTS QUASHED

FIGHT OPENS ON ANTI-LYNCH BILL

Unions Must Act To Put Heat On In Washington

The first stage of the fight to pass the Anti-Lynching Bill 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 Connally, who is (if we except Neeley from the border state of West Virginia) the only Southerner on the subcommittee, was the leader of the seven-week filibuster that defeated the bill in the Senate two years ago. He told the press some time ago that he would ask for a Senate appropriation to pay for the expenses of witnesses against the bill, but nothing more has been heard about this. But the money to defeat this bill will not be withheld by its landlord-employer opponents.

Supporters Mobilizing

The supporters of the bill are also preparing to send their witnesses. 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 Connally (as well as of such other 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 passed merely on the basis of facts. It is mass pressure, and only mass pressure, that can force the Northern capitalist-representatives to take a stand against their Southern class-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-author of the bill and is also chairman of the subcommittee hearing testimony on the bill.

NYA Seeks to Drive Youth into Army

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

The National Youth Administration announced Feb. 2 that it had instructed state NYA directors to turn over to the Army Recruiting Service a list of all male enrollees between 18 and 25.

The order followed a suggestion by the Army Recruiting Service that—in the words of the A.P. dispatch reporting this—"perhaps many young men now receiving \$14 to \$21 a month from the NYA would find the army's base pay of \$21 a month for a recruit, plus food and clothing, more attractive."

Thus it becomes very much to the interests of the Army, and its government, to keep NYA wages and funds as low as possible in order to make army pay "more attractive." Roosevelt's budget cut of NYA funds thus serves as economic pressure upon needy youth to enlist in the Army.

Relief Applicants Pressured

In the Middle West, young men applying for relief are being asked by administrators why they do not enlist in the Army or Navy. Their names, together with the names of military eligibles already on relief, are being

turned over to recruiting officers. Where young relief applicants refuse to join some branch of the armed forces, they are being urged to apply for CCC jobs. Relief applications are often turned down or held up for weeks in the hope that applicants will join the CCC. In the CCC camps, boys are writing home that Army administrators are exerting pressure on them to join the Army after completing their CCC terms. In a North Carolina camp two months ago the boys conducted a demonstration against militarization. Growing fear of militarization of the CCC is cutting down the number of applicants.

In response to demands from apprehensive parents, farm leaders are asking for the formation of special conservation projects apart from the CCC. They are being told by government spokesmen that such projects will not be started so long as CCC jobs are available.

"Recruiting Hints" A list of "recruiting hints" sent to U.S. Army reserve officers points to the unemployed as the most likely "prospects" for enlistment.

Proposed Deal Fails British Spurn Gandhi;

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 resumption of the long-drawn out negotiations is useless. Meanwhile, the left-wing forces within the Nationalist Congress have openly stated that they will split the Congress from top to bottom if Gandhi should sign any agreement with the British, or attempt any sell-out of India's demand for freedom.

"England's difficulty is India's opportunity"—this was the clamor of the 400,000,000 workers, peasants, students and middle class people of India, when the Congress Party once more, Gandhi has admitted that resumption of the long-drawn out negotiations is useless. Meanwhile, the left-wing forces within the Nationalist Congress have openly stated that they will split the Congress from top to bottom if Gandhi should sign any agreement with the British, or attempt any sell-out of India's demand for freedom.

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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 city, state and nation, forced the government to call a halt to the WPA strike trials.

MINERS' CONFAB WPA Workers Ask Large Scale Aid

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

The historic 36th constitutional convention of the United Mine Workers concluded its sessions on Thursday, February 1, by sharply warning the Roosevelt administration "that labor wants no war . . . and will hold to strict 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 policy of killing off young men on battlefields."

In direct contrast to the position taken by the current quarterly meeting of the AFL Executive Council, the convention adopted a resolution urging the government "to withhold the lending of any money, or the participation either directly or indirectly in the wars now going on in Europe and Asia."

Lewis and all of his lieutenants made numerous militant speeches throughout the convention. This is explained by the fact that all of them are keenly aware of the seething discontent that prevails among the broad masses of American labor. They know that the labor movement has been on

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FLINT, Mich., Feb. 3.—Continuing Roosevelt's slash of WPA and relief funds, WPA Local No. 12 of the United Auto Workers, CIO, voted unanimously at their last meeting to fight for an aggressive 6-point program designed to give a real answer to the problem of unemployment.

The program reads as follows: "In order to meet the unemployment and relief crisis and provide jobs and a decent living for the millions of unemployed of America we demand the following:

1. A \$10,000,000,000 Public Works Program for America's 10,000,000 unemployed citizens.
2. 30 hours a week at \$30 pay per week.
3. A WPA job for every able-bodied person who is unemployed.
4. An adequate program to take care of all unemployed youth of America.
5. Adequate relief for all those unable to work.
6. ALL WAR FUNDS TO THE UNEMPLOYED, to finance the above program.

Fight Local Ruling The press is whipping up a considerable fuss over the issue of relief clients owning cars, and it looks like a maneuver to divert attention from the real issues which face the workers. The union is not allowing itself to get sidetracked on this issue by giving it undue consideration, merely doing what is possible to combat it.

New Crisis Coming More important is the fact that in one month or a little more the City of Flint will be faced with wholesale closing down of WPA projects, throwing several hundred men out of work, and flooding the welfare rolls.

When this happens, there will be a simultaneous relief and WPA crisis. Relief allocations are already inadequate to meet the need. Another thousand on the rolls would mean a situation similar to what happened in Cleveland.

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.

'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 city, 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 participating in last summer's

WPA strike here, 32 had been convicted in three trials. The resultant outcry throughout the labor movement was developing nation-wide proportions. Each trial was a major engagement between the government and the WPA Defense Committee set up by the Central Labor Union.

Rogge arrived and opened negotiations with the defense committee for termination of the prosecutions.

FDR's Pound of Flesh

The Roosevelt administration wanted its pound of flesh, of course, to settle the fight. Simply to quash the remaining 130 indictments would be too bald a confession of defeat for the government's punitive campaign. Rogge, therefore, presented a list of forty men among the 130 from whom the government was demanding pleas of nolo contendere—no defense. The defense committee put its foot down, and the list was pared to 21, to 11, to 6, finally to 5. Attempts of the Department of Justice to have the five plead guilty to conspiracy were also unavailing.

On Wednesday, Feb. 1, the five pleaded nolo contendere to one charge each, after which, on motion of Rogge, indictments were dismissed against the other 125. Conspiracy charges were dropped against all 130.

Hypocritical Statement

In a prepared statement read to the court, Rogge sought to interpret the government's retreat as being merely due to Roosevelt's amiable intercession, and that such intercession had not the remotest connection with organized labor's pressure.

"The Department of Justice," he stated, "feels that the 32 most culpable persons have already been convicted. . . . It should be noted that such dismissal is made for the purpose of clearing the docket. Shortly before Mr. Justice Murphy retired (as Attorney General), the President discussed the matter of these cases with him. The President felt the duty of the WPA workers had been made clear; that while they may organize like others on the government pay roll, they have no right to conduct a strike or engage in acts of violence. . . . It was felt that this lesson had been duly learned and that the object sought had been attained. . . ."

Mask Slips Off

This hypocritical mask of good will slipped off Judge Joyce's face today, when he sentenced seventeen men convicted in the three trials. The enormous weight mobilized by organized labor resulted in limiting his sentences; but the judge was as vindictive as he could be.

The judge opened with a ten-minute speech in praise of American citizenship; attacked the effrontery of the WPA strikers; declared himself completely in accord with Roosevelt and Murphy in their statements that "the strikers had no right to strike against the government."

Tom Davis, defense counsel, pointed out the trials bore a faint resemblance to political persecution and pled for moderate sentences.

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

Leaders Get Worst

All through the grand jury proceedings and the trials, the government had concentrated its main fire on General Drivers Union Local 544's Federal Workers Section, and the leaders of this model militant organization received the heaviest sentences to date. Ed Palmquist and Max Geldman, chairman and organizer, each got eight months. Leslie Wachter, FWS steward, was the only other to receive an eight-months' sentence.

Charles Grider received seven months; William Riley and George Toteno, six months; Milton McLean, four months; Eddie Alberts, Frank Stevens, Floud Hurley, Myron Phillips and Richard Connell, 90 days; Ralph Gore, 60 days; Charles Connors, 30 days; Ben Palmer and Oscar Schoenfeld received suspended sentences and were placed on probation for 18 months, and Carl Fembie received a suspended sentence 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 victims, lecturing them that intelligent people of their sort should not be consorting with the low riff-raff. I am not, of course, recording this fact to the detriment of the three, all of whom are rebels to one degree or another, but 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, slandering him with the usual bourgeois lie that here was an agitator who, like all agitators, 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 lecturing Riley, he sentenced him to six months on a substantive count and placed him on probation for two years on the conspiracy charge. Defense attorneys called the judge's attention to the fact that Riley had been tried only

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Behind the Lines

By GEORGE STERN

Leland Stowe of the Chicago Daily News writes rather frankly of the plight of newsmen sent to Finland. He even goes so far as to say that the dearth of news about little democratic Finland is due largely to the fact that this alleged fight for democracy is being conducted by a band of "autocratic generals" led by Man-nerheim.

"Most of Finland's remarkably capable army officers have had very little contact with democratic traditions," writes Stowe.

This is why newsmen "have rarely encountered greater obstacles to procuring information" and why the war in Finland "from a journalistic standpoint is the toughest proposition that they have ever encountered."

"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."

"If reports from Finland are often confusing and contradictory, it is largely because circumstances 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 times at the most."

This does not modify, of course, certain obvious general facts about the military situation on the Finnish fronts. It does not lessen the impression of criminal clumsiness, faulty staff work, poor communications, and general ineptitude which Stalin's general staff has given in this miserable adventure. But it is a 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 support a non-existent "democracy" in Finland (ruled by the "autocratic generals", remember) but to whip up anti-Soviet feeling in this country and to prepare it for entry into the war.

An example, incidentally, of what the handling of "news" can do was afforded last week by the meeting of the Balkan Entente. Here was a meeting of small states divided into groups that are already definitely linked to this or that great power or else are the scenes of conflict among them. Yugoslavia is in Italy's orbit and Turkey and Greece in that of the Allies, while Rumania remains ticklishly balanced between the Anglo-French bloc and the Reich. The conference took place and of course decided nothing, and from every capital representing violently conflicting interests, came "expressions of satisfaction" over the outcome. You pays your money and you takes your choice.

For Red Sundays!

It can be done! Red Sundays will work, if the branches will only give it a fair try.

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 new contacts. . . ."

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! It's the only way to stabilize the Appeal and increase the circulation.

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 Workers ushered in a new stage in the history of American labor and revealed once again that the CIO is the progressive wing of the trade union movement, because it is based on the workers of America's mass production industries.

After the smashing defeat of the "Little Steel" strike in the fall of 1937, the CIO lost the momentum of its splendid offensive and retreated slowly before the counter-drive of the employers. As the militancy of the workers cooled off after the first taste of defeat, the rear line trenches of the capitalist class opened fire. What they dared not attempt during the period of labor upsurge, they found the courage to do in the days of labor's retreat. The courts began harassing the labor movement with anti-union judicial legislation. The state legislatures regained their lost courage. Beginning with passage of oppressive labor legislation in Washington and Oregon, the reactionary wave swept eastward, until today almost three-fourths of the states have new tyrannical laws designed to cripple the labor unions.

LEWIS COULD NOT IGNORE THE PERMANENT CRISIS

Lewis chose to ignore the existence of this permanent economic crisis and its significance for the labor movement, at the CIO convention held in November at San Francisco. But Lewis 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 insurance company. Lewis is the leader of the unions in the mass production industries: coal, steel, auto, rubber, glass, oil—the nerve centers of American economy.

UNION-BUSTING CAMPAIGN TAKEN UP BY FDR

In the past year, this union-busting campaign has been taken over by the federal government itself. The campaign against the WPA strikers and the infamous Thurman Arnold "Anti-trust law" indictments are but highlights in the anti-union campaign launched by Roosevelt as a part of his feverish preparations for war.

The index of business activity stands today about 10% higher than in 1929. Ten million workers still remain unemployed without the possibility of being re-absorbed into private industry. This

unemployed. This industrial proletariat, employed in the huge plants, mills and factories of America, feels in its very bones how important and indispensable it is to the economic life of the country and it understands better than anyone else the full potentialities and latent strength inherent in the labor movement. These workers are determined to win economic security for themselves and their families and they are groping around and looking for the labor leaders who will show them the path to achieve this goal.

WHY LEWIS BROKE WITH ROOSEVELT

For the last two years, they have seen the courts and the legislatures attempt to hurl them back to the slavery of the open shop. They have further seen Roosevelt and the New Dealers, whom they considered to be labor's friends, take the lead in this reactionary open-shop campaign. The bitterness and hatred of this industrial proletariat is storing up and creating a powder keg of social dissatisfaction and revolt that will inevitably explode. Lewis Murray and his associates understand 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

dramatic break with Roosevelt. But where is Lewis going? Where is he leading the CIO? Lewis himself does not know. He is extremely bold in method and violent in speech, but very timid and hesitant in his policies.

The indicated policy for the CIO is to break once and for all with all capitalist politics, correctly dubbed "company unionism" in the political field, and march forward onto the broad highways of an independent political party of labor, with an aggressive, fighting program for jobs and security. Such a policy would open new vistas for the entire labor movement and would, by comparison, pale into insignificance the advances made by the CIO in its golden period from 1935 to 1937. But this step Lewis will not take. He does not have confidence in the independent strength of labor.

AFL-CIO SPLIT DOESN'T EXPLAIN WEAKNESS

Many bourgeois writers, commenting on the lack of progress of the American labor movement

MINERS' CONFAB OCCUPIED WITH UNEMPLOYMENT

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the retreat for the past two years before the onslaughts of reaction and that the whole union structure of the CIO stands in jeopardy if this retreat is not halted.

Cite Unemployment Effects

Phil Murray expressed these fears very clearly when he warned the American capitalists that if the problem of unemployment remains unsolved there would inevitably occur "uprisings and strikes of workers for the right to live, for the chance to work." Murray called attention of the convention delegates to the newly perfected continuous process for manufacturing of steel, which will cause the unemployment of nearly 90,000 steel workers within the next months.

The coal industry suffers very acutely the ravages of unemployment. Murray described the new coal loading machine which accounted for only 7 per cent of the coal loaded in 1929, but has risen to 29 per cent by 1939. In ten years, he estimated, 70 per cent of all coal will be loaded by machinery.

"Is it any wonder," he exclaimed, "that the United Mine Workers view with alarm the future of the mining industry in America?"

Menaces Wage Scales

Unemployment, further menaces the wage standards of the employed, Murray pointed out, and warned the delegates that their union wage structures would "inevitably be destroyed if they have to compete continually with ten million idle men."

The convention adopted the far-reaching proposal to reduce unemployment in the mining industry through the establishment of the 6-hour day, 5-day week and that this demand was to constitute the chief objective of the wage scale negotiations with the coal operators this spring.

Still for "Conference"

The 30-hour week was not pushed, however, as the answer to the national unemployment problem. Instead, both Lewis and Murray continued campaigning for a national conference of business, labor, agriculture and government as the panacea to solve the unemployment question, described by the convention as "America's Problem No. 1."

What Lewis or Murray would propose to such a conference, when and if it is convoked, the mine union leaders did not bother to explain.

The convention further instructed its leadership to negotiate a national agreement covering the entire coal industry, the abolition of all discriminatory wage differentials in and between districts and the inclusion of all captive mines under the next union agreement.

Resolutions were adopted supporting the Wagner Health Bill, a five billion dollar low cost public housing program and the CIO legislative program of old age pensions of \$60 per month for all persons over 60 years of age.

Attacks Roosevelt Again

Lewis again lashed out at the latter part of the convention at the Roosevelt administration for its failure to support the CIO demand that all corporations found guilty of violating the Wagner Labor Relations Act be barred from receiving government contracts. The convention adopted a resolution demanding the passage of Bill HR 331, establishing guarantees of collective bargaining in government contracts and called upon Roosevelt to issue immedi-

ately an executive order to this effect.

The political program of the UMW, and in a sense of the CIO, remained hanging in mid-air. After vigorous debate, the convention adopted the Lewis recommendations empowering the "International Executive Board to take 'appropriate action' and to render 'such reasonable financial support as circumstances may warrant at the proper time in support of the program that may be agreed upon and worked out in cooperation with Labor's Non-Partisan League.'"

The convention paid silent tribute in its last session to its working class heroes when all the delegates stood in silence in commemoration of the three union members killed last year by gunmen in "Bloody" Harlan County, Kentucky.

in the recent period, have ascribed this decline solely to the split in labor's ranks and the consequent warfare that ensued between the two labor factions.

Is it true that the decline of two years can be ascribed solely or mainly to the split in labor's ranks? No! Of equal and even of greater importance is the policy of the labor movement. Labor is today marking time, first of all, because of the inadequate, conservative, class-collaboration policies of its leadership; the lack of a militant, realistic program to point the way for a genuine solution to the problems of unemployment, insecurity and the threatening war.

For example, the AFL is today being subjected to an attack unprecedented in recent labor history, in the form of the "anti-trust" indictments, which threaten the very existence of numerous AFL Internationals. How is the AFL responding to this mortal threat? It is confining its resistance to the hiring of lawyers, the drawing up of briefs and the button-holing of individual politicians. A pitiable campaign! Is this poor resistance, perchance, to

Indictments Quashed In Minneapolis Trials

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on a conspiracy charge, whereupon the judge gave him both the six months and the probation on the conspiracy charge.

On the motion of defense attorney Tom Davis that the execution of the sentences be delayed pending a possible appeal, the men were taken to the Hennepin County jail where they will remain until Monday or Tuesday.

Actually, it is doubtful if an appeal will be made, because of lack of funds. To bail out the seventeen would cost \$3,700 for bail bonds; to have the enormous transcript printed, another \$10,000. The judge estimated to a nicety just how heavy he could go on the sentences without provoking an insistent demand that the cases be appealed.

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

Prisoners' Inspiring Meeting

Friday night in the Drivers Union Hall the indicted strikers met in an inspiring meeting. Max Goldman and Ed Palmquist spoke, explaining the meaning of the new developments. Charles Connors, only Negro among the defendants, rose and spoke of the brotherly way he had always been treated and the complete lack of racial prejudice. All pledged their abiding faith in the Federal Workers Section. The moving meeting was closed with the singing of "Solidarity."

Who Quashed Indictments?

Roosevelt's "amiable" intercession—that is the interpretation being circulated by the administration and its supporters—doesn't fool the millions of workers who know that it was Roosevelt himself who directed the vicious attack against the Minneapolis strikers, and that he has only been brought up short because of the tremendous outburst of protest from the labor movement.

It was the steadily mounting labor protest against the government's persecution of the Minneapolis unemployed that finally forced the administration to back down. This, combined with the fact 1940 is an election year.

Labor Warned Persecutors

The Minneapolis union movement, as far back as July 28th of last year, served public notice it meant to defend the strikers against the frame-ups even then being undertaken by the Department of Justice at Roosevelt's orders. On that day John Boscoe, president of the Minneapolis Central Labor Union, speaking over the major radio stations of the state, warned that "We are determined to protect the legal rights of our members and defend them against any attempted frame-ups. . . . The fight for jobs at union wages and conditions, and for decent relief standards for those who have no jobs, did not begin or end with the WPA strike in Minneapolis."

Shortly after Roosevelt and Murphy proclaimed their intention to institute criminal proceedings against the WPA strikers, particularly in Minneapolis, protests began to emanate from unions throughout the country. On July 31, 1939, the Sailors Union of the Pacific adopted a resolution comparing the New Deal with "the typical raw deal that an organized labor has always gotten from labor-hating bosses and politicians," and resolving: "That we protest the usurpation of dictatorial power implicit in the threats to prosecute workers for striking to defend their livelihood and declare that we will resist to the utmost any attempt at fascist regimentation of American labor. . . ."

Defense Organized

On August 22, when it was seen the Department of Justice was out to indict as many WPA strikers as possible, the Minneapolis labor movement set up its WPA Defense Committee, made

up of representatives from the Minneapolis Central Labor Union, the Building Trades Council, the Printing Trades Council, and the Teamsters Joint Council, and began raising funds to defend the strikers. It was this Defense Committee that carried the burden of the defense, and it did a magnificent job. One measure of the Herculean efforts put forth by labor is seen in the \$25,000 raised and expended by the Defense Committee.

Green Joined Defense

On September 4, President William Green of the AFL joined the defense movement by pledging the united support of the AFL to the persecuted Minneapolis WPA strikers. "It seems clear," stated Green, "that the prosecution of relief workers in Minneapolis is persecution. . . ."

"Working people everywhere protest against such a policy pursued by the government at a time when more than 10,000,000 are unemployed. It is bad enough for workers to suffer pain of unemployment. It is cruelly when the government adds to this suffering through persecution such as is being inflicted on workers in Minneapolis."

"The membership of the American Federation of Labor will extend to these persecuted people their sympathy and full measure of moral support. The work of the Minneapolis Central Labor Union in defending these persecuted workers is to be commended."

Federation Rebukes Roosevelt

The president and the secretary of the Minnesota State Federation of Labor added their protests to Green's, dispatching a wire 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 Minneapolis Labor Temple Association met and voted to pledge its \$78,000 property as surety for the strikers' bail bonds.

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

On October 6th and 7th, the WPA Defense Committee held a tag day in Minneapolis during which ten thousand persons donated over \$1,000 to the defense fund.

Unions throughout the nation have donated to the WPA Defense Committee. AFL and CIO unions and unemployed organizations have adopted resolutions of solidarity with the Minneapolis strikers.

In the middle of October the American Federation of Labor's executive council passed a resolution protesting against the federal courts for the persecution of the WPA strikers.

Pressure Wins Victory

Seeing that he could neither bluff nor coerce organized labor to back away from its declared solidarity with the indicted and convicted strikers, realizing that it is an election year and that soon the party he heads and the class he represents would have to present itself as best it could as a "friend of the unemployed," President Roosevelt made an about-face and decided to get out of the Minneapolis situation as gracefully as he could.

Such labor defense cases as that in Minneapolis will become more and more frequent the closer the ruling class pushes this nation towards war. In the days to come, it is worth remembering that the freeing of the Minneapolis strikers was the work of the unions of this city and this nation. So far as those who have been close to the hellish persecution of the Minneapolis strikers are concerned, all efforts of Roosevelt and his supporters to whitewash the New Deal in this case will be unavailing.

N.Y. Laundry Workers Win Five-Day Week

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

Under an agreement negotiated in November between the Laundry Workers' Joint Board, affiliated with the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, and representatives of 75 per cent of the employers of the laundry industry in New York City, the industry is scheduled, on March 15, to go on the 5-day work-week schedule. This constitutes another great step forward for the laundry workers in New York in contrast to the chaotic conditions prevailing in the industry a few years ago when work schedules of 60 hours a week for wages of \$6 or less were not uncommon.

Laundry work remains, however one of the dirtiest and most unhealthful occupations. Laundry employees work amid sloppy water and scalding steam on clothing which frequently is nauseating to handle. With few exceptions, laundries are generally located 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 and other occupational diseases.

AFL Failed

Add this to the picture of a 60-hour work-week, and a living standard based on weekly wages of \$6 to \$12 with no vacations, a 7-day work week and the intimidation exerted by union-hating bosses and foremen, and you have some idea of the industry before the CIO stepped in.

The AFL had been trying to organize the various crafts in the New York industry for more than twenty years. Petty racketeering and competition between the craft unions, however, played right into the hands of the bosses, with the result that the AFL met with little success. Today the remaining AFL local No. 280 has less than 10 per cent of the workers in the industry.

How Union Was Built

The history of the Laundry Workers Joint Board which negotiated the new 5-day work-week contract, dates back less than three years, to March 1937, when over 1,000 laundry workers struck in the Brownsville section of New York (Brooklyn). After five weeks the strike was favorably settled for Local 280. This initial victory provided a favorable opportunity for further organizational advances. The AFL missed its chance and gave no support to the drive. The militants of Lo-

cal 280 thereupon joined with the laundry drivers of Local 810 and affiliated themselves to the CIO as the "United Laundry Workers" and later to the ACWA as Local 300 of that organization. Within a few short weeks unionization was proceeding in bang-up fashion and in two months the new union had grown from 1,300 to 15,000 members. Today it has organized more than 30,000 laundry workers.

Local 300 remains as the Manhattan and Bronx local and there are eight other local unions in the Joint Board, including five covering family laundries in Westchester, Williamsburg, Brownsville, Boro Park, Queens and Nassau, a Linen Supply Local, a wholesale local and a hand laundry local. In addition there is a local of agent-drivers (regular drivers are organized directly into the Joint Board) affiliated directly to the ACWA.

Much to Be Done

The workers, however, cannot by any means afford to rest on their laurels or be content merely to safeguard victories already won. In spite of the great achievements of the last three years, the sanitary facilities and health protection are still frequently non-existent or mere excuses for what they should be. The Chinese laundries have hardly been touched by unionization, and as long as this large section of the industry remains unorganized it constitutes a constant threat to the standards of the organized plants.

Despite the great victory of the 5-day week, the wages remain as low as between \$12 to \$22 per week. The victories already won are only an indication of what can be done. The bosses claimed that the present conditions could not be granted without bankrupting the industry. But the workers won these improved conditions anyway.

Program for Today

The union militants must now press forward for the 100 per cent unionization of the laundry industry and the achievement of a minimum \$30 weekly wage throughout the industry. The 5-day week must be converted to a maximum 40 hour week with no reduction in pay. Only through such a fighting program will the laundry workers achieve full realization of their struggle for decent working conditions and economic security.

A LAUNDRY WORKER

Strike Begins at Toledo Gas Plant As Talks Fail

By DOYLE CLARK

TOLEDO, Ohio, Feb. 1.—Failure of the Ohio Fuel Gas Co. to come to terms with the Gas and By-Products Workers local union No. 12024 resulted in a strike here early today. Negotiations had proceeded in vain until 5:30 a.m. this morning, when, as the Company officials showed no signs of yielding to the union demands of a 12½ per cent wage increase, full seniority rights, closed shop, and a signed contract, the union membership voted unanimously to strike. The workers due to go on duty at 7:00 a.m. refused to enter the plants and the strike was in full swing.

Scabs Imported

With customary alacrity the company proceeded to import out-of-town scabs while with the same breath they launched an attack on the union for bringing in "outside elements" to help lead the strike. Offers of union men, thoroughly trained in gas-machine operation, to operate the plants at minimum production were turned down cold by the company which preferred to lower morale and wages by an importation of untrained and non-union firms.

On all points which the union raised the company equivocated. They held out against the demand for an increase of 12½ per cent, and very tentatively "agreed" to a possible 5 per cent

increase—provided the city council was able to adjust local gas rates in the company's favor.

Obviously the company was using the threat of strike as a club with which to force city politicians to raise rates. C. H. Fell, Vice President of the United Mine Workers, with which the strikers are affiliated, summed the situation up aptly when he remarked: ". . . the gas companies are attempting to use the union as a 'guinea pig'. We refuse to be a bat which the companies can hold over the City Council in order to get the rate they want."

Press Anti-Union

The Toledo Blade, a Hearst-Paul Black rag of the smallest sort, wrote up heavily biased stories on the situation heaping upon implication abuse upon the union. A front page editorial also appeared in which it is pointed out that the gas company is a "PUBLIC" utility. The underhanded aim of the editors is evidently to mislead the readers into thinking that the utility is municipally owned. This is a vicious falsehood. The Ohio Fuel Gas Co. is a private enterprise which piles up a goodly profit each year and enables its owners to roll in limousines and mansions. In this struggle, as in all similar struggles it is not difficult to see on which side the police, press, radio, public opinion (official) are aligned.

BRITISH DECREE FORCED LABOR FOR NEGROES IN COLONIES

Forced labor is now in force in Nigeria, the Cameroons and other British colonies in Africa. The British Government has invoked the forced labor regulations instituted at the beginning of the second world war, the Baltimore Afro-American reports.

The regulations provide that able-bodied natives between the ages of 18 and 40 may be required to work as carriers or motor drivers to facilitate the movement of military forces or for the transport of arms, equipment or stores for the military forces.

In practice it means that the natives may be taken from their villages and used in any kind of work essential to carrying on the war. This includes farming, forestry, manufacturing, road construction and common labor.

ately an executive order to this effect.

The political program of the UMW, and in a sense of the CIO, remained hanging in mid-air. After vigorous debate, the convention adopted the Lewis recommendations empowering the "International Executive Board to take 'appropriate action' and to render 'such reasonable financial support as circumstances may warrant at the proper time in support of the program that may be agreed upon and worked out in cooperation with Labor's Non-Partisan League.'"

The convention paid silent tribute in its last session to its working class heroes when all the delegates stood in silence in commemoration of the three union members killed last year by gunmen in "Bloody" Harlan County, Kentucky.

The British authorities may go to a village and take seventy-five out of every one hundred men and work them for seven consecutive days, or it may take twenty-five out of every hundred and use them for fifty days. If the service required is less than one hour the natives must perform it without pay. Otherwise he gets the prevailing wage, usually less than twenty-five cents a day.

Protest Leaders Arrested

Under the emergency war regulations which allows the British authorities to make "preventive arrests" the leaders who would protest against any of the war regulations imposed on the natives, have been arrested.

Some time ago, Wallace Johnson, organizer of the West African Youth League and of the West African native miners was arrested and placed in prison for the duration of the war.

In the West Indies, Uriah Butler who led the general strike in Trinidad in 1938 has been arrested under the emergency war regulations.

Reports that the French Government is sending M. Galan Daur, native deputy from Senegal back home on a mission to boost native recruiting indicates that African young men are not rallying to the colors in the way that France would like them to.

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The Negro Question

By J. R. JOHNSON

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 study.

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 Internationalist* 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 created by it.

"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 locality."

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 propertyed 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 propertyed 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 Woofery, 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

What attitude should a class-

conscious worker adopt towards

the Soviet-Finnish war?

The problem is in reality not

so difficult as some people would

have us believe. The worker who

does not permit himself to be

confused by the propaganda of

the capitalist press, by the whin-

ings of all the varieties of middle-

class intellectuals, including those

who call themselves "socialists"

and those who use Marxist phras-

eology; the worker who bases

himself on the fundamentals of

revolutionary Marxism and who

approaches the whole problem

from the standpoint of the histor-

ic interests of the working class,

will readily agree that the policy

adopted by the Socialist Work-

ers Party is not only clear and

simple to understand, but is the

only policy that is in harmony

with the principles of revolution-

ary socialism and therefore one

hundred per cent correct.

REVOLUTIONARY ROOTS

OF THE SOVIET UNION

The revolutionary worker, in

trying to arrive at a correct con-

clusion as to what attitude he

should take towards the struggle

between the Soviet Union and

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 his-

tory of mankind. Under the lead-

ership of Lenin the Russian

masses destroyed the capitalist

army, police force, jails, legisla-

tive, executive and judicial or-

gans, in a word, the capitalist

state that protected the interests

of the Russian capitalists and

landlords. Under the leadership

of Lenin the Russian masses cre-

ated a new type of state, the

Soviet state, based on the idea

that the workers should control

their own destinies both political-

ly and economically. The workers'

state proceeded to nationalize all

industry. The capitalists fled the

country.

There are some people, pre-

tending 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

former Russian capitalists who

are now living in France, England

and the United States and vocif-

erously proclaiming the need to

defend democratic Finland. To

the worker who is not misled by

phrases any revolution in which

the masses take the industries

away from the capitalists is a

proletarian revolution.

It is true that the terrible con-

ditions under which the revolu-

tion was consummated did not

permit the workers' state to put

into practice the degree of de-

mocracy that Lenin dreamed of,

but in spite of everything the

Russian workers had greater

freedom and greater rights un-

der the early Soviet regime than

any group of workers ever had in

the history of mankind. Their vic-

torious struggle against the ar-

mies of the Russian, French, Eng-

lish and American capitalists tes-

tifies to that fact.

REACTIONARY ROOTS

OF BOURGEOIS FINLAND

Now let us take a look at the

origin of Finland. The story is

simple. Under the leadership of

Mannerheim and supported, first

by the German imperialists, and

then by the English imperialists,

the Finnish white guards suc-

ceeded in defeating the Finnish

workers, exterminating tens of

thousands of them physically and

establishing on their blood 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 capitalist democracy was smeared

over but hardly succeeded in

concealing the capitalist exploita-

tion which exists there. Essen-

tially it is the same Finland that

was created by virtue of the de-

feat 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 lead-

ership 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

likely to go far astray and land

in company which, to put it mildly,

is far from interested in the

welfare of the Finnish or any

other workers.

IS ANYTHING LEFT OF

THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTION?

Is there anything left of the

revolution, of the work of the

Russian masses guided by Lenin?

DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY

TO BUREAUCRACY

But circumstances prevented

the achievement of the ideal of a

democratic Soviet state. The ex-

treme backwardness of Russia,

war began. The cry for drastic

mass action was heard on all

sides.

But the Gandhi crowd who hold

the reins of the Congress move-

ment tightly in their hands trem-

bled before the prospects of revolu-

tion. Representing the native

landowning class, merchants,

money lenders and mill owners

who fear for their property at

least as much as do the British

rulers, the Gandhi-Nehru reac-

tionaries deliberately set about

quelling and dampening the spir-

it of the masses.

Beheading the Movement

For a time they were swept

along and issued "radical" slog-

ans and demands for democratic

purposes (immediate independ-

ence, a Constituent Assembly,

etc.). But not for long. A period

of aimless, endless and demoral-

izing negotiations with the Vice-

roy began. No lead was given

the country, except continuous

exhortations to refrain from ac-

tion and violence.

At the last meeting of the Ex-

ecutive Working Committee of

the Congress (December, 1939),

Gandhi was appointed Supreme

Dictator, with authority to make

decisions, set aside previous de-

cisions and decide policy by him-

self. He was authorized to make

an agreement with the British.

His weekly paper, *Harijan*, has

become the weekly instruction

bulletin for Congress organizers

and workers. Any effort to in-

stitute a "Civil Disobedience" cam-

paign was frowned upon and op-

posed. Gandhi stated, "We can-

not 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

nationalists (Bose), socialists

and Stalinists. They, who were

demanding action, were consid-

ered the real enemy by the Gan-

di traitors. Subhas Bose, leader

of the 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

foot which has kicked it in the

face!"

But the country has not been

silent during this period. It is

still absolutely correct to say that

India is solidly against support

of the war and is proving this in ac-

tion. The organized opposition is

led by the Congress left-wing; the

unions of workers and peasants,

the Socialists, the Stalinists, and

the supporters of Subhas Bose.

Stirrings of Revolt

To cite but a few instances: On

October 2 there was a one-day

political strike against the war

by 90,000 textile workers of Bom-

bay. In Madras, Bose addressed

an anti-war demonstration of

100,000 people. At Nagpur on Oc-

tober 9 an anti-imperialist con-

ference under the presidency of

Bose was attended by 30,000 dele-

gates. Strikes of jute workers in

Calcutta are still going on, and

rapid growth of the peasant un-

ions in Madras, Punjab and Ben-

gal provinces is reported.

There are too many niggers

and too many white people look-

ing for the same job."

There are too many niggers

and too many white people look-

ing for the same job."

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2. Open the idle factories—operate them under workers' control.
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4. Thirty-three—\$30-weekly minimum wage—\$0-hourly weekly maximum for all workers on all jobs.
5. Thirty dollar weekly old-age and disability pension.
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8. A people's referendum on any and all wars.
9. No secret diplomacy.
10. An independent Labor Party.
11. 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 union.

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 wouldn't, "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 DEFENSE 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 Pacific. 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 is 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

By RUTH JEFFRIES

A drive was launched last week in the capitalist press to increase to two and a quarter million dollars the annual subsidy for the "anti trust" division of the Department of Justice. That is the division, headed by Assistant Attorney-General Thurman Arnold, which is concentrating on a reactionary drive to destroy the building trades unions. Typical of the barrage of newspaper propaganda is a featured series in the Scripps-Howard chain. It pictures Arnold as a crusader who is slashing building costs, spurring the construction industry on, etc.

One need go no further than these articles, however, to see 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 materials" is the attempt by contractors to bring to a building job plumbing fixtures, completely assembled and adjusted for installation. The assembling and adjusting has been done, after the actual manufacture of the fixtures, by coolie labor. The plumbers unions insist that assembling and adjusting shall be done on the job by union plumbers at union wages. Here is a clear example of a conflict between bosses and unions over wages and working conditions. Yet, under the crooked formula of "cheaper materials"—naturally all coolie-worked goods will be cheaper!—Arnold seeks to rule for the bosses against the unions.

"Hiring of unnecessary labor" becomes a crime under Arnold's ruling. But the whole fight of unions against speed-up, stretch-out, etc., is always countered by

the bosses as adding "unnecessary labor."

That Arnold has already indicted over 400 labor union officials, with many more indictments to come, doesn't begin to satisfy the Scripps-Howard press. It says:

"Results thus far are small compared with what can be done by a widening of the inquiry as planned by the Justice Department, the ultimate large-scale success depending now only upon a grant by Congress of sufficient funds."

BANKS RESPONSIBLE FOR
HIGH COST OF HOUSING

The indisputable testimony—presented last summer before the Temporary National Economic Committee—which proved conclusively that labor is actually the least significant factor in the high cost of housing, and that the stranglehold of the banks over the industry is by far the most important—is never once alluded to in the newspapers, most of which blandly ignored the testimony when it was given.

The papers buried in their back pages the testimony of Dr. Theodore Keps of the TNEC consulting staff, who said that the monthly carrying charge dictated by the banks is the really important point to attack, and that housing costs could be lowered more by cutting the monthly carrying charge from 5 to 4 per cent than by cutting wages 50 per cent. The papers never published at all the testimony of Robert Davidson, Pierce Foundation housing director, who estimated that a 20 per cent cut in interest and amortization charges would cut monthly fixed charges 16.69 per cent; that 20 per cent off material cost would knock 9.33 per cent off monthly fixed charges—but that alike cut in labor costs would subtract only 4.67 per cent!

The papers never bothered to reveal that the banks, which Arnold declared as "not within the scope" of his investigation, control every important factor, except labor, in the construction

industry—real estate, financing, and even the giant supply and construction companies through closely interlocking directorates.

ONE STEP ALL UNIONS
SHOULD TAKE NOW

Following is an excellent model-resolution, already introduced in unions in New York, a copy of which has just been received by us:

"Whereas, the Department of Justice and other governmental agencies have indicted over 100 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 Anti-Trust Act, which specifically 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 present national administration to destroy the effectiveness and fighting strength of the entire labor movement, and thus to destroy the gains achieved by labor through many years of effort, and 'Whereas, both the unions affiliated with the AFL and the CIO will suffer if this union-busting campaign is allowed to continue unchallenged,

"THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED! That local Union No. . . . go on record protesting the union busting campaign initiated by Thurman Arnold and the Department of Justice, with the aid and approval of the Roosevelt administration, and as opposed to the appropriation of further monies by Congress for this purpose, and be it further

"RESOLVED: That we request our International Office and the CIO (or AFL) to inaugurate a great educational campaign exposing the aims and purposes of this anti-union campaign, and be it further

"RESOLVED: That copies of this resolution be sent to John L. Lewis (or Wm. Green), our International office and the labor press."

Their Government

by James Burnham

John L. Lewis and
The Labor Party

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 polls.

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 rights; 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 wave.

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 bark.

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 bureaucracy.

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 lip-service to labor.

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 threw this conclusion for themselves in spite of their not hearing it from the platform.

A first step to put this conclusion into practice 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.

SPARKS IN THE NEWS

by Dwight Macdonald

Letter from Canada

A friend sends in a letter he received from a friend in Winnipeg, Manitoba:

"My Dear R. . . . As for your request for news of how people here are taking the war, as yet 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 to the tracks.

"That was quite an unsavory district late Saturday nights even when you lived here, as I guess you will recall. Last night it really hummed. The worst yet.

"Hundreds of troops packed the sidewalks. Obviously 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' certainly 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 angels from the navel down. . . . Along the street, bulging saloons sloped out Polish-speaking 'Scots' in kilts. Waiting prostitutes patriotically set bargain prices for the ejected soaks. . . ."

"A little mimeographed socialist anti-war sheet 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 inspiring sight—harmless little Lucille red-facedly buying an illegal revolutionary sheet. . . ."

"I crossed the street to the 'politer' side to buy some matches. The storekeeper, usually a jolly fellow, appeared very downcast. He'd been watching the 'doings' across the way.

"Cold tonight, isn't it? . . . Fellow's just been in, said there'd been 20,000 recruits in Manitoba already. . . . There'll be millions killed again."

"I agreed, and the War Acts being what they are, merely added that in ancient Egypt the figure 1,000,000 was represented by a picture of a man bent in bewilderment at the enormity.

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

One thing might be added to this account: it is estimated that 75 per cent of Canada's volunteers were unemployed."

How Much Longer
Will They Be Patient?

Last July and August, 775,000 men and women were dropped from the WPA rolls. On January 25, Col. Harrington announced that of these 775,000, just 100,750 (or 13 per cent) had found jobs in private industry by the end of last November. (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 knows it.

What became of the 87 per cent who did not 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 begging.

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 year, just as he did this year.

How much longer are the unemployed going to take it in silence and submission? A few really 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 things besides Easter egg rolling!

ANTI-WAR MEETING

HOW CLOSE ARE WE TO WAR?

Speakers:

JAMES P. CANNON

Nat'l Secretary, Socialist Workers Party

SARAH RICE

Former Yorkville C.P. leader

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