

In the Labor Unions

By B. J. WIDICK

For years the bosses in the milk industry have used two obvious tricks when dealing with organized labor. One is to play off the farmers against the workers, and the second is to play off either the farmers or workers against the consumers.

The Borden and Sheffield companies are using trick two in an effort to stave off the milk drivers union, representing 20,000 workers, in current negotiations in the New York area.

Before any contract has even been settled, these big milk companies announced a raise in the price of milk of one cent per quart and they threaten another increase shortly.

Of course, company propaganda says that the increase became necessary because of the demands of the union movement.

The companies claim that union demands for wage increases, limitation of production, a five day week, and other standard concessions make a higher cost of production and milk prices must go up.

There is an obvious answer to this propaganda. It is a brief analysis of the profits made by these companies. Borden's and Sheffield make millions yearly.

Public Support

Labor has a right to more than it has been getting in this industry. And labor can get public support if it shows up the company's huge profits.

We remember very well a similar experience in Ohio in which the milk drivers union around the Akron area fought and obtained better conditions and wage increases, etc., despite the usual hue and cry of the companies on increased costs.

But after the union won, the companies refused to deal with the farmers and rejected their demands for an increase in the price of milk sold to the companies. "We've had to give it all to labor," the bosses cried.

That kind of propaganda is dynamite. It plays off the farmers against the workers, and too often in the past succeeded in accomplishing this reactionary aim.

In particular, the Ohio farmers were at first enraged at this argument and tended to blame the union for the company refusal to \$2.00 per hundred weight instead of \$1.50, if our memory serves us correctly.

Here, the C.I.O. movement intervened to straighten out the mess, in cooperation with the milk drivers union.

A joint committee of organized labor and the farmers' milk association took up the battle of the farmers.

Labor put picket lines around the milk companies. Farmers came into town for miles around to help. Milk supplies were cut off.

But above all, labor organized a first class publicity campaign, and explained the whole matter to the workers and the farmers and the consumers.

Analyzing Profits

Analysis of the Borden Company profits proved that they could pay the farmers and the workers more. This was emphasized over and over again.

A brief history of how the bosses used labor against the farmer and vice versa was related. All this was done on radio programs which were well publicized and thus received wide hearings.

The result has been that both the milk drivers and the farmers have benefited. A more harmonious relationship between them has resulted.

Of course, in many localities like Minneapolis where organized labor has a shrewd leadership with a progressive outlook, the old stunts don't work so easy.

The new gag is to organize an "Associated Farmers" organization, a fake business-inspired, boss-paid strike breaking outfit. This phoney outfit ostensibly speaks for the farmers and always goes after the union movement.

Its final and complete exposure came recently before the wages and hours hearings on minimum standards in Washington. This outfit spends all its time explaining why the poorer farmers, the agricultural workers and sharecroppers should be exempt from minimum rates, that is, should continue to work for slave wages.

Discussing the National Convention Issues Dissenting Opinion on Ludlow Referendum

By ARTHUR BURKE

The death agony of our decaying, rotting system has placed the most catastrophic of all imperialist explosions immediately before us. Failing the intervention of the proletariat, the coming bath of blood will positively throw all humanity backward for decades to come.

The most vital life and death question thus facing those who have voluntarily banded together to liberate humanity from the class yoke, is the war problem. All of us in the 4th International unhesitatingly accept this.

The War Pressure

The pressure of the bourgeoisie correspondingly increases as the war draws closer. The subjectified expression of the class conscious economic strata—political parties—have all, with the modified exception of the S.W.P., come out for the war in advance. This is a most reliable barometer for measuring such pressure.

Even the S.W.P., however, is not immune and this is manifested in the steadily growing opportunism of its leadership. The watering down of revolutionary defeatism, the espousal of the Ludlow amendment and a Labor Party, to reveal to all with eyes to see how J. F. Cannon and Co. will answer the hail of repressions that are sure to come.

Tallendism vs. Historical Materialism

In revising one of the most basic tenets of Marxism—the necessity for the class independence of the proletariat from the bourgeoisie as expressed in the necessity for the political and organizational anatomy of the Marxian vanguard at all times—the S.W.P. leadership has likewise jettisoned the historical materialist mode of approach. The opportunists now proceed with the methodology of tallendism, and support of Ludlow's nostrum is a perfect example. Instead of beginning from the objective economic factors as historical materialists do, the Pundits begin with the subjective prejudices of the masses.

In his "Capital", Marx posits the inevitable contraction between manual and intellectual labor in a class society. The exploitation at the point of production, poverty, insecurity, family cares, etc., drain the physical and mental energy of the masses. The moneyed classes are able to impose their morals, dogmas, illusions, and lies upon the rest of society by virtue of control of social propaganda instruments and through its monopoly of leisure time.

If the masses were not hidebound with backward prejudices and illusions—if they thoroughly understood their role in society, there would obviously be no need for a Marxian Party. From the dominance of illusions among the exploited we have not only derived the need for a vanguard but have vouchsafed the necessity to swim against the stream and this particularly in time of war when illusions are more prevalent than at any other period.

The World War at first had the support of the masses. The Tallendists, basing themselves not on the solid economic truths but on the "sentiments" of the masses naturally supported the war. Logically considered, this is the inevitable outcome of such an approach.

"American" Prejudices

In the U.S. in particular, the prejudices of the masses are reflected in faith in capitalist legality; i.e., elections, the constitution, courts, etc. The gap between the economically ripe conditions for socialism and the backward political faiths of the American workers will only be bridged when these faiths ARE SHATTERED through experiences in the class struggle. Those who in any way preach confidence in the capitalist legality only foster the lies and deception of the American ruling class. Socialism, say the Stalinists, is economically necessary... but "the masses aren't ready". Herein is the formula of capitulation.

II

Marxists and the Ludlow Bill The Ludlow bill provides for a national referendum before Congress can declare war upon another country unless the hemisphere of the Americas is actually invaded.

1. Firstly, reactionary imperialist opposition to this bill does not necessarily signify that revolutionists should support it, any more than fascist opposition to Roosevelt should determine our support of him.

2. The war which the working class must conduct against imperialist war is hindered, not promoted by pacifist, middle class illusions. Writes Lenin: "We must face the issues squarely and call things by their proper names; WE MUST TELL THE WORKERS THE TRUTH". In one breath we say that the American government will transform itself into a fascist dictatorship in time of war, and in another we foster the illusion that the ruling class can conduct a legitimate, democratic referendum at such a time. Who but fakery can gain from this double system of bookkeeping?

3. "Pacifism begins when war ends, and ends when war begins." Histories have shown that where pacifist "remedies" are not outright deceptions, they are the most dangerous of drugs which only paralyze the fighting power of the proletariat. Honest pacifists—(LaPollette) promote this unconscious, but what are we to think of alleged Marxists who supposedly know better?

4. Ludlow's resolution likewise promotes the theathetian imperialist fraud of "aggressive" and "defensive" capitalist states. Each imperialist power makes this distinction and endeavors to foist the onus of "aggression" upon the other in order to win mass support for the war.

5. The resolution further equates the entire Western Hemisphere with the territory of the U.S. proper, thus acknowledging Latin America as a protectorate of Yankee imperialism.

6. A la the disarmament fake, the referendum illusion diverts attention from the necessity of a consistent class struggle policy against war every day in the year, because it cultivates the notion that when the "real" war danger faces us in the remote future, the masses will be able to avert by the mere casting of a ballot on some specific date.

7. To support the Ludlow resolution is to inculcate in the minds of the workers the idea

that war can be "prevented" or fought by means other than THE CLASS STRUGGLE, that imperialist war can be averted otherwise than by the revolutionary overthrow of the capitalist system.

NOTE: The points adduced in this part were once specifically accepted by the Political Committee. The P.C. has never once seriously reanalyzed the arguments to show the basis for their rejection. I challenge the P.C. to do so.

III

The S.W.P. takes refuge under the usual skirts of "critical support". The bourgeoisie is surely shaken to its roots by the imposing nature of this "criticism". When it does appear (and how often does it appear) it takes the form of a mournful bleating to the effect that the bill is being "emasculated", that the referendum should apply even when "our" hemisphere is invaded (?).

In its recent program of action the City Committee of local N.Y. places the Ludlow Bill in the forefront of the "anti-war" struggle. (!) Indeed, even speakers' outlines will be drawn up for street corner meetings to propagandize the bill. We are, in reality, here substituting the Ludlow Bill for the policy of revolutionary defeatism.

Conclusion

We must advocate the class struggle policy of revolutionary defeatism as the only means of fighting the war. We must do all in our power to expose pacifist illusions. We must become known as the only revolutionary anti-war party. These are fundamental.

At the same time that we dispel the Ludlow illusion, we can capitalize on the present confused anti-war sentiment supported by a majority of the workers. We can expose the spurious nature of the imperialist yowls of "defense of democracy" by pointing to their opposition to this bill. This not only bares the lies of "democracy" but likewise proves that the imperialists themselves do not and can not accept or acknowledge peaceful "legal" means of fighting war. Likewise we point out that even if the "miracle" of a referendum does occur it can only be along the forceful lines of Hitler's plebiscites.

This policy would fruitfully capitalize on the present anti-war groping of the masses, expose the anti-democratic nature of the imperialists, dispel pacifist illusions and consistently point to the class struggle means of the socialist revolution as the only way out.

On Making the Appeal A Paper for the Masses

STATEMENT ON THE SOCIALIST APPEAL BY THE AKRON BRANCH

(Continued from last issue) Some of our propaganda can be more concretely expressed. In general we have a better chance of getting the ear of the worker if we develop our propaganda from the material confronting the worker in the bourgeois press. For instance, there was no better way to develop our anti-war propaganda than by taking the issue of the sinking of the submarine Squalus and writing an article along the theme of "What Really Sank the Squalus!" From this point of view the stories on the tenement fires in New York were excellent, first, in making a general attack on capitalism, and second, in developing the need for a real housing program. Similar capital could have been made in explaining the mechanics of imperialism through the visit of the king and queen.

(3) Our material should have more human interest. There is a dearth of feature material in our press. Yet it is interesting to note that the articles which have gone over best with persons outside the movement were ones like the story on Erenda Frazier, the editorial on the boloney salesman in congress, the workers' correspondence (what there has been of it), the rats in Minneapolis, and in general Bill Morgan's stories, though they are a little long.

Shop Stories

We need more stories on women in the shop, shop conditions, novel strike techniques when they are used, youth and the labor movement, incidents culled from other labor press, working class disasters, working class humor, etc. All of this should be treated in feature style, and should inferentially or directly draw our revolutionary conclusions. This approach has two advantages: first, it catches the workers' eye because it is simple, appealing, and concerns persons like himself (any everyone likes to read about other persons in a situation similar to one's own), and secondly, it proceeds from the concrete, isolated incident to the general political conclusion—one of the best propaganda approaches.

Workers have also commented on one other deficiency in

our agitational appeal. That is the lack of humor. Humor is a powerful weapon. Anyone who has been in a strike situation knows the satirical songs that are made up, the jokes that are passed around, the verbal rough-housing that the cops and the scabs are given, and the biting sarcasm in the strike bulletins. Comrades will remember with what effectiveness humor was used in dramatizing the Minneapolis strike. Many comrades will recall having seen reproductions of humorous broadsides distributed in Russia during the period of the seizure of power. There is a good reason for the use of such material. Few things are better for toppling respect for bourgeois institutions and personalities than a good healthy wisecrack. Nowhere in the world has humor in the form of the comic strip, the wise crack, the cartoon, the tall story, and the joke been developed to such an extensive degree as in this country. We should draw upon this reservoir. Humor, naturally, must be judiciously used. But it should be used. A good median was struck in the "Notebook of an Agitator" which ran for a few times in our press some time ago.

Small Features

(4) We need more small feature material. Diversified small feature material would help to brighten up the Appeal. A feature such as Scissorbill Sam ("The Bosses' Man"), which runs in the Northwest Organizer, would prove very popular if the way the Organizer readers receive it is any indication. Similarly, our anti-Stalinist work could be very effectively carried on by the regular use of the cut, "Stalinist Press at Work," with a nice, juicy C.P. quote beneath.

There should be a regular, snappy column on branch activity. Likewise there should be a column on youth activity. There should be a good column for women; we are woefully weak in our appeal to working class women. In this respect, incidentally, it has been suggested that recipes for persons on relief be run. A column in a modified Winchell style, similar, say, to the one formerly run by Bill Reich, would prove a popular feature.

War Column

In view of the impending war crisis, a column called "Twenty-five Years Ago this Week," giving one or two line summaries of the events of 1914 would afford an instructive parallel. A news behind-the-scenes column, dealing with the administration activities, would go over well during this pre-election period. The question box was a good idea and should have been retained.

Short book reviews could well be run in the Appeal. They should not be in the New Internationalist style, however. Too often, unfortunately, the N. I. reviews are used merely to show off the erudition of the reviewer. The reader gains no insight into the book whatever. Book reviews in the Appeal should cover at least these three points: (1) What the book is about, (2) what is wrong with the book, and (3) what we can gain from the book.

Typography

From the typographical point of view more typographical aids should be used. The ears could be used to better advantage for ballyhooing the contents of the paper. There should be as much art as the budget will allow. There should be more boxed material. The solid inside pages should be broken up as much as possible.

(5) Some of the present departments can be improved in certain respects. The column idea in the twice-a-week Appeal was a good one, but a certain improvement could be made. In general the columns are too long. They could also be broken up by the use of bold face type, etc. Paul G. Steven's column is good in that it concretizes the meaning of internationalism. Dwight Macdonald's column, which unfortunately at times has a somewhat patronizing air, could probably do the best job if it were directed toward the winning of intellectuals. In many respects comrade Macdonald is best qualified for that job.

The editorials should be snapped up. The thumbnail editorials are a good idea. They should not be printed in smaller type, however.

Carlo's cartoons are an extremely important part of our paper. He has an excellent, bold style, and generally speaking the cartoons are extremely effective. A turn toward the American idiom ("The Gyp Joint" approaches what we want), and a consequent turn away from rather abstract drawings such as "The Real Ideology," which was difficult to understand, would enhance the value of Carlo's work. The retention of the cartoon on the front page is a good idea.



INVITATION TO CONVENTION DELEGATES:

All those Convention delegates attending sessions in New York City who are either branch literature agents, or connected in any way with Appeal circulation, are urged and invited to consult with the manager during their stay.

We would like to receive first hand reports on current Appeal activities, as well as take up various problems relating to future Appeal circulation. So just step into the office at 116 University Place while you're here!

SAN FRANCISCO BRANCH AT WORK:

The Frisco branch, which recently had to re-organize its entire literature department, is hard at work on new fields. Under the capable direction of Eloise "El" Booth they are making a drive to get longshoremen as regular readers of the Appeal. They intend taking a total of 150 copies per week which will be utilized for propaganda work among these men.

TAKE THE APPEAL ON YOUR VACATION:

Many comrades and sympathizers will be taking a few weeks off during the summer to spend at some camp or other.

The Appeal is prepared to

send bundle orders to these people at their camps. Already two comrades, Miriam Gerson and Lou "Zinov" Becker have arranged for this.

We will send all bundles at the usual bundle order rate. Send in your requests to the Appeal office.

Subscriptions continue to hold up nicely and well above an average of 50 per week. This is primarily due to the fine work of the Minneapolis branch. New York City—on the other hand—has completely fallen down in its sub work in the past month. What's wrong, New York? How about visiting some of those expired subscriptions we gave you? Here's the list for the week:

Table with subscription counts for various cities: MINNEAPOLIS 19, Chicago 10, Foreign 5, Massachusetts 3, Indiana 3, Newark 3, St. Louis 2, Los Angeles 2, Iowa 2, Philadelphia 1, Connecticut 1, Ohio 1, Wisconsin 1, New York City 1, Detroit 1, Rochester 1, Total 56

N.M.U. REVOLT PUSHED BY GULF SEAMEN

(Continued from Page 1)

seamen must be the fight against the Maritime Commission fink halls and the government program of regimentation for the seamen. The raising of this question by the militants of the Gulf would win them the immediate sympathy and support of the West Coast seamen who are now facing a showdown with the Maritime Commission on the West Coast. C. P. Sows Confusion

The C. P. propagandists are past masters at the art of sowing confusion. A writer of charges and counter-charges of "dictatorship," "goon-squadism," etc., serve to confuse the fundamental issue of the fight against the fink-hall, sea-slavery program of the Maritime Commission and plays into the hands of the Stalinist slander and lie machine.

The membership of the N.M.U. must be made to understand that there is much more involved in this conflict than just a change of officials. They must be given something to fight FOR as well as AGAINST! That something is a militant program, offering a solution to the many problems which confront the seamen.

Such a program would expose the reactionary character of the C. P. clique and force them out into the open. It would raise the struggle to a higher level and, as experience has proven in other sections of the labor movement, would be the best guarantee of success against the wrecking crew. Failure to advance a positive program, or too long a delay in doing so, can easily lead to disaster.

JOINT A.F.L., C.I.O LABOR DAY PARADE

ST. LOUIS—Attesting to the growing desire of unity in the ranks of labor, the A.F.L. and the C.I.O. of Granite City, Madison, and Venice announced that they will unite their forces for a joint parade on Labor Day. At the head of the column a banner showing the clasped hands of both labor organizations will be carried. The two labor bodies have 10,000 members in the Tri-Cities.

ANNOUNCEMENTS

WANTED: Comrade to share unfurnished apartment. Lower East Side. Shower, refrigerator, steam. Rent: \$15 per month. See Ben Hall in the Y.P.S.L. office.

INFORMAL HOUSE

Box 245 Kerhonkson, N. Y. (Near Ellenville) 120 acres of greenland in the Catskills. 40 acres of pine for sunbathing; handball, ping pong, archery; swimming and horse-back riding nearby; dancing. UNUSUALLY LOW RATES \$18 Weekly \$6 Weekend Buses met at station Tel. Kerhonkson 118 E