

Strike Weapon Surrendered in G. M. Contract

Union Leaders Ram Pact Down Throats Of Auto Workers

Use "National Emergency" To Put Over Settlement Which Binds Them to Give Up Strikes

DETROIT—Using the "national emergency" as a ramrod, leaders of the United Automobile Workers Union have forced a contract down the throats of the General Motors workers which binds them to compulsory arbitration and in effect gives up the weapon of strikes.

In exchange for vacations with pay at the rate of an equivalent of 40 hours earning annually for each worker, and a 1 1/2 cent an hour wage increase to be arbitrated in the distant future on a plant basis, the company wrote into the contract a clause which calls for an "impartial" umpire, to be paid \$30,000 a year jointly by the union and the Corporation.

This umpire will have power to settle all grievances on "recognition, representation, seniority, discharge, disciplinary lay-offs, call-in pay, working hours, leaves of absence, strikes and stoppages, and contract violations."

Means Dictatorship

This umpire is in actuality a dictator with the widest possible powers to decide crucial and decisive questions for the auto workers. He can stall around 30 days and more in making up his mind, according to the contract, and once he rules, no resort is left to the union. His word is final.

Once the umpire rules on a question, there can be no strike should the union men believe his decision unfair. The contract specifically reads, "The union will not cause nor will any member of the union take part in any strike or stoppage of any of the corporation's operations on any of the corporation's premises until all bargaining procedure as outlined in this agreement has been exhausted, AND IN NO CASE ON WHICH THE UMPIRE SHALL HAVE RULED. . . . The corporation reserves the right to discipline any employee taking part in any violation of this section of the agreement."

With this clause as their main target, hundreds of union militants in the important Flint plants battled furiously against acceptance of the agreement. There was by no means a unanimous acceptance of this agreement.

Sold For Patriotism

In Chevrolet Local 659, a special meeting called for the purpose of ratifying the agreement, went on for four hours, and even in that time no decision could be made. A special meeting had to be called for two days later, at which time the union militants conducted an organized battle against accepting the new agreement. But the leadership's barage and campaign of intimidation succeeded in forcing it through. George Addes, Financial Secretary of the UAW, and Walter Reuther, in charge of GM, constantly referred to the fact that "now we must accept even a bad agreement, for the good of the country." They made the most unprincipled appeal to the membership's patriotism, and didn't even try to convince anyone that the agreement as such was a good or satisfactory reward for the months of strenuous efforts the membership had expended to build up and support the CIO.

More Hours Coming

In local after local the same arguments were heard. Militants pointed to a clause in the contract which read, "In case the laws of the United States are changed either to increase or decrease permissible working hours and overtime rates, modification of the section on working hours shall be subject to negotiation."

This clause means that when the Walsh-Healey Act is abrogated by Congress, the 40 hour provision in the contract will be meaningless. It is in fact a go-ahead signal to all the anti-labor congressional forces in their reactionary march to destroy the rights of unions.

The corporation succeeded in getting into the contract a clause that will in the future prevent any such consequences as ensued in the Chrysler strike, in which one plant shut down, and when the corporation locked out workers in other plants the workers were able to collect unemployment compensation. This clause reads as follows, "An authorized strike in one bargaining unit under this agreement which results in an interruption of the flow of material or services to operations in any other bargaining unit under this agreement will be con-

sidered an authorized strike in any such affected bargaining unit."

With the above clever device, the corporation can hold a weapon over the heads of all workers, play one plant against another, use the lock-out with impunity, and prevent men who are locked-out from collecting unemployment compensation.

The contract does not touch the "D" list of company stoops with privileged seniority. Although a 1 1/2 cent wage increase is given, this must be negotiated on a plant basis, and not until October.

End of NLRB!

So kind were the negotiators to the corporation that they repealed the NLRB Act of their own volition. By the terms of the agreement, the union pledges not to appeal any case settled by the umpire to the courts or to any government board.

The company retains its provision on seniority by which a worker must be employed six months consecutively before he begins to acquire seniority. As this works now, all new workers are laid off exactly two weeks before their seniority period arrives, thus keeping them out of the seniority lists.

The grievance procedure is very elaborate, and by conservative computation means that any serious grievance would be at least two or three months in arbitration before settled. Then once settled by the umpire, there is no recourse.

The auto workers are quite disgusted with the agreement. The average worker, however, sees no alternative but to accept it. The government pressure, plus the cowardice of their leaders at the top of the UAW, has discouraged and disoriented them.

Many feel that they would be better off without this contract, under the less binding terms of the old agreement. The deep resentment, and the serious revolt witnessed in several locals, especially in Flint, against acceptance, will undoubtedly rise to the surface in the future, when the effects of this agreement begin to be felt.

Wall Street Drops Plenty In Europe If Hitler Wins

When the foreign market took an average of \$4,637,800,000 annually of American exports in the years 1926-1930, Europe took \$2,206,600,000, or about 45%. In 1935, total exports dropped to \$5,298,900,000 but still the European market took \$1,337,900,000 or about 40%. Europe is the largest foreign market area of the American capitalist class. A victorious Hitler would drive the American imperialists from the European market, which would become the private preserve of the German capitalist class, while Hitler would challenge America in the markets of Latin America.

Europe is also rich in American investments. Of the \$13,693,700,000 of American foreign investments in 1935, \$3,026,600,000 were in Europe. A victorious Hitler will tear these investments out of the hands of the American banking interests—especially the House of Morgan—and plump them into the lap of the German ruling class.

These are some of the simple facts which explain the fervor of the "Stop Hitler Now" campaign organized by Wall Street bankers.

Conservatives Dominate Farmer-Labor Convention, Dictating Its Platform

MINNEAPOLIS, Minn.—What remains of the once-powerful Minnesota Farmer-Labor Party completed its convention in Brainerd on June 21 and 22, adopting the most conservative platform ever endorsed by the Farmer-Laborites.

With conservatives in complete charge, and with the war issue overshadowing all other considerations, the convention made a sweeping endorsement of Roosevelt's "national defense" program and his policy of aiding the Allies, and joined him in attacking the "Fifth Column" and subversive elements.

Even fewer trade unionists were among the 450 delegates than attended the earlier convention in Rochester last March.

The flag-waving pro-war plank adopted by the Farmer-Laborites is exactly the same plank adopted by the Republican Party, the same plank that the Democratic Party also will adopt: a piously-voiced opposition to sending American youth abroad to fight, negated by a strong call for strong national defense against enemies without and within the country.

Deal with Democrats

Its "national defense" endorsement clears the FLP decks for a deal with the Democratic Party directly after the primaries, whereby Farmer-Laborites will withdraw in favor of Democratic politicians for certain offices, and vice versa. It is public knowledge that such a deal is forthcoming. "A reasonably conservative platform"—"a sane platform"—that was the way the boss papers described the handiwork of the Brainerd convention.

With only a sprinkling of unionists present, and those mainly conservative, opposition to the pro-war stand of the convention came from the Stalinists and their captives, such as ex-Governor Benson. Whereas two years ago the Stalinists led the pack in bellowing for "collective security against the fascist nations" and "quarantine the aggressors," in

Flint Militants Fight Boss Jingo Campaign

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Chevrolet executive board, resigned under the fire, and other C.P. members are following suit.

In the militant Fisher Body plant, however, anti-Stalinists who signed the petition met the campaign head-on and have succeeded in defeating the boss move to blast them out of the plants. By calling a series of plant meetings, facing the issues head-on, carefully and patiently explaining the boss campaign, these militants calmed the membership down, proved to them that the whole campaign was a union-busting plot inspired by the company, and further solidified their own leadership.

The campaign was very cleverly devised by the bosses. Immediately the petition was published, company agents in the plants began to take up a collection for American flags. Anyone who refused to contribute was branded a Fifth Columnist, and either attacked or tossed out of the plant or hounded until he left.

Those whose names were on the petition were strong-armed and told not to report for work . . . or else. Some were physically attacked. As the collection for flags got under way, the plants began to look like an armory on flag day. Huge flags hung in every department.

Several militant committeemen who had signed the petition were immediately voted out of office in special meetings. Some Stalinists resigned as stewards, committeemen, etc. This campaign first got under way in Chevrolet.

The Chevrolet campaign was so successful that there was practically no union talk any more, everyone talked about the flag, patriotism, fifth columnists, etc. The union was delivered a vicious and telling blow by this clever use of patriotism by the bosses.

Fisher Militants Fight Back

Then the company tried to extend the campaign to Fisher Body. The whole executive board to a man defended the right of members to sign any petition they wanted to, exposed the campaign as boss-inspired, and fought attempts to force the Executive Board to resign. For a week the situation was very serious, but in this division the jingo campaign has subsided.

However, in Buick and Chevrolet, where Stalinists are under attack, they have failed to meet the campaign head-on, have wilted under the fire, and as a result have left the union in the worst

the best Roosevelt manner, today they follow out the current foreign policy of Stalin by demanding isolation and condemning all imperialists. Because of their vulnerability, the Stalinists got slapped around in short order by the conservatives.

More important even than the contents of the platform were the omissions. No mention of the fascist threat at home here. No warning against M-Day. No demand for a popular referendum on war; not one mention of the Negro and his problems; no demand for a huge federal public workers program to give jobs to the unemployed; not a mention of the crying need for a national labor party (the FLP heads only have thoughts for the coming merger with the Democratic Party).

Not a word of criticism of the Roosevelt administration for sponsoring the Department of Justice attacks upon the trade union movement, for imprisoning the Minneapolis WPA strikers, for cutting unemployment relief, for proposing universal compulsory mobilization.

Leaves Unions Cold

In a move calculated to bring

the union movement back into the Farmer-Labor fold, the convention voted to amend the Association constitution so as to permit member organizations to be chartered directly from the State Committee. This move changes absolutely nothing so far as the Minneapolis union movement is concerned, because it would still leave the Stalinists, through their paper organizations, in control of the Hennepin County Central Committee of the Farmer-Labor Association. The Minneapolis union movement has time and again explained its stand to the State Central Committee, for a party directly led and controlled by the unions, but the Committee hasn't enough guts to move against the Communist Party in Hennepin County.

Whatever regard the bulk of unionists in Minnesota still retained for the Farmer-Labor movement has been greatly shaken by the blatantly pro-war stand of the convention. Imagine the Farmer-Labor Association gunning for "subversive" elements! A subversive element is anything and anybody the bosses don't like, as the predecessors of the FLP, the Non-Partisan League, themselves found out in this state back in 1918.

On all hands one sees unionists throw up their hands or shrug their shoulders at mention of the Farmer-Labor convention and platform. Only the most conservative unionists (who have always, openly or secretly, fought the idea of independent labor political action) and the staunch supporters of Roosevelt, will string along with the FLP this year on the basis that the party will be practically taken over by the Democrats at the general elections.

So powerless has it become to enforce discipline in its own ranks that the convention did not even endorse candidates. Instead, the candidates will be chosen in a free-for-all primaries in September.

Confronted with the failure of the Farmer-Labor movement to stand up and fight in the interests of the workers and poor farmers of this state against the war-mongers, it is almost certain that the Socialist Workers Party will enter candidates in the state elections to crystallize the widespread anti-war sentiment in Minnesota.

IN THE FOOTSTEPS OF MINNEAPOLIS!!!

500 to Chicago every week!
500 to Newark every week!

Answering the challenge put forward in Minneapolis' bundle order increase to 1,000 papers, two branches in the past week increased their regular weekly orders. Chicago enlarged its bundle from 100 papers to 500, and Newark from 125 to 500. These militant locals are determined to get our paper to the masses, and are organizing wide coverage of their cities each week. Reports on their first experiences will be published next week. And we look forward to hearing, in short order, from St. Paul, Boston, Los Angeles, San Francisco. Forward to coast-to-coast mass circulation of the APPEAL!

MASS CIRCULATION IN THE AUTO CENTERS

Toledo, O.—"The Toledo Branch is taking the anti-war campaign seriously and is going to town on the Appeal sales. As far as we're concerned, we're on a voluntary war footing to do anti-war work. Last week we disposed of 150 papers house-to-house and collected a total of over five bucks. We furthermore passed out about 50 at factory gates. We intend to increase our sales, and cut down our bill. We aim to beat that Detroit record of 18 bucks collected in one week from house-to-house sales—and by only about 5 people too! We find the workers, 99% of them at least, are anti-war."

"We are beginning to whittle down our old Appeal bill. All that is required is for the comrades to stop talking about what can be done selling Appeals, and to get out and do it." (Attention San Francisco, and other branches with vast back bills!)

DETROIT, Mich.—"The house-to-house campaign is still going on. One would think that the present barrage of war propaganda unleashed by the war-mongers would effect this method of distribution and money-raising. Fortunately no such thing is the case. The people are receptive to anti-war ideas. They receive us courteously as before the intense war campaign and treat us as generously with someone who takes the war propaganda seriously. We do not argue. You can't convert them to your point of view in an hour's time and we have no such time to waste on them. Our task is to see as many people as possible, to give a brief smack of what you're there for and to ask for contributions. We average on the whole about 6c per paper. The house-to-house method must be taken up by every branch in the Party."

Members of the Socialist Workers Party are participating in the fight, together with many union militants, to defend the democratic rights of all members, regardless of political affiliation, while at the same time not relaxing for a moment their opposition to the rotten politics and reactionary tactics of the Communist Party machine.

SUB DRIVE GATHERS SPEED
Subs are coming in somewhat better, as our drive enters the

Lewis' Politics Bolder But Same 'Run-a-Round' as Green's

By FARRELL DOBBS

A new high in confusing the political problems of the working class was reached by John L. Lewis in his recent addresses at Philadelphia. He gave the definite impression of a man who is rapidly losing all sense of political balance.

Lewis has on many occasions brought forth telling indictments of capitalist mismanagement of social production. As the chief representative of the CIO, a mass organization whose members are vitally involved in the major industries, he is well equipped with facts. Unemployment, malnutrition, inadequate housing, industrial diseases have remained as a permanent nightmare to a broad section of the mass production workers of the CIO. A gifted orator, Lewis has done a good job of describing some of the worst sides of these evil conditions.

All of this is an excellent and most necessary service to the workers. But an analysis of the conditions of the working class is only a preliminary step to an effective solution of these problems. In sharp contrast to his good performance in describing the bad conditions of the workers, Lewis has amassed an impressive record of misleadership in action on both the economic and the political front.

LEWIS HAS REMAINED A CLASS-COLLABORATIONIST

He has adhered consistently to the old-line trade union policy of horse-trading with the employers. But the big corporations, already enjoying a monopoly in their respective fields, have little to expect from a union except higher labor costs and a resultant reduction in their profits. The CIO unions in the basic industries have failed, therefore, to find "friends" among the big employers. Not content to wait for the benevolence of the employers to solve their problems the workers have pressed for militant trade union action—demands for union contracts, wage increases, reduction in hours, seniority, regulation of production speed and improved working conditions—and they have been ready to strike to win these demands. The employers have fought back all along the line.

The officials of the CIO, with Lewis at the head, failing to get a basis for agreements with the bosses without a head-on fight, sought to stem the tide of strike actions by placing their reliance upon government agencies to force the employers into agreements with the union. This necessitated a pressure campaign on the politicians. Acute problems of unemployment relief, poor housing, protection from industrial disease brought demands from the workers for political action by the CIO.

At this hour of the clock, with the world engulfed in a war which will soon involve the American workers, with Roosevelt already fastening a straight-jacket upon the labor movement, with the Republicans promising the bosses that they will finish the job if their candidate is elected, Lewis can do nothing but fumble around like an octogenarian who has lost his glasses. The best he has to offer is a threat to the Republican resolutions committee, in what the CIO News describes as a "straight-from-the-shoulder talk" that "some day the people will tire of being deceived by the major political parties."

That is right. Some day the workers will. But it will not be because of anything John L. Lewis has done to help them find their way onto the right political road.

FROM THE UNSUNG HEROES WILL COME REAL LEADERS

Hillman and Dubinsky are on the Roosevelt band-wagon. Hillman has broken openly with Lewis on the political front. Dubinsky has broken not only politically; he has taken the ILGWU back into the AFL, thus striking a severe blow at the whole CIO movement.

John L. Lewis, who has presumed to be the leader of millions of workers, stands politically bewildered before them in the hour of their greatest crisis. He has neither the courage nor the foresight to lead the workers in independent political struggle through their own party.

On the field of trade union action the real leaders who made the CIO movement what it is today sprang to the front in the periods of struggle against the bosses and then when the fight was over returned into the ranks or remained in minor posts in the unions. They have contributed much more to the building of the CIO than the top leadership which claimed the credit.

These same unsung heroes of the working class will find their way to the front in the political struggles of the days to come. It is in them and not in the John L. Lewises that the workers of the CIO will find the leaders who can guide them to ultimate victory.

or the Navy, etc., to disobey the laws or regulations governing such military or naval forces, or to disobey the lawful orders of a superior."

Title II: Makes unlawful "for any person with intent to overthrow or destroy the Government of the United States, or the government of any State of the United States, or any subdivision thereof, by force or violence, or by any other unlawful means, to print, publish, edit, issue or knowingly circulate, sell, distribute or publicly display any book, paper, document, or written or printed matter in any form containing or advocating the doctrine set forth above . . . or to organize any society . . . who teach, advocate, or encourage the overthrow . . . or to become a member of or affiliate with any such society. . ."

And these attempts to outlaw radical and militant labor organizations and their press is palmed off under cover of anti-alien legislation!



New York	9
Houston	4
Los Angeles	4
Newark	4
Toledo	2
Quakertown	2
Minneapolis	2
St. Paul	2
New Jersey	2

And one each from Memphis, Boston, Denver, Chicago, Youngstown, Baltimore and New Castle.

This is better, comrades, but not nearly good enough. You have shown that you can get subs—now let's go over the top with a record-breaking total!

SMITH BILL IS PASSED: HITS AT ALL LABOR

Anti-Alien Act Cloaks Vicious Weapons Against Unions

Ignoring widespread pleas that he veto the bill, Roosevelt signed the Smith Omnibus Bill on Saturday, June 29, thereby putting its provisions into effect.

What was passed was not, however, merely a bill to register aliens. Actually Congress adopted under this guise the notorious Smith Omnibus Bill, originally introduced in March, 1939 when it was accurately characterized by the New York TIMES as a "compendium of all the anti-radical legislation introduced in Congress during the last twenty years." The bill was scarcely expected to be passed—until Roosevelt provided a disguise for it when he asked for legislation against the aliens.

The law is simply a federal criminal syndicalism law, doing for the first time in the federal jurisdiction what the notorious state criminal syndicalism laws did in state jurisdictions during the 1919-1923 post-war wave of anti-labor persecutions.

Among its provisions, applying also to citizens, are:

Title I: Makes punishable by prison terms up to ten years and/or ten thousand dollar fine "to publish or distribute any book, pamphlet, paper, print, article, letter, or other writing which advises, counsels, urges, or solicits any member of the Army