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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.

## Fifth Column Bunk

A phrase has already been coined which to justify every attack on legitimate militant labor organizations by the government and by vigilante organizations. Even before this country will officially be involved in the war every militant worker runs the risk of being designated as a member of the "fifth column" and physically attacked.

With the invasion of Norway and the Lowlands by Hitler, the term became popular and more or less applied to elements who were in the pay of the Nazis working for their victory.

That the Nazis have paid agents in all countries, including the United States, is to be taken for granted. But it is safe to say that there will be very few real Nazi agents who will be discovered and punished.

The major blows will fall upon innocent people of German extraction who have nothing to do with Nazi activities. And above all will the attack be centered on every worker fighting against the bosses' for better conditions and against the war. Everyone who will ask for higher wages, everyone who will demand better conditions, will be immediately reported to the Department of Justice as a member of the "fifth column." The foreign-born worker especially will be hounded to death.

It is very significant that Roosevelt decided to transfer the Bureau of Immigration and Naturalization from the Labor Department to the Department of Justice, notorious for its anti-radical and anti-labor attitude.

Let the workers not be fooled by the hysterical cry of "fifth column." It is only another means to destroy those who are active in the campaign against the desire of the rulers of this country to involve it in the imperialist war.

Against the war mongers and their suppression of civil liberties!

## CIO In Building Trades

The seventeen building trades international unions, embracing roughly a million members, constitute one of the most vital pillars upon which the edifice of the AFL rests. These unions, organized along craft lines with prohibitive initiation fees and high dues, are the most conservative influence within the AFL. Industrial unionism was opposed most bitterly by the bureaucracy of the building trades unions. This was symbolized most dramatically by the fist fight which took place at the San Francisco convention between John L. Lewis and Hutcheson, President of the Carpenters Union. Last August the CIO initiated a much publicized campaign to wrest control of the building trades from the AFL. A. D. Lewis, brother of John L. Lewis, was placed in charge of this campaign.

How far did the CIO get in the construction field after nine months of effort? A number of small subsidized locals of the Construction Workers Organizing Committee have been set up throughout the country. But despite the fact that there is no initiation fee required to join the union and the dues are \$1.50 per month—very low, considering the AFL standards—all these locals still embrace only a few thousand workers.

These have been recruited mostly from the ranks of the unemployed who had hopes for jobs through the CIO. But the CIO has no job control. Consequently the turnover in membership has been great, and among those remaining there is growing dissatisfaction with the failure to get any results. A group of plumbers in Queens who formed a local of the CIO in

the early days of its campaign have since quit, most of them joining the AFL locals in the field. It is not difficult to understand the reasons for the failure of the CIO in the construction field. They are roughly as follows:

1. While not 100% organized, the building trades are nevertheless among the best organized trades in the country. They have been considered quite accurately the aristocrats of the working class, because of the conditions they have enjoyed. The industrial crisis, it is true, hit the building trades workers very hard. For several years (1930-33) construction was at an almost complete standstill. Even now when construction is quite active, unemployment is a burning problem. But the workers do not entertain any illusions that the CIO has any magic formula for solving this problem. The AFL locals have been trying to alleviate the situation through the six hour work-day and a system of rotation of work among the members.

2. The industrial form of organization which the CIO offers as against the AFL craft system is not as vital to the building trades workers as it is to the workers in the mass production industries, where the CIO has had its greatest successes. Despite various changes and simplifications that construction has undergone, the industry depends on skill and craftsmanship.

The workers are not the only ones divided along craft lines, this holds for the industry as a whole. A mason, for example, works for a mason contractor, an electrician for an electrical contractor, etc. But unlike the bosses, there is a painful lack of solidarity among the workers of the various crafts. To overcome the craft prejudices and to work for increased collaboration between the building trades unions and their eventual amalgamation, is the task of the progressive elements in the unions. This however can be achieved only through the existing unions. The militants understand that any attempt to achieve the industrial form of organization over the heads of the existing unions and against them can only create chaos and undermine the conditions the building trades workers have won through years of struggle.

3. The United Construction Workers Organizing Committee did not grow out of the existing unions but was counterposed to them from the outside. There has been no split in any of the AFL building trades unions which would form an initial basis for the CIO.

It is noteworthy that in the fields where the CIO emerged victorious, it first won over to its side the AFL unions and used them as the basis for great, dramatic and highly successful organization drives. This was the case in Auto, Steel, Textile and Rubber. In the building trades, however, the attempt has been made to start from scratch and to build a union parallel to existing powerful unions.

This false, disruptive initial step was of necessity coupled with reactionary methods. Having no access to the building trades workers, A. D. Lewis' campaign was therefore directed to the bosses. He promised them a "responsible" union that would give them no trouble, with a cheaper wage scale and an eight hour day. The employers were no doubt impressed by the offer. The Feb. 3 "News and Opinion," organ of the New York Building Trades Employers Association, in commenting on the CIO proposition states: "This is indeed a proposition for employers suffering under a six hour day and jurisdictional disputes." The yearnings of the employers for the CIO proposition increased when Lewis addressed them at a meeting which took place March 20, giving his offer in detail.

But the employers are practical men and they know that buildings are put up by men, and not by wishful thinking. They therefore decided: "In all truthfulness, however, it must be said that the entire discussion of a CIO agreement is academic at least until its membership in all trades increases immeasurably." ("News and Opinion," April 3, 1940)

## CIO Finds a Base in Small Homes

But how is the CIO going to increase in membership "immeasurably and in all trades"? Certainly not at the expense of the AFL. The offer of cheaper labor to the employers only served to consolidate the AFL membership. The CIO therefore turned to the only opening it could find in the industry: the field of small construction in N.Y., the one family homes. These slipped out from under union control in recent years. However, this is no small item. Right now there are in the New York area 8,400 small homes under construction, involving mortgage financing of more than \$40,000,000. The bulk of this construction is being done in Queens, Nassau and Suffolk counties on Long Island where 5,900 homes are under erection.

These small homes as a large scale development is a comparatively new field, given impetus by the F.H.A. scheme of guaranteed mortgages. The AFL unions, divided as they are along craft lines with craft autonomy, did not get together for a concerted organization drive.

Here is where the CIO drive, which is disruptive and injurious to the interests of the building trades workers in other respects, has one progressive feature. It brought home to the workers in the trade the fact that the industry is not fully organized, that failure to embrace all the workers in the industry and giving them the benefits of organization, will bring another union into the field. The CIO drive acted as a lever to lift the AFL unions, including the bureaucracy, out of their lethargy and to undertake steps to organize small home construction.

In order to counteract the lower CIO wage scale, the AFL New York Building and Construction Trades Council decided to organize small construction on the basis of a secondary wage scale which approximates that of the CIO. This was approved by all the locals affiliated with the council, with the exception of the bricklayers.

It can be expected that two rival campaigns to organize small construction will now develop in New York. The AFL unions have of course the greater advantage. They have powerful, long established unions and control of most of the construction field. Workers will naturally be far more eager to join the AFL unions. But this will not be achieved without an aggressive campaign, welcoming the unorganized workers into the unions and not treating them as second class citizens, as is the tendency in some of the locals.

The CIO will make headway only where the AFL unions are not on the job organizing the unorganized. The unorganized, working under the most appalling conditions, anxious for organization, will not wait much longer. They would welcome the AFL, but they will also accept the CIO rather than have no union at all.

It is significant that in New York City's borough of Queens a group of militant building trades workers who were left out in the cold by the refusal of the AFL to organize them took the second best choice and formed a local of the CIO. They are now carrying on a militant drive to organize small construction. This example will be multiplied unless the AFL acts quickly and aggressively.

The workers who are at present in the CIO will most assuredly come into the AFL if the AFL will undertake an organization drive without any further delay.

Minneapolis Teamsters Fight  
Roosevelt Armament Program

NOT ONE CENT TO THE BOSSES' WAR MACHINE

While labor "leaders" of the stripe of William Green and John L. Lewis are scurrying to support Roosevelt's armament program, genuine trade union militants are refusing to line up behind the bosses and their government.

Notable among the trade union militants are the famous Minneapolis teamsters' unions. Their answer to Roosevelt's war drive was given in the following editorial, from the May 23 NORTHWEST ORGANIZER, organ of the Minneapolis Teamsters' Joint Council. The editorial, entitled "Not One Cent to the Bosses' War Machine," follows in full:

"Above all, let us stop this hysterical chatter of calamity and invasion that has been running rife these last few days. . . ."

Colonel Charles Lindbergh was right when he characterized President Roosevelt's war-mongering of the past few days as "hysterical chatter." It is all that and more—all this talk about possible air or naval attacks on the United States is shrewdly utilized to frighten the people and gain their support for taking this nation into the war.

We haven't the slightest faith that Colonel Charles Lindbergh, a black reactionary, nor the Republican Party to which he belongs will keep this nation out of war any more than will Roosevelt. But we do agree with the Colonel's estimate (and Lindbergh knows a great deal about air power) that all talk of this nation's being invaded is "hysterical chatter."

In Roosevelt's talk last Thursday to Congress, in which he asked Congress to boost the bill for the war machine to over \$3,000,000,000, Roosevelt stated: "I know that our trained officers and men know more about fighting and the weapons and equipment needed for fighting than any of us laymen."

Where can the President find a responsible military man to agree with his claim that this nation is in danger from invasion? There is not a responsible authority in this country who seriously believes that the United States is liable to a real danger of invasion from any foreign power or combination of foreign powers.

Hugh Johnson has stated: "There is no great power that could invade continental United States."

Major-General Douglas MacArthur has called an attack on American ports impossible.

The late Admiral William Sims said that no foreign power or group of powers could operate across the ocean and stand a chance in combat with forces operating from the home base.

## In the World of Labor

By Paul G. Stevens

British Imperialism's Hitlerite  
Regime in the Colonies

The increasing agitation to have the United States intervene on the side of Britain in the present war must be answered by the continual expose of the "democracy" in the British colonial empire. The following items from British labor papers reveal the oppression under which industrial and agricultural workers in South Africa live both in wartime and peacetime.

The paper of the Labor League of Youth, a militant organization of young revolutionary socialists in England, prints this story in its May issue:

"On April 3rd British troops fired on a crowd of Negro workers on strike in the copper mines of Northern Rhodesia.

"These miners had demanded a 25% rise in wages to off-set the increased cost of living following the outbreak of war. The attempt of the mineowners to work the mines with blackleg (scab) labor had failed before the courage and solidarity of the workers. When police charges and tear-gas proved unavailing, the mineowners appealed to their agent, the Governor, for military assistance. Troops were rushed from Bulawayo, Southern Rhodesia: 17 workers lost their lives, 29 others were wounded.

"... In 1938, the copper companies produced profit for the British capitalists amounting to £3,100,000. But the total wages bill for 15,000 black miners was only £500,000.

"Such fabulous profits are possible only because of the imperialist regime which has enslaved the African Negroes, denying them every human right except that of working for the British capitalist class. In the din and slaughter of the world war, it is more than ever necessary for the working youth in this country to understand that there is no difference between the methods of Hitler and the methods of our masters in their suppression of the colonial peoples. They are not fighting Hitlerism; they are fighting for profits."

Serfdom Decried by British  
As Way of Life of Natives

George Padmore, Negro militant from the West Indies, now in London, describes the conditions of the agricultural worker in South Africa in the April issue of the Call, another British labor paper.

"... Before 1913 Africans who could find no home in the Reserves (land set aside for cultivation by natives, and usually unsuitable for agricultural and pastoral purposes—P.G.S.) were allowed to rent or work land as sharecroppers.

"... But as industry developed the big agrarians on the one hand and the mining companies on the other, discovered that the system of sharecropping kept thousands of natives off the labor market. . . . In February, 1932, the landowners adopted a Resolution calling upon the Government to make a law to the effect that 'a native shall have no right to reside on the land of a white person otherwise than as a laborer.' Government pressure from these big agrarians the Government began to legislate against the squatters.

"All existing contracts between natives and

Smedley Butler has written that an invading army would have to bring over a million men and supplies. The whole merchant marine of the world totals only 3½ million tons.

Day after day, speech after speech, one move after another—in the Pacific, in Europe, at home—the President is hurling this nation down the road that Wilson strode, to war.

It is false for Roosevelt to call his armaments program a Defense Program. The \$3 billions he asked for Thursday (and he has already upped it) will be spent for aggressive imperialist warfare on foreign soil to advance the interests of American Big Business. Roosevelt can no longer find it in him to ask for even one billion for the unemployed—but he can find billions and billions for war.

In his two terms as President, Roosevelt has asked for and received over 9 billions for arms. Both old political parties always united on this point and gave him all he asked for. Yet last week the President was told by the United States army that the army is so poorly equipped it is short of uniforms and blankets, that the air force hasn't one modern bomber, that the army is even short of ammunition. Even making allowances for the customary enormous graft of Big Business, WHERE HAS THE \$9,000,000,000 GONE TO? No wonder the big corporations, the steel and airplane and oil and ammunition manufacturers announce they are 100 per cent back of the President's program.

The President tells us his war budget will purchase 45,000 planes, build up the world's most formidable naval fleet, increase the regular army from 230,000 to 280,000, outfit one million ground troops with military equipment, anti-aircraft guns, tanks, etc.

This picture leaves us ice cold. One hundred and thirty million American people haven't one single penny invested abroad to defend—and mighty little at home to defend.

We can think of better ways of spending that \$3,000,000,000. Three billion dollars will give jobs to two million unemployed—and leave enough left over to construct a quarter of a million \$2,500 homes for those now housed in rat-infested fire-traps.

So far as we can see, the 64, 000, 000 workers in the United States, and their families, haven't a single vote in Congress. BUT WE VOTE NO TO ROOSEVELT'S ARMS BUDGET. NOT ONE PENNY TO THE WAR MACHINE! ALL WAR FUNDS TO THE UNEMPLOYED!

poor white farmers were immediately revoked. On the day of the enforcement of the Native Service Contract Act thousands of Africans who had established themselves on private lands found themselves ruined and homeless. Overnight these independent cultivators became serfs.

"... Under the terms of the new law every native living upon land owned by a European must work for his master for 180 days in the year. The farmer has the right to decide upon which days the native shall work. In order, therefore, to keep the black tied permanently to the farm, owners usually spread the 180 days over the whole year. In lieu of wages the native is usually given a plot of land on which to erect a hut and grow millet and kaffir corn. Any breach of the Service Contract Act makes the native liable to criminal prosecution and imprisonment. Those under 18 can be punished by flogging.

"... But the worst feature of this act is that no native can leave his job without the permission of his employer. If he runs away he can be arrested by the police, sentenced to a term of imprisonment as a vagrant and then returned to his master."

Puerto Rican Section  
Upholds Soviet Union Defense

An official resolution of the Independent Communist Party of Puerto Rico (Section of the Fourth International) states:  
"The Independent Communist Party of Puerto Rico disavows and condemns the minority of the Socialist Workers Party for abandoning the official program of the Fourth International on the question of the defense of the USSR by putting the Soviet Union in the same imperialist camps as the capitalist countries which are fighting for the redivision of the world. . . ."

French Dictatorship Imitates Hitler  
In Creating Concentration Camps

The following excerpt is taken from a letter sent to British friends by French comrades, and published in Workers' Fight, May issue:

"The military and police dictatorship established in France, even prior to the war, now wages a relentless persecution against soldiers, workers and peasants alike. . . . The military administration usurps the functions of all local and civil administrations. Parliament meets only to acquiesce to the Government decrees. . . . The vicious attack on the Stalinites deputies is now extended to all militants and trade unionists. At least 10,000 are already in concentration camps. . . . A recent decree imposes the death sentence for 'preparing, furnishing or storing Communist literature.' For possessing a pamphlet by Marx, Engels, Lenin or Trotsky, the worker is liable to the extreme penalty. Special Commissions have ejected from the factories about 30,000 workers who were previously exempted on account of their special qualifications. Their crime is that they have shown oppositional tendencies. . . ."

Dictatorship Governs  
In Great Britain

(AN EDITORIAL)

Backed up against the wall, fearful of losing all the booty that it accumulated in the course of many generations, the British Parliament adopted a measure which grants it complete right to do as it pleases with labor and capital.

Soft-brained commentators proclaim the step as one which practically brings socialism to England.

The workers should clearly understand that the law passed by the British Parliament cannot in any way be designated as a step towards socialism. Just as Hitler's measures in controlling capitalist industry cannot by any stretch of imagination be considered socialist measures.

The foundations of socialism are laid when the workers take over government power and take the industries away from the capitalists. Nothing like that has happened in England. The capitalists are still there; they still own the factories and they still run the state.

What has happened in England is that the capitalist class is trying to run its industries more efficiently for war purposes.

Once more it is necessary to point out and to repeat over and over again that capitalism in decay is capable of organizing production only for the purposes of destruction.

In spite of all the ballyhoo about the rights of the capitalists being curtailed, the fact remains that it is the workers who will bear the brunt of the measures taken to save British imperialism.

Every right that the British worker gained in many years of struggle against the capitalists is now lost. He can be told where to work and he must obey. His wages can be reduced. His hours of work can be increased. His position is no better than that of the German worker.

As against the rights taken from the workers, the "sacrifices" of the capitalists are nothing at all.

A tax of 100% is levied on excess profits. It must be understood that it is not a tax of 100% on profits but on excess profits.

At best that means that a capitalist will be limited to the profits he made in peace time. And assuredly that limitation will not reduce his standard of living by one bit; nor will it compel him to work longer hours and subject him to the speed-up. Nor must one forget that besides the profit, the capitalists usually draws a nice salary.

Whatever "sacrifices" the wealthy are compelled to undergo, are nothing in comparison to the enormous sacrifices of the working masses.

Naturally the masses are told that they must surrender their rights "only temporarily," for the duration of the war. The British workers must now fight for democracy for the future.

The British and also the French workers must now fight for something they haven't got. They must accept a complete dictatorship of the ruling class; they must accept a lower standard of living; they must suffer and die on the field of battle—and have faith that the capitalists will graciously return with thanks the rights that the workers are now deprived of.

But should the British and French imperialists win the war, the workers will discover that whatever rights they surrendered will not be given back so easily. All indications point to the conclusion that the period of capitalist democracy is at an end.

The tragic feature of the war is not the fact that the British and French and German workers are compelled to sacrifice. What constitutes the horrible tragedy is the fact that they are sacrificing for interests not their own.

To surrender certain rights, to accept a reduced standard of living, to fight and offer up their lives if necessary, are not things which the workers must recoil from if the emergency demands them. They must be ready to sacrifice everything—for their own interests—nothing for the interests of the capitalists.

Without the cooperation of the working masses the imperialists would be unable to carry on their wars. That is as certain as night follows day. That is why Major Attlee, one of the leaders of the Labor Party, was chosen by the British ruling class to introduce the law which places the British workers in practically the same position as the German workers.

For the British workers there is only one path to choose in order to defeat Hitler, and that is not the path of surrendering all their rights to the British imperialists.

To take power into their own hands, to free all the British colonies, to call upon the French and the German workers to overthrow their masters, to call upon the freed colonial peoples to help them in this struggle against Hitler—this is the only road to victory over Hitler.

This road will demand sacrifices—but they will be worthwhile sacrifices, for they will be in the interests of the working class and not of the British imperialists.