

# 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.

## The Main Question Workers Are Asking

In our door-to-door distribution of the Appeal we are encountering among working class families two reactions to the war: intense desire to keep out of the war and, at the same time, the wish to see the defeat of Hitlerism. The Roosevelt war-machine is utilizing this far-and-away pro-fascism to whip up his pro-Ally crusade. Our job is to direct this feeling toward support of the program of the Fourth International. It is therefore imperative that we have available for sale along with the Appeal a clear, concise pamphlet answering the question that the workers are asking most frequently: How can we defeat Hitler without supporting the Allies?

We understand that you are preparing a pamphlet on the war. It should not be a general anti-war tract. For we find that the workers have not forgotten the lessons of the last war and have no illusions about who pays for and who profits from imperialist war. But they hate Nazism. The pamphlet will not be effective in our work unless it draws on this sentiment and is composed with the above question in mind. One of the workers suggests as a title "How to Fight Hitler." That should also be the theme. Such a pamphlet will help us increase the sale of the Appeal. Sid Crabbe (Crabbe's letter is but one of many which makes the same important point. We are publishing not one but a series of 2c anti-war pamphlets and the committee in charge will see to it that the series adequately answers the question pointed out by Crabbe—undoubtedly the most insistent question that the workers are asking.—Editor.)

## Dislikes Our Attitude To Bertrand Russell

gentlemen: If an impartial critic were to judge the character of the Socialist Appeal solely by Walter O'Rourke's article (Appeal, May 18), on Bertrand Russell, he would scarcely be impressed by anything but its bigotry and its petty conformism to a theory which carefully dismisses one of the greatest intellectuals of our day as unworthy of any serious support because he happens to be among those misguided "liberals" who do not recognize the SWP as the inflexible beacon of Truth lighting the path of mankind. Or are you such a self-sufficient organization that you need not concern yourself about the impartial critic and direct your thrusts only for the approval of those who already have been brought to see the Light? Obviously, you are not, either financially or numerically. Yet, you appear to think that you can well afford to waste three columns of expensive space in hurling invectives at a "sorry-looking, cowardly, and uninspiring" professor.

Tomorrow, if Russell declared himself one with you, you would not hesitate to point with pride at this new member even though today he is "afraid to open his mouth." If, tomorrow, he came out in support of Trotsky, you would hasten to his defense. Your attitude is one of: let the liberals come to us, otherwise we can have no traffic with them. Such a shut-in policy on the part of a minority group is neither militant or progressive. It is self-defeating because it fears to stray from its own dogma long enough to effect any temporary compromise with other forces for freedom besides its own. It reserves its Marxist support for Marxists or the forces controlled by Marxists. O'Rourke says: "The decisive blows in defense of academic freedom as well as liberty and progress in general will have to be dealt by the workers." Perhaps! But what are our attempts to a system that to do in the meantime—devote all may take generations in coming and refuse to take sides with "liberalism" because it is not the ultimate cure-all? Such a position is too reminiscent of certain religious sects who put all their faith for the cure of the world's ills in the second coming of Christ.

Of course, you assume a very democratic pose when you say: "... the defense of academic freedom is an important cause worthy of the support of the workers." That is beautiful in theory, but Russell or any other intellectual leader could not be in jail waiting for the revolution. While the Cultural Committee takes steps to defend academic freedom, you sit on the sidelines and smile sarcastically. You are waiting for the ULTIMATE victory.

You many reply that you are concerned primarily with the abused proletariat rather than the abused intellectual. I fail to see how you are furthering your cause by deriding the Committee for Cultural Freedom or the faculty members of Northwestern University. To go further, I think that your whole paper suffers from a consistently negative policy. Presumably, you are offering socialism to the masses. Actually, you are offering in your literature only a criticism of capitalism—to say nothing of liberalism. I suggest that occasionally you take time off to tell the workers just what kind of a set-up they will have after they've gotten rid of the one they have now.

Incidentally, may I suggest that you could do worse than extend your democratic tolerance in the direction of studying a little of Trotsky. It is somewhat amusing to learn that while you dismiss Russell as a petty-bourgeois and pride yourselves on your complete Marxism, he charges you with not being Marxist enough in that you have kept only half of Marx's doctrine—the economic half. I refer you to POWER, page 284. Don't scoff. After all, gentlemen, it is perfectly possible that you are not infallible. It is, also, possible that even Marx might have been subject to error. If you will not admit this possibility, the worker might as well cast his lot with Hitler and Stalin as far as any hope for democracy is concerned.

Adrienne Stoutenburg Minneapolis, Minn.

Since the above letter was received, Bertrand Russell himself has written a letter which, I sincerely hope, will cause Miss Stoutenburg to be a little less irritated with the APPEAL'S narrow-minded attitude toward Russell and his kind. From the University of California where he is now teaching, Mr. Russell wrote the following letter to the British magazine, "New Statesman": "Since the war began, I have felt that I could not go on being a pacifist. If I were young enough to fight I would do so, but it is difficult for me to urge others to do so. Now I feel as though I ought to announce my changed mind."

Mr. Russell is now assured of not rotting in jail waiting for the revolution. He may even get back his appointment at City College. As to Sidney Hook's Committee for Cultural Freedom, we shall take the time shortly to demonstrate that it is no better than Russell now reveals himself to be. Yes, Miss Stoutenburg, we are very sure that the truth that the SWP stands for is the only truth. We are certain that the "liberalism" of a Russell, of Hook's committee, etc., serves the capitalist class and not the working class. Russell, Hook, and the established intellectuals as a whole today are serving the war-makers. There is no middle ground in war and revolution. The fight for socialism is a war of the working class against the capitalist class. Those who, like the intellectuals, pretend to stand in between, actually serve the capitalist class. Is this dogma, Miss Stoutenburg? Why, look around you at the actual facts, at what the Russells are actually doing!—Editors.

## Use of "Negro" or "Colored" No Problem

Numerous letters have discussed the question whether Negroes prefer to be called "colored," but the problem is really one of common sense in day to day work. Many Negroes wish to be called

colored; others would be hurt and embarrassed if they were referred to in that manner. In most cases it becomes something that can only be resolved by the party builder in his day to day work. He will have to determine which to use.

This question is not a new one. It was discussed considerably in the Communist Party and Young Communist League from 1929 to 1933, when the Stalinists were making strenuous efforts to recruit Negro members. As part of it's campaign the C.P. was advocating the establishment of a Negro republic in the black belt. Together with this, public trials of white party members on charges of white chauvinism were staged. These were vulgar displays which sought to impress but which, because of their artificiality, more often repelled the very ones for whose supposed benefit they had been arranged. The Stalinists also went in for Garveyism. It advocated that white workers in Negro neighborhoods be discharged and be replaced by black. Obviously this slogan could only serve to create ill will between the two. Certainly a demand for both to be hired would have been more in keeping with the ideas of class solidarity. It was against this background that the permissibility of sometimes using the word colored was discussed.

The C.P. leadership was unalterably opposed to the word colored as a substitute for Negro. At a party meeting in the Brownsville section of Brooklyn, three party members, Reiss, Gerber and Mitlin, had charges of white chauvinism preferred against them by Israel Amter, the District Organizer. The reason was that they insisted that at times the word colored had to be used as a matter of tactics. William Bryant, a militant Negro worker and ex-serviceman, took the floor in their defense. He spoke in the following vein:

"I know that at one time I was prejudiced against being referred to as a Negro. I preferred to be called colored; there are many others who are like that. It is bad but true. In the worker's movement, however, I began to learn something of the revolutionary tradition of the Negro and his leaders such as Toussaint, L'Overture and Nat Turner. Today I would be deeply insulted if I were to be called colored. That word will always make me think of the phrase 'a gentleman of color' which is on a par with the crack 'Some of my best friends are Jews—but—'

Nevertheless there are Negroes who wish to be called colored. Avoid antagonizing them; comply with their wishes. Win them into the party. Let the party educate them; and also learn from them. The problem of whether to use Negro or colored will disappear, just as it disappeared for me. They will find out that there need not be the slightest feeling of shame in being a Negro, just as their need be no shame in being born Jewish, Irish, Swedish or Italian.

Amter admitted that there was some logic in Bryant's speech, but he still maintained that it was absolutely wrong to use the word colored; Amter to the contrary. Bryant was absolutely right. He spoke fine words at that meeting; members of the Socialist Workers Party can well afford to use them as a guide in their work.

Brooklyn, N. Y. David Rablens

Charges that the Federal Bureau of Investigation has used "Gestapo methods" to help the Tennessee Copper Co. break a 9-months strike of 1,200 Negro and white miners and smelters were made on May 30 by the International Union of Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers (CIO).

The indictment of the FBI was made by Reid Robinson, International President of the union, following a decision of the union executive board to end the strike. The union charged that FBI agents had arrested 20 unionists on charges of conspiracy to dynamite TVA property and had "herded strikers into a private concentration camp" at Copperhill, where they were forced to sign confessions "under duress." The agents were accused of refusing to allow wives, parents and relatives of the men to visit them at Hamilton jail at Chattanooga.

The Tennessee CIO Industrial Union Convention at Knoxville passed a resolution declaring that FBI agents used strongarm methods in an unjustified attempt to pin the charges on union men, and asking for financial aid in fighting against the FBI frameup.

## MINERS ACCUSE FBI OF HELPING BREAK STRIKE

# Ewa Seamen Convicted on Phoney Charges of 'Revolt' and 'Mutiny'

(Continued from Page 1)

twist the few relevant simple facts into "endeavoring" or "conspiring" mutiny. Elaborate interpretations of the relevant maritime laws by the U.S. Attorney and the federal judge, thoroughly confusing to a jury of small businessmen unacquainted with seafaring life, were served up with dark hints about the war situation.

Even all this had as its first result six hours of deliberation by the jury and then a message to the judge that they could not possibly come to a decision. The judge thereupon charged them with the necessity for returning a verdict. They finally got one together after deliberating till near midnight and two hours the next morning.

And what a verdict! On the charge of "conspiring to make mutiny and revolt, and to resist lawful commands of the officers," the jury voted not guilty; on the charge of "endeavoring to make revolt and mutiny on a vessel," the jury voted guilty. How men could be innocent of the one and guilty of the other, the jury did not explain, but sought to patch up the whole mess by adding a "recommendation for extreme clemency."

In sentencing the men the judge put bluntly what he had already, in teamwork with the prosecuting attorney, worked into the heads of the jury: the seamen should remember, he said, that when they are on a ship it is "LIKE BEING IN THE ARMY." Which means, bluntly, no unionism on board ship.

The captain of the Ewa, thoroughly primed, was the most brazen of all: any meeting of the men on board ship, he said on the witness stand, constituted conspiracy against the officers. When it was pointed out to him that the union's contract with the ship's owners provided for such meetings, the captain said that the contract didn't apply to him, the captain, though he is the company's agent!

## An Admiral's Conception

Admiral Land, head of the U.S. Maritime Commission, has for three years pressed for transforming the merchant marine into what he frankly calls "an auxiliary to the navy"—which means wiping out all union limitations on the rights of shipowners and their officer-agents. The brazen stand of captain, prosecutor and judge in this case represents the most direct attempt by government authorities to force Admiral Land's conception upon the seamen.

Admiral Land's conception prevailed before 1934 for many years—the years of no unions. That conception of the merchant marine meant what all-powerful bosses mean in any industry—hunger, ill-treatment, horrible living conditions, starvation pay, etc., etc.

In the great strike of 1934, and in subsequent struggles, the West Coast seamen smashed the Admiral Land conception of the merchant marine. They fought their way up from sea-slavery to

the status of proud and self-respecting union men, who have a voice in determining their wages, working and living conditions. Those limits, which mean something like a decent living to the men are now, according to this New York decision, to be wiped out as "mutiny." Anything the captain and the shipowner says, is to prevail, says the New York decision. Admiral Land's conception of the merchant marine as part of the navy, smashed in 1934, is to be imposed by "law."

# Lundeberg Fights Anti-Alien Drive

(Special to the Socialist Appeal)

WASHINGTON, D. C., June 8 —Harry Lundeberg, acting president of the Seafarers International Union and secretary-treasurer of its West Coast affiliate, the Sailors Union of the Pacific, fought back stubbornly—he was on the stand for several hours yesterday—as the House Committee on the Merchant Marine moved to adopt a bill, introduced by the committee's chairman, Congressman Bland, barring all non-citizen seamen from being employed on American vessels.

What a blow against the maritime unions this would be is indicated by the fact that, according to conservative estimates, about 30% of West Coast seamen are non-citizens, with at least the same percentage, if not higher, on the East Coast. Existing legislation already requires that 75% of all personnel on American ships must be citizens.

## Statistics Conspicuously Absent

The Bland Bill, endorsed by the Maritime Commission and the Department of Commerce—in other words, a government bill—was opposed at yesterday's hearing only by the unions which Lundeberg represents. For three hours a packed hearing room of hostile shipowners, Congressmen and government officials heard Lundeberg firmly stand by the position of the seamen, that they will fight against any further inroads into the membership of their union, through this "alien" smoke-screen.

The bill was not opposed by the Stalinist-led National Maritime Union—and not because they were asleep, either. In the hall outside the hearing room, Lundeberg encountered the NMU's legislative representative, and told him what he thought of the Stalinist rats who were too yellow to defend their membership against the Bland bill.

Washington is literally swarming with shipowners, here to push hundreds of bills which have introduced to get more gravy and try to get the unions hamstringed.

The endorsements by the government's Maritime Commission and the Department of Commerce of the Bland bill barring non-citizen seamen from United States vessels will not surprise the un-

ionized seamen. For they have had plenty of experience with the use by the government of anti-alien moves which are actually designed to smash the unions.

## Gov't Strikebreaking, 1934

Still fresh in the minds of the seamen, especially on the West Coast, is the government's role during the San Francisco general strike of 1934, which was called to back the seamen. Fearing to attack the unions openly and directly, the government intervened first against "aliens." Governor Merriam had sent a telegram to Madame Perkins, urging that the Department of Labor commence a series of deportations in order to crush the strike.

Madame Perkins quickly obliged. She sent a telegram on July 19, 1934, which said:

"Answering your telegram to me in regard to action by federal immigration authorities, I assure you that the Department of Labor will cooperate with California officials. The applicable immigration statutes authorize the department to take into custody and deport any alien who advocates disbeliefs in or opposition to all organized government or teaches communism. The Commissioner of Immigration and Naturalization at Washington has today again wired to the District Director at San Francisco to act with promptness in any case in which there is evidence presented to or discovered by him indicating that an alien is deportable. . . ."

In such a manner the "New Deal" cabinet member "representing" Labor gave the waterfront bosses the cue to mask the attack against the San Francisco workers under the guise of "alien trouble makers" who "teach communism." (Incidentally it made no difference to Madame Perkins that the immigration laws at the time made no mention whatever of the phrase "teaches communism.")

## Mainly Citizens Arrested

Then started the waves of arrests and illegal raids. Out of 373 who were arrested during the strike as aliens, no less than 272 were citizens of the United States! That alone proved that the drive against "aliens" was merely a method whereby the employers cloaked their union-busting drive against the workers.

# IBEW Local Appeals to Unions To Back Electrical Workers

When other New York building trades unions failed to back up the fight of Local 3, International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, against a lockout by the Consolidated Edison Company at the 39th Street power plant Local 3 took the unusual step last week of having its pickets distribute leaflets to the members of the other unions at the plant, protesting "the disorganized display of the union building trades workers" and calling upon the workers to "demand from the representatives of your Local Union that action be taken on this question at once."

The plant, now being modernized, involves considerable construction work, and for many years this work has been conceded to Local 3 by the company. Consolidated-Edison is attempting now, however, to take this work away from the union, which works a six-hour day, 30 hour week, at two dollars an hour, and have the work done by company union men who work an eight-hour day at seventy cents to \$1.10 an hour.

Accordingly 19 representatives of the building unions met in the Building Trades and Construction Council on May 16 and decided that a non-union condition existed at the plant. The Council voted to call off all workers from the

job. However, the representatives of the other building trades unions did not show up to call off their men. Local 3 is therefore pressing for action by distributing the leaflet.

The full text of the Local 3 leaflet follows:

"TO THE TRADE UNION WORKERS of the 39th STREET POWER HOUSE"

"Would you want to see a headline in our Daily Newspaper some morning, reading as follows: 'A COMPLETE DEMORALIZATION OF THE ENTIRE ORGANIZED LABOR MOVEMENT IS TAKING PLACE IN NEW YORK'?"

"Do you realize that the unity of the Building Trades Workers is being broken by the Consolidated Edison Company, with the aid of Union Trade Workers?"

"Stop and consider what this will eventually lead to. It is not unbelievable. It can happen and is happening at every stroke of work that you are performing on this job. Stop before it is too late. Do you think your representatives are doing the right thing?"

"Do not be blind to the penny wise and dollar foolish policy. You may be next unless you live up to the principles of real unionism. Be Union Men—Not Card Men. 'In Unity there is Strength.' Co-

# Need Two-a-Week Appeal to Fight War

Every day we come closer to war and every day the necessity of publishing the APPEAL twice a week instead of once becomes ever more urgent. To struggle against the war propaganda, to teach the workers the meaning of every move of the Roosevelt government, is a task which cannot be fulfilled by an APPEAL which comes out only once a week.

Our branches, however, do not seem to realize this urgent necessity. We have collected only \$160.00 in the last week, barely enough to keep the APPEAL going on the basis of once a week. Only three weeks are left and 61% of the funds pledged are still due. In those three weeks we must collect every cent.

Every comrade must be at his post for the two-a-week Appeal.

# SCOREBOARD

Branch	Pledged	Paid	%
Uptate New York	\$ 50.00	\$ 50.00	100
Akron	10.00	10.00	100
Rockville	5.00	5.00	100
Texas	5.00	5.00	100
Chicago	100.00	90.00	90
St. Paul	200.00	160.00	80
Lynn	50.00	37.00	74
Minneapolis	300.00	200.00	67
Boston	177.00	119.50	66
Detroit	75.00	46.35	62
Philadelphia	25.00	13.00	52
Flint	105.00	55.00	50
New York City	950.00	417.00	44
Toledo	40.00	17.50	44
East Chicago	25.00	10.00	40
Baltimore	25.00	10.00	40
Los Angeles	100.00	40.50	40
Newark	100.00	30.00	30
Buffalo	5.00	1.00	20
Maritime Workers	780.00	150.00	19
New Haven	55.00	10.00	18
National Office	550.00	44.20	8
San Francisco	100.00	0.00	0
Omaha	25.00	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
Lorain	5.00	0.00	0
TOTAL	\$3907.00	\$1521.05	39.0

# SELLING THE APPEAL

EXTRA! EXTRA!

Minneapolis has increased its regular weekly bundle order from 200 copies to 1000! This is now the largest regular bundle on the Appeal mailing list, and shows a firm intention on the part of the Minneapolis comrades to make the Appeal known to the thousands of workers within their territory. Factories and union halls will be covered thoroughly.

This order naturally involves a financial sacrifice on the part of these comrades, and the Appeal office has therefore extended a preferential rate to make the burden as light as possible. We salute these comrades for taking the lead in bringing our press to broad layers of the working-class regularly every week, and will give full publicity to their endeavors.

To all other branches anxious to spread their influence among the thousands of workers, we say: Follow the example of Minneapolis, and swell your bundle order to several times its present size. Get out among the workers with the paper, and see that it reaches the people for whom it is intended. Center: all your strength on reaching as many workers as possible! Tell us your financial problem, and we shall extend to you the best preferential rate possible.

Subs weren't too good this week, with only 17 received since the 1st of June. Minneapolis accounted for nearly half of them. The comrades elsewhere throughout the country will have to get up some real steam, if they intend to keep in the running. Minneapolis is setting a fast pace on its Appeal work. Here is this week's record:

Buy the APPEAL IN MINNEAPOLIS at: Shinders News Co., 6th St. & Hennepin Av. Morris Kroman, 4th St. & Nicollet Av. Pioneer News Co., 238 Second Av., South A. Peterson News Stand, Washington Av. & E'way N. Labor Book store, 919 Marquette Av.

Mpls. . . . . 7  
N. Y. . . . . 3  
Chicago . . . . . 2  
Youngtown . . . . . 1  
Detroit . . . . . 1  
Phila. . . . . 1  
Boston . . . . . 1  
Los Angeles . . . . . 1  
Total . . . . . 17

By next week we should begin to see first results of the branch subscription drive announced in the last issue. Remember, a bound volume of the Appeal to every comrade bringing in 5 subs; and the 1938 and both 1939 bound volumes to every branch getting 25 subs. Get busy, comrades! Get those subs in!

The Los Angeles branch is the third major center which has had great success with the Detroit RED SUNDAY plan. Boston has been breaking records for three months now through its use, showing that it works just as well on the East Coast as it now seems to be doing 3000 miles away in Los Angeles.

We quote the West Coast report: "The L.A. comrades have adopted an excellent method for neighborhood sales of the SOCIALIST APPEAL, suggested by the experience of the Detroit comrades: '1. Tell the person who comes to the door that you are distributing a workers' paper free, as part of the Anti-War campaign of the S.W.P. '2. Ask him to donate to the Appeal fund, by dropping a coin in the container you hold up while passing the Appeal to him. '3. The object is to cover as many homes as possible. Speed is an important factor in the success of this plan.

"This procedure has been used twice with increasing success. We are convinced that this method will insure mass distribution of our press. We call on all locals to make use of it. (signed) M.W." All out on RED SUNDAYS!

In AKRON, O. the APPEAL may be obtained at: NEWS EXCHANGE, 51 S. Main St. PORTAGE CIGARS, cor. Howard & West Market