

THE CHRYSLER SETTLEMENT

What the Union Asked And What They Got In 54-Day "Lockout"

By GEORGE CLARKE

The agreement signed by the Chrysler Corporation and the United Automobile Workers (CIO) ending the 54-day "lockout" represents a major development for the American labor movement.

The Chrysler Corporation entertained some extravagant illusions regarding the union. The auto barons believed—they hoped—that the union had weakened and disintegrated by years of internal struggle and unemployment.

The corporation was prepared to lose millions in profits at the peak of the season if the backbone of the union could be broken. The infamous Mohawk Valley formula was trotted out of the dusty files.

Business and professional men were circled by mail with a wad of lies about the alleged crimes of the union. Chrysler dealers were squeezed into a denunciation of the UAW.

The corporation granted a general three cents an hour wage increase. The union had demanded a 10 per cent wage increase.

COMPANY PLANS BREAK ON UNION ROCK

And yet—all of Chrysler's plans went wrong. The union remained solid as a rock. Despite five weeks of privation, denied unemployment insurance by a Chrysler stooge committee, denied relief except in the most miserly allotments, the ranks of the Chrysler workers were unbreakable.

ANNOUNCEMENTS

COUPLE desires furnished room in Bronx with comrades. Write care of S. Stanley, 116 University Place, N.Y.C.

DON'T GO WHACKY! This Saturday night, December 16. Go Happy! at the Bronx Branch's Game, Party and Surreal Dance. Headquarters: 1324 Wilkins Ave. (Freeman St. Station—29 minutes from Union Square.)

YPSL XMAS SOCIAL—916 9th Ave., at 59th St. Meet you under the mistletoe at the greatest affair yet. Dancing, refreshments, entertainment. Admission, 25 cents. Auspices, New York Division YPSL.

PRE-XMAS SOCIAL of the Joe Hill Unit of the YPSL. Games, Dancing, Community Sing, Entertainment. Washington Heights Youth Center, 4374 Broadway (187 St.) 8:30 p.m., Saturday, Dec. 16.

SCENES OF PARTY LIFE in movies: May Day, Coughlin Union Sq. stabbing, YPSL hike, etc. Free refreshments, original games, dancing in private ballroom. Sat. Dec. 16, at 1181 East 49th St., Brooklyn. (I.R.T. to Flatbush Ave., Boro Park Branch.)

UNSER WORT with the declaration of the I.K.D. on war is on the press; order it now.

WE NEED MONEY to pay the printer! Send in your advance orders for the German pamphlet by H. David: The New World War and the International Labor Movement. This extensive 60-page pamphlet is an excellent study of the problems and the tasks confronting us today. 20 cents a copy. Write to: Box 137, Sta. D, N.Y.C.

WANTED: apartment to share with or without furniture, for couple. See S. Stanley, care of Socialist Appeal.

workers jammed Cadillac Square when it appeared the corporation would take aggressive strike-breaking steps.

The frontal attack of the auto barons was smashed decisively by the Chrysler workers. Unanswerable proof was given in this battle that the lesson of unionism has been burned so deeply into former "hill-billies" and "farmers" that only a veritable civil war can bring a return to the open shop days.

The defeat of Chrysler plans is a great positive achievement. The agreement resulting from the struggle, on the other hand, cannot be viewed in such unqualified terms.

WHAT THE UNION ACTUALLY GOT

What did the union get? How close did the union approach these demands after 54 days of the lockout? When considering the settlement it must be borne in mind that a union very rarely gets everything it asks for in a strike.

The corporation granted a general three cents an hour wage increase. The union had demanded a 10 per cent wage increase. Only a few classifications received this increase.

The corporation granted sole collective bargaining to the UAW. The union asked for the "sole shop" but had already won "sole collective bargaining" by the huge majority vote it polled in the NLR election before the lockout.

The corporation conceded an improved grievance procedure whereby a committee of two from the management and two from the union are to render decisions on grievances within 30 days from the time they are submitted. The union asked for a voice in setting production standards. The company rejected this demand and returned the procedure described above which union leaders claim rectify previous abuses.

The new agreement abolishes the "no-strike" clause. Under its terms a strike may be called five days after the union has complied with all the steps of the grievance procedure. This is a decided advantage from a propaganda point of view. In the past the corporation could charge the union with "irresponsibility" and violation of the agreement when the company made a strike inescapable.

NO GAINS ON SENIORITY ISSUE

The union did not get the six weeks seniority clause. New workers, mostly young militant elements, have little opportunity to establish the six months seniority required by the agreement as it stands now.

The union did not get the "war seniority" provision. It did not get the vacation with pay. This gain had been won by smaller and weaker local unions, in the Bohn Aluminum and Packard plants, through a two and one-half per cent yearly bonus.

To summarize: the union gained some substantial improvements in bargaining procedure and some slight concessions in wages. And that's all.

LEADERS FRIGHTENED BY FDR PRESSURE

It is clear from a comparison of the terms of the settlement with the original demands that Philip Murray, Frankenstein and Thomas traded too much of the workers' demands. The leadership of the union was frightened by the pressure of the War Deal administration. Murray rushed into Detroit to conclude any kind of settlement quickly so long as only a few concessions could be gained to justify it in the workers' eyes.

Why, then, did the workers vote in their local unions with such unanimity for the acceptance of the agreement? It is not

FDR Forgets the 'Forgotten Man'

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"seem to have had to apply for relief." However, because of drastic intake policies imposed on public agencies by financial stringency, many of them are ruled ineligible. Those who have been accepted for relief sink into the relief, population which for the third successive month has existed on allowances 35% below minimum subsistence budgets.

Family society and settlement workers report that the WPA layoff has added to a relief situation "already shocking." "There is suffering. There is lack of food. There is much distress and anxiety. So great is the overcrowding of the relief offices that long waits are inevitable. The people feel their utter helplessness and endure with unblinking patience. They can see no way out."

DENVER, Colo.—Some 98% of those laid off under the eighteen-months requirement have been re-certified for WPA, but very few have been reinstated and, because of the shortage of funds, only about 40% have been accepted for relief. "What is happening to the other 60% no one seems to know." Funds for general relief are so limited that grants amount to only 40% of minimum budget requirements. Unless more funds are found "there will be serious suffering during the winter months."

No Relief At All HOUSTON, Texas—WPA layoffs occurred against a background of no general public as-

sistance for employable cases. The men who came under the eighteen-month clause at first took the layoff as a vacation "but had a rude awakening when they found that reinstatement was neither prompt nor certain." Those who applied for relief got a month's issue of surplus commodities. "It seems unlikely that more than 10% of the layoffs can do anything but wait for doubtful WPA reinstatement. How do they live? You tell me."

KANSAS CITY, Mo.—WPA layoffs in August numbered about 2,500; since January there has been a continuous reduction totaling about 7,000. The situation is complicated by an August 1 ruling of the state relief office requiring local offices to eliminate all families with any employable member. This ruling has served to bar WPA layoffs from relief and has created "the most depressing and acute situation since the onset of the depression."

A Double Purge ST. LOUIS, Mo.—A "purge" of all relief families with one employable member was coincident with the WPA layoff. The WPA layoff served to make more so a situation already acute. "It is

hard to estimate the extent of suffering, but there are many authenticated instances of extreme privation. Poverty is not new to these people and they are 'getting by' as they have in other crises, appealing to churches, settlement houses, schools, even to the police, picking up food (polite for 'scavenging') where they can find it. The fact that they are inarticulate and make no forceful protest blurs the acuteness of the problem and makes it easy for the public to believe that 'everything is all right.'

ST. PAUL, Minn.—Following the midsummer announcements of impending layoffs there were strikes on practically every project in the city and county. The strikers were orderly, "but seemed to lack leadership and to be confused as to their objectives."

Public agencies have had a "sizeable increase in applications. Intake policies have been tightened and acceptance is reluctant. Relief funds are running low. There's a long cold winter ahead and the fuel bins are empty."

Toledo Stops Relief TOLEDO, Ohio—WPA policies have aggravated an already seri-

ous relief situation. When about 2,000 were laid off WPA, relief rolls immediately increased by about 1,000, but not all can be attributed to WPA. What became of the other WPA people is not known.

The relief crisis became acute after a proposed special tax levy for relief purposes was voted down. On September 22 the city, unable to meet its share of relief expenditure, discontinued relief. "No solution is in sight."

The Nation's Capital WASHINGTON, D. C.—The layoffs "were accepted quietly," the workers confident that at the end of 30 days they "would go right back to work." Their first jolt came when they found that "it wasn't like that"; their second when they found how long they must wait before they could be considered for relief. To staff limitations in the public department are attributed the large number of applicants awaiting interview and investigation. Probably a third of them are from WPA. "An increasing number of evictions would indicate that there is actual suffering."

Increased bundle orders and increased subscriptions—these are two necessities which will guarantee an early return to the twice-weekly.

The following branches came through with subscriptions last week:

Table listing subscription numbers for various branches: FLINT 7, New York City 4, Lynn 3, St. Paul 2, Boston 2, Chicago 2, Youngstown 2, San Francisco 1, Toledo 1, Waterbury 1, Los Angeles 1, Baltimore 1, Washington, D. C. 1, Foreign 1, Total 29.

The sincere effort of the Flint branch is the first worthy response to the changed situation of the Appeal. No sooner had we informed the branches of the necessity to temporarily retreat than this splendid response came through. We are sure that every single branch of the country will make similar efforts so that our return from the semi-weekly will be of the shortest possible duration.

TROTSKY RAPS PRESS LIES ON DIES QUERY

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"Leon Trotsky, Mexico City. "Dies Committee of the United States House of Representatives invites you to appear as witness before it in the city of Austin, Texas. City designated with a view to your personal convenience. . . . The Committee desires to have a complete record of the history of Stalinism and invites you to answer questions which can be submitted to you in advance if you so desire. Your name has been mentioned frequently by such witnesses as Browder and Foster. This Committee will accord you opportunity to answer their charges. . . ."

"J. B. Matthews, Chief Investigator, Special Committee on Un-American Activities." Independently of the political tendency of the Chairman of this Committee, I could not find it permissible to avoid appearing as a witness in a public investigation. My answer was: "I accept your invitation as a political duty. . . ."

Exposes Press Lies It was a matter thus of my testimony about the "history of Stalinism" but in no case about the inner life of the Latin-American countries. I have never had and I don't have a single document concerning the activities of the Latin-American Communists or the oil question, and I could in no way present anything on this before the Committee. None of its representatives have visited me in Mexico. I have never had and I don't have any connection with the unmasking of the real or pretended plans of the Latin-American Communists.

If I should actually have to appear as a witness before the Dies Committee of the House of Representatives it would be upon the questions specified in the above-quoted telegram bearing the signature of Mr. Matthews. All the rest represents, as I have said, the product of a fabrication. Coyoacan, D.F. L. Trotsky December 7, 1939

THE NEW STRATEGY OF THE BOSSES

What then was the struggle about? That was precisely the question the corporation was attempting to get the workers to ask. The same strategy was used in the General Motors strike early last summer. The workers were out on strike for several weeks. They got only a few minor concessions in the agreement—and for that matter the original demands did not represent the basic improvements required by the workers.

JOBLESS FORCE RELIEF IN CLEVELAND

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After holding all sorts of caucuses among themselves, and confabs with the unemployed delegate, the president of the Council finally called the session to order and publicly requested the unemployed to leave their banners outside.

Art Preis Speaks Art Preis, representative of the Federal Workers' Union, then took the floor in spite of the attempts of the council chairman to rap him down, and stated that the banners would be left outside only under compulsion and under protest. The session finally got under way after the picketers removed the banners from the council chambers under heavy police escort.

The restoration of full relief in Cleveland, including relief for the 14,000 single men and women and childless couples who had been entirely cut off, is a real victory for the workers of Cleveland and real testimony to the effectiveness of mass action.

Another Crisis Coming Following the adjournment of the Council session, a mass meet-

The rank and file must begin.

UNIONS FIGHT FBI FRAMEUP

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analyze the testimony, the evidence; they didn't argue about which of the 25 WPA strikers on trial were innocent or guilty and of what specific acts they were innocent or guilty. No, according to the stories the jurors themselves tell, they sat around in an amiable mood, discussing which defendant put up a "clever" defense, who told "the best story". For as far as that jury was concerned, the defendants were guilty even before the trial got under way—before the jurors arrived in Minneapolis.

TOLEDO UNEMPLOYED FACE EVICTIONS

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are thus deprived of even this luxury. The Blade buries all stories on the relief crisis in the back pages of the paper. Toledoans have to read out of town papers to get the facts on the situation. Every session of the city council has developed into an attempt to see who can shift responsibility furthest. The county is blamed, or the state, or the Federal government—anything except to feed the unemployed.

There is a dangerous tendency among Toledo's trade union leaders to table or bury in committee resolutions proposing mass action against starvation. The union committees which have attended city council sessions have been ready to be satisfied with the city fathers' cries of no money.

NEW YEAR'S REVEL Dance and Entertainment AT IRVING PLAZA Irving Plaza & 15th Street New York, N. Y. Sat., Dec. 30, 1939 Beginning at 8:30 P.M. until the wee hours. Adm: 49c At Door: 65c Auspices: SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY—LOCAL NEW YORK

XMAS EVE PARTY UPPER WEST SIDE HEADQUARTERS 919 9th Avenue, New York, N.Y. SUNDAY, DEC 24, 1939 8:30 P.M. at DANCING GAMES Admission: 25c Auspices: Upper West Side Branch Local New York

BIG BARGAINS! BOOKS PAMPHLETS in bundles of 3 or more New Price List Out Send for your copy SPECIAL OFFER LIVING THOUGHTS OF MARX \$1.00 A new 200-page condensation of Karl Marx's CAPITAL, Vol. I with a brilliant introduction by Leon Trotsky, dealing in a large measure with the American scene. A Longman's, Green & Co. publication. FASCISM AND BIG BUSINESS (paper cover) \$1.00 A detailed exposition of fascism, its coming to power and the forces that make it possible. 300-pages, by Daniel Guerin. In Combination Single combination (1 of each) \$1.25 Combination of 3 (3 of each) 3.50 Combination of 5 (5 of each) 6.00 Pioneer Publishers 116 UNIVERSITY PLACE NEW YORK, N. Y.



"The Flint branch regrets very deeply the necessity of returning to the weekly Appeal. However, regrets will not remedy the situation, and we believe we can alleviate this situation only by following up the shock of the return to the once-a-week Appeal with a redoubled campaign for subscriptions.

"Our reply to all those who point a finger and say 'I told you so' is the enclosed neat little package of seven subs. I hope all branches give similar fighting responses to our press needs. "Let it be recorded that our press has suffered a temporary set-back, followed by doubled and tripled efforts of a determined membership, which will quickly lead back to the publication of a twice-weekly Appeal."

—Jules Geller, Flint, Mich. We have sent a letter to each literature agent in the country explaining the necessity for every branch to increase the bundle order of the weekly Appeal, and likewise to organize a holiday subscription campaign based on the special gift combinations. The gift combinations are advertised in this week's Appeal. This offer will last from today until December 31, which gives all branches plenty of time to take advantage of this opportunity to increase subscriptions.

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Special X-mas and New Year Gift Offer! May we suggest that one of the following offers will make an ideal gift for your friends and comrades during the holiday season. These special offers hold good until DECEMBER 31: (1) One year of the SOCIALIST APPEAL and NEW INTERNATIONAL. \$3.00 (reg. price \$4.00) (2) One year of the SOCIALIST APPEAL and bound volumes of the SOCIALIST APPEAL for 1938 and first 6 months of 1939. \$4.00 (reg. price \$5.50) (3) Two bound volumes of the SOCIALIST APPEAL covering 1938 and the first 6 months of 1939. \$2.00 (reg. price \$3.50) (4) One year of the NEW INTERNATIONAL and a 1938 bound volume of the NEW INTERNATIONAL. \$3.50 (reg. price \$5.00) Send all orders and payments to: SOCIALIST APPEAL 116 UNIVERSITY PLACE NEW YORK, N. Y.

Modern Bookshop 27 UNIVERSITY PLACE NEW YORK, N. Y. Telephone GRamercy 3-0917 Special Combination Offers 1. TROTSKY' RUSSIAN REVOLUTION \$2.95 or IN STALIN'S SECRET SERVICE by Krivitsky 3.00 or VAMPIRE ECONOMY by Reimann 3.00 in combination with LIVING THOUGHTS OF MARX by Trotsky 1.00 Both for \$3.20 2. DAYS OF OUR YEARS by Pierre Van Paasen \$3.50 or ENDING OF HEREDITARY AMERICAN FORTUNES by Gustavus Myers 3.50 with LIVING THOUGHTS OF MARX 1.00 Both for \$3.60 3. STALIN by Souvarine \$3.75 with LIVING THOUGHTS 1.00 Both for \$3.80 Special Sale of New and Used Books, 29c, 49c, 69c, 89c. Visit our CIRCULATING LIBRARY Latest fiction and non-fiction 10c for first 3 days No deposit