

In the Labor Unions

By B. J. WIDICK

The July issue of the Steel Workers Organizer, voice of the Northern New Jersey Steel Workers Council (C.I.O.), carries a good editorial on the problems of the steel workers because of technological unemployment, and what can be done. It says:

"Machines and Men"

Recently the Irvin continuous strip mill of Carnegie-Illinois rolled 466 tons of tin plate in eight hours with a crew of six men—a new record.

We asked John Grajciar, of the S.W.O.C. in Warren, Ohio, an expert on tin mills, to give us a comparison of this record with the old hand mills, in terms of men. His findings are interesting in light of the problem of "machines and men."

Mr. Grajciar writes: "I took a little time and just roughly figured it out in comparison with the three and four part tin mills of the Republic Steel Corporation at Warren, Ohio, and here are the approximate figures:

"The Irvin mill had a crew of six men on its cold reduction unit. In addition, I would judge, there were not more than forty men employed on the hot continuous mill that reduces the slab of hot strip for a further reduction into tin plate on the cold reduction. This gives a total of 56 men. Their output in eight hours was 447 tons, a record.

"Assuming that each of the men averaged \$10 a day, which is a very liberal estimate, the total wage bill for the Carnegie-Illinois company was \$560 to produce 447 tons of tin plate.

"On a three-part hand tin mill of the Republic Steel to produce an equivalent tonnage, it would require 74 crews with nine men on a crew. In addition, there would be fifty shearmen and approximately 100 openers. This makes a total of 816 men, or an approximate wage cost of \$10,740.

"On a four-part hand tin mill, 447 tons would require 88 crews of nine men each, plus 50 shearmen and 100 openers. This amounts to 942 men at an approximate payroll of \$12,240.

"In other words, the new strip mill with 56 men can produce 447 tons at a wage cost of \$560, or a wage cost of \$1.25 a ton. While on a three-part hand mill 816 men are required to produce 447 tons at a wage cost of \$10,740, or \$24 a ton; and, even worse, the labor cost per ton on the four-part hand tin mill is \$27.30.

"There is little wonder that this country is in such difficult economic times, because none of this saving has been passed on to the consumer, because tin plate is selling for \$3 a short ton more today than two years ago. And, furthermore, more than one-half the tin plate that is produced in America is produced on the continuous strip mills."

Steel Council Answers

The answer to this problem was given by the Steel Council last month and in the second issue of the Organizer. The delegates that met in Erie, Pa., last month joined our national parade when they adopted resolutions for the 6-hour day and the 30-hour week at the base pay rate of \$1.00 hourly for steel workers.

It is the duty of the S.W.O.C. to solve the terrible effects of unemployment caused by modern labor displacing machinery. Negotiations with Big Steel must contain the demands for a reduction in hours with no reduction in the weekly pay. Make America's Sixty Families pay.

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DELEGATES DISCUSS ANTI-WAR ACTIVITY

"Fight Boss War" Is Keynote as Regular Sessions Open

(Continued from Page 1) these three headings: the struggle against war; the struggle against fascism; and the fight for jobs. Under each of these, the following slogans were proposed:

1. Against the War: Let the People Vote on War! All War Funds to the Unemployed!
2. Jobs: Thirty-Thirty! Expropriate the Sixty Families! Open the Idle Factories, and Operate Them under Workers' Control!
3. Anti-Fascist: Build the Workers' Defense Guards!

After a rounded and thorough discussion from the floor, the resolution, as amended and supplemented, was passed by the convention.

Party Preparation

James P. Cannon, National Secretary of the Party, delivered the next report on "Preparing the Party for War." In a masterful presentation, comrade Cannon pictured the repressions that the war fever will bring, the moral and physical persecutions that militants will be subjected to on the day war breaks out. Above all else, said comrade Cannon, it is necessary to keep the organization functioning, to continue our revolutionary activity going without meaningless heroics, to make the name of the Socialist Workers Party synonymous with the struggle against the war; not to sacrifice a single man to the warmongers, to exercise the greatest care in the functioning of committees and branches so that members will not be exposed to the war patriots, hounded and murdered.

By a proper adaptation to wartime conditions the party will spread its propaganda, do its organizing, speaking only a part of the truth where it is impossible to say more, but never speaking an untruth to the working class. Here especially, said comrade Cannon, is the success of the orientation to the masses decisive. We must above everything else penetrate the mass organizations and labor unions and not go into hiding in dark cellars. With a word, an idea we will encourage union-men, shop mates to resist the war.

Reaping Results

After the first flush of patriotic enthusiasm, during which the war-mongers will appeal to the workers to "Back up the Boys!", during which the pacifist opposition will collapse in disgust into patriotic fervor, disillusionment, resentment will sweep the masses. "Reds", labor militants, will everywhere be hounded. But the slaughter and frightful economic strain will speed the crisis. Revolutions will occur in the various armies of imperialism. Militants here will raise their heads, make demands, and a worker here will say "The Trotskyites were right, they told the truth." Our prestige will mount, militant sentiments will gather around us. The clear political line of the Fourth International will recap results. Without hysterical martyrdom, or capitulation we will continue our work in a business-like way.

As the terrible debacle of war makes clear to the workers the death-agony of capitalism, continued comrade Cannon, it will become apparent that the revolutionary struggle is the condition for life. Workers who learned to use weapons in the army of capitalism will learn how to make use of these weapons in their own interest.

"All questions will be reduced to simple terms of life and death. All fictions will be exploded. All pretences, all half-measures, all subtleties, all deceptions will be swept away. Two things will remain unchanged: the invincible power of the laboring masses; the doctrine and party of Marxism which articulates their necessities and leads the way to victory!

"In the blood and fire of war the Fourth International will arise as the sole representative of the masses,—and the hope of all humanity! They will turn to it as the one party that told them the truth and did not betray them. It will become the

Convention Resolution on Workers Defense Guard

1. The collapse of the New Deal, and the insuperable, ever-mounting internal conflicts of United States capitalism are beginning to pose more and more directly to the U. S. bourgeoisie the necessity for abandoning parliamentary democracy and resorting to fascism as the sole means for preserving its power and privilege; and these same factors simultaneously open the minds of large numbers among the unemployed, farmers, middle classes and demoralized proletarians to fascist demagoguery and organization.

2. Recent months have witnessed a profound transformation in the character of the fascist movement in the United States. Before this, it had been confined largely to individual cranks, eccentrics, and dilettante intellectuals, and "foreign" groups such as the various Italian fascist societies and the Nazi Bund. Now, for the first time, it is becoming a serious, native, mass movement. In the first stage of this transformation, the Coughlinites in the big cities, and to a lesser extent the Silver Shirts in the farming areas and smaller towns, are playing a major role. Whatever may be the eventual fate of these two particular groups, and whatever may be the episodic rises and declines of the fascist movement as a whole, it is certain to grow in extent and depth until its sources have been rooted out. This can be accomplished by nothing short of the social revolution.

Immediate Problem

3. The transformation of the fascist movement dictates the transformation of the methods of defense against it. Theoretical analysis and abstract propaganda, to which specifically anti-fascist activities had to be more or less confined so long as fascism in this country remained primarily a threat for the future, become altogether inadequate when fascism has become a reality of the present.

4. The long-term defense against fascism can be only the achievement of the social revolution. Meanwhile, however, there is the immediate and direct problem of the physical defense of the organization, lives and liberties of the workers, which the fascists aim first to weaken and then to destroy, from the physical assaults of the fascist gangs. The experience of all countries, including the United States, proves beyond any doubt whatever that the agencies of the bourgeois-democratic state will not and cannot carry out this defense; but that on the contrary, reliance upon these agencies guarantees the smashing of the workers and the victory of the fascists. Only the workers themselves, relying on their own means and strength, can defend their own organizations and life and liberties. The only possible form of defense against the fascists is the Workers Defense Guard. Whereas, formerly, the Workers Defense Guard has been primarily a slogan for agitation, the point has now been reached, and more than reached when the concrete task of the actual building of the Workers Defense Guard must begin in action.

5. The Workers Defense Guard is, from one point of view an outgrowth and development of the picket squads used by virtually all unions in strikes. From the beginning, however, the Defense Guard differs in key respects from the picket squad. The Guard is permanent, whereas the picket squads are usually created only for the duration of the strike. The duties of the Guard are not merely picketing, defense against scabs, etc., but at all times the defense of the headquarters and rights of the union and its members. Moreover, the tasks of the Guard must be conceived, from the start, not in narrow terms of the given single union which may be first involved, but of the labor movement as a whole, and indeed of all groups, individuals, organizations, racial minorities, etc., threatened or attacked by the fascists, vigilantes or other reactionaries. The duty of the Guard is to defend all who need defense from the assaults of the fascists. To carry out this duty, the

sole spokesman of the war-tormented people and its slogans will resound through the world. "Workers of the World Unite!" Turn the war of imperialist slavery into the liberating civil war of revolution! And through the victorious social revolution establish a new social order of peace and freedom, and human solidarity. To envisage such a social order in the mad capitalist world of today is to live. And to take part—as a soldier—in the struggle for it, is the highest happiness."

In the discussion that followed comrade Cannon's report many delegates took the floor, made recommendations for preparation of the party organization for war, criticized the shortcomings of the past. As had comrade Cannon, every speaker stressed the necessity of becoming rooted in the unions and the mass organizations of the workers. The youth delegates reported what the Young Peoples Socialist League (4th International) is doing to prepare its members for war-time activity, to root out laxness and carelessness. Comrade Cannon's report was unanimously accepted.

Anti-Fascist Work

The next order of business was the report of comrade Burnham on the development of fascist forces in the United States and the means of combatting them. Burnham cautioned the delegates against using slogans which are superficially revolutionary but which do not correspond to the objective reality. The workers, said comrade Burnham, in order to protect themselves will have to organize defense guards. But

Guard must be trained and disciplined, and function democratically as an autonomous body. From a second point of view, the Workers Defense Guard is the preparation for the far broader organization of the masses, with far greater tasks, which will in the future have the task of defending the masses against the counter-revolution.

Enlisting the Unions

6. From the nature of the Workers Defense Guard and its tasks, it follows that the Guard should take form wherever possible through the established unions. Revolutionists within the unions must attempt to win the union members as a whole to a realization of the necessity of the Guard and must aim to have the unions initiate the actual building of the Guard. Where a union forms units of the Guard, the aim must be from the beginning to extend the scope and base of the Guard beyond the normal confines of union organization and activity: by drawing into the Guard unemployed, youth and others who are not members of the union (and in many cases are not in a position to be members of any union), by linking up with other unions in the building of the Guard, by establishing relations with the Guard in other cities and by amplifying the types of activities undertaken by the Guard.

7. In localities where it is at present impossible to enlist the established unions in the task of building the Guard, it is now necessary, in addition to constant agitation for union initiative, to take concrete steps in the formation of the Guard with what forces are available. Where such forces are meager it would be an error to regard the group that can be formed as a Workers Defense Guard in the full sense; rather, since the genuine Guard can be built only by enlisting the masses, are such groups skeletons or embryos of the Guard. They cannot substitute their action for that of the masses, but must aim to win the masses especially in the trade unions to the task of building the Guard, by adding on however a modest scale, the lesson of action and example to that of agitation. In New York City, Newark, and elsewhere, first steps have been taken along these lines by the formation of the Anti-Fascist Labor Guard.

United Front Action

8. The struggle against fascism makes possible, and demands, the broadest possible united front. The essential requirements for membership in the defense Guard must be formulated simply as a willingness to fight the fascists, to defend labor and other organizations and groups from fascist and vigilante attacks, and to accept the democratic discipline of the Guard. While taking every precaution to make sure of the integrity of every applicant and to preserve the Guard from provocateurs, stool-pigeons and irresponsible or light-minded elements, the effort must be made to enlist membership and support as broadly and widely as possible on this basis.

9. The significance of our party's advocacy and support of the Guard is in no way limited to the specific and all-important tasks which the Guard can and must fulfill. Advocacy and support of the Guard is an integral and decisive part of the political program of our party, and a political weapon of the utmost importance. Experience has already shown, and will more fully confirm in the future, that the slogan of building the Guard meets with an immediate response from the best sections of the workers and the youth, and concretizes the whole meaning of our conception of the struggle against fascism in a manner accomplished by no other part of our program.

SUPPLEMENTARY MOTIONS

1. The convention instructs the incoming National Committee to appoint a special commission to be in charge of carrying out and co-ordinating on a national scale, the work of the Party in connection with the building of the Workers Defense Guard.

FIGHT WORK CAMP SCHEME FOR JOBLESS

(Continued from Page 1)

this battle. In the name of "fair play," several liberal ministers have been cooperating with the committee. Protest resolutions have been presented to the Bureau and committees have called upon the state and local relief officials. As usual the officials have simply passed the buck, and although the wave of protests has the men cut off relief still are going unhoused and unfed.

The Bureau, thoroughly scared, has tried to divide the opposition by "reconsidering" the cases of a few individuals, but the militants fighting this abuse have pledged themselves to continue the struggle until the practice is stopped. So far such militant action as picketing has been withheld in order to try the suggestion of the liberals to have joint meetings of the action committee and the Bureau. It is safe to say that only when the veterans themselves and their supporters throw a picket line about the Bureau offices will the fight be won.

Nathan Gould, speaking for the youth, made a stirring speech for the mobilization of the anti-war fighters young and old, in the revolutionary struggle

OVERFLOW MEETING HAILS CONVENTION

Party Spokesmen Expose Roosevelt War Preparations

(Continued from Page 1) directly into the new world war, just as the Wilson administration did in 1916-1917."

Ridiculing the contention of the New Deal and politicians ranging from Henry Stimson to Earl Browder that the coming war will be a "popular" war, Shahtman further stated, "Why do Henry Stimson and Alfred Landon unite with President Roosevelt and Secretary Hull, to say nothing of that illustrious patriot and descendant of patriots, Earl Browder, to defy the unmistakable majority of the American people who want the right to a popular referendum on war?"

"What are they afraid of?" Shahtman asked, "Can it be that they fear the vote of the people?"

"Our party demands democratic expression of popular sentiment in the event of war."

"We're Trotskyites Too!"

Relating her experience in the pitched battles with the auto barons of Michigan, Genora Johnson declared, "Sure, the women of Flint armed themselves in the defense of their husbands' rights to strike for better working conditions. If your husband were being tear-gassed in a factory, you would break the windows down too."

Referring to her recent split with the piddling Thomasite Socialist Party, Genora described her experience with militant workers anxious to learn why she had joined the S.W.P. "The communists say, workers tell me," she said, "that you Johnsons are Trotskyites. What in the hell is a Trotskyite and if you're one we want to be Trotskyites too."

For a "Colorful" Party

Reuben Plasket, in an address enthusiastically received by the overflow audience, spoke of the needs of the Negro race. "Now," he said, "Negroes wander for months back home in Newark searching for apartments with landlords who will accept relief vouchers. And at the same time," he continued, "these poor misled workers say, 'Roosevelt is a good man'—he gives us these relief vouchers."

Referring to the Jersey section of the Communist party which for years has been seeking to penetrate the mass movement of the unemployed, Plasket said, "In the unemployed movement, one cannot see the Stalinists anymore. They hide in such very conservative dress." Declaring for a mass party of Negro and white workers, Plasket stated, "In these next months let us make the Socialist Workers Party a garden of colorful blends."

Real Unionism

Vincent R. Dunne, speaking of the militant Minneapolis labor movement, stated, "Unionization, in order that it be complete, must have a leadership capable of infusing it with revolutionary aims. There is only one kind of really worthwhile trade union policy: A revolutionary, militant action against employers, with no reliance on labor boards, Roosevelt's and their kind, to be supplemented by strong and alert labor delegates."

Glen Trimble, veteran West Coast militant, in speaking of the revolutionary traditions of sea-faring men the world over, said, "The great tragedy is that our seamen are ready for revolution, the situation is revolutionary, but the workers in other parts of the country are not yet fully aware. The revolutionists must bridge the gap." Trimble continued, "Seamen see that the bridge is necessary—that the only way to win against sea-slavery is to win against workers' slavery!"

George Clarke, relating his experience with the militant auto workers of Flint and Detroit, stated, "When I ask workers of Flint why they want to join the S.W.P., they tell me today that they join because they want the revolution and they are confident that the S.W.P. will bring it. They see that the choice today is between socialism and fascism and the workers are ready to fight for freedom from the hated capitalists and their hated system."

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BOSTON AT WORK AGAIN

"Enclosed find \$15.00 for ad for two enclosed subscriptions, vance payment on our bill and "We sold out both last issues, with the increased bundle order. The following are our street sales results: Tuesday—25; Thursday at 5 o'clock—34; Thursday night—10; Friday—30; Saturday—106. The last one was against the Coughlinites.

"Our street sales are going fine and they will continue. We intend to increase our bundle order in the future.

"The Appeal is becoming known far-and-wide as the anti-Fascist, anti-Coughlin, anti-

War paper. Workers in Dorchester, Chelsea, Boston and elsewhere know that the Appeal is the only paper that militantly fights Coughlinism and knows how to do it. The Socialist Workers Party is the only Party that comes out into the streets against the Social Justice rag. Many workers want to know our address and want to know more about our program. In the near future I am sure we'll have workers joining us because of this activity."

—J. T., Boston Appeal director

COUGHLINITES ARE SEEN FOR WHAT THEY ARE

That numerous salesmen for Father Coughlin's Fascist rag, "Social Justice", are hoodlums and ex-convicts was confirmed in a New York Police Court when it was brought out that Coughlinite William Frank of 202 E. 15 Street had served eight months in the New York State Reformatory at Elmira and had behind him a series of criminal arrests.

While selling "Social Justice" on 14th Street and Union Square, traditional radical center, Frank accosted a young girl and called her a "red whore."

Arrested and taken to the police court on Second Avenue and Second Street, it developed that Frank had been previously arrested on charges brought by his stepfather, for raping a minor. Frank had also been previously arrested on charges of burglary and peddling.

The arresting officer related Frank's use of abusive language and added that he had publicly shouted, "Drive out the kikes."

In addition to his version of the story, Frank declared from the witness stand that "We can't sell our christian paper because the reds don't like it and anyway Christians are being persecuted."

When asked by the magistrate whether he believed the arresting officer had persecuted him, Frank rejoined, "LaGuardia is a communist and the police take orders from him."

After severely chastising him, the magistrate deferred sentence until a later date.

ANTI-COUGHLIN WITNESSES GET RUN-AROUND

(Continued from Page 1)

in the stabbing of Samuel Appelbaum, has had charges of disorderly conduct brought against him by seven witnesses.

Four Adjournments

To date the case has been adjourned exactly four times without any sort of a hearing. According to the workers who are witnesses against Migliore the adjournments have been demanded by the District Attorney's office—in order, the District Attorney claims, to make a thorough investigation of such attacks. But the witnesses are getting very skeptical about the good faith of the District Attorney.

Most of the witnesses are employed, and lose pay and working time by appearing as witnesses. They want the case called immediately, because they have the goods on Migliore and are sure of a conviction. But the case is allowed to drag on and on.

Stalinist Hand

The paralyzing hand of Stalinist influence can be seen in this case. Who told the witnesses to rely on the good offices of the District Attorney to fight the fascists? Who per-

g'de for socialist victory.

A Worthwhile Example

Acting as chairman of the mass meeting, James P. Cannon pointed out that the militancy of the New York organization of the party "is on a par with the most militant units of the party nationally. In its recent anti-fascist campaign, it sold out in one week an entire printing of 5,000 anti-Coughlin pamphlets."

The meeting opened with a dramatic demonstration by the Y.P.S.L. color guard and an impressive review of an anti-Fascist Labor Guard contingent, both units standing at attention throughout the meeting. The precaution served as an example of proper protection of working class meetings.

BRITISH LABOR SKATES RAISE WAR CLAMOR

(Continued from Page 1)

In this appeal these craven supporters of Britain's war-mongering rulers provide a shameful example of the kind of propaganda that will be used to bamboozle the workers of Britain into thinking that by going to war they will be really helping the German people, that by bayoneting the guts of their German brothers they will be helping the cause of "reason!"

In Germany the propaganda of Hitler fills the minds of the masses with the threats of British encirclement, the resistance of the British and French to his, Hitler's, attempts to expand the empire of the Reich. The best way to break the hold of the Hitlerite poison will be to show them that the workers of other lands are determined to resist their own war-mongering masters and join hands with the German workers in a common struggle against those who can only rule through war and mass starvation.

Repeating a Crime

But this is last in the minds of the British labor fakers who have lined up solidly in back of their own bosses and will do their best to whip the British working class into the trenches when war breaks out. By thus doing they draw a line of steel between the workers of Germany and Britain, repeating the monstrous crime they committed 25 years ago during the last war.

mits the case to be adjourned time after time so that the witnesses, who are eager to testify against the fascists, are discouraged?

A quick conviction would have nailed the Coughlinite terror campaign, and given the anti-fascist forces a legal proof of their charges against the fascist hoodlums. Instead the Appelbaum case has been handed over to the District Attorney to play with as long as he pleases.

Right Idea

One of the witnesses was very angry after the case had been called off again. He came tearing out of the court room and confronted the Stalinist stooge who has been telling the witnesses to wait, wait, wait. "Here," he said, shouting at the top of his lungs, "Here is what you ought to read." And he whipped Joseph Hansen's exposure of Father Coughlin out of his coat pocket. "Fight the fascists; not sitting around in the court rooms wearing a hole in your pants. Fight these fascist hoodlums with workers' defense guards. These Trotskyites got the right idea." The Stalinist bureaucrat had nothing to say.

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New unpublished source-material in refutation of anti-Bolshevik slanders concerning the 1921 Kronstadt Rebellion. Mimeo, pamphlet, printed cover, 10 cents—7 cents in bundles of 10 or more—15 cents for single copies by mail.

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