

INDUSTRIAL MOBILIZATION --- FOR WHAT?

GM Bolder Under War Drive Impetus

Begins Cracking Down With Direct Aid of FBI to Weaken Union's Hand in Negotiations

DETROIT—General Motors Corporation is cracking down on the workers in numerous plants throughout the country, continuing its policy of intimidation and provocation in order to weaken the hand of the union in the current negotiations.

The place that the Roosevelt administration is indicating for the auto industry in its war plans—next to steel, the key place—apparently has given GM added boldness to slug away at the union. And the federal government is cooperating. A vivid proof of the way in which the New Deal has been transformed into the War Deal is that, where labor "conciliators" appeared a year ago, FBI agents turn up now, openly cooperating with the corporation.

In Detroit Fleetwood Body, the management attempted this week to create chaos by delivering an ultimatum to the union committee that standards must be increased by 25% by the end of the week.

In the Ternstedt plant in Detroit, the belligerent management last week abolished the rest period rights for women workers, rights which the women workers have received for years.

FBI Helps Corporation

Carrying through their intimidation campaign, GM has been fingerprinting all employees in the Allison Division of the Detroit Cadillac Company. In this division, which manufactures airplane motors for the GM Allison Company of Indiana, FBI agents have been hanging around the departments and have been keeping out all union organizers.

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In Flint South Fisher, a speed-up campaign has been initiated which has kept the union on its toes every minute of the day. This campaign of provocation grew so

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CHI. MILKMEN ON PICKET LINE ONCE AGAIN

CHICAGO, May 21—Chicago's milk drivers are out on the picket line for the second time in a month. Engineers, oilers and firemen in the milk plants are out in sympathy with the drivers, paralyzing the bosses.

Already 89 companies have signed the new contract proposed by the union.

In a novel and effective move which both strengthens the fight against the bosses and provides milk for the consumers, the drivers are to purchase milk direct from farmers, take it to unionized dairies for processing, then deliver it to regular customers. This milk sells at ten cents a quart—three cents under the trust price for home delivery.

The farmers are all for this step and have forced Arthur H. Lauterbach, General Manager of the Pure Milk Association, to support it, despite his hostility to the union—actually he doesn't represent the farmers but the dealers.

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ILGWU MEETING UNDER SHADOW OF WAR DRIVE

Dubinsky War Stand Threatens Fate of Union Itself

The Fortieth Anniversary Convention of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union opens Monday afternoon, May 27, at Madison Square Garden in New York.

Opening under the shadow of the drive to stampede America into the war, the decisions of the International, representing 250,000 men and women workers in the women's wear trades, will have an important bearing on the general trend of the labor movement.

If the Dubinsky leadership, as is anticipated, commits the union to the Roosevelt pro-war policy, the convention is likely to be converted into little more than a third-term rally for Roosevelt, pushing aside the pressing problems of the workers, as happened in the just-concluded Amalgamated Clothing Workers convention. But if that happens, it means the International will begin sliding down the hill, down toward the point of virtual collapse which it stood at in 1932. For despite all its numerical growth, the International is now faced with a dangerous situation.

The gains made by the militant New York workers, who shed their blood on a thousand picket lines, are being systematically whittled away year by year. On paper the New York market is still committed to relatively good contracts—but what meaning have these contracts when so much of the work is disappearing from New York, leaving a great part of the workers in the industry without employment? New York's ladies garment workers suffer not only the burden of unemployment which workers in every industry are faced with, but also this additional burden from the decentralization of the industry.

Nor do the workers in other parts of the country benefit from this decentralization. The magnet which draws away the manufacturers from New York is inferior wages and conditions. Where the manufacturers move, they repeat the horrors which in former years made their New York sweatshops so infamous.

Needs Fundamental Solution
All makeshifts previously attempted by the International have failed to solve this problem. It has become clear that the Fortieth Anniversary Convention can solve this problem only by a fundamental and drastic decision.

One "solution" being considered by some people is certainly drastic enough—it would eventually destroy the union. This is to lower the wages and the working conditions of the New York workers down to the conditions in the out-of-town shops. That would stop the migration from New York—but it would also put an end to the union.

The solution lies the other way around—to bring the out-of-town shops up to the rates and standards of the New York shops. That, however, requires first of all, the organizing of the out-of-town shops. The fact is that a dangerously large part of the industry nationally still remains unorganized. This demands that the International launch a militant organization campaign to organize all competitive out-of-town shops and sign agreements aimed at bringing the wages and working conditions of those workers up to the rates of the New York shops.

Need Standard Agreements
One major obstacle in organizing those now unorganized is that if a strike were called today in any locality, the effectiveness of the strike can be nullified because buyers can purchase their garments or have them manufactured in another locality, a situation

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Capitalism Can Offer Only Destruction

Across the battlefields of Western Europe we are once more being given ghastly proof that this capitalist system we live under is capable only of destruction, blinding, horrifying, all-inclusive, total destruction.

Roosevelt's speeded-up drive to mobilize the industry of this country to build war planes, guns, and battleships is a drive heading us straight and fast into the same agony now being suffered by the peoples of Europe.

The capitalist system built a great industrial plant, nurtured great scientific advances, and provided the mechanical means of giving life and plenty to the people of the entire world.

Unable to continue giving life and work because it has grown too big to continue functioning on the basis of national barriers, private property and private profit, the system has been converted by the rival groups of masters—German, French, British—into one vast machine of destruction.

Now it is America's turn to join in the welter of death and destruction.

For over ten years the huge and wonderful industrial machine of this country has been operating by fits and starts. During all these years millions of men were going around anxious to find work. But idle factories and idle men could not get together. The machines rusted. The workers grew old and lost their skill. The young workers had no opportunity to acquire a trade.

The employed also suffered. Their wages were cut; they could not be kept at work steadily because the market for the products they created was reduced by unemployment.

Now and then there was a spurt of economic activity. Under the Roosevelt regime, at certain times, the productive machine revived—but only for short intervals.

It was under the Roosevelt regime that the plan was introduced on a really large scale of paying farmers for not producing.

The working masses, subjected to tremendous suffering under the Hoover regime, were grateful for the slight improvement in their lot under the Roosevelt regime. But under Roosevelt as well as under Hoover factories remained idle.

Roosevelt has had almost eight years. The industrial machine could not be made to function efficiently.

But soon we shall see that same machine function and produce.

And will the masses, as a result of the increased production have their living standards improved? By no means.

For the industrial machine will be functioning to produce airplanes for destructive purposes, bombs, shells, battleships, anti-aircraft cannons—everything for war, death, destruction.

Did Roosevelt, ever since he has been elected, set the wheels into motion to produce more food, more clothing, more housing? He made gestures and the results were woefully inadequate.

If the industrial machine were geared for the production of goods for the people to eat more and better food, to clothe and house themselves decently, there would not be a single person who would lack anything.

But this is certain: our industrial machine under the capitalist system cannot be made to function to improve the standard of living—it can be made to function only to produce instruments of death.

For there is no profit in producing for the use of the people. There is no necessity to produce for the use of the people. Capitalism is unable to produce for the purposes of peace.

What a united effort, what tremendous energy the owners and managers of industry are capable of exerting when they are called upon to do so to produce armaments, we shall soon see. They who were ready to tear Roosevelt limb from limb are ready to support him wholeheartedly and answer his clarion call for 50,000 planes, for more battleships, for more cannon.

The destitution of millions for over ten years do not act as an incentive to set the wheels of industry into motion. Only the fear of a strong capitalist rival and preparation for war furnished the incentive.

Is any further proof necessary that capitalism has reached the ultimate in decay, that it must be destroyed root and branch? It is a system which, in the words of Winston Churchill, leader of British imperialism, offers to the masses nothing but "toil, sweat, tears and blood."

It cannot produce for life but only for death. The workers of the world must destroy this system which is capable of bringing them only death.

Black Troops Bearing Brunt of First Rush of Nazi War Machine

France's black colonial slaves are bearing the brunt of the first battles. R. Walter Mergusson, war correspondent for the Pittsburgh Courier, Negro newspaper, cabled from Paris, May 13:

"Black soldiers from the African colonies of France were sped by motor through northwestern Luxembourg and eastern France to meet the oncoming German war machines."

"The main body of French troops were held in reserve for mass maneuvers against the Nazis should they get by the delaying tactics of the French Senegalese."

In other words, the blacks have pushed in to take the heaviest blows of the Nazi war machine at the peak of its strength.

In February there were already 320,000 Senegalese troops at the front, with a total of a million to come, out of a population of eighteen million in French West and Equatorial Africa. Other millions are to come from the North African possessions, populated mainly by Arabs and Berbers.

In the last war, France had for the entire war far fewer Senegalese troops—200,000.

IBEW PICKETS CON-EDISON POWER PLANT

International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, Local 3, is waging a strike against the Consolidated Edison Company at the 39th Street power plant, which involves several years work on a modernization project. Members of Local 3, which has for many years had this kind of work, were denied the job. Instead the work is being done by Consolidated Edison employees.

Local 3 works a six-hour day, a thirty-hour week, and a wage-scale on a two dollar an hour basis.

The Independent Brotherhood, the "union" that the company has formed, works under an eight-hour day, and the wage-scale is from seventy cents to \$1.10.

Compare the difference! There is the answer to the question of discrimination! This is what the workers of Local 3 are fighting for: Decent working hours, a decent living wage.

In commenting on the strike, Van Arsdale, business agent of Local 3, said: "We are hopeful that this strike will awaken the 30,000 employees of the company to the realization that they are paid far below the wage level which the company can well afford."

Here is some information that might be of interest to the Independent Brotherhood members now working on the low wage scale: The assets of the Consolidated Edison Co., in property and

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CIO Leaders Take Pro-War Stand

Lewis Wants "Share" In Roosevelt's War Drive

John L. Lewis answered Roosevelt's pro-war moves last week by lining up with the warmongers.

Scheduled to deliver an anti-war, anti-Roosevelt speech during one of the early sessions of the Steel Workers Organizing Committee convention, meeting in Chicago, May 14-17, he sent a telegram cancelling the speech. For, taking advantage of the latest events in Europe, Roosevelt had begun his war drive, and Lewis was coming to heel.

Lewis then made a scheduled address to the Amalgamated Clothing Workers convention on May 17. That convention was a more appropriate place for Lewis to make the transition back to the Roosevelt war camp. In Chicago he would have been at a convention under the control of his lieutenant, Murray, and his speech would have been a complete somersault. Speaking at the Hillman-controlled convention, in the rapidly pro-Roosevelt atmosphere cooked up by the Amalgamated leadership, he was able to make the transition more "gracefully."

His speech was in stark contrast with the speeches he has made in recent months.

No Word About Roosevelt

He made not a single reference to Roosevelt. Gone was the slightest hint of the stand, breaking with Roosevelt, that he had taken so dramatically on January 31 at the United Mine Workers convention and repeated at intervals since.

"As the current year opens the Democratic Party is in default to the American people. After seven years of power, it finds itself without solution for the major questions of unemployment, low national income, mounting internal debt, increasing taxation and consumer markets. There still exists the same national unhappiness that it faced seven years ago. . . . In the Congress the unrestrained baiting and defaming of labor by the Democratic majority has become a pastime, never subject to rebuke by the titular or actual leaders of the party."

That's what Lewis said on January 31. Last week he had rubbed that out.

On Feb. 1 the United Mine Workers convention had adopted a resolution sharply warning the Roosevelt administration "that labor wants no war . . . and will hold to strict accountability any statesman who departs from this policy." The resolution went on to demand that the government "withhold the lending of any money, or the participation either directly or indirectly in the wars now going on in Europe and Asia."

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Murray Gives Jingo Tone to SWOC Convention

CHICAGO, May 18—The convention of the Steel Workers Organizing Committee which met in Chicago from May 14 to May 17 revealed startling developments within the steel union. The leadership indicated quite clearly that its purpose and aim was to show the American steel capitalists that the SWOC was a respectable and innocent organization. The stand which they took on such vital issues as the war, the six-hour day, and the Constitutional Convention exposed this dangerous and suicidal trend.

Through its appointed resolutions committee, the leadership forced through a patriotic war resolution which, although it gave lip-service to the anti-war sentiments of the workers, then proceeded to guarantee unconditional support to American imperialism. "Our country right or wrong" was the slogan put forth by the resolution; and in defending that slogan, Philip Murray, S.W.O.C. Chairman, declared that the steel union had to demonstrate its readiness to support the government.

In bold terms, the resolution stated that the S.W.O.C. would support the American government in ANY emergency. While officials gave patriotic speeches in favor of such a resolution, the demands for supporting a popular referendum on war, which was adopted by the 1937 convention, were given the cold-shoulder and the convention was hurriedly pushed on to the next order of business.

Constitutional Convention 1942

In order to retard the growing sentiment for a Constitutional Convention, Chairman Murray proposed that such a convention be called in 1942. Nevertheless, a number of delegates insisted that it be called by 1941.

Finally, Murray took the floor himself, made a personal issue of the matter, and with the aid of the reactionary hand-raisers, subdued the opposition.

Six Hour Day Evaded

As a solution for unemployment, the leadership proposed a conference of business, labor, farm, and government leaders. No program for establishing the six hour day was even mentioned. Within the Policy Committee, the six-hour day was declared to be "impractical at the present time."

However, a rank-and-file delegate raised the issue from the floor, and a hearty response followed. Delegate after delegate rose to support the six hour day demand. Once more, Murray himself took the floor, side-tracked the issue, and attempted to dampen the spirit of the rank-and-file delegates. As is the usual case, the matter was finally left up to the S.W.O.C. staff for final action.

Opposition Growing

A growing opposition to the policies of the leadership was quite discernible, especially among delegates from large steel plants. Throughout the duration of the convention, the officials were nervous, jittery, and irritable. At the very opening of the first session, Murray warned against caucuses, but the militants paid no heed. Stern measures were taken against the militants, but they showed no signs of being the least bit shaken. As events continue to haunt the leaders, this opposition will continue to grow in influence and effectiveness.

A detailed story and an analysis of the SWOC convention will appear in next week's issue. Don't miss it!

Behind the Lines

Roosevelt Seeks to Make Intervention Now Seem More Palatable to Workers

by GEORGE STERN

The blinding "total" war unleashed in Western Europe has not only crushed the lives of hundreds of thousands of men and whole countries. It has also brought crumbling down a good many notions about the war in general and the perspectives it offers for the near future. One thing is certain: to the rulers of this motorized rumble of Hitler's motorized divisions across the Netherlands, Belgium, and Northern France have for the first time actually opened up the possibility of an Allied defeat. The New York Herald-Tribune last week declared bluntly that American war plans must be made with that contingency primarily in mind.

Thus, instead of envisaging American intervention at the side of the Allies in Europe, the press and politicians are beginning to rearrange their war propaganda to fit the more terrifying prospect of a Nazi conquest of Europe followed eventually by an invasion of the Western hemisphere, probably via South America, with Japan cooperatively attacking in the Pacific. This was the main burden of the case as it was presented by President Roosevelt in his first open war speech to the Congress last Thursday.

Can Hitler actually inflict a military defeat upon the Allies despite their superior economic resources? The answer is probably in the affirmative. It is quite possible to envisage a German victory in this phase of the war. But it remains only the opening phase of the war. Hitler may win his way to the channel and even occupy Paris but it is doubtful whether his knockout blow can

in this single swoop, as Winston Churchill said in his radio speech, destroy armies of millions of men equipped with weapons almost as modern although not quite as numerous as Germany's. Neither can it destroy the British fleet. To strike at the rest of the Anglo-French empires he will have to have the help of Italy and Japan and will have to fight American imperialism.

These things all still add up to a long, long conflict, a conflict on a vast world scale even larger than the present initial great battles. Blitzkrieg or no blitzkrieg, the perspectives of this war must still be counted in years, not in months or weeks.

That is why the sudden panicky propaganda over here must be regarded primarily as an attempt to make American intervention in the war in Europe seem like a lesser and necessary evil to the American masses.

Roosevelt & Co. may really be worried whether they can carry out this intervention speedily and effectively enough to save the situation once more for the Allies.

But such intervention is the real purpose of the "defense" program, the whipping up of the new "preparedness" drive, and the beginning of the campaign to ram industrial mobilization down the throats of the American workers. First move is the talk of suspending operation of the Walsh-Healey Act and removing existing meager safeguards from wages and hours of workers in the principal industrial lines needed to transform the country into an armed camp.

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.

L.A. Workers Alliance In Job Agency Move

The Workers Alliance in Los Angeles has started an employment service to place its members on jobs in private industry. The main reason for this move seems to be to convince a few relief bureaucrats and white collar critics that the unemployed are not lazy and unwilling to work!

But regardless of what these enemies of the unemployed think, it would be much better for the WAA to stick to its knitting and try to establish decent standards of living for all unemployed. The objective of the WAA avowedly is to put organized pressure on government bodies for adequate public works jobs and direct relief for all unemployed. Let us not get away from this important objective.

The proposal of the local WAA leaders to start an employment service sounds very good until we study it a bit. Unions of every trade are in this community. Many of them have supported the WAA in many different ways and it is easy to see that as soon as the WAA starts an employment service, we will be bucking those unions who have their own unemployed members. This employment service would mean that we would be competing with these other unions who have long unemployed lists. These unions had years of fighting and sacrifice to establish and maintain union wage scales in their industry.

We can't afford to antagonize the organized trade union movement for the simple reason that they have supported us in the past and we need their backing in the future. We would have to work for less than the union scale in order to get the jobs and would be scabbing on union men who have struggled for years—for more pay, better working conditions, etc.

If we want to fight for a united strong labor movement in the United States, we can't start anything that will cause conflict between the organized unemployed and organized employed workers, between the trade unions and unemployed organizations. If the bosses and their political stooges can get the unemployed to break down the wages and working conditions of the union men, it will be bad for all of us.

Workers Alliance Member
Los Angeles

Wants Name of Appeal Changed—to Sell More

I am glad to see that a campaign has been launched to restore the twice-a-week Appeal. It is my belief that only in this way can the paper bring its readers the authentic labor news hot off the griddle.

In view of this and with an eye to increasing the sale of the paper, I have two suggestions to make.

1. In line with the convention decisions to build a working-class mass party bound up with the trade unions and, also, to carry our paper to the greatest number of readers before a war censorship cracks down, I'd like to suggest the name "Socialist Appeal" be changed to one that will be accepted to all workers and not restricted solely to Marxists and sympathizers. Since the form of the articles will be in popular style, let's give it a suitable name. My choice would be "Worker's World" or some other good punchy name. I'll be looking forward to the pros and cons on this suggestion, especially from those comrades who are selling the paper regularly house-to-house and at union meetings.

2. I recently had the pleasure of enjoying Comrade Antoinette Konikow's educational and interesting letter. I hope we can look forward to more of these as we women are pretty much out in the cold as far as the columns of our paper are concerned. I'm sure more women would be numbered among our readers if a short column were devoted regularly to "To the Women's Brigade" and their problems and interests. How about it, Brigadiettes?

Los Angeles Jo Keller

Judge Forbids Strike To Enforce Contract!

The fight of Local 770 Retail Food Clerks Union (AFL) to enforce contracts with members of the Retail Market Operators Association has been temporarily interfered with by a decree issued by Judge Willis of the Superior Court enjoining picketing by union members of a number of food markets on the ground that such picketing was in violation of the arbitration clause of the contract.

As a result of this decree, 900 food workers are deprived, for the time being at least, of the benefits of contracts already signed by the super-market owners providing for a 48 hour week at a minimum wage of \$22.50. At present the men are being forced to work 54 hours and longer in some cases for \$20.00 weekly.

The contracts which were to become effective January 1, 1940, have never been respected by the super-market owners, allegedly because the union failed to secure similar contracts with the Safeway Stores, a nationwide chain, and other large chain units. The union has insisted that these contracts were binding whether or not it succeeded in securing similar contracts with Safeway or the other chains.

Upon the refusal of the super-market operators to live up to the terms of the contracts signed by them, the union called a strike at a number of the super markets and set up militant picket lines. The court held that this was in violation of the arbitration clause in the contracts, stating: "Such a provision for arbitration of controversies in a collective bargaining contract contains an implied promise not to strike and use economic pressure to force agreement with labor's demands. Hence a repudiation of a voluntary arbitration agreement followed by a strike and picketing is an unjustifiable breach of contract even though such arbitration proceedings cannot be compelled or enforced by court process under state law."

Just one week ago the U.S. Supreme Court held anti-picketing ordinances in California and Alabama unconstitutional as violating the right of free speech. The present decision easily avoids this ruling by holding that picketing to accomplish an unlawful purpose, i.e. in breach of a contract, is not protected by the constitution.

The union is completing plans for continuing the fight by taking all proper legal and economic measures to enforce the rights of its members.

Los Angeles A. M.

Please accept my belated thanks for the article, published in the Appeal two months ago, dealing with the problems of the women-folk of the workers.

A complete new phase of our great struggle opened before my eyes after reading this article. I then first realized that my husband was, in reality, selling to his boss, not only his time and labor, but mine also, for only thru my efforts, was it possible for us to live on the wages paid my husband.

So, in reality, we, the wives of the workers, are as much a part of this mad struggle against boss rule as are our men-folk. If our husbands are poorly paid, then so are we, and in exploiting one, bosses exploit the other.

Let us have more of this type of article.

Earnestly,
Los Angeles Grace Elliott

DELLA M. DUNNE
Mrs. Della M. Dunne died on May 17, at the age of 83, at the home of her son, Vincent, in Minneapolis.
Wife of a section hand on the railroads, she lived to see her three sons, Vincent, Grant, and Miles, play a leading role in the great drivers' strikes of 1934 and the transformation of Minneapolis into a union town.
We send our heartfelt condolences to her boys.

Workers Asking: Who Are We Going to Fight and --- What For?

by GEORGE CLARKE

BOSTON—Big black headlines scream at you in every railroad station, every crowded square, every street corner. They all tell the same tale: the "horror" of the invasion; the atrocities of the Nazis; the outraged feelings of decent civilization.

But the big scoop of the week is the news about the shrinking of the Atlantic Ocean which brings the Heinkel bombers within hearing distance. "Preparedness!" "Preparedness!" they all shout in chorus. "Track down the Fifth column!"—"Keep the beacons trained overhead for Nazis popping out of the skies in parachutes." "Wipe the Germans out," shouts the Boston Herald. "If Allied planes should lay waste scores of German cities and use the technique of the Germans, our people would rejoice."

But the American worker is not rejoicing at the slaughter-house that is Europe. He passionately hates the Nazis. Yet he wants no part of the war. Few and far between are the expressions favoring a new A.E.F. The nightmare of Morgan's last war is still too vivid in the popular consciousness and it serves temporarily to block the road of the war-made jingoes in the White House.

The anti-war feeling is strong enough to find expression even on the tongues of some public mouthpieces of big war-boom corporations. Boston's Mayor Tobin, of American Tel. & Tel., Du Pont affiliate, said to 5,000 people gathered on the Boston Common for a "Mother's Day" celebration: "The day on which America mobilizes for war, that is the day which means the end of representative government." Other speakers—all of the hypocritical tribe of "isolationists" who will soon become virulent "interventionists"—drew cheers from the audience when they urged America be kept out of the "war for imperialism."

The crowd on the Common did not at all signify some special occasion. Large numbers of people are congregating on this public square since the war broke out in the Low Countries. They are heatedly discussing the war, America's chances of entry, listening to radical speakers, reading periodicals and literature of all types on the war.

Soldiers Listen Too

Abnormally large numbers of uniformed sailors, soldiers and marines are in evidence these days, especially around the Common. Some of them, cocky with the new thrill of wearing a uniform attempt to heckle and disrupt Socialist Workers Party anti-war meetings. But many others

ISSUES FACING OUT-OF-TOWN DEPT. OF ILGWU

The pressing problem of the out-of-town department of the ILGWU is unemployment. Reports from the Eastern section of the out-of-town department, which comprises the middle Atlantic states, and from Los Angeles, verify this fact. There is very little work most of the year and this work is generally at scales below the New York prices.

Because of these two factors—little work and at wages below those of New York workers, who themselves don't make too much—there is tremendous unrest.

These out of town workers are for the most part, relatively speaking, recently organized. Militant and not yet beaten, they are putting tremendous pressure on the union officials to do something about their conditions. Because of this fact the ILGWU out-of-town department maintains a firm grip on these locals in order to keep them from fighting the bosses too militantly.

Locals Without Autonomy

This is done by not granting them any real powers in their locals. The right to strike is always subject to a veto from the center. The local has no control of its funds. This fact alone is enough in most cases to paralyze local activity. Business agents and managers are appointed from above, not elected by the workers. This fact is also a contributing factor to the bitterness of the workers toward their officialdom.

Clarke Speaks in Chicago, May 26-28

George Clarke, member of the National Committee of the Socialist Workers Party, now on a coast-to-coast speaking tour, speaks Sunday, May 26, 3 p.m., at University Room, Midland Hotel, 172 West Adams Street, Chicago. "Which War for the Workers" is the title of his talk.

On Tuesday he again speaks in Chicago, at the Viking Hall, 2741 West North Avenue. The subject of this meeting will be "The Government Persecution of the Trade Union Movement."

The first of Comrade Clarke's comments on the way in which American workers are reacting to the war drive appears in an adjoining column. His reports of conditions in other cities will appear each week during his tour.

His tour so far has covered New Haven, Boston, Lynn, Syracuse, Rochester, Buffalo, Pittsburgh, Youngstown, Akron, Cleveland, Toledo, Flint, Detroit and South Bend.

Comrade Clarke will be in Minneapolis and St. Paul, Wednesday-Friday, May 29-31, in Omaha, Sunday, June 2, and in Denver, Tuesday and Wednesday, June 4-5. He arrives on Friday, June 7 in Salt Lake City, and will spend the week of June 10-16 in San Francisco. On Monday, June 17 he will be in Fresno, and in Los Angeles the next day.

are more thoughtful, they know at least part of the score and they listen quietly, ask pertinent questions and remain after the meeting to argue and discuss. Where will they fight? Why? and for whom? These questions are becoming more wide-spread even among the unemployed young workers and farmers in uniform.

The anti-war message of the S.W.P. is penetrating slowly but deeply into the ranks of the industrial proletariat. A small but enthusiastic group of workers came to the party meeting where I spoke and applauded vigorously when it was proved that American workers have been the victims of a devastating "blitzkrieg" for over a decade by their real enemies, the Sixty Ruling Families, the billion-dollar corporate interests—that the only war for American workers is against "the enemy within our gates" and not overseas for World Empire for Morgan-DuPont & Co.

LYNN—Living in what was once the "world's biggest ladies shoe center" but is now rapidly becoming a "ghost town," Lynn workers have too keen an appreciation of so-called American democracy to be eager to sell that shoddy commodity overseas at the point of bayonets.

Interest at my meeting here was sustained and the question period unusually lively. One worker was troubled by the question: "What if Hitler comes here?" There were many nods of approval when I exposed this old, old shell game.

"In World War I, we were threatened with Kaiser Bill coming over here. Instead, we went 'over there' after him. The German workers bounced Kaiser Bill off his throne. But American and British politicians found him a

nothing did the Lynn workers establish a tradition of militancy.

Teamsters, shoe workers, leather workers, textile workers are well-organized. Outstanding among these is the powerful CIO union in General Electric with a membership of 7,000 strong; next are the teamsters, a husky and vigorous organization.

An Industrial Union Council with 14 affiliated unions in Lynn, Salem, Peabody and Beverly counts 25,000 members. A successful News Guild strike against the Daily Evening Item helped to strengthen its forces.

A resolution calling for the establishment of the 30-hour week at 40-hour pay was adopted unanimously at the Leather Workers convention held in Boston, April 26-28.

Stalinists Losing Ground

Comrades canvassing house-to-house in workers' neighborhoods report enthusiastic response for the Peoples' Referendum Against War. A resolution along these lines was put to pieces at the Leather Workers convention, dominated by the Stalinists. Thus, the C.P. "struggles against war."

Stalinist influence in Lynn is steadily losing ground. In recent months they have abandoned their hall and removed the party organizer who had been employed by them for 3 years. No one replaced him.

On the other hand, rank and file C.P. workers have become more friendly with our worker comrades. The lies of the Stalinist misleaders are making less of an impression on the rank and file than heretofore.

FBI in Lynn

The FBI is allowing little to get by its hawkshaw eyes these days. The American "Gestapo" is everywhere.

The SWP discovered this in Lynn when it found out why it had been banned from holding meetings on a city square, traditional public open air forum for 15 years.

An ex-marine, now retired, had constantly been heckling SWP speakers and attempting to provoke a riot. He then went to the Mayor and demanded speakers be barred from the Square. The Mayor said he had no authority to take such action. So the ex-marine wrote to Washington which went into action at once. The U.S. Marshall was contacted in Boston with orders to instruct the police chief in Lynn to stop all meetings in the Square. The police chief didn't have to be "blitzkrieged" into action. Now meetings must be held in back alleys, or not at all.

Another grand victory in the "war for democracy."

ILGWU Hold Convention Under Shadow of Roosevelt War Drive

(Continued from Page 1)

ation which leaves room for all kinds of arrangements whereby struck manufacturers can secretly cover their customers' needs and keep their customers.

There is only one fundamental way to do away with this loophole favoring the bosses, and that is for the convention to instruct all local unions and joint boards to sign their next union agreements WITH A STANDARD EXPIRATION DATE. Then the union can force, if it so desires, a COMPLETE STOPPAGE until the just demands are met.

But organization of the out-of-town shops can only be the first step. The agreements signed with the newly-organized shops must be based on the object of bringing the wages and working conditions up to the rates of the New York shops. Intermediate steps to achieve that object must be included in the very first agreements.

Must Establish Zones

These intermediate steps would be to divide the country into zones, based upon geographical factors, etc., and to provide proper differential rates for each zone. Each succeeding agreement could cut down still further the gap between rates in the zones and those in New York.

Organizing the industry nationally, zoning wage rates and standardizing agreements will do away with the competition between the New York and out-of-town shops. But these steps alone will not do away with another dangerous form of competition—the competition between the employed workers and the vast

army of the unemployed garment workers.

Local 22 Resolution

The giant dressmakers local of New York, Local 22, which claims a membership of 30,000, is presenting a resolution for the 30 hour week to the convention. But the Zimmerman leadership in adopting the resolution rendered a little more than lip-service to the popularity among the workers of this demand. For this resolution merely proposes a campaign for legislation for the 30 hour week, and leaves out entirely the method of direct economic action by the unions to secure this demand.

What is urgently needed is a convention instruction to the GEB to take the initiative in convening a labor conference of CIO, AFL and independent unions which shall launch a campaign to achieve by both legislative action and union pressure the establishment of the universal thirty-hour week with no reduction in pay. In steel, in auto, in the electrical industry, powerful locals are already struggling for this demand. The ILGWU, once in the vanguard on labor issues, should certainly join with them in forwarding this next great step for organized labor.

Militant Policy Needed

These basic tasks of the International—organizing the industry nationally, standardizing wages and working conditions, establishing a standard expiration dates for agreements, and integrating the unemployed back into the industry—require a militant, fighting outlook.

But a militant policy requires an end to the Dubinsky policy of

The Appeal Drive Must Not Lag Now! Speed It Up!

\$140.50 was received in the last week from various branches and individual comrades on the pledges for the two-a-week Appeal, a considerable sum, but not enough.

At this rate we shall surely not fulfill our quota by July 1st, the date set for the beginning of the publication of the two-a-week Appeal.

The total collected thus far is \$1076.85. The amount pledged is \$3885.00. To fulfill the quota we need close to three thousand dollars between now and July 1st, a period of six weeks. We must, therefore, average much better than \$140.50.

Comrades, put your shoulders to the wheel. Go out and get the money. The war situation brooks no delay. We must get out the two-a-week Appeal. It is up to you.

SCOREBOARD

Branch	Pledged	Paid	%
Upstate New York	\$ 50.00	\$ 50.00	100
St. Paul	200.00	160.00	80
Minneapolis	300.00	200.00	67
Boston	170.00	112.50	66
Lynn	50.00	29.00	58
Chicago	100.00	50.00	50
Flint	105.00	55.00	50
East Chicago	25.00	10.00	40
New York City	950.00	347.00	36
Buffalo	5.00	1.00	20
Detroit	75.00	11.35	15
New Haven	55.00	5.00	9
National Office	550.00	41.00	7
Maritime Workers	780.00	5.00	6
San Francisco	100.00	0.00	0
Newark	100.00	0.00	0
Los Angeles	100.00	0.00	0
Toledo	40.00	0.00	0
Philadelphia	25.00	0.00	0
Omaha	25.00	0.00	0
Baltimore	15.00	0.00	0
Seattle	15.00	0.00	0
Indianapolis	10.00	0.00	0
Oakland	10.00	0.00	0
Portland	10.00	0.00	0
Akron	10.00	0.00	0
Lorain	5.00	0.00	0
Total	\$3880.00	\$1076.85	28.0

CIO BUILDING UNION STRIKES QUEENS JOBS

The CIO's United Construction Workers Organizing Committee reached a new stage in its challenge to the AFL building trades unions, when the CIO union threw mass picket lines around two large projects in Flushing, Long

Island, tying them up completely last week.

The projects, on Main Street in Flushing, comprise several scores of small homes, the building of which is financed by F.H.A. loans. Local 68 of the United Construction Workers, the Queens local, whose territory the strike is in, points out that this New York City borough has already had approved some \$100,000,000 worth of F.H.A. loans for small home building, with further millions of dollars in loans still pending—a sum which makes Queens a key place in building activity during the coming year.

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by FARRELL DOBBS

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The Negro Question

by Robert L. Birchman

Typical of a great deal of the editorial comment in the Negro press last week was that in the May 18 Pittsburgh Courier, biggest Negro newspaper:

The total war has started. We are now seeing an immense worldwide struggle of rival imperialists and oppressors to decide which will rule and exploit the rich tropic lands and the half billion black and brown folk who inhabit them.

It is not a war between dictatorship and democracy.

So far as darker peoples are concerned, one side is no more democratic than the other.

England's colored subjects have no more voice in Parliament than Germany's Jews have in the Reichstag.

France's African subjects have no more voice in their government than the average Negro in the Southern States.

Belgium's vast Congo region, big as all of our South, has 13,000,000 black folk who dare not mention the word democracy.

Italy still stamps on the liberties of 15,000,000 black folk in Ethiopia, Eritrea, Libya and Somaliland.

In the Netherlands' East Indies, where ten cents a day is a "good" wage, all the many native leaders are in exile or in their graves, and the 60,000,000 serfs are crushed under a dictatorship which makes Hitler's rule of Poland seem benevolent by comparison.

Portugal, the worst of all colonizers because the least intelligent and competent, is a stooge of England, whose colonial policies she religiously follows, to the great detriment of her black subjects.

The United States, which preens itself as the champion of democracy, denies it to its dark millions, and refuses to even protect them from lynching, discrimination and segregation.

Yes, it is a total war, and dark folk are the stakes.

If this total war destroys white civilization, there are hundreds of millions of people in Africa and Asia who will not mourn.

But some of the Negro papers have already begun to talk like their white masters. The May 18 Afro-American of Baltimore was saying: "We have the choice of jumping in while the Nazis are hard-pressed, or waiting until Adolf sits on top of the world, and then fight him by ourselves. . . . Peace at any price is as unthinkable today as in 1914 . . . we must fight to preserve what President Roosevelt calls our culture and our civilization."

Who is that "we" and "our" that the Afro-American is talking about? Is the only choice for the Negro masses the choice between two slave-masters? If those are the only two alternatives, the Negroes might as well commit suicide. But they are NOT the only alternatives because they are not alternatives at all, they are the same thing. The other choice is for the Negroes to join with militant white workers and the colonial peoples against all their oppressors. If millions of us are to die, then let us die fighting for freedom and not for the bosses, fascist or "democratic."

GM Bolder Under War Drive Impetus

(Continued from Page 1)

intense this week that the union was forced to issue a special letter to the membership warning against the company's conspiracy to provoke unorganized demonstrations and actions which could only weaken the union at this time.

Membership Not Informed

The waves of unrest created by the company's campaign of intimidation have been increased by the secrecy with which Hillman and Murray and the others have been conducting the GM negotiations, but the GM workers have not even received assurance that any agreement extracted from the company will be submitted to the membership for their ratification.

This uncertainty and unrest in the ranks of the auto workers have been turned into positive dismay and fierce anger this week by the statement of President R. J. Thomas that he is defying the instructions of the rank and file and is not demanding the 30-hour week at 40-hours pay from GM.

Militant Back 30-Hour Week

The South Fisher program for the 30-hour week at 40-hours pay, initiated by a local union representing about 7,000 workers, was supported immediately in membership meetings by Flint Chevrolet Local No. 659 and Flint Buick Local No. 599, both locals together representing approximately 23,000 workers.

Other locals in Pontiac and throughout the auto area have also given assurance of support to the South Fisher resolution. Pontiac Yellow Coach Local No. 594 was the first in the City of Pontiac to go on record for the fighting program of the 30-hour week.

Already, therefore, a solid bloc of local unions, representing at least 40,000 GM workers have made it clear that they support the South Fisher resolution and that they want the 30-hour week not in the vague and distant future, but in the next agreement. The faint-hearted International leadership of Thomas & Co., trying desperately to find an excuse for disregarding the expressed mandate of the membership, is now trying to drag out the red herring of the Ford Drive.

But they have had opportunities to organize Ford's for over a year and a half, and they have done nothing about it. Only now,

at this belated date, in the face of the rank and file demands for immediate negotiations for the 30-hour week at 40-hours pay in GM, the UAW leaders, aided and abetted by so-called progressives like Emil Mazey, President of Briggs Local No. 212, are trying to use the Ford campaign as a cover for their inaction and cowardly policy in GM.

Along the line of this miserable attempt a meeting of all local union presidents of Detroit was called last Tuesday night for the purpose of preparing the "Ford campaign." Three fourths of the speakers at this meeting spent their time lambasting Homer Martin, much in the same manner as the old pre-war Republican politicians, who, to cover their own treachery, used to wave the bloody shirt and kept on fighting the Civil War far into the 20th Century.

Split Among Leaders

This top leadership is split into two basic groups, with a bitter, deep - going division between them that threatens to flare up into a bitter conflict at the coming convention.

Thomas is president of the union today, but at least three other International Board members are trying to get his job. Reuther, Frankenstein and Addes. Do these other men differ with Thomas on program or union principles?

The unscrupulous Stalinist stooge, Frankenstein, is in a big fight with the so-called Lewis men—Thomas and Reuther. What differences divide these two groups of men on union principles? None!

The auto workers, the most militant union men in the American labor movement, are reaching out for a basic solution to their economic insecurity. They are demanding militant action to win the 30-hour week at 40-hours pay! They know that the corporations will in the next couple of months attempt to insure immense war profits, by attempts to smash the union, drag down wage levels, and increase the hours of work. The ranks feel that unless they inaugurate aggressive action while there is time and while the union is strong, they will not be in a position to withstand the terrific corporation offensive that will inevitably come with high-gear war production.

They also know that you cannot organize Ford by a lot of baloney and empty gestures. They

CHI. MILKMEN ON PICKET LINE ONCE AGAIN

(Continued from Page 1)

The 89 companies which have already signed with the union can, it is estimated, produce sufficient milk for the city by working overtime.

The milk drivers were out on strike during May 1-2, when the bosses attempted to introduce a 25% wage cut of the \$48 wage. Two days of militant strike action forced the bosses to retreat, and the men went back to work with a guarantee of the \$48 wage scale until a new agreement was concluded. The truce under which they went back to work provided, however, that after 30 days negotiations, the differences be submitted to arbitration.

The union membership at a meeting May 9 rejected the provision for arbitration. In the negotiations the bosses demanded the immediate installation of a

15% wage cut, but got nowhere. Whereupon on Saturday, May 18, the bosses posted a notice on all barns that beginning with May 20, the basic wage would be lowered to \$40 per week—an \$8 cut. This constituted a lockout, which the workers answered with militant strike action.

The milk drivers are fighting a battle whose outcome is important to other unions too. The Pop and Bakery drivers of Chicago are still being stalled on their new contract, while their bosses await the results of the milk strike. Philip S. Hanna, editor of the Chicago Journal of Commerce, addressing three hundred bosses at the Sioux City Traffic Club on May 8, singled out the Chicago milk drivers for a vicious attack.

Attending the meeting were trucking bosses from Omaha, Chicago, Kansas City, St. Paul, Minneapolis, and other cities. They are watching the milk strike, planning an intensive campaign to reduce the present drivers' scale in all mid-Western cities if the strike is lost. That is why the fight of the Chicago milk drivers is a national issue, and must be supported by the entire labor movement.

LEWIS WANTS SHARE IN FDR WAR DRIVE

(Continued from Page 1)

On Feb. 10, praising resolutions against loans to Finland, and defending them against Roosevelt, who had characterized the resolutions as "twaddle," Lewis said:

"Those resolutions are symbolic of what is in the hearts not only of the young men and women of America, but of practically every citizen. They represent the constant and the conscious and unconscious fears that, in some way, the politicians and statesmen of this country and the warring world will in some fashion drag our country into the war, and it's a protest."

And he repeated these anti-war, anti-Roosevelt sentiments on succeeding occasions—until Roosevelt's war drive got under full steam last week.

know that the Ford workers must have their confidence restored in the UAW-CIO, by showing them that the union is forging ahead. And the way to forge ahead is to fight and get the 30-hour week at 40-hours pay.

Then, dropping all criticism of the war preparations, Lewis told the Amalgamated convention: "It is publicly known that labor is fully in accord with the necessity of national defense." Lewis raised only one question:

"Will labor be given a voice in the determination of national defense policies and in the discussion of national defense production? If not, why not? Who is more entitled to a voice? If the country wants the cooperation of labor to do the work of preparing for war, and in the event of war to do the necessary dying in the war, what is wrong with a little cooperation on policies?"

"Even imperial England had to come to it, and surely democratic America can give labor adequate representation."

In other words, Lewis wants no more than the British Labor Party bureaucrats got—a few seats in the cabinet, in exchange for which they redoubt their efforts—for they were already supporting the war—to drag every last worker in to his death.

Lewis has come to heel, as Green did before him. The bureaucrats of the AFL and the CIO, just as the Compters leadership in 1917, will be recruiting sergeants.

That means that the fight against the war and for labor's rights will have to be waged in spite of and against the labor bureaucrats.

IBEW PICKETS CON-EDISON POWER PLANT

(Continued from Page 1)

securities, amount to \$1,083,203,468. It is one of the wealthiest corporations in the United States. The income from the sale of electricity for the twelve month period, ending March 31, 1940, was \$199,041,450—almost ten million dollars more than in the previous twelve months. The company reported that the profits for that period of operation was \$37,045,006.

The increased profits came from the low wages paid to the workers. The increased profits also came from the Edison Company's monopoly control of the sale of gas and electricity. Consumers are charged far more than is warranted by the cost of production, but the workers get none of the gravy.

The Edison Company has gotten the aid of Thurman Arnold, who has been smashing down on Local 3 in the guise of "trust-busting." If there is any trust-busting to be done, it is the Edison Company that under the rules of the Sherman Anti-trust law itself, should be busted wide open!

Here is more: The Board of Directors of the Edison Company have voted themselves some pretty fancy salaries. Too fancy, in fact. For on March 21, 1940, the Appellate Division of the New York State Supreme Court convicted the Directors of the Company of "misappropriation" of company assets.

A minority group of stockholders brought out in the suit that the Directors had "given" a little present of \$155,900 to Matthew S. Sloan when he retired in 1932. It was revealed that, "in recent years, the investment banking house of Morgan, Stanley, and Co., has handled as principal underwriter, all Consolidated Edison financing." Since 1935, this underwriting amounted to \$401,747,000; tens-of-millions of dollars of which went into the pockets of the House of Morgan.

It is the same old story come to light again. The bosses get the gravy; the workers, a bare bone to chew on. And when the workers do get more, when they do get a little meat on the bone, down comes the hammer of the capitalist system—and Local 3 is indicted for operating in "restraint of trade!"

Consolidated Edison workers! Help your brothers on the picket line! Support their strike for better hours, better wages!

Roosevelt Ready To Spike Walsh-Healey Act

by FARRELL DOBBS

Roosevelt addressed a joint session of the United States Congress on May 16, beating the drums for a bigger and better armament program. The last echoes of his speech had hardly faded before the hounds of big business, hot on the scent of greater war profits, were baying loudly in the halls of Congress.

Full of patriotic zeal, the bosses are more than anxious to build planes, guns, tanks and all the other engines of death and sell them to the government. But they want no interference with their profits.

Roosevelt has been quick to oblige. Administration officials and Congressional committees are preparing legislation which will repeal the limitations on profits and, at the same time, void the main provisions of the Walsh-Healey Act and the Wage-Hour Act.

The Walsh-Healey Act forbids the issuance of government contracts to employers unless they pay the prevailing wage. The unions have been able to make use of it in protecting union wage rates in some industries and in establishing the 40-hour week. The Wage-Hour Act calls for present for a minimum wage rate of 30c per hour and a maximum work week of 42 hours.

The "Impartial" government is preparing to revise legislation affecting the war industries so that both capital and labor will have a free hand—capital to make unlimited profits and labor to work longer hours at lower pay.

The top officialdom of both the AFL and the CIO have steered a deliberate course away from independent working class action. Instead, they relied upon the "friends of labor" in the government apparatus. They hailed the passage of the Walsh-Healey Act and the Wage-Hour Act, among others, as proof of the wisdom of this policy. This leadership sought to curb militant class struggle action by the trade unions in strike struggles against the employers and denounced all efforts of the workers to establish their own independent political party.

Now the mass production workers in the war industries find that their "friend" Roosevelt and their "friends" in Congress are stepping away from all responsibility to which they previously committed themselves.

The trade union workers, following the false advice of their national leadership, depended upon Roosevelt. He has double-crossed them again. They must now overcome their delusions and prepare for an independent struggle against the bosses.

Roosevelt has already anticipated that this struggle will be made. The demand of Congressman Martin Dies, public stool pigeon number one, that special funds be appropriated to investigate "Fifth Column" activities in the war industries, is the first step in a strike-breaking program. The "Fifth Column" which Roosevelt-Dies really have in mind is none other than the militant workers who will stand up and fight for their rights.

The struggle of the workers will become increasingly difficult. Roosevelt will intervene more and more openly on the side of the bosses. Victory for the workers lies only in militant trade union action, and independent political action of the workers through their own party.

The Struggle for a Proletarian Party

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

(This is the last 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 Case of Burnham

Shachtman and I worked hand in hand in this period, jointly defending the program of the Fourth International on the Russian question and jointly defending the "regime." At that time, with the knowledge and participation of Shachtman, I wrote a letter about the question of Burnham to Comrade Crux. I consider it necessary now to publish this letter. I think it will convince any objective comrade of at least two points: 1) That the conflict with Burnham, which has reached the present state of irreconcilability, was clearly foreshadowed more than two years ago; 2) That I personally wanted to do everything possible to maintain good relations with him and to preserve him for the revolutionary movement. Here I quote my letter to Comrade Crux in full:

December 16, 1937

"Dear Comrade Crux,

"The trip to Minneapolis took two weeks out of my schedule at a very awkward time—the eve of the convention. Nevertheless, I think it was worthwhile. From all indications we succeeded, not only in frustrating the frame-up game of the Stalinists, but in dealing them a very heavy blow in the trade union movement, especially. In this case they counter-posed themselves, not merely to the "Trotskyites" as a group, but to the organized labor movement of Minneapolis. The results were devastating for them. And I must admit we helped the natural process along.

"Our comrades in Minneapolis were on the offensive all along the line. And it appears to me their position in the trade union movement is stronger than ever. Nationally, also, I think we came out of this skirmish victorious. The fact that Professor Dewey, in his radio speech, referred to the Minneapolis frame-up, is somewhat of an indication that our campaign recorded itself in the minds of a fairly wide circle of people who follow the developments in the labor movement.

"I now hope to be able to concentrate all my time and attention on the preparations for the convention. I am completely optimistic about it. I know that the active membership throughout the country, especially those engaged in mass work, and they are by no means few in number, are looking to the convention with great expectations and enthusiasm.

"We plan to orient the convention along the lines of our general perspectives and tasks, and our concrete work in the trade unions, putting the dispute over the Russian question in its proper proportions. The comrades in the field are up in arms at the perspective, indicated by the internal discussion bulletins, that the convention might resolve itself merely into a discussion of the Russian question.

"It has been decided that I should make the trade union report with the objective of raising this question to first place in

the convention deliberations. Our comrades engaged in trade union work are securing modest successes in an unexpected number of places. And it is in precisely these places where the party is going forward, drawing in new members, and where the spirit of revolutionary optimism prevails.

"The general pessimism and spirit of defeatism, so strong now in the circles of intellectualistic and de-classed radicals, affects our organization primarily in New York. Here, it must be admitted, the social composition is not of the best, and that explains many things. As for the real workers, the harsh exigencies of the daily struggle do not permit them to speculate too much on the sad state of the world, and they have no place whither to retire.

"I feel reasonably sure that the convention will be a success from the point of view of organizing and stimulating our mass work, and pointing the whole activity of the party in this direction. At the same time, of course, we will not slur over the principled disputes. I have had several talks with Comrade Shachtman on this matter. We are fully agreed, and firmly resolved, to fight for a clear and unambiguous Bolshevik answer to every question. We hope at the same time to conduct this uncompromising fight in such a manner, and in such a tone, as to avoid any serious disruption of personal comradely relations. We can restrain ourselves in this respect to the utmost because we are assured of the firm support of the overwhelming majority of the party, and in particular of the worker Bolsheviks.

"Regarding the suggestion that Comrade B. should be invited to visit you, both Max and I are of the opinion that this is totally excluded before the convention. In truth, I am very doubtful whether it will be feasible after the convention. We must wait and see the outcome of the convention.

"I feel it my duty to write you in complete frankness about this matter, and I do so with full confidence that my remarks will remain with you and your immediate co-workers.

"We do not want to do or say anything that would tend to sharpen personal relations. Both Max and I are going as far as possible to conciliate and smooth over everything, as long as it is not a matter of blurring principled lines. But that is just the nub of the matter. It appears to us that Comrade B. is undertaking to revolt from fundamental principles in general, and not only on the Russian question.

"As the convention approaches, we come more and more into conflict over the conception of the party. The questions of democracy, centralism, irreconcilability, stubborn resistance against the infiltration of alien moods and theories, the necessity of a brutal offensive against the intellectualistic calamity howlers, defeatists, and belly-achers in general—on all these questions, which, in the present situation spell the meaning of Bolshevism, we come more and more into profound, if politely conducted dispute. In such a time as this, when we must take arms against the world of enemies and disintegrating factors, Comrade B. is greatly handicapped by his background, his environment, and his training. He has a strong character, and of his ability, I need not speak, but it seems to me, that the disputes arising from the Russian question, and now from other questions, are not primarily—or, better, not fundamentally—intellectual or theoretical.

"Now, I must tell you, dear friend, that I think he is suffering from the intellectual soul sickness. Who can cure that? If he were completely identified with a group of worker Bolsheviks, and could be brought under the influence of their spirit in day to day struggle, one could have more hope. But there's the rub. He does not really feel himself to be one of us. Party work, for him, is not a vocation but an avocation. He is not in a position to travel the country, to take part in the action of our comrades in the field, to live with them, and learn from them, and come under their influence in his personal life. His social environment is entirely different. You know very well that the academic world of the real, as well as the pseudo, intellectuals, is weighted down now with the heavy pessimism in general, and with a new skepticism about everything. Without his really comprehending it, Comrade B. himself is affected by this pressure of his daily environment. Combine this with a great tendency on his part to deprecate his party co-workers, and to resist the idea of being influenced or taught anything, even by our international comrades, and you can see the problem doesn't promise any easy solution.

"I must say that I sensed for a long time the coming of this personal crisis—that is what it really is—of Comrade B. I know, as we all do, that the Revolutionary Party devours men. Demands everything and repels flatteries. By all rights, now, Comrade B., having established himself as one of the most prominent leaders of the party, and bearing in mind the party's indispensable need of a more active professional staff, should be preparing himself, at least, to become a functionary, with all that it implies. When I returned from California last spring, I had the hope that he would be ready for such a drastic decision. Indirectly, I suggested to him that with our break from the S.P., he should take over the office of national secretary. His failure to react to this suggestion at that time, although there was then no trace of serious differences, filled me with misgivings for the future.

"I have written you this extremely frank opinion because I think it is necessary for you to know the nature of the problem, as I see it. Perhaps on that basis you can make suggestions or proposals which will help both us and Comrade B. in finding a common language and a common path.

Comradely,

(signed) J. P. Cannon"

From this letter it is evident that my opinion of the petty-bourgeois attitude of Burnham was not suddenly formulated at the outbreak of the present factional struggle. The "intellectual soul-sickness"—that is the petty-bourgeois sickness.

But that is not yet the whole story. Shortly prior to the writing of the above letter I had occasion to be in Minneapolis (at the time of the Corcoran murder) as mentioned in the letter to Crux. There I had a discussion with a group of leading comrades about the disputes in the party and about the situation in the leading committee in New York. These comrades, whom the oppositionists now depict as ignorant intellectual-haters, emphasized very strongly to me in this discussion their desire that the dispute with Burnham be conducted in such a way as not to antagonize him unnecessarily, or to weaken unduly his position in the party. They made it clear that they valued his abilities very highly and wished assurances of comradely treatment for him that would facilitate his continued functioning as a party leader after the convention.

I assured them of my readiness to comply with their wishes in this respect. I expressed the opinion, however, that the real trouble with Burnham was not so much his mistaken political position as the more fundamental conflict between his bourgeois personal life and the increasingly exacting demands the party must make upon a leader. In such cases, I told them, I had fre-

quently observed that people unconsciously seek to rationalize their personal difficulties and contradictions in the form of hastily arrived at "political differences" with the party. I said that if we could feel sure that Burnham was really one of us, if he would show some sign of determination on his part to resolve his personal contradictions and come to work in the revolutionary movement in earnest—in that case we could have much more ground to hope that the political differences between us would eventually be overcome in the course of comradely discussion and common work.

Shortly after the convention Burnham requested that Shachtman and I meet him at lunch away from the office to discuss a very important matter. At this meeting he told us that a comrade, who had attended the Minneapolis discussion, had reported my remarks to him. He emphasized, however, that it had been done in good faith and with the best of intentions. I expressed my regret that the question had been put to him in such a point-blank fashion before he might be ready to give an answer. However, the fat was in the fire, and there was nothing to do but face the issue.

Burnham stated frankly that he wasn't sure but that I might be right in my assumption that in his political disputes with us he was simply rationalizing his personal contradictions. He said it was a real contradiction, that he recognized it, and that he was not yet ready to solve it definitively. Instead of plunging deeper into party work, he wanted more time to consider the matter, and wanted to be released for the next period from all party duties except his regular literary work. We discussed the matter in a friendly way; we didn't give him any bureaucratic orders; we acceded to his demands.

The minutes of the political committee meeting for January 20, 1938 record the official disposition of the matter as follows: "Cannon: Reports that Comrade Burnham, in the next period, wants to concentrate his work for the party on writing for the magazine and paper.

"Motion by Cannon: For the next period we consider Comrade Burnham's work to be specifically literary and editorial and that he be exempted from routine sub-committee work. Carried."

If some worker in the party, who is denied exemption from distasteful duties, reads this extract from the minutes of the Political Committee he may indeed draw certain conclusions about the existence of "second class citizens" in the party. But he will not find any evidence that our foremost party intellectual was placed in this category. (Incidentally, it can be learned from this account that the famous "New Year's meeting" on the auto campaign was not the only occasion when formal decisions of the P.C. were prepared beforehand in informal discussions. There were many such occasions and there will be many more in the future. It is the normal method of any serious "collective leadership.")

What changed since then? What happened to break off all personal and political collaboration and eventually bring us to the present situation? On my part, nothing changed; my course today is the same as it was then. Burnham moved steadily in an opposite direction. And Shachtman, soon after the conversation recorded above, began to shift over into the orbit of Burnham. We drifted apart and now stand in opposite camps. Burnham, as his article "Science and Style" testifies, has broken completely with Marxism and Bolshevism and the proletarian revolution. Shachtman, who yesterday defended Bolshevism against Burnham, today defends Burnham against Bolshevism. Let them try to explain these developments by references to the "bureaucratism" of Cannon and the machinations of a "clique." These are simply excuses invented after the fact. All my efforts, as I believe I have demonstrated, were exerted toward a different end.

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Fight with the Socialist Workers Party for:

1. A JOB AND A DECENT LIVING FOR EVERY WORKER.
2. OPEN THE IDLE FACTORIES — OPERATE THEM UNDER WORKERS' CONTROL.
3. A TWENTY-BILLION DOLLAR FEDERAL PUBLIC WORKS AND HOUSING PROGRAM.
4. THIRTY-THIRTY—\$30 WEEKLY MINIMUM WAGE—30-HOUR WEEKLY MAXIMUM FOR ALL WORKERS ON ALL JOBS.
5. \$30 WEEKLY OLD-AGE AND DISABILITY PENSION.
6. EXPROPRIATE THE SIXTY FAMILIES.
7. ALL WAR FUNDS TO THE UNEMPLOYED.
8. A PEOPLE'S REFERENDUM ON ANY AND ALL WARS.
9. NO SECRET DIPLOMACY.
10. AN INDEPENDENT LABOR PARTY.
11. WORKERS' DEFENSE GUARDS AGAINST VIGILANTE AND FASCIST ATTACKS.
12. FULL SOCIAL, POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC EQUALITY FOR THE NEGRO PEOPLE.

Roosevelt On Strikes

"Labor will not attempt to take advantage of its collective power to foment strikes and interfere with the national defense program to squeeze higher wages from employers in the so-called war industries."

These were Roosevelt's words at his press conference Tuesday. They are a command to organized labor not to strike in steel, auto, coal, tool and die shops, metal fabricating plants, munitions and airplane factories, clothing shops working on army orders, all other plants working on army orders—and where is the list to end? For preparation for war, like war itself, is today totalitarian, embracing the entire economic life of the country. What Roosevelt is doing is to command the trade unions to surrender their principal weapon.

What value has a union which cannot as a final resort back up its demands with the strike weapon? Every experienced worker knows that a union which cannot strike ceases really to be a union and can no longer protect the jobs and wages of its members.

That is Roosevelt's program. That is what "national defense" means under a capitalist government. Labor can yield not an inch to Roosevelt, unless it wants to commit suicide.

GM and the UAW

All the officers of the Auto Workers Union agree that unemployment is the major problem facing the membership of their organization. They all agree that continued mass unemployment is daily undermining and will eventually destroy their union. They all agree that the auto corporations are squeezing out of the workers millions of dollars in profits and can well afford to lower the hours of work. They all go further and say that the only answer to this condition is the establishment of the thirty-hour week at 40-hours pay throughout the industry. Reuther says so. Thomas says so. Phil Murray says so.

Furthermore, over a year ago, the Cleveland convention, representing the entire membership of the UAW, instructed the Executive Board to work for the 30-hour week at 40-hours pay.

Yet nothing has been done to win this necessary reform.

Today negotiations for a new contract are in progress with the General Motors Corporation. What better place to begin the great campaign for the 30-hour week at 40-hours pay? The GM workers displayed matchless heroism two years ago in the great GM strike and inspired by their example the whole CIO movement. The GM workers just a few weeks ago chalked up another decisive victory for the CIO in the NLRB elections. By every indication, the men in the shops

have shown that they mean to move forward to win economic security for themselves and their families and that they know that the first step in this direction is the winning of the 30-hour week at 40-hours pay.

This week, however, the auto workers have learned to their dismay, that the union negotiating committee is definitely not demanding the 30-hour week at 40-hours pay.

Why not? Answering this week the fighting resolution of the Flint South Fisher local demanding immediate negotiations in GM for the 30-hour week at 40-hours pay. Thomas, President of the UAW, writes: "There is only one way a great reform like the 30-hour week can be won. That is by making our organization an invincible union."

Apparently the UAW is not invincible now. Why not? GM is solidly organized. The overwhelming majority of the GM workers are in the union. The GM workers have proved in action their intelligence, courage and militancy. What prevents these workers from becoming invincible? Nothing, except the supine, cowardly policy of the present UAW leadership, who give lip service to forward looking demands and militant policies, but in practice are afraid of them.

Even the supposed progressive president of the Detroit Briggs local, who has been giving verbal support for the past year and a half to the 30-hour week at 40-hours pay demand discovers at this late date that "in order to constructively fight the Nation's No. 1 problem, Unemployment, we must fight for a 30-hour week at 40-hours pay. . . . [BUT] this problem can only be put into effect by solving the No. 1 problem of the UAW-CIO, that is the organization of Ford's." His statement ends with the call to "Help solve the problem of Unemployment by fighting for a 30-hour week at 40-hour pay by paying the Ford assessment." But the auto workers have been paying their Ford assessments for over two years!

If you cannot fight for the 30-hour week at 40-hours pay because the union is not "invincible" and if the union is not "invincible" because Ford remains unorganized, the question is why hasn't Ford been organized?

Ford remains unorganized for the same reason that Thomas, Reuther, Hillman and Murray refuse to demand at GM the 30-hour week at 40-hours pay. For the same reason that the "Little Steel" strike was lost and for the same reason that "Little Steel" remains unorganized to this day. Because of the chicken-hearted, weak-kneed policies of these so-called leaders of labor; who trusted and to this day trust Roosevelt and every other boss politician and never trusted and have no trust in the militancy and power of the working class. Start a bold fight for the 30-hour week at 40-hours pay and the UAW will be more invincible today than it was in the great strike of 1937 which brought General Motors to its knees.

The pessimistic croaking of Thomas & Co. does not represent the voice of the militant auto workers who licked GM and Chrysler and threw the fear of God into the hearts of the nation's open shop manufacturers. The real aspirations and desires of the auto workers are represented far better by the fighting program of the Flint Fisher local insisting "that the 30-hour week at 40-hours pay be included as an immediate demand in contractual negotiations with GM."

Only such a program will alleviate unemployment.

Only such a program will restore the lost confidence of the Ford workers and lay the necessary groundwork for a new offensive to organize the more than 100,000 workers at Ford's.

Only such a program points the road to the achievement of economic security for the automobile workers and with them the steel workers, the rubber workers, the glass workers and the rest of American labor.

Memorial Day

Memorial Day will be celebrated with a rising wave of 100% American jingoism, as the boss class prepares the workers to do their "patriotic duty" in the new war for profits overseas.

But the workers, for the third successive year now, will commemorate Memorial Day for a different reason. They will remember the victims of another war of the bosses—the slaughter by Tom Girdler's Republic Steel, and the willing Chicago police, of ten unarmed workers during a peaceful strike parade on Memorial Day, 1937.

They will remember the solid line of cops by whom the unarmed strikers were confronted at Republic Steel's South Chicago plant. They will remember the cold-blooded opening of fire into the workers' ranks, without warning; the vicious slugging and pounding of wounded workers; and the damning moving picture of the entire slaughter, ending with a view of the smiling police dusting themselves off after a job well done for their employers.

Workers should remember this Memorial Day, that Tom Girdler and his like are the bosses whose profits they are expected to safeguard with their lives in the Second World War.

And in the name of the martyrs who fell in South Chicago in the fight for workers' rights and workers' freedom, they should resolve to dedicate their lives to only one fight—the fight of the workers against the bosses. All the patriotic parades and the fifes and drums in the land will not suffice to dim the memory of the Memorial Day Massacre of 1937. Let the workers remember anew, this Memorial Day, that their main enemy now, as during the First World War, is still the class enemy at home.

Fascist 'Christian Mobilizers' Open Drive in New York City

By SAM MARCY

The Fascist Christian Mobilizers have filed a notice with the police department that they intend to commence outdoor meetings during the month of May.

They intend to follow two new lines of demagoguery in their campaign this summer, in addition to their usual anti-Semitic poison.

Their first line will be to exploit the anti-war sentiments of the masses, especially the Catholic masses, by palming off the war as a "Jewish plot of International Bankers." The cue to this line was given to them by Coughlin long ago. It is significant to note in this connection, that the Catholic News, which has the approval of the Archbishop Spellman of New York, printed without comment sections of Coughlin's Sunday broadcast in which he assumes the innocent role of the guardian of the peace.

Congressman Thorpe of Montana, vicious anti-Semite, recently came here to address a meeting of Christian Mobilizers at Ebling Casino in the Bronx. It is said that he wove his story of international bankers, gold and Jews, so skillfully, that he had his hoodlum audience yelling for a pogrom.

FASCISTS USE CATHOLICISM AS A COVER

The other line of demagoguery was exemplified at a meeting, called by the "Parents Defense Fund," to protest the indictments of the 17 defendants, members of the Christian Front, who are now on trial in Brooklyn. In reality the Parents Defense Fund is nothing but a stooge for the Christian Front. The line was that "Catholics and Christians are being persecuted." The Reverend Curran, head of the International Catholic Truth Society, and a rabid follower of Coughlin, openly spoke for the Christian Front. In commenting on some of the stories in the press about the trial of the Christian Fronters, Father Curran proposed to "surgically remove the malady" of a "free" press. The cry of "persecution of Catholics" is being skill-

fully cultivated by the Coughlin-Curran-Cassidy combination in the state and city government departments, especially in the New York City police department.

The cry of "persecution of Catholics" is never raised on behalf of Catholic workers, when they are clubbed by police during strikes, or brutally beaten at relief bureaus, or discharged for union activity, or dismissed from the WPA rolls. Coughlin's poison sheet, "Social Justice," or its miserable echo, in Brooklyn, the "Tablet," have yet to raise their voice on behalf of Catholic workers! The Coughlin-Curran-Cassidy combination and its organized expression, the Christian Front and Christian Mobilizers, utilize Catholicism merely as a sanctimonious cover behind which they propagate the blackest reaction.

WHY SO MANY COPS ARE COUGHLINITES

It has been said that as many as a thousand members of the police force belong to the Christian Front. This is no secret to Police Commissioner Valentine or his "liberal" Chief, LaGuardia. To date they have done nothing to break up the organization except to address a questionnaire to the police force as to whether they belonged to the organization. This questionnaire naturally was nothing more than a sop to public opinion. It accomplished nothing except to cover up the Christian Front of the police department.

Perhaps it is not out of place here to explain exactly why so many members of the police force belong to the Christian Front.

During the so-called era of "prosperity," graft and corruption flourished in the city of New York more than in any other city with the possible exception of Chicago. It fed a constantly growing network of racketeers, gangsters, and all sorts of underworld elements. But with the coming of the crisis they had to be "eliminated," to some extent, as a "measure of economy." The La Guardia Administration in

conjunction with District Attorney Dewey made it their task to "cleanse" the city. Everyone knew of the inseparable connection between the underworld and the police department. To "cleanse" the latter, would expose and discredit in the eyes of the masses the "forces of Law and Order."

Hence a different method was used—the method of "attrition," i.e., quiet dismissal, resignation, and retirement. The police force became very jittery with each new expose of the criminal underworld. A wave of suicides in the force totaled more than 100. With such a mood prevailing among the police, someone was bound to take up their defense. The Coughlin-Curran-Cassidy forces had their connections with the cops. They knew their sentiments, and fears. They took up the cudgels for them.

RESULTS IN BRUTALITY AGAINST DEMONSTRATORS

But they could not defend their case on the merits; hence the insidious campaign of a "Jewish plot," persecuting "Catholic policemen," and the "Jewish Communist-controlled government" who hold the cops back from performing their duty when reds "create riots."

The last mentioned lie has become so widespread that Commissioner Valentine recently at a Communion Breakfast of the police department admonished the police "to be rough, tough, and as obnoxious as possible to hoodlums and gangsters." The recent brutal assaults upon the demonstrators at the French Consulate and other places show that the cops understood the police chief only too well.

Thus the Coughlin-Curran-Cassidy combination has reason to believe that they will be amply "protected" by the police in their activities this summer.

The imperialist war abroad should not blind the workers to reaction at home. The answer of the workers to the Coughlin-Curran-Cassidy combination must be: Workers Defense Guards!

In the World of Labor

By Paul G. Stevens

Anti-War Militants Answer British Labor Party Bureaucrats

Some time ago we mentioned that the left-wing organization in the British Labor Party adhering to the principles of revolutionary socialism which are also those of the Fourth International, had been banned by the Labor Party bureaucracy. Below we reprint an explanation of this step given by the official organ of the League, *The Militant*, in its April issue.

"The National Executive of the Labor Party has issued its ukase declaring that membership in the Militant Labor League is incompatible with membership of the party. In taking this decision, the party chiefs did not attempt to discuss the question with the people involved, in spite of the fact that all members of the Militant Labor League are active members of their local Labor parties, many of them holding important positions. The decision of the Executive was taken in a thoroughly bureaucratic manner and recorded in the 'Labor Press Service' without a word of explanation.

"In the light of this decision, it is worth while to examine briefly the history and aims of the M.L.L. . . . In No. 1 of 'The Militant' we stated: 'We therefore call for the immediate creation of a left-wing organization which will include all Labor Party workers who are willing to struggle for a revolutionary program and leadership, an organization which can offer to the workers a clear socialist alternative to the policies of treachery and despair of the existing leadership.' 'The M.L.L. stands for working class struggle against all imperialist wars and against all preparations for such wars. . . . It calls for the waging of the class struggle both before and during the war for the overthrow of the imperialist government and the seizure of power by the working class.' (Militant, Nov. 1937).

"This policy declaration has been the keynote of the struggle of the League since its formation. . . . When war finally broke out last September, the M.L.L. alone in the Labor Party issued a manifesto, which declared the conflict to be one between rival imperialisms, and called upon the workers to concentrate their fire on the enemy at home—the British boss class.

"Small wonder that the National Executive of the Labor Party has issued its ban! As the war progresses and wider sections of the working class see more clearly its reactionary nature, so the base of the Labor bureaucracy narrows. In order to protect their positions so that they may continue to carry out the behests of the capitalist class, they must attempt to smash all genuine socialist opposition in the party. It is not accidental that the M.L.L. is banned at the period when British imperialism plans to extend the war, and talk of further sacrifices in blood and money is in the air. . . .

"The Labor Party is not the property of the leadership. It was built up by the British working class. We have the same right as Attlee or Greenwood to publicize our point of view, to attempt to influence the party membership by propaganda and struggle. If the membership of the Labor Party supports the leadership in denying us this most elementary democratic right, then

it is committing political suicide, and handing over the party, lock, stock and barrel to the bosses. . . .

The M.L.L. also sent the following document to national newspapers and left-wing periodicals as a part of the campaign of protest against the Labor Party ban:

"Members of the M.L.L. have recently learned that the Executive Committee of the Labor Party has decided that our organization is not suitable for affiliation to the Party, and that therefore membership of the M.L.L. is incompatible with membership of the Labor Party.

"This news which amounts to a virtual banning of our organization was only obtained from the general press; we were never officially notified, no charges have been made against our conduct, and in fact no specific reasons were given for the ban.

"We emphatically protest against this ban as a denial of democracy and political freedom within the workers' organization. While working entirely within the Labor Party for a number of years, the M.L.L. has always upheld the right of left-wing opinion to be heard, and we shall not accept lightly this Gestapo-like attempt by the official leadership to brush aside all forms of democratic freedom within the Labor Party in an effort to crush honest political criticism of their policy."

Working Women Against the War

From another British labor paper, dated May, 1940, we take the following item:

"The 201 delegates to the Conference on Women in Wartime held in London on April 20th, have given a fine militant lead to all the millions of toil-worn women of this country. The everyday struggle 'to make ends meet' expressed itself in the recognition of the fact that this war is in no way in the interest of the working class.

"In passing resolutions condemning the war, and at the same time urging that the struggle for the elementary interests of the working class should in no way be relinquished, the women delegate are clearly moving along the road to the only conclusive opposition to the war."

Argentina 4th Internationalists Support SWP Majority Position

An official letter from the Grupo Obrero Revolucionario of Argentina, states:

"We are acquainted with the conflict which arose within the S.W.P. of the U.S. Even before being informed of it we had adopted a position similar to yours. In the January 1940 number of our organ 'La Nueva Internacional' we published as the official position of our organization the resolution regarding the Stalinist invasion in Finland adopted by the SWP majority. We are, hence, with the Fourth International and with the point of view which Comrade Trotsky supports—with those who are in agreement with the true Marxist-Leninist appreciation of the character of the Soviet Union. Our slogan has been, and will continue to be, so long as circumstances do not oblige a change in the appreciation of the problem, FOR THE DEFENSE OF THE USSR."

Union-Busting Drive Underway In Chicago

by WILLIAM SIMMONS

CHICAGO—With the beginning of 1940 the Thurman Arnold "anti-trust" crusade got off to a flying start in Chicago. A whole series of indictments were returned against unions in the building trades after preliminary grand jury investigations. Now these "wheels of justice" have slowed down somewhat, but they keep on grinding, with court trial of the first case, that of the tile trade, set for June 3.

Involved in indictments so far are the tile setters, stone cutters, carpenters, electricians and glaziers, in each case some contracting firms and the unions together with some, if not all, of the officials of the unions as individuals. Named in indictments also are the AFL Chicago Building Trades Council and its officials.

As the grand jury investigation continued to grind along, its real objective became increasingly clear. No one is particularly impressed with protestations accompanying the indictments to the effect that the prosecution is not at all intended to interfere with what is classified as legitimate union activities. One look at the actual indictments shows what is happening.

For example, the electrical workers union is indicted for having combined with contracting firms in keeping out material not bearing the union label. The carpenters union is under fire because of its refusal to handle plywood manufactured by non-union labor in unorganized sawmills; a refusal also including some mills organized by the CIO. And to top the whole thing off in proper crusading style, the Building Trades Council was dragged into the net because of the adoption of a motion to support the indicted unions; one of its delegates for having made the motion, another for having given his second, the secretary for having entered it into the record and the president for having put the motion to a vote.

Attack Not Aimed at Bosses

It is perfectly true that contracting firms are formally also under fire in this crusade, but that is merely incidental to its real aim. Union members here have very little doubt left that this aim is to bust up the unions. One needs only to remember the fact that in all of these cases, not the contracting firms, but the unions are the ones who take final action and enforce the refusal to handle non-union made material. And it is the unions that are already at this stage of the government's crusade presented as the real culprits.

That cases of collusion between union officials and contracting firms, and for that matter also of the kind that violates trade union ethics, have existed almost everywhere no one needs to doubt. But it is equally clear that if the Thurman Arnold crusade really intended to get at the bottom of collusion in restraint of trade in the building industry, a really fertile field could be found among the material manufacturers and their monopoly price-fixing, as well as among the banks and insurance companies fixing arbitrarily exorbitant finance charges.

Refusal by union members to handle non-union material, however, is a matter of the very life of organized labor, and its right to press ahead for organization. It is this right that constitutes the greatest thorn in the side of the real monopoly concerns and their governmental hirelings, and it is a right that labor can never afford to give up. For the bosses and their government to be permitted to strike a serious blow against this right would mean a serious blow struck at the very vitals of organized labor.

Wage-Cut Drive Follows Indictments

Now that these cases appear in court the union busting aim of the crusade is further clarified. Court cases are costly and cut into union treasuries. The usual newspaper build-up follows in an effort to discredit union practice in the eyes of what is called the public. In reality it means an effort to sow distrust and throw fear into the minds of union members and wage workers in general; on the whole a grandiose scheme of disorganization and weakening of these unions. And let it be noted that a campaign for wage reductions follows right on the heels of the government union-busting crusade.

Even in respect to wage cutting the governmental agencies are also taking the initiative. It began with the WPA. In Chicago, the same as in so many other cities, lack of co-operation and unity of action among the building trades unions made it a relatively easy matter for the government to enforce the 130-hour month and put an end to the prevailing wage principle. By this lengthening of hours, building trades mechanics on the WPA have had their wages cut down to about 65c per hour. But this was only a beginning. A recent announcement by the federal housing authorities has arbitrarily reduced the wage scale for building trades maintenance workers employed on these projects to \$1.00 an hour.

The first result is that Chicago building trades workers are asking ever more persistently: whose government is this anyway? Nearly all of them were in the past staunch supporters of the New Deal administration. Now many of them are becoming disillusioned and beginning to learn a fundamental lesson in the role and function of government in a capitalist democracy. That alone is progress. Maybe before these cases are over further steps will follow toward getting the building trades unions out of the conservative backwardness of the past.

TODAY'S PUZZLE

Secretary of War Woodring reported the army expansion program is progressing and declared: "This gives us hope that during 1940 our sword may remain firmly sheathed."

The Archbishop of York told a convocation that "we are fighting for Christian civilization. . . . Without hesitation I speak of this as for us a righteous war." Boy, he'd better bless this war or the bosses would fire him.

ROOSEVELT'S FIRST CONVERT

On Thursday, May 16, the arch-reactionary New York Herald Tribune, most powerful Republican organ in the country, editorially called for declaration of war against Germany as the "most feasible" way of aiding the Allies.