

In the Labor Unions

By B. J. WIDICK

The blast of the Navy Department against the CIO this week charging that labor was seriously jeopardizing national defense through its struggle for decent wages and conditions was a deadly warning of days to come.

It was in line with the recent charge of the Chrysler Corp. that the auto workers union was sabotaging production.

Both claims are one hundred per cent frame-ups against the labor movement.

The auto workers through R. J. Thomas, president of the CIO-UAWA, were able to expose the fakery of the Chrysler slanders against labor. Similarly, the CIO was able to prove that the Navy Dept. was really trying to smash union conditions and the labor movement.

On Guard!

Surely, it is obvious that if the big corporations and the American military machine are willing to go in for strike-breaking before war, labor can expect nothing except ruthless suppression during war—unless a terrific struggle doesn't take place against this danger.

The strategy of the bosses and the military machine is quite simple: "National Defense" is only an excuse. In the name of national defense, strikes must be suppressed. Wage cuts accepted, inhuman working conditions permitted. Otherwise the workers are "jeopardizing national defense."

Under this slogan, and by fomenting and utilizing a patriotic feeling, the bosses hope to hogtie the labor movement.

The military machine announced in advance that it will do more than its share to help in a union-busting campaign.

A Lesson from France

How this campaign will culminate in the complete suppression of the labor movement during war, if the bosses have their way, was revealed in another "democracy," France, this week.

All labor is requisitioned through a special registration. He becomes a soldier in the factory, subject to military discipline. He can not quit his job or leave it without official permission.

A worker may not refuse to accept any post to which he is ordered. He must work on holidays, with or without pay, as the government sees fit.

These are just the highlights of the new plan decreed by the government. In practice they mean no shop committee negotiations, no strikes, no sit-downs.

Labor is completely conscripted and all life, in the factory or out, is determined by the military machine. This is what French imperialist apologists still call "democracy."

Would America in event of war be any different? Would labor be guaranteed its "democratic rights"? The attitude of the Navy department gives a clear answer. No! M-Day plans indicate that a course similar to that pursued in France is planned for American labor.

In making its present struggle against the plans of the bosses and the military machine, the CIO must learn soon that a really effective fight can ensue only if it is elevated to a higher plane: a struggle against imperialist war is the only guarantee that labor will not be hogtied in the future.

1939 Bound Volumes of SOCIALIST APPEAL now ready!

52 issues of this year neatly bound together. Have a first-hand survey of the historic events of this year right at your elbow.

(\$2.00—including postage) SPECIAL! 1938 Bound Volume NOW ONLY \$1.00

ORDER NOW FROM: Socialist Appeal 116 UNIVERSITY PLACE New York City, N. Y.

ANNOUNCEMENT ANTI-WAR HIKE—Young Peoples Socialist League, November 12; Alley Pond State Park. Watch for further notice.

Statement of the Ohio S. W. P. On the Bigelow Pension Plan

The Socialist Workers Party endorses the Bigelow Pension Plan which is before the voters of Ohio in the form of an amendment to the Ohio Constitution for a popular referendum on November 7.

In general, this plan is progressive in character, particularly because, unlike the demagogic and crack-brained plans of elements like Dr. Townsend, it is based upon providing for the needy aged through forms of taxation which will bear directly upon those most able to pay, the big property owners and those with large incomes.

It is a plan worthy of support, also, because it is not proposed as an economic and social cure-all,

but simply as a sound reform based on the needs of the most dependent section of the masses and not adding additional burdens upon the wage-earners but upon those whose idle wealth should be put to some productive or socially beneficial use.

Many Weaknesses We recognize certain weaknesses in the plan as now proposed, however, particularly in the method of taxation based on land ownership. A big loop-hole is left for evasion in this form of taxation, first in the fact that the greatest source of taxable wealth does not lie in land values but in corporation and bank surpluses and large incomes; and secondly,

in the fact that taxes based on land valuations over a certain minimum value can be evaded by the simple procedure of taxing agencies, which set the valuations, arbitrarily fixing the valuations below the taxable value.

Further, the exemption of non-citizens from the benefits of the plan, is an unwarranted discrimination against many workers who for valid reasons have not secured citizenship, but whose labor helped to build this country.

Need, and need alone, should be the criterion for who shall receive the benefits.

Comment Principle But these defects are easily remediable, the most important consideration being the general principle of adequate care of the needy which this plan is directed toward, and the method of financing through taxation directed at the rich and not the poor. In this sense, this plan is the most honest and sound one of its type yet proposed, and should set the example for similar proposals in every state in the union.

The Socialist Workers Party calls on its members and sympathizers in Ohio to give all possible aid in forwarding the Bigelow Pension movement and in rallying the forces of organized labor and the wage-earners in general behind this plan.

We further commend the principle involved in the amendment, which is also on the ballot, calling for the democratization of the requirements for initiative and referendum, which if passed will be a valuable aid to labor unions and working-class political parties in destroying the monopoly of big-business over the legislation of the state and enabling the workers to have a more direct voice in the securing of pro-labor legislation.

clear from Gannes' own analysis—would be that at that particular moment they would not be attacking Russia. Their war would still be reactionary, imperialist. For from the viewpoint of the class-conscious workers these governments can conduct only a reactionary war which can have nothing in common with genuine democratic and working class interests and aims.

Pure Hypocrisy How hypocritical therefore is the present Stalinit "support" to the growing movement for Indian liberation! If Stalin were united with Chamberlain in the war, the Communist would be in the forefront of the suppression of the colonial revolt. Their struggle "against imperialism" is obviously motivated exclusively by the fact that Stalin is on the other side of the struggle. That is why they condemn the military enemies of Stalin and Hitler, and defend the Stalin war alliance and "peace" plea.

Gannes makes this crystal clear when, after stating that "both sides" in the present war are responsible for its outbreak, England and France alone are responsible for its continuation.

The Soviet Union (and thereby the Communist Party), he writes, "accuses Anglo-French imperialism of bearing the responsibility for continuing the war. . . . Hitler is exonerated from responsibility for the continuation of the war because he offered 'peace'! What a shameful defense of Hitler! The whole world knows that Hitler sued for 'peace' because he had already achieved his immediate aim, (the conquest of Poland) and also because he wanted to show the German people that he was being forced to fight against his will.

Ready for Any Job Gannes adds that "the Anglo-French warmakers hoped by war to reshuffle the German ruling reactionary cliques in order to bring about another more dependable anti-Soviet set-up." Isn't this a good basis for a united front with Hitler against Chamberlain and the "more dependable (German) anti-Soviet" clique? Tomorrow we may be told more openly that Hitler is fighting a defensive war against the anti-Soviet forces and therefore should be supported by the workers of the world. The unscrupulous henchmen of Stalin are ready to corral the masses for any dirty job assigned to them by their master.

Out of Their Own Mouths

NO JOB IS TOO DIRTY FOR THE STALINIST PARTY

By JOSEPH CARTER

Additional proof of the Stalinist support of Hitler in the present war is supplied by a recent article of Harry Gannes. (Daily Worker, October 20, 1939).

In his zealous defense of the Communist Party's policies of yesterday and today, Gannes succeeds in showing how at each stage his party's course is determined by the reactionary needs of the Kremlin bureaucracy.

Before the outbreak of the present war, the apologist explains, the task was the establishment of a "peace front" of England, France and the Soviet Union against fascist aggression. If war had resulted from this alliance "two factors would then have existed which do not and cannot exist in the present war. First, the alliance would have had a genuine defense program against aggression; and second, 'The whole character of the war by virtue of the action of the Land of Socialism would have changed the character of such a war, limited the objectives of the Anglo-French imperialists and worked against their domination of the world.'"

In other words, if Russia were allied with Anglo-French imperialism in the present war it would be the duty of the working class in all countries, according to Gannes, to support their respective reactionary governments in the war. And therefore if tomorrow the Stalin-Hitler alliance is replaced by a Stalin alliance with the "democracies" the Communist Party will once again become the staunchest supporter of Chamberlain, Daladier, Roosevelt and the pro-democratic warmongers.

In such a war however, would these robber governments cease being imperialist, predatory regimes? Gannes contends that their imperialist aims would be "limited" by the Soviet Union. How? Would they liberate the hundreds of millions of colonial peoples they now oppress? Would England for example, give national independence to the Indian people? Would Roosevelt end his brutal military domination over Puerto Rico? Would Stalin force the British and French armies to bring national freedom to the oppressed peoples of Europe? What poppycock! Look at how Stalin's ally, Hitler, is "liberating" the Polish people!

If Russia were allied to England and France the only limitation on their war aims—as is

in the fact that taxes based on land valuations over a certain minimum value can be evaded by the simple procedure of taxing agencies, which set the valuations, arbitrarily fixing the valuations below the taxable value.

Further, the exemption of non-citizens from the benefits of the plan, is an unwarranted discrimination against many workers who for valid reasons have not secured citizenship, but whose labor helped to build this country.

Need, and need alone, should be the criterion for who shall receive the benefits.

Comment Principle But these defects are easily remediable, the most important consideration being the general principle of adequate care of the needy which this plan is directed toward, and the method of financing through taxation directed at the rich and not the poor. In this sense, this plan is the most honest and sound one of its type yet proposed, and should set the example for similar proposals in every state in the union.

The Socialist Workers Party calls on its members and sympathizers in Ohio to give all possible aid in forwarding the Bigelow Pension movement and in rallying the forces of organized labor and the wage-earners in general behind this plan.

We further commend the principle involved in the amendment, which is also on the ballot, calling for the democratization of the requirements for initiative and referendum, which if passed will be a valuable aid to labor unions and working-class political parties in destroying the monopoly of big-business over the legislation of the state and enabling the workers to have a more direct voice in the securing of pro-labor legislation.

clear from Gannes' own analysis—would be that at that particular moment they would not be attacking Russia. Their war would still be reactionary, imperialist. For from the viewpoint of the class-conscious workers these governments can conduct only a reactionary war which can have nothing in common with genuine democratic and working class interests and aims.

Pure Hypocrisy How hypocritical therefore is the present Stalinit "support" to the growing movement for Indian liberation! If Stalin were united with Chamberlain in the war, the Communist would be in the forefront of the suppression of the colonial revolt. Their struggle "against imperialism" is obviously motivated exclusively by the fact that Stalin is on the other side of the struggle. That is why they condemn the military enemies of Stalin and Hitler, and defend the Stalin war alliance and "peace" plea.

Gannes makes this crystal clear when, after stating that "both sides" in the present war are responsible for its outbreak, England and France alone are responsible for its continuation.

The Soviet Union (and thereby the Communist Party), he writes, "accuses Anglo-French imperialism of bearing the responsibility for continuing the war. . . . Hitler is exonerated from responsibility for the continuation of the war because he offered 'peace'! What a shameful defense of Hitler! The whole world knows that Hitler sued for 'peace' because he had already achieved his immediate aim, (the conquest of Poland) and also because he wanted to show the German people that he was being forced to fight against his will.

Ready for Any Job Gannes adds that "the Anglo-French warmakers hoped by war to reshuffle the German ruling reactionary cliques in order to bring about another more dependable anti-Soviet set-up." Isn't this a good basis for a united front with Hitler against Chamberlain and the "more dependable (German) anti-Soviet" clique? Tomorrow we may be told more openly that Hitler is fighting a defensive war against the anti-Soviet forces and therefore should be supported by the workers of the world. The unscrupulous henchmen of Stalin are ready to corral the masses for any dirty job assigned to them by their master.

LONGSHOREMEN HALT COASTAL SHIPPING

(Continued from Page 1)

Joe Ryan, president of the longshoremen, has already been offering "compromises." The employers, it appears, have turned them down on the theory that they will get a good deal more—and the union a good deal less—if the strike drags on for a while. Ryan called the strike "unfortunate" and is offering to take half of the wage increase originally asked, according to reports.

For some reason, unexplained by union officials, strike action against the United Fruit Line is being limited to the company's small coastwise ships and will not affect Caribbean service. Nor will the strike involve services of Moore & McCormack which operates to South America as well as Scandinavian countries.

Ryan Motives Unclear With the Maritime Labor Board rushing its men to New York to buttress the mediators of the State Labor Board, it is not yet clear how Ryan will meet the seamy compromise proposals that will fly thick and fast.

A strange aspect of the strike is the statement even before the men quit work to the effect that "the strike might destroy the industry." Just why the union leader should be placing the onus of responsibility on the workers for supposed "damage" to the industry is not clear from press reports.

As the strike stands today, the longshoremen can put the operators behind the well-known eight-ball provided they vigorously prosecute their action. Shipping is experiencing a little boom as a result of the upturn of industry and the war in Europe. The operators can hardly afford to have their ships tied up for any length of time.

WAR BULLETIN

According to the French Ministry of Information, the War Office has mobilized 100,000 pigeons for immediate transport to the Maginot Line.

Did they volunteer or were they drafted? An attractive poster has been prepared to advertise the column in the Socialist Appeal by J. R. Johnson on "The Negro Question". The use of these posters on newsstands and at meetings will help to increase the sale of the Socialist Appeal.

Let the People Vote on War!

Labor and The Second World War

By J. R. Johnson

"Murder-Day"

The people, particularly the workers, need to be warned! Roosevelt talks about democracy but he is preparing, as soon as war breaks out, to fasten an iron dictatorship upon the workers of this country. The plans for it are called M-Day. The M stands for mobilization, and mobilization this time includes not only soldiers but every worker in town and country. The draft registration blanks are ready, lists of draft boards are on file, the draft bill has been written, a skeleton draft administration is already in operation. This is the way that Roosevelt strives to keep America out of war.

Moreover, the M-Day plan provides for a dozen different ways of crushing the labor movement and prohibiting strikes. Only labor unions that accept the labor conditions imposed by the war dictatorship will be tolerated. The draft law makes it possible to break a strike by drafting into the trenches the strike leaders or, better, all the militant workers involved. Or they can be drafted into the army and made to work in the factory under martial law. Or workers in uniform can be called from the training camps to act as scabs.

Already compiled is a list of labor and social legislation to be abolished by the President's decree. Minimum wage and hour laws will be scrapped. Laws limiting child and woman labor will be scrapped. Trade union contracts will be subject to cancellation—by Roosevelt's board. The N.L.R.B. will give way to Roosevelt's war board. A tight censorship of the press and radio will be imposed, and a propaganda department for the dissemination of lies set up.

The first fatality in a war for "democracy" is democracy. Franklin Roosevelt, Tool of American Capital

And for whose benefit? Let the facts speak. On August 9, 1939, well in advance of the beginning of the war in Europe, Roosevelt appointed the members of the war board that will take over America and exercise dictatorial power upon America's entry.

Here are the men who will rule the country: E. R. Stettinius, Jr., chairman of the U. S. Steel Corporation; Walter S. Gifford, president of American Telephone and Telegraph Company; J. L. Pratt, director of General Motors Corporation; General R. E. Wood, head of Sear, Roebuck; Karl T. Compton, president of Massachusetts Institute of Technology; Harold G. Moulton, head of Brookings Institute.

U. S. Steel, which during the last war made millions of dollars in war profits, is controlled by J. P. Morgan and Company. American Tel and Tel is another subsidiary of J. P. Morgan. General Motors is controlled by the duPont interests, and these are a sector of the financial empire of J. P. Morgan. The Massachusetts Institute of Technology is a Morgan-subsidized university. Of the whole board only Sears, Roebuck, run by another of the Sixty Families who own America, and Brookings Institute, the official statistician for all of them, are outside the Morgan colossus.

The workers will be delivered bound and gagged to their most merciless exploiters and notorious enemies. Roosevelt however had acted too brazenly. Even some of his New Deal supporters protested against this early exposure of the fact that the war is an imperialist war run for and by the imperialists. Roosevelt temporarily dismissed the board. But he will bring them or their friends back again, with perhaps a labor "leader" or two to placate public opinion. The next time the censorship and the F.B.I. will see to it that there is no opposition. And all this has been prepared and polished and made ready for immediate use by Franklin Roosevelt, who for years has passed himself off as a friend of the people.

What Is This "Democracy"?

One indisputable truth emerges. If the people were anxious to go to war for "democracy," then war preparations, this many-sided, devious, incessant propaganda, this iron cage of M-Day, would not be necessary. Why is it that the people have to be dragged into fighting for "democracy"? Simply because the great masses of the people do not see anything in "democracy" to fight for.

There are today in America some ten to twelve million unemployed, who with their dependents constitute in all some twenty-five to thirty million people, a fifth of the population of the richest country in the world. Capitalist "democracy" condemns them to starvation.

Those that do get work are remorselessly speeded-up. If we set the 1932 output per man-hour in the manufacturing industries of the country as 100, we find that in 1938 it was 115. But the 1936 labor cost per unit, on the same basis, was only 106. Speed-up for the workers plus more profits for the capitalists equals still greater concentration of wealth into the hands of the few.

The percentage of the wages paid in 1937 was 82.1 of those paid in 1929. But the percentage of dividends was 83.8, and of interest 89.5. Always it works out to still greater wealth in the hands of still fewer people.

And goods for use? Industrial production, for the first five months of each year, was 122 in 1929, 67 in 1932, 119 in 1937, 79 in 1938. This is capitalist "democracy," with millions never knowing where they are from one day to another. The production index has crawled slowly upward since 1938, but Roosevelt knows it will never in peace time reach the 1929 level again, though every year sees an in-

WORKERS' FORUM

AN EXCELLENT ANSWER TO THE FASCISTS

Dear friend: A friend brought me the current copy of Coughlin's rag featuring a lying attack on the Trotskyists. Of this tirade I retain only one feature: the American fascists turn their hate on the SWP as their authentic, and dangerous class enemy. The Stalinists for them are no longer a menace.

There is only one possible answer to this. Enclosed find \$5.00 for a year's subscription to the New Internationalist and to the Appeal. Credit the "reverend father" with an assist.

Revolutionary greetings KARL C.

A WELL-TAKEN SUGGESTION

Dear Comrade: The undersigned committee was recently selected by our Branch Executive Committee to confer with your office and the National Center on the question of developing a "Workers' Open Forum" column or section, in the Socialist Appeal.

We think that our paper needs such a column or department. We think that a persistent and continuous effort should be made by our editorial staff to develop this workers' forum. A proper heading should continuously appear over this column and preferably in the same part of the paper in each issue. This in order that workers, who as yet have so little interest in long theoretical articles, may easily find this column. As new worker readers note the various contributions to the open forum they will gradually develop an interest in other matters appearing in the Appeal.

We also feel that this workers' forum department will gradually become a valuable medium for our left wing in the trade unions as a clearing house for progressive ideas which cannot find their way into the trade union journals due to the bureaucratic censorship.

We recommend that this department, together with proper heading, appear regularly in the Appeal. That it appear, as far as possible, in the same part of the paper. That an editor's note appear regularly underneath the heading of this column inviting the workers to write articles for this column, and telling them that here is a space set aside for them in their daily experiences at their place of work, on the streets, or in their unions.

The editor's note underneath the heading can be changed from time to time to keep in step with new developments and new experiences in connection with this department. The committee is conscious of the fact that a workers' forum department cannot be developed overnight in our paper with its small circulation. The idea is to keep relentlessly at it and we feel that a department in our paper can be built up which will not only be attractive for workers to read but also to write for.

Comradely yours, C. R. HEDLUND OSCAR COOVER

Minneapolis. (The staff of the Appeal is in complete agreement with the Minneapolis comrades. We therefore ask all readers to contribute letters to the Workers Forum — their experiences in the shops, their criticisms, their suggestions, etc.—Ed.)

IN CRITICISM OF THE APPEAL Dear comrade editor: I am a worker in a Detroit automobile plant. I am also a comrade (member of the SWP). In Detroit, three or four of us comrades go home to house every

S.S.: America will get into the imperialist war pretty soon. We haven't much time to become known as the anti-war party. The paper is important for this, and every issue should hit a unionist who gets it right between the eyes—we're anti-war, proletarianists, we're for militancy. We've got to boost our circulation way up. We want to increase our bundle order if possible. It all depends on all of us.

Comradely, G. L. Detroit.

Note to Readers in Minneapolis:

The regular Sunday Forum of the S.W.P. meets at 3: p. m. at 919 Marquette.

increase in the population, with still more people demanding work and food and shelter. At intervals between his war-mongering, he raises his voice to the empty air: "We must get the idle men and idle capital together." But God has said no word, and as nobody else knows how to do this in peace, Roosevelt prepares to go to war.

The Negro and "Democracy"

The great warriors in defense of "democracy" raise their voices in horror at Hitler's treatment of the Jews. Protest is stifled and cynicism itself struck dumb at the sound of such words from such mouths. For three hundred years the rulers of America have persecuted the Negroes. Slavery was abolished only when it had become a drag on capitalist production. And since 1863, the year of manumission, American capitalism has Jim-Crowed and lynched Negroes, has deprived them of opportunities to raise themselves from debasement, and, worst of all, has succeeded in poisoning the minds of their brother workers against them, in order to keep the working class divided and therefore weak. If American "democracy" had nothing to its discredit but its treatment of the Negro, that would still be sufficient to blast its pretensions as a defender of civilization.

(Continued in Next Issue)