

# The Two-a-Week is a Political Necessity — We MUST Have It!

by FARRELL DOBBS  
(National Labor Secretary)

In the short period of one month since the adjournment of the Third Convention of the Socialist Workers Party the orientation of the party towards mass work has been carried out with such vigor and enthusiasm that important results have already been reported.

Not dismayed by the desertions from our ranks by the splitters and renegades, the proletarian majority of the S.W.P. is daily discovering new sinews of strength and new sources of proletarian membership.

The manifold problems of the trade-union movement are now more than ever an important part of the problems of the party. Important mass actions arise constantly on an ever-broader front. Unlike literary activity and internal discussion within a party, the mass work presents daily problems which must have an immediate answer. A plan of action which is worked out in the morning is very often tested in practice during the afternoon.

These factors demonstrate the profound need for accurate, up-to-the-minute general information on the trends and developments in the trade union movement.

The party press, the main source of this information, is an indispensable implement for the party members engaged in mass work and for the development of the most advanced trade unionists who are coming towards the party. Special distributions of the party press are being carried out regularly in auto, steel, maritime, among the unorganized factory workers, and in many other fields. Inspiring results have been obtained through this work.

Indispensable as it now is, the party press will be even more valuable when it is published more frequently. The two-a-week **Appeal** will be a decisive factor in increasing the tempo of party mass work. It will enhance general efficiency by keeping both party and non-party readers more closely informed of day-by-day events and developments as they appear in the light of class struggle perspectives and analysis.

Push the two-a-week **Appeal** campaign to accelerate the development of party mass work!

The Scoreboard that indexes the approach of the twice-weekly rose slightly this week. \$81.35 came into the fund, which brings the percentage of fulfillment up to 16%. \$699.35 is the total to date.

Lynn made the biggest gain this week with its \$29.00 remittance. This puts the Lynn branch second on the scoreboard. How about it, are you other branches going to let Lynn keep this place without a good fight?

Boston is now tied with East Chicago for fifth place.

Detroit was the next to go up on the scoreboard. It now holds ninth place.

Indianapolis came through with a pledge of \$20. How about you other branches that haven't pledged yet?

Let's go to work! Only 53 days left! And \$3520.65 to raise.

## SCOREBOARD

Branch	Pledged	Paid	%
Upstate New York	\$ 50.00	\$ 50.00	100
Lynn	50.00	29.00	58
Chicago	100.00	50.00	50
Flint	100.00	50.00	50
St. Paul	200.00	83.00	41
Boston	170.00	70.00	41
East Chicago	25.00	10.00	40
New York City	1800.00	300.00	23
Detroit	75.00	11.35	15
National Office	550.00	41.00	7
San Francisco	100.00	5.00	5
Maritime Workers	780.00	0.00	0
Minneapolis	300.00	0.00	0
Newark	100.00	0.00	0
Los Angeles	100.00	0.00	0
New Haven	55.00	0.00	0
Toledo	40.00	0.00	0
Philadelphia	25.00	0.00	0
Omaha	25.00	0.00	0
Indianapolis	20.00	0.00	0
Seattle	10.00	0.00	0
Portland	10.00	0.00	0
Oakland	10.00	0.00	0
Akron	10.00	0.00	0
Total	\$4210.00	699.35	16.6

# Socialist Appeal

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## EYES OF ALL LABOR ON S.W.O.C.

### Steel Workers! The Fight for the 6-Hour Day at 8-Hour Pay is Main Fight Now! Convention Opening At Chicago, May 15

Greetings:

The eyes of the nation's workers are on your convention. What you do there, what you plan for tomorrow, will have deep significance for all American labor, organized and unorganized.

Steel is the very heart of American industry. It pumps its strong blood into all branches of manufacturing, transportation and construction. Steel fabricates the homes of peace and the cannon of war. When steel is prosperous, industry booms and when steel tailspins, the country hits the skidroad of depression.

Before the CIO, control of your industry rested unchallenged in the hands of a pack of pirates. They sweated the mill workers for twelve hours a day. They hired and fired without regard to age or service. They herded the workers families into slum-ridden company towns when the furnaces were high and moved them out on the streets when the fires died down. They smashed strikes—Homestead, McKeesport, the 1919 strike—with Pinkertons, gunmen, deputies, troops. They spilled the blood of workingmen like water.

Since the CIO, at least in Big Steel and some of the independents, the steel magnates have been forced to share some of the control with the workers. Hours have been forced down, wages are no longer jockeyed around at the whim of the big boss, seniority has been established and the union has a strong voice in hiring and firing. The union

of the steel workers is a force to be reckoned with. The CIO means representation and strength for the men in the mills.

It is true the workers have a voice today where they were silent and beaten only a few years ago. But never forget that the final word still belongs to the same crooked gang headed by J. P. Morgan and officered by Stettinius, Girdler, Grace, Weir and a few others. They control because they own—and because they own they don't have to set foot in a mill or get a square inch of soot on their swallow-tailed evening clothes.

This ownership pours a golden stream of coupons into their laps every year and they don't have to move out of their streamlined swivel-chairs in Wall Street and LaSalle Street to get it.

In 1939 they hit the jackpot again.

United States Steel raked in \$41,119,934.00.

Bethlehem Steel took \$24,638,384.00.

National Steel made \$12,581,636.00.

Republic Steel made ten million, Inland Steel made ten million, American Rolling Mills four million, Youngstown Sheet and Tube five million and Jones and Laughlin hit the breadline with three million.

The war in Europe put the industry at top production schedules; 1939 was a prosperous year—for the steel bosses. The big haul (not counting dividends)—they call it

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### Chicago Milk Drivers' Strike Smashes Bosses' Attempt to Cut Pay 25 Per Cent

CHICAGO, May 6—Chicago's milk drivers are back at work after a whirlwind strike in which they smashed the bosses' demand for an immediate pay cut of 25%.

They returned to their trucks with a guarantee of the \$48 a week wage scale until a new agreement is concluded.

The Milk Dealers Association had demanded of the union that a wage scale of \$30 per week must be put into effect, in place of the previous scale of \$48 per week, before the association would negotiate a new contract with the union.

The Milk Drivers Union answered that their wage scale could not and would not be lowered, and that negotiations must begin immediately with the wage scale remaining intact. The bosses said "lockout," the workers answered with "STRIKE." The strike vote was unanimous, and two days later the strike had

#### Powerful Strike Machine

It was a magnificent demonstration of working class organization. The morning of May 1 found the city completely tied up. The union serviced the hospitals and orphanages. Not a truck of Bowman, Borden, Wanzer, Capitol, and Western-United moved out of the garage, and nothing could move into or out of these plants. Flying squadrons were everywhere. Every highway lead-

ing into Chicago was covered by union patrols. Every barn had enough pickets around to insure respect for the strike.

Besides this the inside dairy workers, for the first time in the union's history, went out in a body, and demanded a contract together with the drivers. Also, the vendors (milk jobbers) who are a special problem to the drivers, and who had been counted upon by the bosses to break the strike, rejected the bosses' overtures and moved towards the union.

The bosses also considered the fact that on May 2, a day after the strike began, the Teamster Joint Council met, and a proposal was submitted by the Bakery and Pop Drivers section, urging sympathy strike action because their

respective bosses' associations had held over signature of their contract pending the outcome of the milk strike. Also, the Teamster International organization was wholeheartedly backing the strike.

### Fight Against Unemployment is Main Issue; To Plan Organizing Drive; Many Lodges Ask for Constitutional Convention

CHICAGO, Illinois—Meeting in Chicago for its second national convention, opening May 15, the Steel Workers Organizing Committee prepared to adopt a program of action to complete the unionization of the steel industry and to deal with the other problems confronting the steel workers.

Looking back on its accomplishments in its three and a half years of existence, the members of the SWOC have a right to be proud. For the first time in the history of this once notoriously open-shop industry, a genuine union of its workers exists. Over 500 contracts, including many providing for closed shops, have been signed. More than 600,000 workers are protected by wage-hour clauses and seniority rights. U.S. Steel, once the citadel of anti-unionism, is now covered by a signed contract.

Hundreds of other plants, both large and small, where once to be a union member was considered suicidal, are now represented by militant, well-organized lodges. However, the SWOC is not meeting to bask in the light of its past deeds. Its task now is to deal with the many new problems that have arisen since the first national convention held in Pittsburgh in 1937.

#### 30-Hour Week Issue

In the thirty months elapsed since that meeting, over 25,000 steel men have been added to the ranks of the unemployed as a result of the rapid installation of mechanized strip mills.

The only answer to this most serious threat is the adoption of a program calling for the thirty-hour week. Hundreds of thousands of steel workers throughout the country are anxiously awaiting the launching of a campaign based upon this demand.

#### Want Constitutional Convention

An important issue to come up for discussion, will be the question of calling a constitutional convention in the near future.

A number of lodges from various steel centers have passed resolutions calling for such action. The demand for an autonomous international union resulting from such a constitutional convention is widespread and will undoubtedly be a major topic of interest.

#### Organizing Campaign

Another very important point of the convention will be the launching of a vigorous organiz-

ing campaign to complete the unionization of the remaining non-union plants. Chief among these is the Bethlehem Steel Corporation, second largest steel producer in the U.S. and one of the world's greatest armament manufacturers. This gigantic firm, one of the few remaining strongholds of company unionism, still is not strongly organized. More than likely, there will be a strong sentiment for a nationwide drive to bring under signed contract Inland, Youngstown, and Republic Steel Company, and to consolidate the grip of the SWOC in the deep South, now one of the major steel districts in the country.

Worried by the growing movement on the part of the bosses to embroil this country in the imperialist war raging in Europe, the steel workers are expected to pass vigorous resolutions denouncing such efforts. Already hundreds of anti-war resolutions have been forwarded to Pittsburgh from the lodges throughout the country. At the last convention, the steel workers passed a resolution supporting an amendment for a popular referendum on war. It is expected that they will reiterate their stand on this crucial question at the 1940 convention.

Hundreds of thousands of steel workers throughout the nation are eagerly awaiting the decisions on these issues. They are prepared to follow a program calling for militant action. This convention must not disappoint them!

## Open Letter to the Workers of the U.S.S.R. — By Leon Trotsky

Greetings to the Soviet workers, collective farmers, soldiers of the Red Army and sailors of the Red Navy! Greetings from distant Mexico where I found refuge after the Stalinist clique had exiled me to Turkey and after the bourgeoisie had hounded me from country to country!

Dear Comrades! The lying Stalinist press has been maliciously deceiving you for a long time on all questions, including those which relate to myself and my political co-thinkers. You possess no workers' press; you read only the press of the bureaucracy, which lies systematically so as to keep you in darkness and thus render secure the rule of a privileged parasitic caste.

Those who dare raise their voices against the universally hated bureaucracy are called "Trotskyists," agents of a foreign power; branded as spies—yesterday it was spies of Germany, today it is spies of England and France—and then sent to face the firing squad. Tens of thousands of revolutionary fighters have fallen before the muzzles of G.P.U. Mausers in the USSR and in countries abroad, especially in Spain. All of them were depicted as agents of Fascism. Do not believe this abominable slander! Their crime consisted of defending workers and peasants against the brutality and rapacity of the bureaucracy. The entire Old Guard of Bolshevism, all the collaborators and assistants of Lenin, all the fighters of the October revolution, all the heroes of the Civil War, have been murdered by Stalin. In the annals of history Stalin's name will forever be recorded with the infamous brand of Cain!

### Revolution Was Not Made for Bureaucrats

The October revolution was accomplished for the sake of the toilers and not for the sake of new parasites. But due to the lag of the world revolution, due to the fatigue and, to a large measure, the backwardness of the Russian workers and especially the Russian peasants, there raised itself over the Soviet Republic and against its peoples a new oppressive and parasitic caste, whose leader is Stalin. The former Bolshevik party was turned into an apparatus of this caste. The world organization which the Communist International once was is today a pliant tool of the Moscow oligarchy. Soviets of Workers and Peasants have long perished. They have been replaced by degenerate Commissars, Secretaries and G.P.U. agents.

But, fortunately, among the surviving conquests of the October revolution are the nationalized industry and the collectivized Soviet

economy. Upon this foundation Workers' Soviets can build a new and happier society. This foundation cannot be surrendered by us to the world bourgeoisie under any conditions. It is the duty of revolutionists to defend tooth and nail every position gained by the working class, whether it involves democratic rights, wage scales, or so colossal a conquest of mankind as the nationalization of the means of production and planned economy. Those who are incapable of defending conquests already gained can never fight for new ones. Against the imperialist foe we will defend the USSR with all our might. However, the conquests of the October revolution will serve the people only if they prove themselves capable of dealing with the Stalinist bureaucracy, as in their day they dealt with the Tsarist bureaucracy and the bourgeoisie.

### Stalinism Endangers the Soviet Union

If Soviet economic life had been conducted in the interests of the people; if the bureaucracy had not devoured and vainly wasted the major portion of the national income; if the bureaucracy had not trampled underfoot the vital interests of the population, then the USSR would have been a great magnetic pole of attraction for the toilers of the world and the inviolability of the Soviet Union would have been assured. But the infamous oppressive regime of Stalin has deprived the USSR of its attractive power. During the war with Finland, not only the majority of the Finnish peasants but also the majority of the Finnish workers, proved to be on the side of their bourgeoisie. This is hardly surprising since they know of the unprecedented oppression to which the Stalinist bureaucracy subjects the workers of near-by Leningrad and the whole of the USSR. The Stalinist bureaucracy, so bloodthirsty and ruthless at home and so cowardly before the imperialist enemies, has thus become the main source of war danger to the Soviet Union.

The old Bolshevik party and the Third International have disintegrated and decomposed. The honest and advanced revolutionists have organized abroad the Fourth International which has sections already established in most of the countries of the world. I am a member of this new International. In participating in this work I remain under the very same banner that I served together with you or your fathers and your older brothers in 1917 and throughout the years of the Civil War—the very same banner under which together with Lenin we built the Soviet state and the Red Army.

### Revolutionary Goal of the Fourth International

The goal of the Fourth International is to extend the October revolution to the whole world and at the same time to regenerate the USSR by purging it of the parasitic bureaucracy. This can be achieved only in one way: By the workers, peasants, Red Army soldiers and Red Navy sailors, rising against the new caste of oppressors and parasites. To prepare this uprising, a new party is needed—a bold and honest revolutionary organization of the advanced workers. The Fourth International sets as its task the building of such a party in the USSR.

Advanced workers! Be the first to rally to the banner of Marx and Lenin which is now the banner of the Fourth International! Learn how to create, in the conditions of Stalinist illegality, tightly fused, reliable revolutionary circles! Establish contacts between these circles! Learn how to establish contacts—through loyal and reliable people, especially the sailors—with your revolutionary co-thinkers in bourgeois lands! It is difficult, but it can be done.

The present war will spread more and more, piling ruins on ruins, breeding more and more sorrow, despair and protest, driving the whole world toward new revolutionary explosions. The world revolution shall re-invigorate the Soviet working masses with new courage and resoluteness and shall undermine the bureaucratic props of Stalin's caste. It is necessary to prepare for this hour by stubborn systematic revolutionary work. The fate of our country, the future of our people, the destiny of our children and grandchildren are at stake.

Down With Cain Stalin and his Camarilla!

Down With the Rapacious Bureaucracy!

Long Live the Soviet Union, the Fortress of the Toilers!

Long Live the World Socialist Revolution!

Fraternally,

LEON TROTSKY

WARNING! Stalin's press will of course declare that this letter is transmitted to the USSR by "agents of imperialism." Be forewarned that this, too, is a lie. This letter will reach the USSR through reliable revolutionists who are prepared to risk their lives for the cause of socialism. Make copies of this letter and give it the widest possible circulation.—L.T.

## Behind the Lines

New Tricks of Rooseveltian Secret War Diplomacy

by GEORGE STERN

Rooseveltian secret diplomacy is working overtime at the job of preparing the entry of this country into the war.

Most of this activity never reaches the public prints. Some of it does and then only in the form of meager announcements and fulsome denials.

Most recent development of this kind was Roosevelt's exchange last week with Mussolini. William Phillips, the U.S. ambassador in Rome, called on Ciano, the foreign minister, and later had a personal talk with Mussolini himself. On Friday this was paralleled here by an unusual interview between Roosevelt and Prince Colonna, the Italian ambassador at Washington.

To curious newspapermen at a press conference the next day, President Roosevelt said he was trying to prevent extension of the European conflict.

"That was all that he felt it was appropriate to reveal at this time," added the New York Times account. But if any doubt were present as to the nature of the American move, the jubilation in the French press over it the next day cleared that up.

Just what did Phillips tell Mussolini and what did Roosevelt tell Colonna? Did they merely warn, as the papers

would have it, that Italian entry would mean extension of the U.S. embargo to the Mediterranean? Or did they serve solemn notice on the Duce that his entry on Germany's side would hasten American entry on the side of the Allies? Is Roosevelt playing with the lives of American youth in order to serve the ends of the jigsaw diplomatic games of his French and British friends?

Another recent glimpse of what is going on behind the scenes was vouchsafed to the people when W. L. Mackenzie King, the Canadian premier, paid what was called a "private" visit to Roosevelt, at Warm Springs and again at the White House. Roosevelt said he had a nice "social call" and then, according to the Herald Tribune, "he winked, as though to convey the idea that more than a nice social talk had taken place."

Behind this heavy humor apparently lay also consultations that forebode ill for the future. The Herald Tribune gave the following details of this "social" meeting:

"The United States and Canada are beginning to talk over their common defense problems in the light of the war in Europe and Asia. One important

(Continued on Page 3)



# WORKERS' FORUM

Write to us—tell us what's going on in your part of the labor movement—what are the workers thinking about?—tell us what the bosses are up to—and the G-men and the local cops—and the Stalinists—send us that story the capitalist press didn't print and that story they buried or distorted—our pages are open to you. Letters must carry name and address, but indicate if you do not want your name printed.

## No May Day This Year For Clothing Workers

Editor: My experience yesterday while selling Appeals at the Workmen's Circle Lyceum may be of interest. The Chicago section of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers is not holding a May Day celebration this year. The official explanation is that now that Stalin and Hitler celebrate May Day, it has ceased being our holiday. This breaks a tradition of twenty-four consecutive years of celebration and no work on the first of May. This year you can work if you want to.

The members of the Amalgamated who understand what May Day is had this to comment on the decree abolishing May Day:

"Hitler also eats, does that mean we shouldn't."

"Samuel Levin, (Chicago Manager of the Amalgamated) wants to prove to his fellow members of the Chicago Board of Education that he is a 100 and 1% American, and this is how he does it." (Levin is an appointee of the Kelly-Nash machine.)

Was this a national policy, did they work in New York City? Chicago, Ill. Karl Hillier

[The same policy prevailed in New York—EDITORS.]

## California Canneries "Manned" by Woman

Editor: I was very much interested in the articles printed in recent issues of the Appeal on Women and Socialism. Women have so much more to look forward to under the new system than they can ever hope to attain under the present system of inequality and exploitation.

For a striking example of women's condition under capitalism, one has only to look at the factory system, and at the canneries

here especially, where three quarters of the workers are women, exploited and subjugated to a degree not found in any other industry. Not only are women in this kind of work paid far less in proportion to what they produce, but all the State laws governing minimum wages, conditions of work for women, etc., are declared void because of the seasonal nature of the work, and perishability of goods.

Especially is this true of the fish canneries, where there is the added problem of the uncertainty of work due to the changes of the moon, storms, and generalized vagaries of man and nature. These conditions make it impossible for women who have to work for a living in this industry to have any sort of a "normal" life, such as their bourgeois sisters lead.

Some women in the fish canneries are part of the vast army of migratory workers who travel from one end of the state to the other, working first in fish, then in fruit and vegetable canneries, and then back again to fish. Others, who have managed to establish some sort of stable family life, remain at home after the cannery season closes and either live on the much reduced income that their husbands are able to provide, or must seek work in laundries, as domestic servants, or in some other kind of industry.

These women and their families are forced by economic necessity to sell their labor power at the lowest scale possible to exist. For it is practically impossible for the majority of them to earn enough money to support even themselves, let alone their families, and it is only by using every available member, even down to the smallest child, that they are able to live.

All the hypocritical glamour and romance that surrounds women in bourgeois custom and literature is definitely not for the woman who works in the cannery. San Diego, California. R. D.



We're back again. We haven't been on vacation but we were crowded out of our usual corner by the mountain of convention material that had to be published. Let's begin where we left off last time—subs. The scoreboard below looks pretty imposing, but don't get too cocky because its over a longer period than usual.

Most branches are just beginning to get down to business after the long convention rest. A few, like Los Angeles and Minneapolis, are really making things hum again. The gold medal—if we had one—would go to Los Angeles.

More specifically, we should say the Los Angeles auto comrades. To date they have gathered up at least twenty-five subs from auto workers. And that's just the kind of subs we want, the kind of subs that count. One sub in a workers home is worth ten among the middle class (don't pass them up, of course). Los Angeles is blazing a trail. Now go you and do likewise. Subs received follow:

Washington, D. C.	1
Foreign	2
Minneapolis	14
Fargo	1
Chicago	5
Minnesota	3
New York City	9
Los Angeles	10
St. Paul	3
California	3
Kansas City	1
Philadelphia	1
Massachusetts	3
San Francisco	1
South Carolina	1
Iowa	1
Montana	1
New Jersey	1
Texas	1
E. Chicago	1
Missouri	1
Michigan	1
Cleveland	1
Boston	1
Conn.	1
Flint	2
Total	70

Put an end to all crises in press finances by 50 subs a week!

### SPECIAL EDITIONS

The Detroit comrades wrote that the workers who attended the big Lewis rally ate up our special on auto. When the meeting got dull, the workers whipped out copies of the paper and read them. One worker drew up a resolution on the basis of the Appeal slogan and got it adopted unanimously in the local union. The Toledo comrades did themselves proud in distributing the issue.

This week, the Appeal, is devoted to the steel workers convention. Reports of sales and distribution will appear in this column next week.

### WHERE TO BUY APPEAL IN PITTSBURGH

Hirsch's Book Store, 1623 Center Avenue  
Rose Book Shop, 1332-5th Avenue  
You can read the Appeal at:  
Barber Shop  
426 E. Ohio St., North Side  
International Labor Lyceum  
805 James St., North Side

WANTED: 1937 Bound Volume of the Socialist Appeal. Immediately. We will pay list price. Socialist Appeal Business Office.

The complete numbers of the old Militant, first organ of the Trotskyists in this country: from Nov. 15, 1923 to July, 1930; bound, in perfect condition. For sale—\$20. P. B., c/o Socialist Appeal.

# Bethlehem Steel is the Main Fight Front For New SWOC Unionization Drive

## A Threat to Wage Structure of Union Until it is Organized

Bethlehem Steel Corporation must be the main target in the S.W.O.C.'s campaign to complete the unionization of the steel industry. Employing over 111,000 workers, ranking as the second largest steel producer in the world, and considered one of the world's leading producers of armaments and munitions, this enormously important firm has so far resisted all efforts to really organize it.

The tremendous importance of Bethlehem, which in normal times produces 16% of the total national steel production, is enhanced by the European War. Situated mostly in the East near Atlantic shipping facilities, Bethlehem is one of the American firms which has already reaped huge profits from the European blood bath.

Evidence for this is seen in the statement to its stockholders made by Eugene G. Grace, President of Bethlehem, on April 25 and published in all newspapers. The statement reported that Bethlehem had made almost 11 million dollars net profit for the FIRST THREE MONTHS of this year alone. This was the highest earnings for any first quarter since World War I (who said there is no profit in this war?).

Grace admitted that "export business" (war orders from the European slaughterhouse), was a "more important factor in the company's business than for years." He further added that Bethlehem's production rate had been considerably above the national average.

Because of its export facilities and European connections, Bethlehem is not only able to profit more so far from the War, but what is perhaps even more important, it is the leading manufacturer of heavy armaments in this country. Being the largest ship-builder in America, it is in a position to capitalize on the juicy orders coming from the U.S. Navy which President Roosevelt is frantically expanding. During the last war, Bethlehem became notorious as one of the leading profiteers, making the astonishing amount of 61 million dollars net profit in 1917 alone.

### Viciously Anti-Labor

This gigantic corporation has consistently had a vicious anti-labor policy. One of the reasons for its huge profits is that it has for many years paid below the average wage rate for the industry. This, plus the fact that Bethlehem imports much of its raw materials from cheap, non-union foreign sources, gives it a lower production cost than other steel producers. It vigorously fought the passage of the Walsh-Healy Act, which provides for a minimum wage for employees of steel firms bidding on government contracts.

Today it is the only large steel corporation which refuses to pay the \$5 a day minimum wage for laborers. One of the first companies to adopt the company union plan, it still maintains one, despite the provisions of the Wagner Labor Act.

### Must Be Organized

Because of its threat to the wage structure of unionized plants and because its 111,000 workers cannot longer remain outside the fold of organized labor without affecting union conditions throughout the industry, the S.W.O.C. must start a vigorous campaign to organize this citadel of anti-unionism.

Already its significance has increased as a result of the European War and it grows in importance as the war clouds hover darker over this country.

## GALA SPRING DANCE

Sat., May 11, 1940  
8 P.M.

Downtown Labor Center

51 East 7th Street  
New York City

Admission: 25 cents

Auspices:  
YOUNG PEOPLES SOCIALIST LEAGUE  
NEW YORK DISTRICT

## MINNEAPOLIS CENTRAL BODY ADOPTS ANTI-WAR RESOLUTION

MINNEAPOLIS—Cutting through all the lies and war-mongering surrounding the invasion of Norway, the last meeting of the Minneapolis Central Labor Union again re-affirmed its hatred of all imperialist war by adopting a resolution voicing "militant opposition to any attempt to involve the U.S.A. in war, and declaring in favor of 'international militant working-class solidarity to stop the war.'"

Text of the resolution, adopted unanimously at the April 10th meeting, follows:

WHEREAS, the war now raging in Europe is of a definite imperialist character and against the interests of the overwhelming majority of the population of all nations, and engineered by the war-mongering exploiters of the people of the participating nations, and

WHEREAS, said imperialist war if not stopped may involve nearly all nations, and

WHEREAS, the entrance of the United States into this war would be a crime against more than eighty-five per cent of the population of this nation and in the possible interest only of the war-mongering greedy exploiters representing a small percentage of the population, and

WHEREAS, the invasion of Norway and Denmark is another consequence of said imperialist war and its participant governments, and

WHEREAS, this bloody and contagious war can most successfully be stopped by the international solidarity and militant opposition by the workers and farmers and liberal people of all nations.

BE IT THEREFORE RESOLVED, that this Central Labor Union go on record condemning the invasion of Norway and Denmark caused by the imperialist participants in this war, and

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED, that we go on record re-affirming our position of militant opposition to any attempt to involve the U.S.A. in war, and that we declare in favor of international militant working-class solidarity to stop the war, and

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED, that the Central Labor Union send a letter to all Central Labor Unions in the nation, and call upon all Minneapolis unions to take like action."

Copies of the anti-war resolution were also sent to Roosevelt, congressional representatives from Minnesota, William Green, the public press, and the ambassadors of England, France, Germany, Denmark and Norway.

## Indiana Harbor Lodge Sets Militant Pace

### Spontaneous Strike Last March Put Company on Defensive

When it comes to militancy and union spirit, the boys from the Indiana Harbor plant of the Youngstown Sheet & Tube Co. are way up in front. From the very beginning of the CIO organizing drive in steel, they have shown everyone that a well-organized lodge, having the confidence of all the workers, can really go to town.

Taking part in three strikes since 1937, this lodge is now better than ever and is constantly battling to safeguard and improve the workers' conditions.

All during the Little Steel strike of 1937 the Harbor plant of the Y. & T. Co. was kept shut tighter than a drum. Not a single solitary scab even dared to come near the place. A company union, starting a phony back to work movement, was promptly squelched. For seven weeks a mass picket line was maintained and when the strike was finally settled, the men marched back to work with colors flying, their militancy undampened by the long strain.

Back at work again, the job of organization was completed. The company knew that it had a real union to deal with, one that fought every grievance.

In March of this year a long smoldering grievance came up for action. The company consistently refused to accede to the union's demands. Tiring of fruitless conferences, the men spontaneously struck, tying up all production and showing the now panicky bosses that the men were not going to stand for any more stalling. The company at first tried to make this a test of strength, but seeing that the union was really determined, it capitulated and granted all demands.

However, this is not all. Like

all great steel producers, Youngstown is going in for mechanization throughout the plant. A new Electro-weld Seamless Tube mill was recently installed which cut down the working force by three-fourths and increased production by one-half.

The union men in this department demanded that all employees replaced by the new process be retained and not be made victims of the corporation's insatiable greed for profits. The company refused; but, displaying the old CIO spirit, the men promptly walked out until the company promised to keep all workers. The company was forced to bow to the union's demand. Here the lodge showed the bosses that it was not going to sit idly by and let technological "progress" wreck havoc with the workers.

The record of this lodge is one to make all SWOC members feel proud. Maintaining itself through strikes and layoffs, it is today girding itself for the toughest struggle yet—the ever-growing danger of unemployment.

The boys in the plant, as always, have their answer—a strong campaign for the thirty-hour week!

### Trabajadores de Habla Espanola CONFERENCIA

Patrocinada por el Ateneo Hispano: "Causas del Fracaso de la Revolucion Espanola."

Orador: G. MUNIS (Secretario de la Cuarta Internacional en Espana)

El jueves 9 de Mayo de 1940 a las 8 p.m.

en el

ATENEO HISPANO  
59 Henry Street  
Brooklyn, New York

## GULF SEAMEN FOLLOW S.U.P. IN WAGE RAISE

### West Coast Marine Firemen Get It Too; CP-Led Unions Don't

SAN FRANCISCO, May 4—Seamen won wage increases on a national scale this week when the Seafarers International Union of North America forced Waterman Steamship Co., largest operator in the Gulf, to comply with the standard set by the Seafarers' West Coast affiliate, the Sailors Union of the Pacific.

As reported in last week's Appeal, the S.U.P. blazed the trail for all seamen by a new wage agreement securing a ten dollar per month raise on April 26.

Since then the Marine Firemen of the Pacific have also signed a new wage agreement in line with the raise established by the S.U.P.

### Stalinists Sabotaged Fight

The wage raise might well have been more had there been a united front of all maritime unions, rallied around a militant and aggressive program. But last September 30, when all union agreements expired, the Stalinist-controlled West Coast longshoremen, led by Harry Bridges, put all other unions out on a limb by consenting to an indefinite extension of the contract.

Pacific Coast sailors and firemen, meeting in joint committee, agreed to grant the operators a seven-day extension only, and this policy was ratified by the members of both unions. Shipowners were nearing their peak at that time, and the Sailors and Firemen rightly decided to make hay while the sun was shining.

But then Malone, secretary of the Firemen, under pressure from the shipowners and the Stalinist fraction in the headquarters branch of his union, signed for a 60-day extension of wages after gaining some minor concessions in working rules.

### Sailors Came Through

Left alone, the Sailors Union negotiated working rules and agreed to hold in abeyance the question of wages. Careful preparations in the interim, however, climaxed by a decision of the membership to instruct its officials to conduct a secret referendum strike vote for higher wages, enabled the Sailors Union of the Pacific to come off first best.

The Marine Cooks and Stewards of the Pacific, captive of the Stalinists, followed Bridges, "peace and extension" policy. Only on May 2, after Firemen and Sailors had already won their wage increase, did the Cooks finally serve the bosses with notice of their intention to terminate the present "extension agreement." This agreement contains a clause which requires 60 days notice, which means that the Cooks are prevented from sharing the gains of the other two seafaring crafts for another two months at least.

### SUP Asks United Front

In order to extend and develop its aggressive policy against the shipowners the Sailors Union of the Pacific has called for a united front of all seafaring unions on the basis of its program of victory.

"Six months from now," the May 3 issue of West Coast Sailors warns, "the shipowners will be in a fair way to sweep aside all our gains and the gains of the other seafaring unions, unless we can reach a working agreement with the marine firemen and marine cooks and stewards on the following basis:

"1) Uniform demands for the unlicensed seagoing personnel.  
"2) Simultaneous expiration of agreements.  
"3) Joint action against regimentation of the American seamen.

"It is easy to list these three fundamental points for a united stand of all seamen against encroachments on union conditions and wages, and there is hardly a single member of the Firemen, Sailors or Cooks unions who would not agree on this—but we cannot forget that between this general rank and file sentiment for closer cooperation and real fighting unity of the unlicensed crafts, stands all sorts of barriers—the chief barrier being the activity of the termite followers and stool-pigeons of the Communist Party."

# TRADE UNION NOTES

by Farrell Dobbs

## THE BOSSES ARE GETTING BOLDER

Each issue of the daily press brings new evidence of the increasing boldness of the drive against the organized workers. The Chamber of Commerce of the United States at its recent annual convention in Washington, D. C. spoke quite plainly on the subject.

The Chamber demanded government action "to prevent transportation stoppages resulting from violations of maritime labor agreements." Not a word about preventing the ship owners from violating the agreements, just a demand that the workers be prevented from doing anything effective about it.

Branding the National Labor Relations Act as a "serious deterrent to recovery," this august body demanded "fundamental and much needed amendments" to the Act. Passing on to the question of the Wage-Hour Act, the Chamber declares that "its humanitarian aspects in dealing with oppressively low wages belongs to the states, each of which can give consideration to the actual conditions that are to be met."

In other words, the bosses want the National Labor Relations Act emasculated so that it will contain none of the features which are in any way helpful to labor and, in addition, they want the regulation of minimum wages and maximum hours reverted back to the sole jurisdiction of the individual states where even the present minimum wage provisions, although they are now at starvation levels, can be further reduced.

## HE SAT IN CONGRESS AS "FRIEND OF LABOR"

Former Senator James A. Reed of Missouri, testifying before the committee investigating the NLRB, inadvertently gave the workers a clear picture of the sham and hypocrisy which surrounds the myth of democratic representation of the workers in the present apparatus of state. Reed for many years past presumed to speak as a "friend of labor" in the United States Congress. His real motivations in voting on various legislative acts are quite sharply clarified in his testimony before the Smith Committee.

His wife owns the Nelly-Donnelly Garment Company of Kansas City, Missouri. There has been a long controversy between this Company and the International Ladies Garment Workers Union. Reed called forth all the venom at his command when he began to describe his feelings towards the ILGWU.

He referred to the NLRB as a body "sitting to decide the greatest questions that come before a court, except questions of life and liberty." In other words, so far as Reed is concerned, the most important consideration in his mind, short of "questions of life and liberty," is that the Nelly-Donnelly Garment Company in which he has a personal interest be permitted to operate on a non-union basis and at sweat-shop wages.

The case of James A. Reed is only typical of the run of the mill so-called "friends of labor" who are elected to the apparatus of government.

BOSSES DON'T LIKE EDUCATED WORKERS  
Fearful lest the young people might be kept in school too long for their own good, Henry I. Har-

riman, a past president of the Chamber of Commerce of the United States, in a recent address to the annual meeting of the American Council on Education, urged the importance of herding the young workers into the industrial plants at a tender age. Said Mr. Harriman: "If youth are left to feel that they have a right to support without work, there is a strong probability that they will become permanent charges upon society."

This declaration is the pre-ambule to the universal employers' policy of depriving the workers' children of anything more than a sketchy education. Whether or not there are jobs available for them it is "un-American" for them to become "charges upon society." The children of the Harrimans the Morgans and the Fords receive a full education, but that is different, they say.

A preview of what to expect when Roosevelt, acting for Wall Street, has succeeded in herding the American workers into the Second World War is now taking place in Australia. Striking coal miners in New South Wales have carried out an effective tie-up. The government is preparing to "compel" coal mine owners to open their mines immediately. In other words, the government is preparing to utilize the military to smash the strike.

## CIO BORROWS BOSS METH-ODS TO USE AGAINST AFL

Under the heading "Keeping up with the AFL" the May 6 issue of the CIO News seeks to utilize in a most reactionary manner the court actions against George Sealise of the Building Service Employees, Joe Ozanic of the AFL Progressive Miners Union, and Willie Bioff of the Hollywood Stage Hands Union.

There is nothing misrepresentative; the reactionary character of the item lies in that which is not said. Sealise is reported to be indicted for "graft, extortion and corruption." Not a word about the methods followed by Prosecutor Dewey in this case and the real implications of this drive to the labor movement. Ozanic is reported facing government action for collection of \$550 in fines levied for "crimes in Illinois several years ago." Bioff is reported serving a 6 months term in the Cook County jail in Illinois, for an "old sentence of pandering."

Not a word appears about the meaning of the actions of the bourgeois state in going way back into the record to dig up these issues for criminal prosecution against labor officials. This should be called sharply to the attention of the leaders by the rank and file of the CIO unions. The attacks on the AFL today is nothing more or less than a forerunner to similar attacks on the CIO tomorrow.

The CIO Council at Quakertown, Pennsylvania, has voted to establish a committee to look after its unemployed members. The Committee is to provide ways and means for the CIO unions to continue to represent the interests of their members even when they are unemployed. It will attempt to find a basis for general cooperation by the CIO with all of the unemployed workers in Quakertown. This progressive action should and must eventually be emulated by all trade unions.

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## The Negro Question

Robert L. Birchman

The Chicago Defender, in an editorial (May 4) on the recent sessions of the National Negro Congress, states:

"But of the National Negro Congress, we expect much, for much is indeed needed. We expect leadership of a high political order."

"Jobs for Negroes in all spheres of our industrial life; relief for Negroes without discrimination, schools and still more schools, medical aid free and adequate, these are the needs of the hour."

"Let there be a demand for a five billion dollar housing program to be continued for five years. . . ."

"Negro America needs to be heard. Let its voice be heard so loudly at home that it will resound abroad."

"The All-Indian National Congress has challenged the democracy of Britain and held it up for the scorn of civilized men. Let the National Negro Congress do the same here."

"There is no need to be squirmy. If we want democracy let us act that way. Democracy is never given. It must be taken."

"Black America will follow if the National Negro Congress will lead."

Many of the sentiments expressed in this editorial are objectives that should be the aim of the Negro people of America. The voice of the Negroes needs to be heard and in no uncertain terms in the fight for jobs, economic security, against discrimination, and above all in the fight against war. But to expect that this job will be achieved by the National Negro Congress is hoping for that which will not be.

The National Negro Congress was not, as some delegates expressed it, "kidnapped" by the Communist Party at the sessions in Washington. The Congress has from the very beginning been the baby of the Stalinists. They organized it in the heyday of their People's Front line. What makes it less acceptable to many now is the change in line of the Stalinists from one of support of Roosevelt to one of opposition. This was the basic cause of the reason for Randolph's refusal to take the lead of the Congress.

The main actions of the Congress were:

1. The acceptance of the offer of John L. Lewis to establish a working agreement with Labor's Non-Partisan League.
2. To condemn "this imperialist war" and the policies of the Roosevelt administration which lead toward war, and to cooperate with the progressive and labor forces working for peace.
3. To press for immediate passage of the anti-lynching bill.

There is no question that the Negroes must align themselves with the organized labor movement in the formation of a Labor Party representative of the interests of the oppressed and exploited masses of the workers and Negroes. But one cannot expect any real action in this direction from the Stalinist-manipulated "National Negro Congress," which will betray the Negroes tomorrow just as they did yesterday and do today.

The Negro people of America must organize on a militant basis in cooperation with the organized labor movement in a Labor Party. That is the only way that they can achieve jobs, economic security, fight discrimination. The Chicago Defender is right when it says: "Democracy is never given. It must be taken." The only way in which democracy can be taken is to organize for the abolition of the social system that refuses to grant democracy. Democracy can only be achieved when the Negroes in co-operation with their white brothers create a socialist society. The Stalinists are the deadliest enemy of socialism, as Stalin's bloody rule over the workers of Russia demonstrates.

# Canadian Seamen in First Major Wartime Strike

Strike Began April 15, Lasted Six Days  
Despite Wartime Government Pressure;  
Compromise Gives Men \$7.50 Raise

TORONTO, Canada—The first major wartime strike in Canada has been conducted with militancy and determination by over five thousand Great Lakes seamen, 90% of those manning the lake boats, who voted to strike when the bosses refused to negotiate or even meet the Canadian Seamen's Union to reach a new agreement.

After a week of heroic struggle in which the seamen stood firm against a murderous combination of shipowners, federal government officials, their cops and courts, and a campaign of lies and slander by the kept press, the union membership accepted a settlement arrived at by the union negotiating committee, for a \$7.50 increase in wages for all ratings, with a board to be set up to conduct hearings on the further demands of the seamen.

Despite the blows directed against them from all directions during the strike, the seamen had stood firm, ably answering opponents with their own press, leaflets and public meetings. The men showed every readiness to fight on to complete victory.

### War Raised Living Cost

Like the rest of labor, the seamen felt the impact of the war in the rising cost of living. The 15% increase in living costs made intolerable the already low seamen's living standards—deckhands, the most numerous rating, were getting \$55 a month—driven like slaves for seven months of the year, usually spending the other five months on relief, picking up odd jobs or bumming dimes. They were working a 12-hour day, seven-day week on the boats.

During the latter part of the winter, therefore, in locals spread out in a far-flung net from Fort Williams to Quebec City, the union membership hammered out a series of demands to be served on the shipowners. Their main demands were:

1. A closed shop, with all hiring through union halls. "Every ship a union ship" was the slogan. Under the 1938 agreement they had had a preferential clause, whereby the shipowners were forced to hire through the union halls in preference to taking non-union hands, and the bosses were out to do away with this.
2. Three extra men on board each ship. This would permit three shifts, thus introducing the eight-hour day.
3. A \$15 increase in monthly wages.

Since September the companies had raised shipping rates for wheat, their largest cargo, from 3½ cents to 7 cents a bushel, thus doubling their profits. But the shipowners were de-

termined to prevent the seamen from slicing off a slab of these profits, and refused to meet the union for discussion of the new terms. Instead the bosses and their press began a campaign of describing the strike as illegal and an act of sabotage during the war, and turned loose on the union their big hounds, the federal government.

The seamen threw back the challenge: when we're all in jail, 5000 of us, where will you get the experienced men to run the boats? The government could not intimidate the men. In addition organized labor all along the lakes was rallying to the support of the seamen. Longshoremen from important Canadian ports wired that they would not touch a "hot ship."

### Leaders Compromise

The longshoremen on the American side of the lakes sent a similar promise from their powerful organization. Shipping was tied up as tight as a granny knot and not a cargo could be moved.

[President Harry Lundberg of the Seafarers International Union of America, of which the Canadian Seamen's Union is an autonomous affiliate, wired unions and central labor bodies in all American lake ports on behalf of the striking seamen, and secured promises of cooperation which assured complete support to the strike on the American side.]

Events demonstrated that the seamen were prepared to carry the strike through to victory. But a section of the leadership showed a basic weakness: inability to place complete confidence in the union membership to beat the bosses, government and cops.

The negotiation committee sought and was granted the power to make alteration in the union's demands; gave up the demand for a closed shop entirely, reduced the number of extra men to one for a ship, and scaled the wage increase down to \$10.00 a month, asking in return a renewal of the 1938 agreement.

The shipowners instead, adopted a more blustering attitude, demanding through the agency of the government a compulsory arbitration board and promising in the meanwhile a \$5.00, and later a \$7.50, wage increase. The ship-

## GEORGE CLARKE OPENS NATIONAL TOUR; IN BOSTON-LYNN NOW



GEORGE CLARKE

George Clarke, member of the National Committee of the Socialist Workers Party, opened his coast-to-coast speaking tour Friday night in New Haven.

Tonight, tomorrow and Monday he will be speaking in Boston and Lynn.

As we go to press, word comes from Youngstown of special pre-

parations being made there by our party branch to secure a big turnout of steel workers to hear Comrade Clarke speak on "New Deal Turns War Deal—the Government Drive Against Labor."

The Youngstown meeting takes place Sunday, May 19, 8 p.m., at 123½ E. Federal Street. Questions and discussion from the floor will follow Comrade Clarke's address.

The rest of Comrade Clarke's schedule on tour follows:

Syracuse . . . . . Tues., May 14  
Rochester . . . . . Wed., May 15  
Buffalo . . . . . Thurs., May 16  
Pittsburgh . . . . . Fri., May 17-18  
Youngstown . . . . . Sun., May 19  
Akron . . . . . Mon., May 20  
Cleveland . . . . . Tues., May 21  
Toledo . . . . . Wed., May 22  
Flint . . . . . Thurs., May 23  
Detroit . . . . . Fri., May 24  
South Bend . . . . . Sat., May 25  
Chicago . . . . . Sun.-Tues., May 26-28  
Twin Cities . . . . . Wed.-Fri., May 29-31  
Omaha . . . . . Sun., June 2  
Denver . . . . . Tues.-Wed., June 4-5  
Salt Lake City . . . . . Fri., June 7  
San Francisco . . . . . Mon.-Sun., June 10-16 inclusive  
Fresno . . . . . Mon., June 17  
Los Angeles . . . . . Tues., June 18

## SUBS ARE POURING IN FOR THE "FOURTH INTERNATIONAL"

An exciting six-day period has followed the launching of "Fourth International," new Monthly Magazine of the Socialist Workers Party. Subscriptions and bundle orders have rolled in from all over the country.

Branches everywhere, instead of cutting their magazine orders with the flight from the party of the petty bourgeois opposition, are instead increasing their orders. Many of the orders are accompanied by cash on the line. Subscriptions, above all, with their dollar and two dollar payments attached, are coming into the office at a good pace. Here is the total for less than one week!

New York City . . . . . 17  
St. Paul . . . . . 12  
Boston . . . . . 11  
Minneapolis . . . . . 10

the strike, find themselves on the beach.

The conciliation board will meet and we know in advance that its decisions will favor the shipowners just as the government labor ministers carried out the orders of the shipping bosses. The union must be prepared to back up its demands to the board by another, more determined strike once it hands down its decision.

## Behind

(Continued from Page 1)

step toward improving these defenses is likely to be an early start toward construction of the much-discussed, long-delayed international highway through Canada to link Canada with its Alaska territory. . . . From other sources it was learned that the two men had discussed the grave world crisis in relation to the pledge given by President Roosevelt in a speech at Kingston, Ontario, in August, 1938."

That speech was Roosevelt's famous pledge that the U.S. "will not stand idly by if domination of Canadian soil is threatened by any other empire."

It is interesting to note that the Tribune headlined this story: "Highway would be vital for troops if Russia or Japan should attack." There was no mention of this little detail in the body of the story. Like the projected fortifications of the Aleutian Islands, close both to Russia and Japan, the proposed highway would be no less important "if the United States should attack Russia or Japan."

Chicago . . . . . 7  
Toledo . . . . . 5  
San Diego . . . . . 4  
Quakertown . . . . . 3  
Indianapolis . . . . . 3  
Kansas . . . . . 4  
Ohio . . . . . 3  
New York State . . . . . 3  
Pittsburgh . . . . . 2  
Lynn . . . . . 2  
San Francisco . . . . . 2  
Washington, D.C. . . . . 2  
Allentown . . . . . 1  
Houston, Texas . . . . . 1  
Philadelphia . . . . . 1  
Nebraska . . . . . 1  
Tacoma, Wash. . . . . 1  
South Carolina . . . . . 1  
Louisville, Ky. . . . . 1  
Wisconsin . . . . . 1  
Connecticut . . . . . 1

Total . . . . . 99

And branches and sympathizers assure us that they haven't even started!

This is a good record of party activity, but we still have a great distance to travel to go over the top. Get those dollars up, comrades and friends. And get out your contact lists to round up a second week's subscriptions that will outstrip by far this excellent first week. Build the press of the Fourth International!

## James Connolly, Symbol of Irish Freedom Fight

May 12 is the 24th anniversary of the execution of James Connolly, foremost Irish revolutionary.

Connolly is the symbol of the 700 year struggle for Irish freedom. But he is more than just a symbol of a nationalist struggle. He is the symbol of the only force in society that can lead the struggle for national liberation of oppressed peoples. The words of Connolly, written thirty years ago, are equally true today:

"But on whom devolves the task of achieving the downfall of the ruling classes in Ireland? On the Irish people. But who are the Irish people?"

"Is it the dividend-hunting capitalist with the phraseology of patriotism on his lips and the spoil wrung from sweated Irish toilers in his pockets; is it the scheming lawyer—most immoral of all classes; is it the slum landlord who denounces racking in the country and practices it in the towns; is it anyone of these sections who today dominate Irish politics? Or is it not rather the Irish working class—the only secure foundation on which a free nation can be reared—the Irish working class which has borne the brunt of every political struggle, and gained by none, and which is today the only class in all Ireland which has no interest in perpetuating either the political or social forms of oppression—the British connection or the capitalist system."

"The Irish working class must emancipate itself, and in emancipating itself it must, perforce, free its country. The act of social emancipation requires the conversion of the land and the instruments of production from private property into the public or common property of the entire nation. This necessitates a social system of the most absolute democracy, and in establishing that necessary social system the working class must grapple with every form of government which could interfere with the most unfettered control by the people of Ireland of all the resources of their country."

Connolly stood for industrial unionism. He held that the craft unions divided the workers where above all they should be united, in their daily toil in the fields and workshops. The division must be ended by a union embracing all workers of "hand and brain" in each industry. He envisaged these industrial unions as the main instruments of social revolution, the very foundation of the future society.

Connolly was an internationalist and a revolutionary fighter against the imperialist war. During the war the headquarters of the union which he led, the Transport Workers Union—Liberty Hall in Dublin—was decorated with a huge banner that read: "We serve neither King nor Kaiser!" Connolly was bitter in his attacks against those who supported the war—the Irish bourgeoisie and petty-bourgeois nationalists. He openly preached revolutionary defeatism. He looked upon the pending struggle not merely as an Irish affair: "Starting thus, Ireland may yet set the torch to a European conflagration that will not burn out until the last throne and the last capitalist bond and debenture are shrivelled up on the funeral pyre of the last war lord."

He was no pacifist. He was a partisan of the war of the working class and colonial peoples against the imperialists.

The inspiration of Connolly to the Irish labor and nationalist movement still lives. Despite the government ban, huge meetings were held commemorating the Easter Week rising of 1916 for which Connolly was executed. Meetings now taking place against conscription, and the growing ing cost of living, are clear indications that the strike wave for increased wages to meet the rising cost of living, are clear indications that the struggle for Irish freedom continues. James Connolly is the father of today's struggles.

# The Struggle for a Proletarian Party

By JAMES P. CANNON  
National Secretary, S.W.P.

(This is the fourth of a series of articles by Comrade Cannon, to acquaint our readers with the party's estimate of the dispute which arose in the party, was debated in a seven-months' discussion, and was settled by a decisive majority at the Third National Convention, April 5-9.)

## The Intellectuals and the Workers

The outspoken proletarian orientation of the majority is represented by Burnham as an expression of antagonism to "intellectuals" as such, and as an ignorant backwoods prejudice against education in general. In his major document, "The War and Bureaucratic Conservatism," he writes: "Above all, an 'anti-intellectual' and 'anti-intellectuals' attitude is drummed into the minds of party members. The faction associates are taught, quite literally, to despise and scorn 'intellectuals' and 'intellectualism.' " For reasons best known to themselves, Shachtman and Abern sign their names to this protest and take sides in a conflict where they have every right to proclaim neutrality.

The Workers' Age, organ of the Lovestonites, which is following our internal discussion with unconcealed sympathy for the opposition, enters the scuffle as an interested partisan. Commenting on a remark in my published speech, to the effect that worker elements engaged in the class struggle understand the Russian question better than the more educated scholastics, the Workers' Age of March 9th says: "This is obviously aimed at Burnham, who has the 'misfortune' of being educated. What is this kind of a slur but the old Stalinist demagoguery contrasting the virtuous, clear-sighted 'proletarian' element to the wicked, confused 'intellectual'? It is the same kind of rotten, unprincipled demagoguery, make no mistake about it!"

Let us see. The question at issue is the attitude of proletarian revolutionists to educated members of the petty-bourgeois class who come over to the proletarian movement. This is an important question and deserves clarification. Burnham is undoubtedly an intellectual, as his academic training, profession and attainments testify. There is nothing wrong in that, as such, and we cannot have the slightest reason to reproach him for it. We are quite well aware, as Marx said, that "ignorance never did anybody any good," and we have nothing in common with vulgar prejudices against "educated people" which are cultivated by rascally demagogues to serve their own ends. Lenin wrote to Gorky on this point: "Of course I was not dreaming of 'persecuting the intelligentsia' as the stupid little Syndicalists do, or to deny its necessity

for the workers' movement." It is a slander on the Marxist wing of the party to attribute such sentiments to us. On the other hand, we are not unduly impressed by mere "learning" and still less by pretensions to it. We approach this question, as all questions, critically.

Our movement, the movement of scientific socialism, judges things and people from a class point of view. Our aim is the organization of a vanguard party to lead the proletarian struggle for power and the reconstitution of society on socialist foundations. That is our "science." We judge all people, coming to us from another class, by the extent of their real identification with our class, and the contributions they can make which aid the proletariat in its struggle against the capitalist class. That is the framework within which we objectively consider the problem of the intellectuals in the movement. If at least 99 out of every 100 intellectuals—to speak with the utmost "conservatism"—who approach the revolutionary labor movement turn out to be more of a problem than an asset it is not at all because of our prejudices against them, or because we do not treat them with the proper consideration, but because they do not comply with the requirements which alone can make them useful to us in our struggle.

In the Communist Manifesto, in which the theory and program of scientific socialism was first formally promulgated, it was already pointed out that the disintegration of the ruling capitalist class precipitates sections of that class into the proletariat; and that others—a smaller section to be sure, and mainly individuals—cut themselves adrift from the decaying capitalist class and supply the proletariat with fresh elements of enlightenment and progress. Marx and Engels themselves, the founders of the movement of scientific socialism, came to the proletariat from another class. The same thing is true of all the other great teachers of our movement, without exception.

Lenin, Trotsky, Plekhanov, Luxemburg—none of them were proletarians in their social origin, but they came over to the proletariat and became the greatest of proletarian leaders. In order to do that, however, they had to desert their own class and join "the revolutionary class, the class that holds the future in its hands." They made this transfer of class allegiance unconditionally and without any reservations. Only so could they become genuine representatives of their adopted class, and merge themselves completely with it, and eliminate every shadow of conflict between them and revolutionists of proletarian origin. There was and could be no "problem" in their case.

The conflict between the proletarian revolutionists and the

petty-bourgeois intellectuals in our party, as in the labor movement generally in the whole world for generation after generation, does not at all arise from ignorant prejudices of the workers against them. It arises from the fact that they neither "cut themselves adrift" from the alien classes, as the Communist Manifesto specified, nor do they "join the revolutionary class," in the full sense of the word. Unlike the great leaders mentioned above, who came over to the proletariat unconditionally and all the way, they hesitate half-way between the class alternatives. Their intelligence, and to a certain extent also their knowledge, impels them to revolt against the intellectual and spiritual stagnation of the parasitic ruling class whose system reeks with decay. On the other hand, their petty-bourgeois spirit holds them back from completely identifying themselves with the proletarian class and its vanguard party, and re-shaping their entire lives in a new proletarian environment. Herein is the source of the "problem" of the intellectuals.

The revolutionary workers' movement, conscious that it "holds the future in its hands," is self-assured, imperious, exacting in the highest degree. It repels all flatterings and half-allegiances. It demands from everyone, especially from leaders, "all or nothing." Not their "education," as the Lovestonite sympathizers of our party opposition maintain, brings the intellectuals into conflict with the proletarian cadres of the party, but their petty-bourgeois spirit, their miserable halfheartedness, their absurd ambition to lead the revolutionary labor movement in their spare time.

It is not true that the advanced militant workers are hostile to education and prejudiced against educated people. Just the contrary. They have an exaggerated respect for every intellectual who approaches the movement and an exaggerated appreciation of every little service he renders. This was never demonstrated more convincingly than in the reception accorded to Burnham when he formally entered our movement, and in the extraordinary consideration that has been given to him all this time. He became a member of the National Committee without having served any apprenticeship in the class struggle. He was appointed one of the editors of our theoretical journal. All the recognition and the "honors" of a prominent leader of the party were freely accorded to him.

His scandalous attitude towards the responsibilities of leadership; his consistent refusal to devote himself to party work as a profession, not as an avocation; his haughty and contemptuous attitude toward his party co-workers; his disrespect for our tradition, and even for our international organization and its leadership—all this and more was passed over in silence by the worker elements in the party, if by no means with approval. It was not until Burnham came out into the open in an attempt to overthrow our program that the worker elements of the party rose up against him and called him to order. His attempt now to represent this revolutionary action as an expression of ignorant prejudice against him because of his "learning" is only another, and most revealing, exhibition of his own petty-bourgeois spirit and petty-bourgeois contempt for the workers.

A proletarian party that is theoretically schooled in the scien-

tific doctrines of Marxism cannot be intimidated by anybody, nor disoriented by a few unfortunate experiences. The fact that the learned Professor Burnham revealed himself as just another petty-bourgeois may possibly engender a little more caution in regard to similar types in the future. But it will not change anything in the fundamental attitude of the workers' vanguard towards the intellectuals from the bourgeois world who approach the movement in the future. Instructed by this experience it is possible that the next one who comes along will have to meet stiffer conditions. It is hardly likely that in the future anyone will be permitted to make pretensions to leadership unless he makes a clean break with his alien class environment and comes over to live in the labor movement. Mere visiting will not be encouraged.

The American movement has had very bad experience with intellectuals. Those who have appeared on its horizon up to date have been a pretty shabby crew. Adventurers, careerists, self-seekers, dilettantes, quitters-under-fire—that is the wretched picture of the parade of intellectuals through the American labor movement as painted by themselves. Daniel De Leon stands out as the great exception. He was not merely an intellectual. He was a man and a fighter, a partisan incapable of any divided allegiance. Once he had decided to come over to the proletarian class, the stale atmosphere of the bourgeois academic world became intolerable for him. He departed from the university, slamming the door behind him, and never once looked back. Thereafter, to the end of his life, he identified himself completely with the socialist movement and the struggle of the workers. Revolutionary workers of the present generation remember him with gratitude for that, without thereby overlooking his political errors. Other, and we hope, greater De Leons, will come to us in the future, and they will receive a whole-hearted welcome from the party of the proletarian vanguard. They will not feel sensitive if we scrutinize their credentials and submit them to a certain apprenticeship. They will not be offended if we insist on an explicit understanding that their task is to interpret and apply the proletarian science of Marxism, not to palm off a bourgeois substitute for it. The new De Leons will readily understand that this preliminary examination is simply a precaution against the infiltration of intellectual phonies and does not signify, in any way whatever, a prejudice against intellectuals who really come to serve the proletarian cause.

The genuine Marxist intellectuals who come to us will understand the cardinal point of our doctrine, that socialism is not simply a "moral ideal," as Burnham tries to instruct us in the year 1940—92 years after the Communist Manifesto—but the necessary outcome of an irreconcilable class struggle conducted by the proletariat against the bourgeoisie. It is the workers who must make the revolution and it is workers who must compose the proletarian vanguard party. The function of the Marxist intellectual is to aid the workers in their struggle. He can do it constructively only by turning his back on the bourgeois world and joining the proletarian revolutionary camp, that is, by ceasing to be a petty-bourgeois. On that basis the worker Bolsheviks and the Marxist intellectuals will get along very well together.



# Flint Auto Union Launches Drive For 30-Hour Week at 40 Hour Pay

Only Way to Save Men's Jobs and Keep the Union Strong;  
Proposal Sent to International and Locals; Fisher Body  
Local Will Publish Material to Educate the Membership

FLINT, Mich., May 6—The first important blow in the struggle of the auto workers for the 30-hour week at 40-hours pay was struck here Saturday when the Fisher Body Local No. 581, representing the militant 7,000 workers of the great South Fisher plant, passed a strong resolution calling upon the General Motors Negotiating Committee to make this an immediate demand.

The resolution, which stated that "from all indications this essential demand is being tossed into the waste basket in violation of the decision of the Cleveland convention," explicitly demands that "the 30-hour week at 40-hours pay be included as an immediate demand in contractual negotiations with GM." This action will undoubtedly serve as the spearhead of a wave of demands throughout the UAW-CIO that negotiators go down the line for this slogan, as the only step which can lift the auto union out of its lethargy.

For almost two weeks the GM negotiators, including Walter Reuther, R. J. Thomas, President of the UAW, and other Executive Board members, have been wallowing through an interminable list of grievances, piled up over a period of months—while the main problem of insecurity and unemployment in the industry, which has caused widespread discontent among the auto workers, remains unsolved.

## Same Local Started Sit-Downs

The action of the Fisher Body Local, the union that staged the first sit-down in Flint, and which has carved a memorable record of militancy for itself since the beginning of the auto union, will reverberate up and down the auto area, especially in GM.

It is an indication of great significance that the auto workers are well aware that ordinary demands no longer answer their needs. The auto workers know and are becoming more and more acquainted with the main problem. They know for example, that last year General Motors made 59% more profits than in 1938; but that employment did not rise along with production.

Auto workers know that while the corporation made \$183,000,000 in profits last year, tens of thousands were still unemployed.

They know that technological improvements every year eat into the jobs of the workers. Last year the individual worker produced an average of 24 cars, while the year before he made only 21 cars. The corporation got three more cars out of each worker's labor.

Thinking members of the union are awakening to the fact that every year new devices displace men

in the industry, and that unless the work week is shortened, no man's job is safe. Between 1925 and 1938, for example, new technological devices made it possible to make a car with 33 fewer hours of labor per unit.

Fisher Body itself today employs at least two thousand fewer men than nine or ten years ago. And yet today much more is produced in the huge South Fisher plant, biggest body plant in the world. At one time this plant made only Buick bodies. Today it makes Buick, Chevrolet, Pontiac, and Oldsmobile bodies.

In addition to displacing men, technological improvements are used by the company to create waves of chaos and uncertainty in the plants, displacing men, beginning the process of transfer and "bumping." This ties up the union apparatus with a mountain of grievances, so preoccupying many of the leaders that they do not see the main problem.

## Points the Way For All

The action of Fisher Body Local No. 581 points the way for the UAW-CIO. It serves as a call to arms for the militant union men throughout the industry.

For two years now the UAW-CIO, torn by inner strife, and bogged down by a shortsighted leadership, has fiddled around with minor problems, constantly on the defensive.

The Fisher resolution for the 30-hour week at 40-hours pay is a militant call for an offensive in auto, to lift the union from the plane of defensive retreat to a vigorous and courageous forward march toward a great advance. Once the fight is launched for the 30-hour week at 40-hours pay, the UAW-CIO will once again plow ahead, as in 1936 and 1937, and an inspired membership will fight to victory.

Nothing can revitalize the auto union so much as a struggle for the 30-hour week at 40-hours pay, which strikes at the main problem, the unemployment crisis in the industry, and the insecurity of employment which hangs as a constant threat over the head of every man in the plants.

In Flint the Buick plants have passed resolutions similar to the Fisher Body resolution, and it is expected that the next general membership meeting will go on record for the action.

The resolution is being sent to all local unions of the International.

The Fisher Body men have made their decision to fight for the 30-hour week at 40-hour pay clear. They now await action on the part of the negotiators meeting with GM, and above all they await support from their brothers in other local unions in General Motors.

GM workers: Fisher Body Local No. 581 has shown the way to a solution of your problems! Rally to their support!

## Flint Fisher Body Resolution

The Fisher Body resolution reads as follows:

WHEREAS: We have now established by overwhelming vote in GM that the CIO has the exclusive power to bargain for the employees of that corporation, and

WHEREAS: The greatest problem facing our union is the fact that thousands of auto workers are today suffering the pangs of unemployment, having been displaced by new machines and technological devices, and

WHEREAS: This growing army of unemployed stands as a threat to organized labor because of necessity they must work for scab wages or starve, and are forced to take any job at any wage by relief administrations, and

WHEREAS: Technological unemployment also threatens every man inside the plants, there being no security as long as new machines are used to displace men instead of to shorten the work day, and

WHEREAS: At the last convention of the UAW in Cleveland we adopted a program to meet this situation, the demand for the 30-hour week at 40-hours pay, which to this day remains only a phrase in our program, nothing having been done about it, and

WHEREAS: General Motors can afford to give us the 30-hour week with no reduction in pay today and not tomorrow, with all their hundreds of millions of profits pouring into the coffers of the coupon clippers, and

WHEREAS: From all indications this essential demand is being tossed into the waste basket in violation of the decision of the Cleveland convention, no plans made to put it into effect in the immediate future;

THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED: That this local demands that the 30-hour week at 40-hours pay be included as an immediate demand in contractual negotiations with GM, in addition to the necessary demands for a shop steward system, abolition of the D list, vacations with pay, seniority, etc., etc.;

AND BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED: That copies of this resolution be sent to Walter Reuther, all executive board members of the International, to the CIO Council in Flint, and to all local unions of the International, and that the executive board of this local publish material to educate the membership on the importance of this demand.

# Steel Workers! Fight for 6-Hour Day, 8-Hour Pay Is Main Fight

(Continued from Page 1)

"salaries"—is burning holes in their pockets. Grace of Bethlehem "earned" (stole would be a better word) \$378,698; Fairless of Carnegie, \$100,000; Weir, \$122,900 and ditto for their pals who pulled down tidy little sums that managed to keep the wolf from the door.

But the prosperity just didn't get around to the man who made it possible. You mill workers in Gary and Pittsburgh and Youngstown don't have to be told this. You know it in the kind of language no writer can ever put down on paper—the language of poverty and unemployment. While production was going full blast in November, 1939, six percent above the 1929 peak, unemployment, Phillip Murray says, was "enormous."

In Pittsburgh, he adds, "one out of every five able bodied workers was unemployed."

In Youngstown relief rolls remained at the high depression level.

The same or worse for the other steel cities.

## A Conspiracy Against the Steel Workers

The workers didn't share in the prosperity because there was no work for one-third, and only part-time work for another third. For the past ten years the steel bosses have been working up a big conspiracy against the steel workers. They are plotting to get more work out of fewer men, to bring higher profits with lower employment. To hide their dirty plot, they call it "technological improvement."

The conspiracy has already made big progress. The continuous hot strip mills have thrown over 37,000 workers on the street—for good. Within a few years another 47,000 will follow them out of the industry. With these new methods 27 automatic steel strip mills built since 1924 have a combined capacity of 15 million tons. Republic's Cleveland strip mill puts out 70,000 gross tons of steel per month and employs a maximum of 2,000 men. 126 men in automatic mills can produce the same tonnage as 4,512 men in hand mills. Five workers can now produce the same quantity of steel that six produced five years ago.

The "technological" changes have been a plague, not an improvement to the steel workers.

The steel bosses, through the American Iron and Steel Institute, are crowing over the success of their conspiracy of "technological improvement. In their journals they boast about how they eliminated 14 million dollars from the monthly pay envelopes of the steel workers from 1937 to 1939; they boast about how they raised productive efficiency by one-fifth while they fired 37,000 workers from the industry; they lick their chops over the nine percent increase in finished steel prices. The steel bosses are sailing along, planning big things, pushing us into the war so they can make tremendous profits (\$700,000,000 was their fee for patriotism in the last war) and employ less and less men.

Only one force can stop them: the organized steel workers!

## Steel Workers Know What to Do

You know what to do to fight the conspiracy of

the steel bosses and to make work for thousands of your brothers. You decided that at your convention in Pittsburgh more than two years ago. You said then: Let the steel bosses have their "technological improvement." But make them pay for it out of their fat profits. "Improvements"—Yes! But not out of the hides of the workers.

THE SIX-HOUR DAY WITH EIGHT-HOURS PAY!—that was the resolution you adopted at your convention. That is the immediate answer to the problem of unemployment in the steel industry.

Everybody knows this is the only way. Your leaders, Murray, Van Bittner and the others travel up and down the country making speeches about the "number one problem—unemployment." Murray even wrote a book advocating the six-hour day at eight hours pay.

But what have they done to carry out the mandate of that convention? What have they done to carry out the desires of thousands of workers expressed in resolutions from dozens of lodges for the six-hour day at eight-hours pay? Nothing. Nothing but talk.

They will say that nothing can be done until "Little Steel" is organized. But why is "Little Steel" unorganized?

For the same reason that you don't have the six-hour day at eight-hours pay: the leaders of your union were begging everybody to do it for them, every boss politician, Roosevelt, Governor Davey, the National Guard, the Labor Board. They forgot you, the steel workers. And when they forgot you they forgot the only force that can ever build a union under Girdler's nose or make the big boys come across with the six-hour day at eight-hours pay.

## "Little Steel" CAN Be Organized!

HOW WILL YOU EVER ORGANIZE "LITTLE STEEL"? Only when you show these workers that you mean business. Just tell these men who have a record of militancy, who have written many a heroic page of American labor history, that you are planning a fight for the six-hour day at eight-hours pay—tell them that—and not a thousand Tom Girdlers, not a hundred Chicago Massacres, will stop the organization of "Little Steel."

It's up to you—and no one else.

Girdler is hoping that you will once again turn your fate over to "friends of labor," to boss politicians, to "conferences of business, government and labor." He hopes for that, because he knows the "friends of labor" will stab you in the back, he knows he can buy up the boss politicians and stall your conferences out of business.

The steel workers back home are hoping you decide to fight. They will back you to the limit. You can depend on that.

And not only they, but the auto workers, the construction workers, all the workers of this country will back you to the limit.

As Steel goes, so go the workers of the nation. SIX-HOUR DAY AT EIGHT-HOURS PAY is the marching slogan of American labor.

Will Steel lead the parade? It's up to you, delegates of the SWOC convention!

# "Technological Unemployment" Presses Down on Steel Workers

Technological unemployment, threatening the livelihood of every worker in steel industry, has fixed itself as the most pressing and permanent problem confronting the Steel Workers Organizing Committee. Since 1926 when the continuous hot-strip mill was first introduced, one hundred thousand employees have lost their jobs with the gradual displacement of the old hand mill for the more efficient hot-strip mill. While the steel industry as a whole has been operating at much less than 70 per cent capacity, the producers of the hot-strip mills, Mesta Machine Co. and United Engineering & Foundry Co., have been working at a full one hundred per cent capacity. At the same time hot-strip capacity since 1930 has mounted over four hundred per cent.

That the continuous hot-strip mill is "the most effective labor saving device ever produced in the steel industry," is readily seen by the tremendous reduction of man power in the manufacture of steel. Today 15 men in the hot-strip mills can produce as much as 100 in the hand mills. Formerly 15,500,000 tons production in the hand mills required 125,000 workers; now 14,000,000 tons produced in the strip-mills requires only 15,000 workers. Fully eighty-five per cent of all hand mill workers, some of the highest paid in the industry who spent years in apprenticeship and training for their skilled operation, have had their jobs pulled out from beneath them and have been thrown upon

relief and WPA rolls to eke out less than a bare existence.

Moreover, even the relatively few jobs created by the introduction of the hot-strip mills have been denied the hand mill workers on the grounds that "they have difficulty in adapting themselves to the new and more rapid production."

## Steel "Ghost Towns"

Whole towns, as though ravaged by a plague, have been devastated by the onslaught of this labor saving device. "Ghost Towns," like New Castle, Penn.; Elwood, Indiana; Apollo, Pennsylvania; Newport, Kentucky; and Follinsbee, West Virginia have sprung up—former industrial communities gutted of their central industries and existing on the grace of government relief subsidies.

With the outbreak of the Second World War last September rumors of good times swept throughout the steel area. The hope of jobs was rekindled among the unemployed; a new prosperity was anticipated. "The Big Boom" was on its way to steel. Newspapers like the Pittsburgh Press ran screaming headlines: "GHOST TOWNS' IN DISTRICT STIR AS MINES OPEN." And "M IS ADDED TO 'BOO.'" Here and there mills were reopened.

## War Boom Flops

But in December these mills began closing down, and the "mill towns" collapsed with a crash.

Six months after the declaration of war steel production has subsided to a lower level than it had stood before the outbreak of hostilities.

Now that the war has spread to Scandinavia and is menacing even wider areas a new lease on life has again been taken out, and again such hope among the unemployed is doomed to disappointment. Today the strip-mill capacity exceeds 19,000,000 tons, at least one-sixth higher than the production of 1937 (16,000,000) which was a "boom year." The year 1939 saw a marked decline over the production figures of 1937, so that even a twenty per cent increase in the steel industry due to war demands would not overtax the present strip-mill capacity.

Even if extraordinary demands are placed upon the production of steel as a result of other countries, including the U.S., becoming involved in the war, and the obsolete hand mills throughout the country are reopened, these will operate only for a limited time and will close down finally. A war boom can only serve to postpone the day when every hand mill worker will find himself cast out of the industry.

## Let Bosses Pay!

Gradually the steel workers, employed and unemployed, have begun to realize what is happening, and the murmurs of discontent have been changed into a new cry: "A Six Hour Day with Eight Hour Pay."

# Mother's Day Is May 12---What of Other 364 Days?

By ANTOINETTE F. KONIKOW, M.D.

Mother's Day comes this Sunday, May 12. What a mockery! The brain storm of those miracle men of this ailing system, the advertising specialists, who conceived it as business tonic and a rare opportunity to unload on a limitless public (everyone has a mother) tawdry and unsaleable merchandise that might otherwise remain unsold. Thus a fine and genuine emotion is degraded and distorted by contact with the world of quick sales and huge profits. Mother love is now given its market value by these worthy "sentimentalists," the manufacturers and shopkeepers, whose crabbed souls respond to only one overpowering emotion—greed for profit.

Today mother is feted with candy and flowers and gifts. Today, by order of the bosses, everyone remembers mother. Tomorrow and tomorrow, for 364 tomorrows mother continues to struggle with problems created by those very bosses and their system—poverty, unemployment, hunger, want, disease, and the scourge which often deprives her of her motherhood—war!

What does motherhood mean to the wife of a worker or middle class man today? Mother may be the wage earner, partially or totally. Motherhood means extra work and constant worry not only for the immediate present but also for the future. Mothers recall their own unhappy childhood, their overworked, embittered parents dulled and aged by lives of toil and drudgery with whom no real companionship was possible. They remember their dreams—of school, of training for useful work, of simple luxuries, of contact with an unknown world of art and music—most of which were never realized. And because they so love their children, born and unborn, women today recoil from motherhood rather than see repeated by those dear to them a miserable childhood and thwarted preparation for adult life.

Many women today are on strike against children, as their expression of protest against the conditions in which they must face motherhood and raise families. The first inquiry of every newly-married woman is how to avoid unwanted motherhood. Has human nature changed? Have women become hard and loveless and selfish? How absurd! The urge to recreate one's own, to watch the development of a human being, almost part of yourself, from a little animal that sleeps and eats to a growing, thinking adult whose progress you follow with pride and concern—that instinctive desire for progeny cannot be repressed—no! not even by the capitalist system that today deprives so many parents of their right to raise families. The dream of most young married couples is to achieve that condition of modest financial security which will make it possible for them to have a child and perhaps a whole family.

Women today are not granted (legally) the right to regulate the size and spacing of their family. Clinics and physicians in many states are not permitted to inform women about birth control. A business dealing in bootleg information, dispensing inadequate, expensive and often harmful drugs and appliances has been created because of this hypocritical and barbaric law. Women every day endanger their health, suffer pain and needless torture, rather than bear children whom they can offer nothing but love.

Today with war on the agenda, celebration of Mother's Day adds insult to hypocrisy. "Mother," the bosses say, "we appreciate you—you bear the young men we need for the army. You suffer and toil—sacrifice and plan, to produce fine healthy boys. We can use plenty of them in battle with the sons of mothers of other countries—to protect our trade and profits—that is—democracy. The thought of those mothers whose sons are killed shouldn't disturb you. They are enemies and haven't the same feelings as you have. What's that you say? Your son may be killed and the sons of other mothers who are not enemies? Yes, but then you will have the satisfaction of knowing he died a hero—and you will be rewarded with a gold medal and given an honor seat at public functions. Besides, he probably would not have had a job, and have been a bum or a crook, so perhaps it's just as well."

Mothers! The sugar-coated gifts hide the bitter pill of the boss system. Under capitalism there can be no improvement of conditions for women, mothers of families. Only in a Socialist society will mothers achieve that security which will permit them to raise children without fear for their future. But no one will give you that as a gift. You will have to struggle and fight for Socialism, you together with the workers, men and women, black and white, old and young—in this country and in others—for their cause is yours and only through the victory of the workers will mothers solve their problems. Only when all mankind raises itself from slavery and exploitation and enjoys a free and full life will women choose motherhood happily, confidently and proudly. Rearing and preparing the young for a life in a socialist society, for useful labor, for boundless achievements in science, industry and art—that will indeed make of motherhood an interesting, important and honored profession.

Boston, Mass.

Sheik Khalil Ben Ibrahim al-Rawaf of Arabia, who is visiting America to negotiate oil deals, was much embarrassed when he arrived at New York's El Morocco—and discovered the Senegambian doorman wearing a costume almost exactly like the sheik's. It surely hurts the pride of all parasites to be mistaken for a worker.

Prince Michael of Rumania contributed a month's pay as a member of the senate, \$175, to the army equipment fund. He became a senator automatically on reaching the age of 18. This is known as noblesse oblige, which is the same as sacrificing something you don't miss and thereby get the name of being one hell of a philanthropist.

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