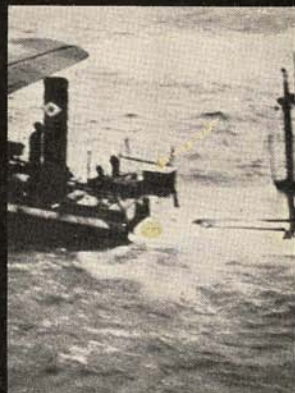


COMMUNISTS ON THE WATERFRONT



By HERB TANK

ILLUSTRATED BY JIM FURNBULL



COMMUNISTS on the WATERFRONT

The story of the Communists
on the waterfronts of America

Who they are . . .

What they did . . .

What they believe . . .

By HERB TANK

With illustrations by
JIM TURNBULL

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ABOUT THE AUTHOR

Herb Tank, the author of this pamphlet, is a member of the Communist Party and also of the National Maritime Union, C.I.O. During the war, he was one of the thousands of American merchant seamen who "kept 'em sailing" to provide the men and munitions which helped defeat fascist Germany and Japan. He is a leader in the educational activities of the Seaman's Branch of the Communist Party in New York, and is at present working on a number of screen scripts adapted for trade union educational purposes.

TO ALL THE
MARITIME WORKERS OF AMERICA
WHO ARE FIGHTING
FOR A DECENT FUTURE
THE SEAMEN COMMUNISTS
DEDICATE THIS BOOK

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I. A SPECTRE HAUNTS THE WATERFRONT

A SPECTRE IS HAUNTING THE WATERFRONT . . . THE SPECTRE OF COMMUNISM. The shipowners' empire is united against the "menace."

When did a seaman ever fight for better conditions that the shipowners' and their stooges didn't tag him for a Red?

When did a seaman ever fight for democracy in his union that the officials in power didn't begin yelling "Commie"?

When did seamen ever strike for a decent living that the shipowners' empire didn't scream that the Communists were behind the strike?

Fact?

And the fact means that the shipowners recognize Communists as a real influence among seamen.

And the fact means that it is time for the seamen Communists to openly declare themselves. It is time for the Communists on the waterfront to once again publish their aims and ideas for all seamen to read. It is time to bury forever the shipowners' smear of "SPECTRES" and "MEN-ACES," of "SUBVERSIVE ACTIVITIES" and "UN-AMERICANISM."

This is the story of Communists on the waterfront. This is what happened. This is what Communists believe and what they fight for.

THIS IS WHAT HAPPENED—MARCH 4, 1885:

FLASHBACK No. 1

SEAMEN'S WAGES CUT TO TWENTY FIVE DOLLARS A MONTH!

The news swept the Frisco waterfront. Angry seamen talked among themselves. How could you live on that kind of money? But some ships were able to get crews. Some guys had agreed to work for that kind of money.

The seamen organized into groups to go to the ships. From down on the docks they argued with the men aboard the ships. They persuaded some to walk off. They compelled the others.



But the seamen had no organization; no union to carry on organized struggle against the shipowners. All they had was guts enough to stand up like men and and fight!

The next day a guy by the name of Danielwicz* came on the scene. He had just come back from labor struggles on the Sandwich Islands. Danielwicz was a Communist; a member of the First International Workingmen's Association which had been founded by Karl Marx. "Organize!" he told the seamen. Form a union. Join hands with the other workers' organizations in Frisco.

A meeting was organized. About four hundred seamen stood around on the Folsom Street dock. The night was pitch dark. One by one the speakers climbed up on the huge piles of lumber laying on the dock. "Organize!" they cried. "Organize and fight. The shipowners can be beaten!"

Four of the speakers were Communists, members of the First International.

The seamen acted quickly.

That pitch-dark night on a dock in Frisco the seamen accepted the leadership of the Communists. The Coast Seamen's Union, later to become the Sailors' Union of the Pacific, was organized.

* Sources: *The Sailors Union of the Pacific*, by Paul S. Taylor, Ph.D. The Ronald Press Company, New York, 1923.

II. CHANGE THE WORLD!

Every seaman has opinions about the world he lives in. These opinions make for hot discussion in the messroom. These opinions are his philosophy. Generally he calls them just common sense.

Communist seamen have opinions about the world, too. Pretty strong opinions. Any sailor who has ever been in a messroom session with a Communist knows that.

What is so different, or unusual, or "dangerous" about the opinions of Communist seamen?

Communist seamen believe that their opinions or knowledge of the way things are should help them *change* that situation.

Take a ship that feeds lousy. There may be a lot of opinions or excuses of why she feeds lousy. The only opinion that's worth a damn is the one that leads to *action*, the opinion that *changes* a bad-feeding ship into a good feeder.

Marx once said that philosophers have been having opinions about the world for a long time; the problem is to change it.

Shipowners don't care what seamen think about ships and foc'sles and the food they eat. But if the thinking they do leads to changing the way things are then the shipowner gets worried. That kind of thinking is "dangerous" thinking. It leads to action. That kind of thinking is Communist thinking.

Communists, then, believe that their ideas about the world should help to change the world.

WHERE DO COMMUNISTS GET THEIR OPINIONS?

Every now and then, especially when times get tough, some character sits down and figures out what's wrong with the world. Then he writes a book. Now all the world has to do is follow this guy's advice and presto; no more wars, no more unemployment, and every ship a floating paradise for the seamen.

Books like that have been written for a long time. They haven't improved conditions. Maybe because shipowners don't read them. Marx called books and schemes of that type Utopian. Nowadays when a seaman dreams up some cure-all scheme in a messroom discussion he is called utopian too.

Didn't Marx do just that? Dream up an idea called Communism that was supposed to solve about everything from depressions to hungry stewards? Isn't that where Communists get their opinions? Don't seamen Communists go around on ships preaching the message of Marx?

Well let's see what Marx thought he was doing.

"The theoretical conclusions of the Communists" said Marx, "are in no way based on ideas or principles that have been invented, or discovered by this or that would-be universal reformer."

Where *do* they come from, then?

The ideas of Communists "merely express, in general terms, actual relations springing from an existing class struggle, from a historical movement going on under our very eyes."

Which means simply that Communists get their ideas and opinions from experience, from the facts of history, and from the world around them. The opinions of Communists are not a nice little wrapped-up package of theories guaranteed to cure anything. As history moves along, as the labor movement develops, as seamen struggle and learn from their struggles, Communist seamen constantly develop

their ideas and apply them to the new situations on the basis of the new facts that have come to light.

THIS IS WHAT HAPPENED—ONE YEAR LATER:

FLASHBACK No. 2

A WAVE OF UNIONISM SWEEPED THE FRISCO WATERFRONT!

It was March, 1886. Coast sailors were organized. Firemen aboard the steamers were organized. Steamships were just beginning to compete with sailing vessels in those days. The steamship cooks and waiters formed a union. Only the steamship sailors had not gotten together to fight for better hours, conditions and wages.

The Communists in San Francisco were urging all maritime workers to organize. One of the most active Communists in Frisco was Burnette Haskell. Haskell was an excellent speaker and an experienced labor organizer. He had been active in organizing both the Coast Sailors Union and the cooks and waiters' union.

In May, Haskell began working among the still unorganized steamship sailors. The steamship sailors had the worst conditions in the industry. Long hours were their main beef. The sailors began to discuss the question of organizing a union in order to enforce their demand for shorter hours. Haskell's energy and enthusiasm started the ball rolling. The steamship sailors became more militant.

A meeting was held on the Broadway Dock. "Steamship sailors, organize!" was the slogan—and they did. The Steamship Sailors Protective Union of the Pacific Coast was formed right then and there.

The shipowners had already tasted the aroused militancy of organized seamen. They were not anxious to engage them in open struggle. The owners immediately sent representatives to the union. The demands of the steamship sailors were met.

III. NAVIGATION AND KARL MARX

Navigation is a science. A ship's course is not determined by religious beliefs, race worship, personal inclinations or utopian dreams. A ship's course is determined by the navigator's scientific knowledge of nature. His scientific knowledge enables him to master nature and take his ship safely into port.

At this point the Second Mate comes in; the navigating officer, himself.

"Is navigation," I ask, "a science?"

"Hell," he says. "It ain't superstition."

"How did it come about?"

"Necessity. When people began monkeying around on water, transporting stuff, they couldn't just rely on luck to get them where they wanted to go."

"So what happens? They need a science of navigation, and bingo! they got one?"

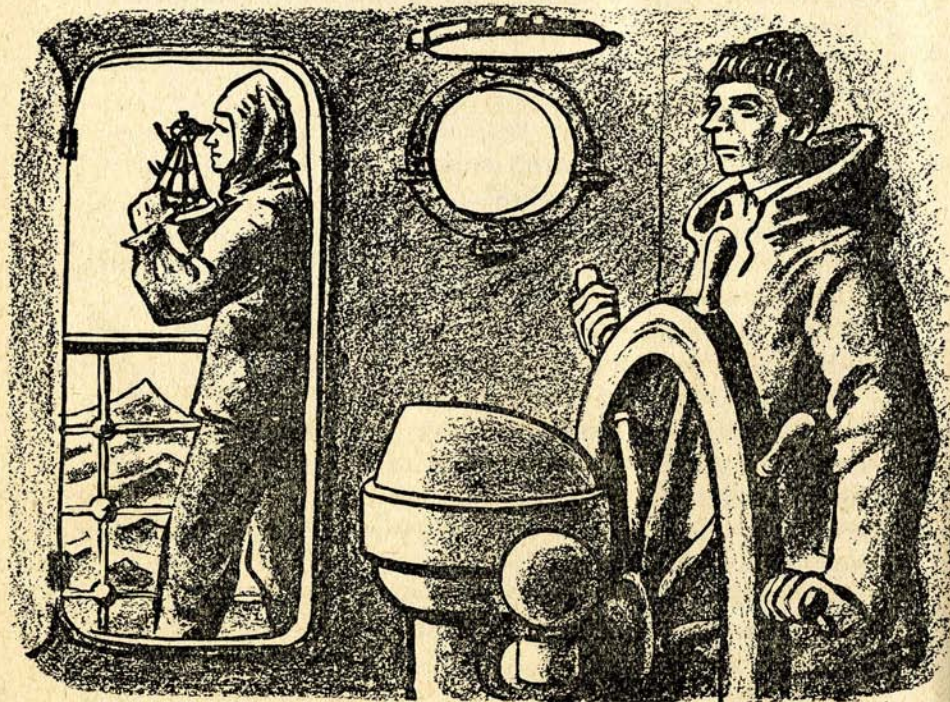
"Nope, Dope," says the Mate. "They fiddle around. They experiment, and they make mistakes. They learn from their mistakes. They begin to find out things about the ocean and the stars that they never knew before. They develop a theory—a science. They try it. And by trying they learn. They are still improving it."

Karl Marx was a bit of a navigator himself. He figured it ought to be possible to navigate socially and politically in a scientific way.

Karl Marx wanted a scientific view of the world, a view

that wasn't determined by religious beliefs, race worship, personal inclinations, or utopian dreams. A view that could chart a true course to a decent goal *for all people*.

Like the old navigators that set out to discover the natural laws that govern the tides and currents, stars and planets, Marx and his friend, Frederick Engels, set out to discover the laws that govern human society. They set out to discover why human society is what it is, why it changes, and what further changes are in store for it. Just as Darwin discovered the law of evolution in nature, these two navigators in uncharted waters discovered the law of evolution in human history. Changes in society, they found, were not accidental, but followed certain laws. These laws, like the laws that govern navigation are knowable. This fact makes it possible to work out a *scientific* view of society.



Marx applied this view to the society he lived in and worked out his economic theory of capitalism. But he did not stop there. He knew that profits and wages could be studied to a certain degree as purely economic problems; then it is necessary to turn to real life. In order to fully understand profits and wages it is necessary to bring real employers and workers, shipowners and seamen into the picture. And they must be studied in the particular situation, time and conditions under which they live.

Scientific knowledge can be used to change the world; the social and economic world as well as the world of nature. Communists believe that the laws which govern the movement of society are of the same pattern as the laws of the external world.

These laws make up what may be called the Communist philosophy or view of the world.

THIS IS WHAT HAPPENED—1902 TO 1924:

FLASHBACK No. 3

Jack London was a sailor. Jack London was a "Red." But something happened.

"I am resigning from the Socialist Party," he wrote, "because of its lack of fire and fight, and its loss of emphasis on the class struggle. I was originally a member of the old, revolutionary, up on its hind legs, fighting Socialist Labor Party. Trained in the class struggle, I believe that the working class, by fighting, by never fusing, by never making terms with the enemy, could emancipate itself . . . The whole trend of Socialism in the United States of recent years has been one of peaceableness and compromise . . ."

January, 1916 . . . SOMETHING HAD HAPPENED!

The leftwing movement, the Socialist movement, based on the scientific viewpoint of Marx, had stumbled. Op-

portunism took the place of science. The labor movement was flooded with pie-card artists.

The same thing happened all over the world.

It happened in Russia, too.

MARCH, 1902 . . . A little man with a partly bald head was fighting the opportunists in the Russian labor movement. He sat down and wrote a famous book, *What Is To Be Done?*

He answered the question. Not only for the Russian workers, but for the workers of the world.

BUILD A PARTY THAT IS CAPABLE OF LEADING THE PEOPLE.

In Russia that little man built such a party. His name was Lenin.

JUNE, 1905 . . . GENERAL STRIKE IN ODESSA! The sailors aboard the *Potemkin* were restless. The food



was rotten. The crew refuses to eat it. The captain forces the crew on deck. "ANY COMPLAINTS?" A few men step forward. They are roped off. A canvas thrown over them. The command is given to shoot them. Their shipmates refuse. Revolt breaks out! The Tsar's flag comes down. A red flag is raised. Warships are sent to fire on the *Potemkin*. The sailors refuse to fire on their comrades in arms.

But the revolt of the *Potemkin* ended in defeat.

The 1905 Revolution was crushed.

1917 . . . A different story! The Union of Soviet Socialist Republics was born.

1919 . . . Seattle longshoremen refuse to load war materials that were to be used against the first workers' Republic, the Soviet Union.

1919 . . . The left wing of the American Socialist Party struggled to build a party capable of really fighting for the people. That year they formed the Communist Party of America.

1924 . . . A SEAMAN RUNS FOR PRESIDENT! William Z. Foster, former seaman, was the Communist Party candidate for president of the United States.



IV. KARL MARX AND PORK CHOPS

"Wars? Depressions?" says the twelve-to-four oiler. "It's human nature, that's all. And you can't change human nature."

"I'll tell you why you have unemployment and wars," chimes in the eight-to-twelve A.B. "Overpopulation, that's all. When you get too many people in the world there are not enough jobs to go around, so you got unemployment. Then comes a war to get rid of the excess population, see?"

Says the messman, "It's all a divine plan. Ordinary mortals can never understand it."

"Bunk!" says a Communist seaman. "Everything can be understood."

But not by guess-work or hocus pocus, but scientifically. That means starting at the beginning with a very simple basic fact that most of the brain merchants never seem to know anything about: pork chops. Marx discovered the pork chops in history: "the simple fact that mankind must first of all eat and drink, have shelter and clothing, before he can pursue politics, science, religion and art."

Simple, isn't it? In order to live a man must have food and clothes, and a place to live. To get these he has to work. In order to work he must have tools to work with. Ben Franklin once called man a tool-using animal.

The tools that men work with are *instruments of production*. A diesel engine is an instrument of production. So is a chipping hammer.

Instruments of production are useless by themselves.

They take men with skill and training to run them. When you add all that together, men and tools and the skill to use them, you get the *productive forces* of society.

But that's only one side of the pork chop story. In producing the stuff people need, men get together. They may get together on the basis of cooperation in order to help each other out. Or they may get together as bosses and workers, shipowners and seamen. Whatever way it is, some sort of relation exists. This side of the story is the *relations of production*.

The two together determine the *method of production*.

Now production never stands still. It always changes and develops. When it changes the whole social set-up changes, too. Primitive society had one method of production. Slave society had another. Feudalism had still another.

The method of production determines the social set-up.

The way that men produce the things they need generally decides the way they think, the political views they have, and the kind of governments they set up.

That is why Communists believe that the history of society is more than anything else the history of the development of production. The history of production is at the same time the history of those who do the producing: the common people, the working people. If this is true, then history is not just the story of kings and generals, conquerors and presidents.

That is why Communists believe that the way to find the answers and to know the real score is to look into the method of production being practiced by a society. The real score can be found in the economic life of a social set-up.

Changes in production usually start with changes and development in tools and the way men are organized to use them. Mass production was the result of new machinery, and the assembly line for using it.

Changes in production start with changes in the forces of production.

The productive forces in society change, and then, depending on these changes and in order to conform to them, men's relations of production—their economic relations—change.

Once upon a time a couple of men took a dugout and went fishing. They worked together and divided the catch. Later on big ships with oars were run by big-shot Romans, with slaves doing all the rowing. Today seamen—who are free to work and live, or to not work and starve—work for shipowners for wages. These are all different relations of production. They came about as a result of changes in the productive forces.

Of course the economic relations affect the development of productive forces, too. Sometimes they encourage prog-



ress. Sometimes they hold up progress. But the relations of production can not hold up progress indefinitely. They must catch up and agree with the changes in the productive forces. They always do. And when they don't jive for a while there is disruption of production as a whole. In other words a crisis.

We all know what a crisis of production is like. Remember the depression? That was a crisis in capitalist production. That was largely the result, right here in America, of production relations, economic relations, lagging behind the changes in the productive forces. Capitalist private ownership of the means of production just doesn't jive with the social process of production.

When production is social the means of production must be owned socially. That is Socialism.

Communists believe in Socialism because social relations of production mean catching up with the productive forces of society, which today include atomic energy.

THIS IS WHAT HAPPENED—IN 1924:

FLASHBACK No. 4

The first World War was over. Seamen were no longer heroes. The shipowners working together with the corrupt officials of the International Seamens Union broke down the wartime wages. They provoked a strike in 1921. The strike failed. Conditions became worse. Ships were laid up. There were no jobs. What jobs existed had to be paid for. They were controlled by shipping crimps. The seamen were hungry, and they were bitter. But worst of all, they felt beaten—licked. The broken strike took a lot out of them. The shipowners were powerful. Their long fingers reached into city political machines, into Congress and the White House; even into the seamens' own union.

THE WATERFRONT WORKERS CLUB, AFFILIATED WITH THE TRADE UNION EDUCATIONAL LEAGUE. WELCOME SEAMEN, LONGSHOREMEN, TRUCKERS, HACKIES! WORKERS OF THE WORLD, UNITE AND FIGHT!

Cold meeting hall on West Twelfth Street, New York. A mimeograph machine, a handful of seamen and longshoremen. Not much to fight with: just guts and a program.

INDUSTRIAL UNIONISM—NOT CRAFT UNIONISM!

DEFEND THE UNIONS FROM THE BOSSES' ATTACKS!

ORGANIZE THE UNORGANIZED!

FULL RIGHTS FOR NEGROES!

FORM A LABOR PARTY!

RECOGNIZE THE SOVIET UNION!

Seamen stuffed the mimeographed leaflets into their sea bags, took them aboard ships.

A guy on a ship has time to read. Time to think things out.

V. STONE HAMMER TO ATOM BOMB

The stone hammer of the primitive man and the atom of the atomic age are means of production. The next question that needs an answer is who owns the means of production? Who owns the land, the natural resources, the factories and the ships?

The ownership of the means of production changed as the productive forces changed.

When stone tools were man's instruments of production they were forced to work together. Necessity demanded they work in common if they wanted to survive. Labor in common led to the common ownership of the means of production. There was no conception of private ownership of the means of production. Nobody thought in terms of hooray-for-me and to-hell-with-you. At that time there was no exploitation, no classes.

Metal tools developed. Plows came into use. Agriculture was revolutionized. Handicrafts developed. A division of labor sprang up. Products were exchanged. Wealth accumulated in the hands of a few. The few took over the means of production.

The few subjugated the majority. The majority became slaves. There was no more common ownership of the means of production, and the fruits of production. It was replaced by private ownership. Here was only the forced labor of slaves for slaveowners who do no work.

Society became split. Slaveowner and slave. Exploiters and exploited. The struggle between classes began. That was the slave system.

The smelting and working of iron is developed. The loom appears on the scene. Agriculture develops. Small factories spring up alongside the handicraft workshops. These new productive forces require workers who show a little initiative and an interest in work. The feudal lord can't get that out of a slave. He would rather deal with a serf who has his own tools and takes a little interest in farming. Even though most of what he produces goes to the feudal lord he gets a little to keep for himself.

Private ownership develops further. Exploitation continues. This is feudalism, and one of its main features is the struggle between exploiter and exploited, between serf and lord—again the class struggle.

The productive forces keep developing, keep changing, and the economic relations change with it. They have to.

Handicraft tools become machines. Machine industry develops. The little factories become modern large-scale industry. Navigation develops.

The new productive forces need workers who are free to work in the factories and mines and ships. Serfs were tied to the land. Workers were needed who had enough education to operate the new complicated machinery. Serfs were not educated to operate machinery and navigate ships. What was needed was new economic relations, new relations of production. The new bosses, the capitalists, wanted to deal with wage workers, not serfs. In order to do that they had to change the system that kept workers tied to the land. They changed the economic relations—by revolution!

Productive forces develop to a terrific extent. Larger and larger amounts of goods are produced. Competition increases. Small producers are ruined. They join the ranks of the workers. Workers can't buy back the same amount of goods that their labor produces. It becomes impossible to sell all the goods that are produced. Who can buy them?

Industries become bigger and bigger. Every little product is the result of many men working together, working socially. Production is social. But the means of production

are owned privately. The fruits of production are owned privately. That doesn't click. That doesn't jive.

Everybody knows what happens. Workers can't buy the stuff that has been produced. The stuff is burned. Thrown in the ocean. Production stops. Unemployment begins. Starvation! Depression! Not because there are not enough goods, but because there is an overproduction of goods.

The main fact of capitalist society is the class struggle. The struggle between those who own the wealth and those whose labor created the wealth.

The struggle between shipowner and seamen.

The struggle will continue until the workers control the means of production and the fruits of production. Then it will stop. Society will no longer be split into exploiter and exploited. Classes will no longer exist.

That is the way Communists look at history.

THIS IS WHAT HAPPENED—1928 TO 1932:

FLASHBACK No. 5

“SEAMEN'S CONDITIONS INTOLERABLE. GOVERNMENT FORCED TO STEP IN.”

That was a headline in 1928. The seamen weren't going to take much more. A new militancy began to make itself felt on the waterfront.

“I been on the beach four months, but I ain't going to pay no lousy bastard of a shipping crimp for a job.”

“That phony Seamen's Institute! Government pays them to handle relief for seamen. I'd like to know who gets it. 65c a day they get for every man. The flop and meal they give you ain't worth more than 10 or 15 cents. Then, you got to wait two or three days to get in the joint.”

“I heard a Red soapboxing on the corner of South and Whitehall Sunday night.”

"Yeh, I did too. Wobbly giving out on one corner and the Commie on the other."

"I think I know the Red. Been shipmates with him."

"What did he have to say? Talking about the revolution?"

"This guy was a sailor. He was putting the finger on Gus Brown and Grange and Carlson. Says the I. S. U. piccards are sleeping with the shipowners."

"Something better happen pretty soon."

GOVERNMENT STEPS IN.

Wages on all ships covered by the U. S. Shipping Board are to be stabilized at \$62.50 per month.

Overtime may be paid for work over eight hours, or time off may be given.

"That's a laugh—ask to get paid overtime and you're fired."

This wage scale does not apply to private companies.

Private operators pay \$55 on down.

This is the way the government improved seamen's conditions.

1929 . . . IT HAPPENED!

THE CRASH!

DEPRESSION!

"A crisis" said a Communist, "in capitalist production."

A sailor asked: "you mean things can get worse for the seamen than they are already?"

That's right, Bud, things can get pretty damn bad in this world of ours. Wait and see.

DEPRESSION—stomach ulcers and starvation. Blue linen and tin plates. No jobs. *No jobs.* NO JOBS!

Did you ever see fifty Mates, bosuns, and A. B.s fighting for one ordinary seaman's job?

That's a hell of a sight to see.

THINGS WILL GET WORSE IF WE LET THEM.

THINGS WILL GET BETTER IF WE MAKE THEM BETTER.

If *WE* make them better, sailor.

If *WE* make them better, fellow worker.

1932 . . . CORNER OF SOUTH AND WHITE-
HALL.

Things will get better if we make them better.

Soapboxer. Seamen gather around to listen.

"Fellow marine workers. Brother seamen."

A seaman nudges the guy next to him, "who's the guy giving out with all the wisdom?"

"He's an organizer for the M.W.I.U. Name is Hudson."

"What's that?"

"Listen—maybe you'll find out."

"The Marine Workers' Industrial Union is an industrial organization. An organization that fights for all maritime workers."

From the fringes of the crowd a voice yells:

"You're a Red!"

"That's right," says the speaker. "I'm a Red."

"The M.W.I.U. is a Red union!"

Another voice in the crowd shouts:

"The I.S.U. is a bosses union!"

The speaker stops for a moment. "All right, brothers, I'll discuss this question of a Red union. There are Communists in the M.W.I.U. Plenty of them. Some are in the leadership. They organized this union. This union was organized because seamen and longshoremen need a union that fights for them, a union that doesn't divide the workers by playing one against the other on the basis of color, or religion, or political beliefs, a union that is run by the seamen and longshoremen themselves. Most of the members are non-Communists like yourselves. We judge our leaders on the basis of how well they put out for the rank-and-file.

"Now let's get down to business.

"We marine workers have the rottenest conditions, the lowest wages, of any industry in America."

"You said it, brother!"

"A. B.s are making as little as \$35 a month. Overtime is a joke. And the Munson Line pays off in I.O.U. slips."

"What can the Commies do about it?"

"By themselves—nothing. But together with all seamen—everything. That is why we call on all honest, militant marine workers to join the M.W.I.U. Stand up and fight the shipowners.

"This is the program of the Marine Workers Industrial Union:

"CENTRALIZED SHIPPING HALL CONTROLLED BY THE SEAMEN—

"8 HOUR DAY—

"3-WATCH SYSTEM—

"44 HOUR WEEK—

"\$75 FOR AB'S—

"75c AN HOUR OVERTIME—

"SHIPS' COMMITTEES—

"MARINE WORKERS, UNITE AND FIGHT!"

1933 . . . The shipowners look ahead.

Mr. Franklin, head of the American Mercantile Marine, reports to his stockholders:

"MANAGEMENT IS CONTINUING ITS EFFORTS TO CUT DOWN EXPENSES TO THE MINIMUM AND FURTHER REDUCTIONS IN SALARIES HAVE BEEN MADE!"

I.S.U. leadership states that a strike is out of the question.

M.W.I.U. Organizer's report: "On the *Munmystic* we conducted a strike. Back pay was the main beef. Some of the crew hadn't been paid for over ninety days. We organized a picket line and got out leaflets. The strike was won."

"On the *City of Fairbury* we got new cups for coffee instead of the tin ones we had been using. We held up breakfast for two hours."

"We had a strike on the *S.S. Sagaparach*. There was no messman. The crew went to the company office and made their demands. A messman was put on."

ATTACKS ON THE UNION AND ITS ORGANIZERS INCREASED.

This didn't discourage them. Job actions under the lead-

ership of the M.W.I.U. took place on the ships. A meeting in mid-ocean aboard the *Leviathan*, called by the ship's committee, won demands for the crew. A militant struggle marked with bloodshed took place among the New Orleans stevedores.

The *Point Gorda* strike in 1932 showed American seamen that a ship's committee could conduct a strike successfully.

Twenty nine strikes were led by the M.W.I.U. on Munson Line ships. Most of them ended in victory for the crews.

But the real struggles were still ahead!

VI. SEAMEN, SHIPOWNERS AND CAPITALISM

"Seamen built the capitalist world," wrote an English historian.

That's an interesting idea. Let's take a look at the capitalist world and see how it works out.

Capitalism couldn't operate under feudalism. Capitalism fought feudalism. It fought for freedom. The freedom to do the things that the new machines, and factories and ships made it possible to do. They had to have freedom. Freedom to hire anybody they wanted to work in their factories, and on their ships. They couldn't do that under feudalism. Suppose a shipowner needed sailors. He couldn't get some plow-jockey to go to sea then. Under feudalism the guy was tied to the land. It was against the law to leave. The capitalist wanted a free labor market—the freedom to exploit workers.

They wanted another kind of freedom, too. After all, they weren't going to hire workers to work in their factories to produce stuff just for use. They wanted to sell the stuff. They wanted the freedom to make profits. They wanted the freedom to market their goods anywhere and everywhere that a profit could be made. They wanted a free market.

The capitalists wanted that freedom enough to fight for it. Of course they didn't do much of the fighting themselves. They made up a lot of slogans about freedom and

got the workers to do it for them. They just didn't tell them whose freedom it was they were fighting for.

The capitalists made revolutions all over the world—in England, France—all over. In America, too—1776.

They got what they wanted—FREEDOM.

Freedom to develop industry.

Freedom to exploit workers.

Freedom to make profits.

They set up a whole social system to keep it that way.

History books call these great events that destroyed the feudal set-up the Renaissance, the Reformation, the growth of Elizabethan England towards Empire.

The foundation of these events—the foundation of capitalism—was the first ocean-going ships and the men who sailed them. The men who sailed the ships commanded by Columbus and Drake, Magellan and John Smith.

Capitalism was a lot different then. In many ways it was worth while for a seaman to fight for it. In the early days in America there were no big shipping companies. Ships were owned by the skipper. The seamen got some share of the profits their labor created. There was at least the possibility for a seaman to buy a ship of his own. Sometimes a couple of seamen chipped in together and formed a little shipping company. No wonder Crispus Attucks, the Negro seaman, gave his life so readily for the American revolution.

Can you imagine a seaman today taking his payoff, buying a few Victory ships with it, and going into competition with U.S. Lines?

It is pretty easy to see that capitalism changes. But it doesn't change at the same speed everywhere. It becomes further developed in one country than another.

Around the time when it was still possible for a seaman to become a shipowner in America it was no longer that way in England. British seamen would jump ship in America and sail on American ships. British capitalists didn't like that much. Of course, they wouldn't have had that

problem if they raised the wages. But capitalists never raise wages if they can help it. They only raise wages when the workers force them to. The British shipowners handled the problem the way capitalists solve problems—by force. They came aboard American ships and took seamen off by force. That is a dangerous thing for one country to do to another. But they didn't care. They were ready to make war. Besides, the Yankee shipowners were giving them too much competition—cutting in on their profits. That was the way the war of 1812 started.

During the war of 1812, both America and England were capitalist countries. One system was young; the other older. But both were capitalist. Both had basically the same system—production for profit.

Workers produced things, not to use themselves or even for the boss, but for the capitalist to sell for money. The workers got wages, the boss got the profits.

What are profits?

“Well, I'll tell you” says the guy on my watch: “Something is produced, see. Then it's sold. When the boss pays off the guys that made it and pays for the stuff they made it with, what's left over is profit. The boss gets that. Understand?”

That tells us what profits are *not*. They are not wages, cost of material, the price of the product.

But what *are* profits then? Where do they come from?

“Well” says my watch partner, “maybe profit is what the boss charges over what a thing is worth.”

My other watch partner, Karl Marx, who I always carry along in my seabag no matter where I sail, doesn't agree with that. It's not scientific.

Marx tells me capitalists can't sell stuff above its value. If they did they would be cheating each other all the time. One would make a profit, the other take a loss. It would all even out in the end and neither would get any place. No general profit; no General Motors.

Besides capitalists don't exploit capitalists, they exploit workers.

That means profit is already in the product when it gets on the market.

We have to look into the *making* of the product to see where and how value is added to the cost of making a product.

Something like a mystery story, isn't it?

Value—that word is a good clue.

But what the hell is value?

Value is how much the product brings on the market.

What decides value? What decides how much a thing is worth? What do all products have in common, from dunnegees to a victory ship? Only one thing. They are all produced by *human labor*.

Exchange value is determined by the amount of labor time it takes to make an article.

That's what Marx tells me. Now we are getting somewhere.

If the amount of labor time it takes to make a product decides its exchange value, what decides the amount of wages the worker gets for making it?

That is easy. The boss pays him enough to keep working. The boss pays him just enough to live and work and raise children so they can live and work.

Just as prices change according to supply and demand, wages vary according to the degree of organization workers have to force the boss to pay them a higher wage.

But basically the amount of labor time still determines exchange value; and what it takes to maintain that amount of labor decides wages.

We still haven't found out what profit is.

Let's go back to production. Maybe that will lead us in the right direction. A worker works eight hours a day. He makes eight hours worth of value. The boss sells it for that on the market. The boss pays him just enough to keep working in wages. The wages equal four hours of exchange

value. The other four hours that the worker produced goes to the boss.

The first four hours he works is equal to the wages he gets. The rest of the working day he is producing *surplus* value—value over and above what it takes to keep him alive, value above and beyond what he gets in wages. The boss just takes this surplus value over. This is his profit.

Capitalists don't get their profits by gypping each other. It's the *workers* that get robbed. The profits come out of *their* hides.

By understanding what profits are and where they come from, we understand the class struggle of capitalism. In every factory, on every ship, the wages paid to the workers are not equal to the value they make. The wages are equal to about half or less. The capitalist, the shipowner, takes the rest. The boss is therefore always trying to increase the amount he takes from the worker. The shipowner is always trying to increase the amount of surplus value he extracts from the labor of the seamen. He tries to do this in many different ways.

1. Cutting wages.
2. Speeding up.
3. Gypping on overtime, penalty time, etc.
4. Cutting down on food, living conditions aboard ship.
5. Cutting down manning scales.

At the same time, the seaman fights to improve his position by demanding higher wages and shorter hours, by fighting for better food and conditions and higher manning scales, and by resisting speed-up.

So we have a continuous struggle between shipowner and seaman. *The struggle can never end as long as the capitalist system of production lasts.* The struggle began with individual workers and employers. Today, union organizations and employer organizations bring great sections of each class into action against the other. The next higher stage on the part of the workers is to combine the economic struggle with the building up of political organization

which can bring all sections of the people into action against the capitalist class.

The highest form of the class struggle is revolution. This is the struggle to overthrow the capitalist system of production in order to set up a new system of production.

THIS IS WHAT HAPPENED—IN 1934:

FLASHBACK No. 6

SEAMEN IN BALTIMORE TAKE OVER CONTROL OF RELIEF!

Seamen rose up and took control of the relief set-up. Relief had been in the hands of the shipowners. Under the militant leadership of the Marine Workers' Industrial Union the seamen won their struggle for relief.

SEAMEN RALLY TO FIGHT FOR JOB CONTROL!

The struggle for the establishment of a centralized shipping hall with a rotary system of shipping controlled by the rank-and-file received the full support of the seamen. Intensive terror, jailings, and police brutality failed to break the fighting determination of the seamen. The seamen established a hiring hall. They boycotted the shipping agencies of the shipowners. Soon they controlled 85 per cent of the jobs shipping out of Baltimore.

BALTIMORE VICTORY FOLLOWED BY SIMILAR STRUGGLES IN OTHER PORTS.

SEAMEN FORM ANTI-WAR COMMITTEES ON TWO SHIPS.

"We seamen of the *S.S. Marore*, pledge ourselves to do all in our power to study effective methods of organizing against war and fascism. We realize that war does not benefit the workers but is used by the rich to become richer. We seamen stand for peace, for better working conditions and living conditions. We pledge ourselves to form a committee against war and fascism."

LONGSHOREMEN STRIKE IN GULF PORTS!

At midnight on May 1, four thousand Negro longshoremen in the Gulf ports went on strike to enforce their demands for better working conditions and higher wages.

MAY 6 . . . 18,000 OUT IN GULF PORTS.

MAY 7 . . . "*Strike Wednesday Morning at Eight*" is the word flashed to all West Coast ports, affecting 14,000 longshoremen.

JOE RYAN, PRESIDENT OF THE INTERNATIONAL LONGSHOREMENS ASSOCIATION, TRYS TO BREAK STRIKE.

WEST COAST LONGSHOREMEN ELECT RANK-AND-FILE COMMITTEE TO LEAD STRIKE.

The Communist Party in all sections along the West Coast immediately wired to all units for the speediest mobilization of every available force into strike activity.

MILITANT PICKETING, SYMPATHY STRIKES TIE UP ALL SHIPPING.

The sixth day of the strike in all West Coast ports finds the most complete tie-up yet experienced; teamsters, seamen, marine engineers are out in support of the longshoremen. All shipping has been cancelled.

BULLETIN—San Pedro, Cal., May 14.—*Dick Parker, young striker, was shot and killed and twenty others wounded, when the Los Angeles Red Squad (police) fired into a group of 500 strikers storming scab headquarters at the Grace Line steamer SANTA ELENA here today.*

COMMUNIST PARTY AND OTHER MILITANT ORGANIZATIONS PUT ALL FORCES INTO WATERFRONT STRUGGLE.

A powerful united front of the longshoremen, the Marine Workers Industrial Union, and the Seamen's Unemployed Council, is welded out of the waterfront struggles. Joint picketing takes place.

"LONGSHOREMEN! SEAMEN! DON'T BE

TRICKED!" is the title of an editorial in the Communist paper, the *Western Worker*, dated May 21.

"The remarkable solidarity of all workers connected with the marine industry is a demonstration of the power of organization that should be a lesson to workers in all industries.

"Craft lines are breaking down, as seamen responded to the call of the Marine Workers' Industrial Union, and came off the ships.

"The workers should voice their determination to finish the fight themselves and refuse to hand it over to arbitrators.

"Continued mass picketing, and solidarity with the whole working class will force a complete victory."

MAY 28 . . . SHIPOWNERS RED-BAIT TO SPLIT WORKERS BUT RANKS STAY SOLID. STEVEDORES TO STAY OUT TILL SEAMEN SETTLE.

During the week the tie-up in all Pacific ports tightened, as teamsters joined the general marine strike. Marine engineers and masters mates and pilots walked off. The strike of seamen, now in every port, is directed through the United Front Strike Committees in which all maritime unions are called to participate. But, since the I.S.U. leaders in almost all cases refuse to participate, the situation remains virtually under the sole leadership of the Marine Workers' Industrial Union.

**NEGRO LONGSHOREMEN PROVE SOLIDARITY.
BOSSES BUILD NEGRO UNION TO GET SCABS.
NEGRO LONGSHOREMEN UNITE WITH
OTHER STRIKERS.**

"BLACK AND WHITE — UNITE AND FIGHT!"

JUNE 4 . . . RYAN MAKES DEAL. SHIPOWNERS TO CONTROL HIRING. WORKERS REJECT RYAN PROPOSAL.

Communists call on longshoremen to fight for their own hiring halls.

SHIPOWNERS AND PRESS SCREAM "RED MEN- ACE!"

JUNE 11 . . . The *Western Worker* carried an editorial on "What the Red Scare Means." It is addressed to "marine workers."

"From the first days of the strike, one of the tricks the shipowners have tried to use against you is the Red scare.

"This tactic is designed to split your ranks. They hope thereby to shift your attention from a struggle against the shipowners to a fight against the Communists and other militant workers in your ranks. They would like you to do their police work for them.

"WHO ARE THE COMMUNISTS ANYWAY?"

"If you look through your strike ranks you will find that the Communists are of the most active, devoted and self-sacrificing members you have. You will find them in your leadership and among the rank-and-file. They are trained by the Party to be able to quickly detect the maneuvers of the bosses and police, and expose them.

"You are aware of the fact that the Communist Party and its members were the first to come to your support.

"Is there any other newspaper in the city other than the *Western Worker* you can rely on?"

"ONLY THE COMMUNIST PARTY IS YOUR PARTY."

"It is the Communist Party which, from the very outset, aroused a mass sentiment for sympathy strikes.

"You can compare that to the fact that the forces of the Republican and Democratic Party have, through their newspapers and police, given you only clubs and bullets.

"The Communist Party is composed of workers like yourselves. Its interests are the same as yours. The Party is vitally interested that you should win. It will mean a victory for all workers. It will encourage all workers to stand up and fight.

"Only a solid united front against shipowners will win!"

"The Communists are the most active and militant in your ranks!

"Answer the 'Red Scare' by joining the Communist Party! It's your Party!"

JUNE 15 . . . COMMUNIST PARTY CALLS FOR GENERAL STRIKE.

"General strike action to support the longshoremen and seamen must be taken by the entire working class of the West!

"The bosses and government officials are challenging the right of workers to demand higher wages and organize a union of their own choosing.

"Our answer must be a general strike of all workers!"

"Support the longshoremen and seamen!"

"ON TO VICTORY!"

JUNE 19, San Francisco . . . A delegation of striking seamen from the Marine Workers' Industrial Union went to the German consulate this week to demand the unconditional freedom of the Communist, Ernst Thaelmann, dockworker and heroic leader of the German working class, now being tortured in a Nazi dungeon prior to an attempt to frame him and execute him.

JUNE 25 . . . "*Keep strike in rank-and-file hands,*" the Communist Party warned.

"Now that you have taken negotiations in your own hands, keep the officials out of it. You have enough intelligence for yourselves to decide what to do.

"With a rank-and-file controlled strike, victory is assured!

"More militancy. Don't weaken in your determination! Every one on the picket line and you can't lose."

HUDSON CALLS FOR UNITY BEHIND WATER-FRONT STRIKERS!

Mass meeting of striking marine workers in Seattle. The speaker is Roy Hudson, Communist leader and national leader of the Marine Workers' Industrial Union.

"The past few weeks I have spoken to fighting, class-

conscious workers up and down the Atlantic Coast. Yesterday I arrived in Seattle.

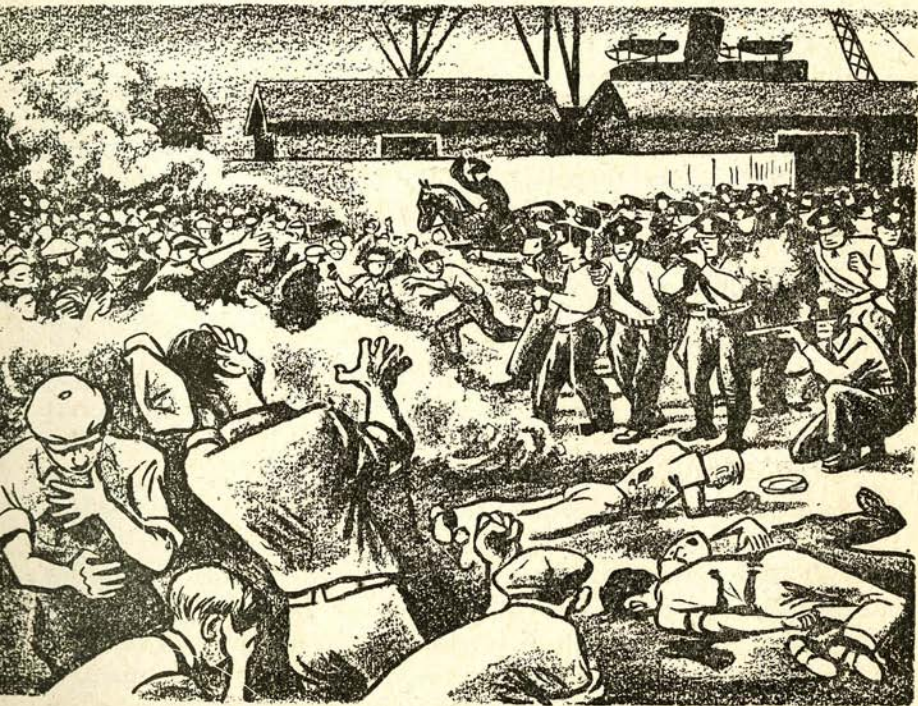
"First of all I'd like to say the strike on the West Coast is arousing plenty discussion back East. The rank-and-file on the East Coast have closed the ports tight.

"Their committees closed the ports and they're keeping them closed.

"We're fighting to win and we will win.

"But we have got to fight solidly and keep fighting.

"We must unite all unions to see the chance they have for helping themselves and the marine workers by a general strike action. *It will advance the cause of union labor and the class struggle a hundred years if we can do it. And we will. We've got to.*



"A UNITED FRONT OF ALL MARINE UNIONS EVERYWHERE IN THE COUNTRY!"

JULY 5 . . . *Bloody Thursday.*

The day after Independence Day. The day after the day Americans celebrate the right to "Life, Liberty and the Pursuit of Happiness."

The day after the day.

BLOODY THURSDAY!

Thousands of workers picketing the Matson docks. Suddenly squad cars! Gas bombs are thrown in the midst of the strikers. Workers run towards Rincon Hill.

Police draw guns. They shoot into the mass of workers. The workers raise barricades.

Police throw in everything they have. Riot cars, horses, bombs—their rifles throw burning lead into the strikers. Some workers drop—hit.

The strikers struggle to get back to their union hall. The police follow. Then in cold blood they shoot two strikers and wound many more.

"WE WILL NEVER FORGET OUR FALLEN COMRADES . . . HOWARD SPERRY, NICK COUNDEORAKIS . . . THEY WERE MURDERED BY THE SAN FRANCISCO POLICE . . . THEY DIED FOR US!"

JULY 6 . . . On the corner of Steuart and Mission Streets—"where class war heroes fell"—the workers chalked a tribute and covered it with flowers.

JULY 9 . . . Fifty thousand bare-headed workers marched up Market Street behind the coffins of their murdered comrades.

Police kept out of sight.

THE CALL FOR A GENERAL STRIKE BECOMES STRONGER!

The rank-and-file develop their own leaders. Finding that the old-line labor leaders were constantly working against their interests, the longshoremen rallied around leaders who carried out the will of the membership.

Such a leader was Harry Bridges.

A rank-and-file longshoreman, not a Communist, Harry Bridges became the recognized leader of the longshoremen.

WORKERS IN ALL INDUSTRIES CALL FOR GENERAL STRIKE.

JULY 15 . . . *General Strike Begins! All Workers Out!*

The most far-reaching general strike the United States ever saw, begins in San Francisco Monday morning. Not a single establishment in the city will move, not a street-car, bus or truck—everything will be at a standstill—no one is to work!

“EVERYBODY . . . PUT YOUR SHOULDERS TO THE WHEEL! BREAK THE SHIPOWNERS DICTATORSHIP IN SAN FRANCISCO! LET’S FIGHT ON TO VICTORY!”

The general strike was on. The city was deadlocked.

The cause of the longshoremen and seamen appealed to public sentiment all over the nation. The maritime workers held their strike solid until the government set up arbitration machinery under the National Longshoremen’s Board. The maritime unions voted to accept this arbitration, and went back to work.

OCTOBER 12 . . . The National Longshoremen’s Board handed down an award granting the demands of the striking unions.

Walter Stack, Communist seamen and secretary of the Seattle Branch, M.W.I.U., calls on seamen to unite and protect strike gains. *“The shipowners have been forced to deal with union men. Seamen and longshoremen are beginning to feel their power as a result of the unity and solidarity between all crafts in the industry since the beginning of the strike.”*

“The shipowners feel they won’t succeed so easily in maintaining the coolie wage level of the seamen unless they smash this spirit of solidarity. So together with the leaders of the I.S.U. they are blacklisting militant seamen for union activity.”

Seattle . . . The dawn of August 18 saw the side of the German Steamer *Schwaben* painted with huge signs:

FREE ERNEST THAELMAN!

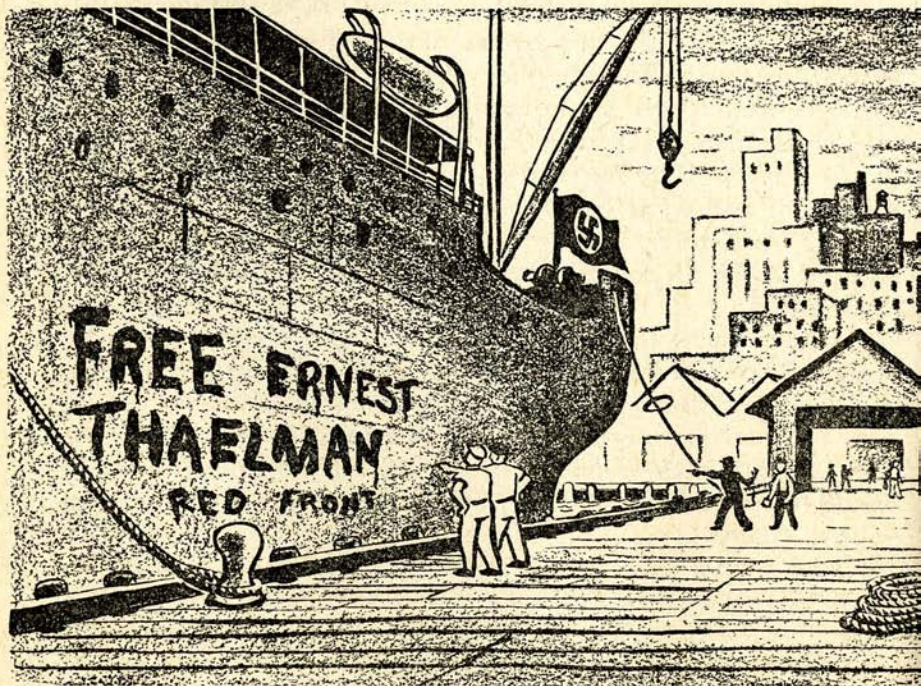
RED FRONT!

—and other anti-fascist slogans, put there by American seamen.

SEPTEMBER . . . BUILD THE UNITED FRONT!

The M.W.I.U. calls upon all seamen, employed and unemployed, in the East, to organize and prepare for an immediate fight for a centralized shipping bureau in all North Atlantic ports.

“Unorganized seamen and longshoremen! Prepare for struggle by joining the Marine Workers’ Industrial Union!”



VII. "WHAT THE HELL IS CAPITAL?"

"You Reds do a lot of talking about capitalists, capitalism and capital," says the bosun, an old-timer and a militant union man. "*But what the hell is capital?*"

A damn good question, Bosun. What is capital?

Capital is a lot of things. Machinery, buildings, ships, fuel, raw materials—everything that is required for production is capital. Money that is used to pay wages is capital.

"Well, I got a little boat I go fishing in," says the bosun, "does that make me a shipowner, a capitalist?"

You may be a shipowner, bosun, but unless you hire seamen to run the boat for you and fish for you, and you make profits on their labor, you're not a capitalist and your little boat is not capital.

Property is only capital when it is used to produce surplus value.

"O.K.," the bosun says, "but where does all the capital come from?"

Robbery.

That's right—*robbery*. In the early days big amounts of capital in the form of gold were looted by adventurers from America, India and Africa. There were other methods of robbery, too. The "Enclosure Acts" in England stole the common lands for the benefit of the capitalist farmers.

The neatest robbery of all was pulled right here in America. The revolutionary war was financed by war bonds called certificates. These certificates were bought by the

people of America. The soldiers who fought for America's freedom were paid in certificates. Their value had gone down to as little as ten cents to the dollar.

Rumors were spread. The newly formed government, with Hamilton as treasurer, was going to repudiate the certificates. They would be declared worthless. The speculators who were close to Hamilton bought up the certificates for next to nothing. Then Hamilton passed a bill that provided for the government to redeem the certificates at full value. By this time the certificates were all in the hands of the speculators. How did the government pay for the certificates? By taxing the very people who had been swindled out of the certificates in the first place.

This gigantic steal is the way capitalists in America got control of capital. This is where capital comes from. And if that isn't robbery, what is?

But this is only the way they got capital in the beginning. How about all the capital that has piled up since then. Where did all that come from?

Indirect robbery. The boss makes the worker work more hours than is necessary for his keep, and takes over the value of what he makes in those extra hours—the surplus value. The capitalist uses part of this surplus value for himself. The rest is used as new capital. With it he buys more ships, hires more seamen and makes more surplus value. This goes on until big shipping companies like the Grace Line, Isthmian and U. S. Lines are built up.

It might go on forever if there weren't other things that come into the picture and hinder it. The class struggle is an obstacle. Other things affect it, too. All the obstacles that face capitalism come out of the very nature of capitalism itself. They are the facts of life—capitalist life, anyway.

Economic crisis is an obstacle.

What causes the crisis. Marx tells us that it is a law of capitalist production that capital expands to produce and sell more products so as to make more profit. The more

capital, the more production. At the same time, the more capital, the less labor power employed. Machinery takes the place of men. More capital, more production, but less wages. So there is less demand for the products that are produced.

The screw-up between expanding capital and the loss of buying power of the workers is the cause of crisis.

Competition is another factor that begins to interfere with the smooth running of capitalism. Because of competition every capitalist tries to cut down on his running costs. One way is by cutting wages. Another is speeding up. You can see how competition helps to bring about a crisis.

There is another angle. The capitalist that succeeds in sharpening up his production methods makes a higher rate of profit. He gets larger and larger. He is constantly modernizing. That costs money. It takes capital. His competitors can't keep up with him. They are backed against the wall. The big boy takes him over. Big fish swallows little fish. "One capitalist kills many." So in every branch of industry the number of capitalists becomes fewer and fewer. Big trusts come into the picture. They dominate a whole field of industry. Capitalist competition becomes something else. It becomes its opposite. It becomes capitalist monopoly.

THIS IS WHAT HAPPENED—IN 1935:

FLASHBACK No. 7

OCTOBER 30, 1934 . . . Headline in the New York newspapers: "U. S. GOVERNMENT FINDS CREWS GOUGED BY SHIP LINES."

Low wages, short rosters, long hours, and bad working conditions are shown in secret survey.

FEW OWNERS GIVEN A CLEAN BILL.

Government agents went aboard vessels here to get data—pay cuts made despite big government subsidies.

World Telegram Staff Correspondent reports from Washington:

“A severe indictment of most American shipowners on charges of low wages to seamen, short crews, long hours, and bad working conditions is contained in a survey made secretly by government marine experts. . . .

“Their report charges shipowners, in effect, with bad faith on the ground that in receiving mail subsidies, which account for millions annually, they contracted to maintain American standards. . . .

“Generally, the ships were found to be from 10 to 15 per cent undermanned. . . .

“Long hours necessarily follow the shortage of workers. One ship’s officer, asked how he kept his ship looking so well, replied: ‘By working the men eighteen hours a day and getting as much work out of them as possible.’

“A hard-boiled attitude was found to exist among some shipowners because of the plentiful labor to be had for the picking in many ports.

“‘Why should we worry when we can go out on the beach and whistle and get all the help we want?’ one commented.”

A seaman sitting on a bench in Battery Park crumpled up the newspaper and cursed softly:

“Bastards—those lousy bastards! ‘Why should we worry, all we got to do is whistle, whistle and the slaves come running.’ Some day they won’t, you bastards! I swear to God, they won’t!”

The sailor next to him grunted. “When we get one union, maybe—one union for all seamen. One union that belongs to the rank-and-file and doesn’t hop every time the shipowners whistle.”

Yeh.

Things will get better if we make them better.

Shipowners weren’t doing much whistling out on the

West Coast during the general strike. They were howling then—yelling bloody murder.

Yelling Red Revolution.

Next time better.

New York, January-February, 1935 . . . Headline in the *Marine Workers Voice*, official organ of the Marine Workers' Industrial Union: "ONE UNION FOR ALL SEAMEN! M.W.I.U. PROPOSES MERGER WITH I.S.U. MERGE ALL SEAMEN'S UNIONS INTO ONE! ONLY ROAD TO BETTER CONLITIONS."

Fight for Unity!

Two important steps are now afoot to establish unity in the ranks of the Marine Workers. One of these is the proposals made by the Marine Workers' Industrial Union for a merger of all seamen's unions. Plans for the formation of a Waterfront Federation on the West Coast to unite all unions, of the seamen, longshoremen, teamsters and other marine workers, is a forward step in *organizing* "the spirit of unity and solidarity gained by the seamen and longshoremen during the West Coast strike."

BUT—.

The I.S.U. officials turned down the proposal. "*We don't want to work with Reds.*"

"*Maybe,*" a rank-and-file member thought to himself, "*they only want to work with shipowners.*"

WHAT ABOUT THE RANK-AND-FILE?

DO THEY HAVE THE RED HORRORS?

"*Well, I'll tell you, Bud. The only kind of horrors I have are the pork-chop horrors.*"

TO HELL WITH PHONY OFFICIALS!

The Communists addressed themselves to the rank-and-file.

To all locals of the International Seamen's Union—

To all locals of the Marine Workers' Industrial Union—

To all Ship Delegates and Ship's Committees—

To all Seamen—

Brothers:

“In forcing the shipowners, for the first time since 1921, to recognize a seamen’s union and sign agreements, the seamen, although not yet strongly organized and united, *have taken an important step forward*. Thousands of seamen have joined the I.S.U. and the M.W.I.U., and through organized militant action have forced the shipowners to recognize the International Seamen’s Union, to negotiate agreements on the West Coast, and to sign agreements on the East Coast and Gulf that partially meet the demands of the seamen for improved wages and working conditions.

“The present agreement and negotiation must be used as a stepping stone to still greater victories. *Building a powerful rank-and-file union is the most immediate step to safeguard the immediate and future interests of the seamen.* **BUILD ONE POWERFUL UNION!**

“Members of the I.S.U., let us join together in building a powerful International Seamen’s Union. You must help achieve unity by making it possible for every *bona fide* seaman to join the I.S.U. Fight against the efforts of the officials to bar militant workers from membership because of their past strike activities, or because of their nationality or political opinions.

“As the opening gun in the drive for 100 per cent unionization and to compel the shipowners to hire only union men, the Communists recommend an immediate campaign of mass recruitment and that every unemployed seaman should be issued temporary membership cards and be registered for shipping by turn out of the I.S.U. hall.

“SEAMEN! JOIN THE INTERNATIONAL SEAMEN’S UNION AND BUILD IT INTO A POWERFUL MILITANT UNION!”

FEBRUARY 27, 1935 . . . A cold windy morning on the New York waterfront. A new seamen’s paper appeared on the docks. Not much of a paper. Only four pages, mimeographed. The paper didn’t even have a name. On the top of the first page in shaky print was the following: “*Who Will Name This Paper?*” This paper is published by the

I.S.U. rank-and-file committee and its columns will be open to all seamen to express their opinions. This is your paper and for this reason you are urged to take an interest in it.

"The editorial staff of the paper invites the seamen to send us suggestions pertaining to the name they think the paper should have. Address all communications to: I.S.U., Rank-and-File Committee, 30 Irving Place, Room 202."

This little mimeographed sheet was destined to make labor history.

MARCH 7 . . . The seamen themselves named the paper. From then on it was known as *THE I.S.U. PILOT*, with the slogan: "*Keep our union on a true course.*"

On the bottom of every page were more slogans:

CLOSE ALL SHIPPING CRIMPS—

REJECT THE FINK BOOK PLAN—

RANK-AND-FILE CONTROL—

HELP BUILD THE UNION—

ALL SHIPPING THROUGH THE UNION—

The editor of *The I.S.U. Pilot* was a well-known fighting, militant seaman. He had been National Secretary of the Marine Workers' Industrial Union. He was one of the first American seamen killed in Spain by Franco's fascists. Today seamen cherish the memory of Harry Hines.

Harry Hines was a Communist.

MARCH 14 . . . FOLLOW THE PATH OF OUR WEST COAST BROTHERS! FORCE OUR OFFICIALS TO ACT! The rank-and-file of the I.S.U. are on the move. A number of strikes have taken place on the West Coast. Preparations are being made to strike all West Coast tankers for a wage scale of \$80.

What the officials of the I.S.U. had been unable to accomplish through months of closed-door negotiations with the shipowners was being done by the rank-and-file through strike action.

MARCH 19 . . . BLACK-GANG UNION MEETING. Regular meeting of the Marine Firemen, Oilers and Water-tenders Union. Carlson, regular official, speaks:

"This sheet that calls itself *The I.S.U. Pilot* is just a pile of Communistic propaganda. The members should be warned about it because it is out to destroy the union. The union is making it its duty to have Axtell, our lawyer, put an injunction against it to see they don't use the name of the I.S.U."

A seaman from the floor: "The only way to fight that kind of a paper is by telling the truth the way they do."

From that time on hardly a meeting of the black gang or the seamen's union was held without the officials in power Red-baiting and attacking *The I.S.U. Pilot*.

APRIL 12 . . . WHAT HAPPENED IN PHILADELPHIA?

For over a week the seamen on the beach demonstrated their ability to close the shipping crimps and force all shipping through the union hall.

Beginning with the strike on the *Dora*, the movement to organize all ships and build the I.S.U. swept the waterfront. Twenty-four-hour picket lines were established at all crimp joints and shipping offices. All seamen were registered for shipping through the union hall with an elected rank-and-file committee in charge. Ships coming into port that failed to sign the agreement faced strike action.

The enthusiasm and determination of the rank-and-file to make Philly a union port forced the local officials to fall in line or become isolated. *The rank-and-file were in command!*

Plans were drawn up to spread the movement to all Atlantic and Gulf ports. Organizational steps were taken towards calling a coastal conference to discuss the organization of a Marine Federation similar to that being set up on the West Coast.

The movement was smashed by the leaders of the I.S.U. Brown, Grange and Carlson, protected by the police, entered the hall. They dissolved the shipping committee; declared the boycott on the shipping crimps off; every-

thing the seamen had accomplished was ruthlessly torn down by these labor fakers.

The Communists reviewed the mistakes made by the rank-and-file in Philly. "These mistakes were made largely because it was felt that the joint possession of the union hall by the phony officials and the police placed them in control of the union. It was forgotten that the union is the members, the seamen—who were carrying on a successful fight for union control, who time and time again had rejected and repudiated the top officials, who were united behind the rank-and-file program and stood solidly as one man behind the local leadership.

"We should have continued picketing the crimp joints; we should have held the seamen together and carried on organized struggle in spite of the fact that the mass of the seamen were barred from the union hall which was in the hands of the police and the top leaders of the I.S.U.

"Next time better, comrades!"

APRIL 15, 1935 . . . FORWARD TO A MARITIME FEDERATION.

The first convention of the West Coast Marine Federation opened in Seattle, Washington. The new organization brought the West Coast maritime unions together solidly.

An injury to one is an injury to all!

Communists call for a maritime federation on the East Coast.

JULY 3, 1935 . . . SEAMEN! STOP WORK ON JULY 5 . . . BLOODY THURSDAY!

The Pacific Coast Maritime Federation has declared July 5 a holiday and a memorial to commemorate the death of the six workers murdered by the shipping interests in the great West Coast Marine Strike of 1934.

Stop work on July 5—Bloody Thursday.

Every ship to fly flag at half mast.

JULY 5 . . . BLOODY THURSDAY . . . ORGANIZED LABOR TIES UP WATERFRONT.

The maritime workers of the Pacific Coast again demonstrated the power of organized labor.

Bloody Thursday was a day of commemoration to the martyrs of the General Strike. No work was done by seamen, longshoremen, or other marine workers affiliated to the Federation.

In San Francisco alone 25,000 marched in parade. Picket lines were maintained along the entire waterfront from sunrise to sunset. Ships flew their flags at half mast.

JULY 5 . . . HAMBURG, GERMANY . . . Lawrence Simpson, American seaman, taken off the *S.S. Manhattan* by the Nazi Gestapo on the charge of having Communist literature in his locker.

The American Government refused to act in his behalf. Simpson was being held in a Nazi concentration camp.

JULY 29, 1935 . . . Shortly before midnight thousands of maritime workers massed at the dock where the Nazi liner *Bremen* was docked.

Police tried to disperse the demonstration. The maritime workers maintained unity in their ranks. Some of them managed to get aboard the *Bremen*. Slowly they made their way forward.

A great shout suddenly went up from the throng at the pier when three men were seen climbing towards the swastika on the bow of the vessel. They tore down the hated Nazi emblem. The flag slowly fell down into the dirty river water. Huge floodlights illuminated every move.

As the flag was torn from the staff, a roar went up from the workers on the dock. A roar that demanded an end to fascism. A roar that was heard around the world!

DECEMBER, 1935 . . . As the end of 1935 rolled around *The I.S.U. Pilot* came out on the waterfront as a regular printed newspaper:

OUR PROGRAM

To do all in our power to advance the cause of unionism—

To organize all bona fide seamen and make the agreement 100 per cent effective on all ships—

All shipping through the union hall on a rotary basis—

To establish trade union democracy in all unions—

To hold regular membership meetings—

Reduction of initiation fees, dues, and salaries—

To build one powerful union and force a better agreement from the shipowners on the expiration of the present one—

VIII. SEAMEN, SHIPOWNERS AND IMPERIALISM

Seamen probably know more about imperialism than any other group of workers. The very nature of the maritime industry gives them the opportunity to observe imperialism in practice.

Bombay, Calcutta, Shanghai, Java, San Juan—romantic ports of call for seamen? Tropical nights, sampans, and unspoiled natives? For tourists, maybe, but not for workers. And seamen are workers.

What do you see in these romantic ports, sailor? Well, I'll tell you: I see Standard Oil and Dutch Shell, United Fruit and the sugar trusts; I see an exploited, starving people, bitterness and revolt. Sometimes I can see the beginnings of another war.

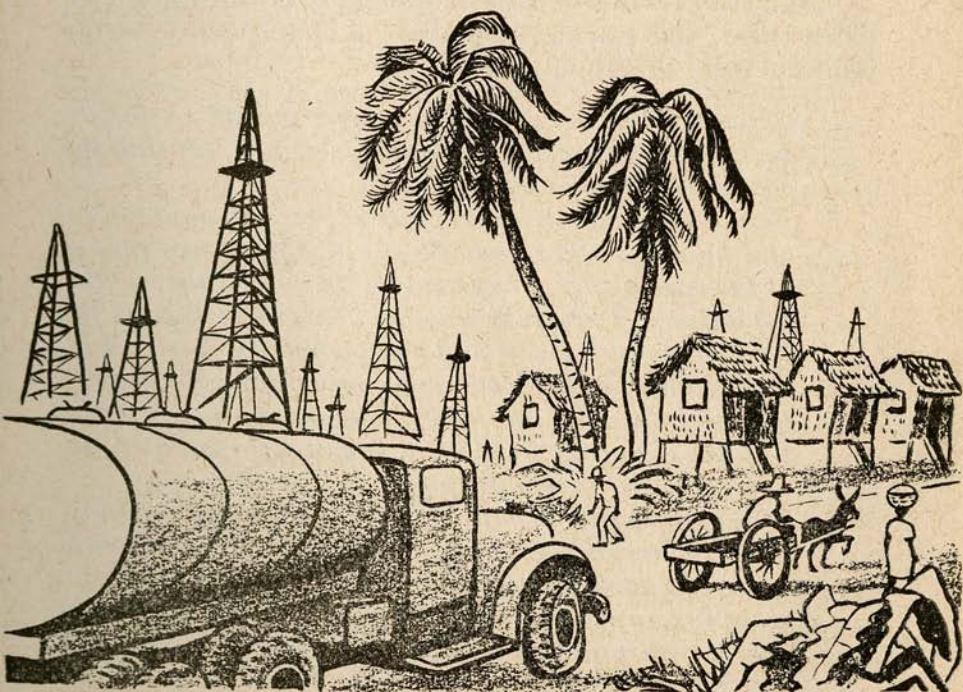
Karl Marx never had the opportunity to see these things. During his time capitalism had not reached that stage of development. In his day capitalist competition had not yet become its opposite—capitalist monopoly. But he saw the handwriting on the wall. He described the period of capitalism that was pregnant with imperialism.

Imperialism was born during Lenin's lifetime. It was Lenin that applied Marxist science to the study of this stage of capitalist development. It was Lenin who saw in imperialism the final stage of capitalist development. For imperialism is also pregnant with change. Lenin applied his studies to the world he lived in—and the Soviet Union, the first Socialist country, was born.

Imperialism is the final stage of capitalism—the stage that is pregnant with socialism. We live in the age of imperialism and the transition to socialism. We have the choice of either helping the world to make this transition by joining the forces of progress—led by the working class; or by attempting to halt progress along with the forces of fascism and reaction.

This is a very important decision for seamen to make. They sail the ships that carry the fruits of imperialist exploitation. They sail the ships that carry the guns and men that are needed to subjugate other peoples for imperialist exploitation.

It isn't enough for a seaman to have seen the brutal exploitation of imperialism in colonial countries like India, and Puerto Rico. It isn't enough just to hate imperialism,



as most seamen do. Seamen must know the whys and wherefores so that they can do something about it.

We have already traced in this book the concentration of capital that leads to monopoly. We have seen how the very nature of capitalism leads to constant recurring crisis in production. We have seen how overproduction comes about because the workers cannot buy back the goods their labor has produced. Production stops because more has been produced than people can afford to buy. People are thrown out of work to starve and freeze, not because there is not enough food and clothing, but because there is too much.

Faced with this kind of crisis the capitalist looks outside of his own country for a place to sell his products and to invest the surplus value created by his workers.

Lenin studied this new development very carefully. He listed these "five essential features" as characteristic of the modern stage of capitalism:

1. *Concentration of production and capital to such a point that it creates monopolies which control the economic life of a country.*
2. *Banks play a new part. They become monopolies and hold in their hands almost all the money capital of the capitalists. They control the fate of the smaller capitalists. They take on their executive boards the big-shot industrialists and shipowners. Control of industry and banks becomes interlocking. Bank capital and industrial capital become merged.*
3. *Capital is exported, loaned, invested in other countries—always on conditions.*
4. *Monopolies in one country get together with monopolies in another country and divide up the world between them. This happened in steel, oil, chemicals, shipping, and other industries. They agree what share each will have in the total of foreign trade. Often particular markets are handed out to each one and fixed prices are arranged.*

5. *The biggest capitalist countries divide up the world for themselves. No territory in the world is left that is not controlled by one of them. The only way that a capitalist country can expand is at the expense of another. The only way that can happen is by large-scale wars that are fought to re-divide the world at the expense of the losers.*

From these facts Lenin drew conclusions that were proven correct by world events. Lenin drew the conclusion that the imperialist stage of capitalism inevitably brought with it greater economic crises and wars on a world-wide scale. At the same time imperialism brought forward greater struggle on the part of the workers. Imperialism gave birth to actual working class revolutions and revolts of oppressed peoples in the colonial countries against imperialism.

Concentration of capital in the hands of a small group also gives that group more and more control of the government. The policy of the government is their policy; carried out in their interests. If they want tariffs to keep out competition, they get tariffs. If they want war in order to take care of foreign rivals, they get war.

"Now wait a minute," says a sailor, "if these big shots divide up the world like you say they do, why don't they just keep it that way? Why the hell make war just to divide it up all over again?"

It is true that monopoly capitalists in different countries make agreements to divide the markets of the world between them. But capitalism doesn't stand still. It develops. It changes. And it doesn't develop and change at the same speed in every country at the same time. England was an imperialist country long before America. An agreement may be reached one year by different monopoly groups, but in a few years the productive power of one or the other group will have increased and they won't be satisfied with their hunk of pie. They want a bigger piece. They denounce the agreement and the fight for markets

starts all over again. But each time the struggle becomes more vicious. Can you imagine what it would be like with the atom bomb?

American productive power increased by leaps and bounds during the war. American capitalists are looking for a bigger hunk of the world pie. American shipowners have more ships today than any other group of shipowners and they are awfully hungry, and the pie looks awfully good.

So you see economic agreements are only armistices in a continuous trade war between capitalists of different countries.

War! There isn't much you can tell a seaman who "kept 'em sailing" about war. There are too many seamen in Davy Jones' locker. But this is the thing to remember: *war is the product of the concentration of the means of production, of wealth, in the hands of the capitalists in each country. Only when the workers all over the world own the means of production and control the wealth their labor creates will wars finally be abolished.*

But war isn't the only horrible mess that capitalism, in its imperialist stage, produces. The terrific growth of productive forces, added to the competition of rival monopoly groups for the biggest hunk of pie, leads to a *general crisis*. The only time that capitalists can provide jobs for everybody and make full use of the productive forces is in time of war. Even in the middle of prosperity, a boom, great amounts of machinery, ships, land are unused and workers unemployed. The war was hardly over, the G.I.'s weren't even brought home, and the shipowners began laying up ships.

Ships, factories, land, in the hands of a small gang of capitalists holds up production. At one stage private capital helped men to develop productive forces. Today imperialism stands in the way of full development of the productive forces, and the full use of the factories, the ships, and the land.

And the screw-up gets even worse. When monopoly capitalists compete with each other the workers find that their conditions get worse. New inventions—labor-saving machinery is developed. Doesn't that make it easier for the worker? Hell, no! Alongside of new machinery comes the speed-up and less workers are needed. And more workers to compete for fewer jobs. Unemployment and undermanning are the result. The depression that follows every boom is the excuse for cutting wages.

What happens?

The class struggle becomes more acute. There is only one way to solve these problems. The workers must take over the ships and factories and the land. The means of production must be owned socially.

Socialism becomes a reality.

But wait a minute. Let's take another look at imperialism. We are not through with that yet. Let's really find out all the reasons why imperialism can make such a mess of the world we live in.

There is another feature that Lenin points out. When monopoly capitalists exploit the people of backward countries they are able to make even higher profits. This is true because of the low standard of living in these countries; the rotten conditions forced on them; and the fact that machine products can be exchanged for handicraft products at a very high rate of exchange. Don't forget exchange value is determined by the amount of labor time it takes to produce something.

This extra profit made by exploiting colonial people makes it possible for the capitalist in an imperialist country to throw the workers at home a few more bones. So the workers in one country get a higher standard of living at the expense of the workers in another country. Workers in America have a relatively "high" standard of living, but at the expense of the poverty-stricken workers in Puerto Rico and other places where American capitalists market their goods, invest capital, and exploit the people.

Because of this, some labor leaders support the imperialist adventures of the capitalists in their own country. This is opportunism in the labor movement. Labor leaders who are opportunists, who identify their interests with the ruling class, deny the class struggle and help to maintain capitalism. They help to maintain the system that can only bring the workers unemployment and war. These opportunist labor leaders aid their rulers even more by helping them fight the Communists in the labor movement.

Along with imperialism in colonial countries comes the fight against imperialism. A wide movement for independence and freedom grows. Look what is happening in Indonesia and China today. Tomorrow the struggle will break out in other colonial and semi-colonial countries.

Communists see these struggles for what they really are: the inevitable result of capitalist exploitation. They will only end with the overthrow of imperialism. That is why seamen Communists make common cause with the colonial peoples against the common enemy, the monopoly capitalists in the imperialist country.

The imperialist stage of capitalism, the stage in which capitalism is most concentrated and most organized, is also the stage when its conflicts come to the surface. This stage of economic crisis and war is also joined by the most violent struggle against the ruling class, the capitalists. It is a struggle that can only end with the overthrow of the capitalist system of production and the setting up of a socialist system of production.

THIS IS WHAT HAPPENED—1936-1937:

FLASHBACK No. 8

FEBRUARY 10, 1936 . . . A new year.
SHIPOWNERS DECLARE WAR ON SEAMEN. 7,000
VIGILANTES ARMED.

The militant, progressive unions on the Pacific Coast became the center of the open-shop employers' attack to destroy the organized labor movement and the hard-won working conditions gained by the unions. The shipowners banded together with the financial backing of the most reactionary capitalist interests to smash the Pacific Coast Maritime Federation. They were prepared to use violent fascist methods to force the members of the maritime unions into submission, and to return to the old open-shop conditions of longer hours and lower wages, under a company-controlled union.

The I.S.U. leadership, working on shipowners' orders, expelled the Sailor's Union of the Pacific. The shipowners hoped to create disunity among the maritime unions.

COMMUNISTS CALL FOR UNITY TO DEFEAT ATTACKS.

"Only by standing together in firm solidarity can the unions win out.

"The members of the Communist Party in trade unions must be in the forefront of the fight to defend the unions. The Communist Party requires its members to be good union men and women. The Communists in the trade unions unite with all progressive forces in the labor movement to strengthen the trade unions and their fight for better conditions, higher wages, and shorter hours. Communists in the unions advocate democratic control of the unions by the membership itself.

"We appeal to every worker and every friend of labor to stand by the maritime unions in their struggle.

"The united front of labor can defeat the employers' offensive."

MARCH 13 . . . THE EAST COAST . . . 50 SHIPPING COMPANIES THREATEN OPEN SHOP!

There is only one answer, said the Communists, that we can give the shipowners: ORGANIZED MASS STRUGGLE!

MARCH 20 . . . "CALIFORNIA" AND "AMERICAN TRADER" ON STRIKE.

The crew of the *California*, under the leadership of their bosun, Joe Curran, and the crew of the *American Trader* went on strike.

"These are our and your demands:

1. *West Coast scale of wages.*
2. *75¢ an hour overtime.*
3. *Shipping through the union hall.*
4. *8-hour day for stewards.*
5. *Agreement to expire same time as West Coast.*

"STRIKE FOR THESE DEMANDS ON EVERY SHIP. EVERYBODY ON THE PICKET LINES."

APRIL 6 . . . STRIKERS LAUNCH FIGHT FOR JOB CONTROL.

With ranks growing stronger, and more ships joining the strike, the striking crews voted to start a campaign for a centralized hiring hall.

APRIL, 1936 . . . WEST COAST UNITY DEFEATS LOCKOUT.

The plot of the shipowners to smash the Maritime Federation of the Pacific received a setback when they ran into a solid front of the marine unions. The shipowners were forced to retreat and call off the lockout.

MAY 11, NEW YORK . . . POLICE ATTACK SEAMEN.

More than 200 police armed to the teeth with clubs, tear gas bombs, and other deadly weapons, without provocation or warning, attacked the picket line at Pier 62 and beat up and arrested 200 pickets.

The following day police in squad cars and trucks smashed through a picket line crushing two seamen under the wheels.

Fascist Terror Grips Waterfront.

Fascist attacks were timed with strikebreaking editorials in the Hearst newspapers.

MAY 22 . . . STRIKERS WIN MASS PICKET RIGHTS.

Seamen, with the aid of New York trade unions, force the police to retreat.

I.S.U. officials side with shipowners and label the strike an "outlaw strike."

MAY 28 . . . STRIKE ENDS IN PARTIAL VICTORY.

At a strikers' meeting, in New York, 1,200 members of the I.S.U. voted to end the 9-weeks strike by accepting the terms proposed by the International Executive Committee of the I.S.U.

The strike ended with many gains. It struck a powerful blow for overtime and union control of hiring.

COMMUNISTS CALL FOR ORGANIZATION ABOARD SHIPS.

"On with the fight! Forward to a powerful rank-and-file controlled union and a maritime federation in the East and Gulf."

JUNE 12 . . . Headline in *The I.S.U. Pilot*: "FINK BOOK BILL BEFORE SENATE."

The "fink book" was a bill proposed by Senator Cope-land which would force seamen to carry a continuous discharge book. A discharge book would give the shipowners a way of blackballing militant seamen. Every time a seaman made a beef the "Old Man" would mark it down in the book. A few such marks in the book and no company would ship the seaman.

The Communists actively opposed the fink book because "it would isolate militant seamen and Communists from the industry."

The I.S.U. leadership supported the fink book.

JUNE 17, NEW YORK . . . The *Daily Worker* carried a well-documented full-page spread exposing the I.S.U. officials' connections with the shipowners and the police. The article was written by Roy Hudson, seaman Communist leader.

"An unholy trinity is operating on the waterfront against the seamen.

"What honest seamen have long known can now be proven. The reactionary leaders of the I.S.U. are in league with the shipowners, the government, the police and underworld elements.

"A giant conspiracy is afoot to smash militant unionism in the maritime industry at any cost.

"The documented facts come from their own mouths and their own files. They form an indictment more damning than any that has yet been produced against any group of opportunist labor leaders in this country."

JULY 3 . . . COPELAND BILL CHAINS SEAMEN.

The Copeland Fink Book Bill became law.

The rank-and-file seamen refused to carry the fink book. The West Coast seamen voted to treat any man that carried the book as a scab.

AUGUST 21 . . . M.F.O.W. ELECTS PROGRESSIVE OFFICIALS.

The stranglehold that the labor fakers had around the necks of the membership of the Marine Firemen, Oilers and Watertenders Union was broken. The progressive slate defeated Carlson's slate by two to one.

ZERO HOUR!

In San Francisco, that October, a tense drama was being unfolded on the waterfront as the zero hour for the signing of the new agreement approached.

The shipowners began arming for war on the maritime unions. It was revealed that the Law and Order League, the open shop organization of the shipowners, hired 300 gunmen and large quantities of guns and ammunition.

As the zero hour approached the seamen of the West Coast were united and determined to defend their unions and their gains.

In Italy, the seamen's unions had been crushed by fascist terror.

The strong rank-and-file unions of the German seamen were smashed by the Nazis.

The seamen of the Pacific Maritime Federation clenched their fists and swore that they would never let it happen here!

STRIKE!

After long maneuvering the second great waterfront strike began on October 30.

T. G. Plant, strong-arm president of the Waterfront Employers Association, issued the following statement:

"We can tie up our ships for two years, if necessary."

The waterfront was at a standstill. A patrol was established by the Maritime Federation of the Pacific to prevent violence. The San Francisco waterfront was never as observant of law and order as when the workers themselves guarded the front.

The Communist Party called on all seamen to support the West Coast.

Strike Becomes National!

With the start of the fifth week, the maritime strike called on the West Coast had spread to national proportions with all vessels on the West Coast and a large percentage on the East and in the Gulf tied up.

Efforts to break the rank-and-file strike by employing strikebreakers were being continued by phony I.S.U. officials.

DECEMBER 11 . . . RANKS TIGHTEN.

The grim fight on the waterfront took on sharper intensity as the maritime strike entered its seventh week. A coastwise conference of unions was called. The greatest picket line in maritime history drove forward.

DECEMBER 13 . . . SAILORS AND STEWARDS OUST OFFICIALS.

Following the lead of their black-gang brothers, the sailors and stewards started to kick out the phony I.S.U. officials.

“Blackie” Myers, a Communist seaman, was elected to represent the union at the coastwise conference.

DECEMBER 16 . . . STRIKE GAINS NEW TEMPO.

The maritime strike of the East and Gulf stepped up to a faster tempo with the welding of all forces at the Coastal Conference.

New York Parade 28 Blocks Long!

The grim tread of ten thousand marching feet gave the answer to the shipowners and phony officials who claimed there were only a few hundred men on strike.

Men in massed military formation for twenty-eight blocks marched past the offices of the shipowners from the Battery to Union Square. With the continual threat of rain and in the biting cold the marching feet moved up Broadway.

DECEMBER 28 . . . SAILORS TAKE OVER HALLS.

In New York, Houston and Norfolk, the sailors took over the union halls and ousted the old scab-herding officials.

JANUARY 19, 1937 . . . SEAMEN MARCH TO WASHINGTON.

The biggest battle since the beginning of the strike began with the seamen’s march on Washington. A mass delegation, representing all ports, carried the fight against anti-labor legislation directly to Congress. President Roosevelt was asked to repeal the vicious blacklisting and union-smashing clause in the Copeland Act.

FEBRUARY 1, 1937 . . . EAST COAST TIE-UP ENDS WITH VOTE.

At one of the biggest meetings of the New York maritime strikers, in the Manhattan Lyceum, it was voted to conclude the strike. Major gains had been made by the striking seamen. Most important of all the rank-and-file had won virtual full control of the I.S.U.

Roy Hudson, writing in *The Communist*, hailed the new leadership developed in the strike. “Out of the ranks of the East Coast seamen has come Joe Curran, a militant,

courageous seaman, seasoned by two historic strikes into an established, capable leader." New leaders among the Communist seamen were singled out for attention: "Al Lannon on the East Coast, Walter Stack on the West Coast are but a few of the dozens of Communists, splendid militant leaders, whose standing as progressives and leaders has become more firmly established in the course of this historic struggle."

WEST COAST STRIKE VICTORIOUS!

The Pacific Coast maritime strike came to an end in victory after ninety-nine days of unexampled solidarity, organization, and discipline on the part of the 40,000 seamen and longshoremen. The Maritime Federation of the Pacific, born out of the great 1934 strike, went through its greatest test of strength in a struggle which in many ways smashed all precedents of previous strike struggles.

The Communists could review their work in the great maritime strikes with considerable pride. The inability of the shipowners to split the ranks of the strikers with the Red scare indicated the increased strength and influence of the Communists.

In every port the leadership elected by the strikers included Communists. In some ports, well known Communists became outstanding leaders of the strike. On practically every issue and question of policy the recommendations of the Communists received the overwhelming support of the workers.

IX. SEAMEN, GOVERNMENT AND CLASS STRUGGLE

In the days of Washington and Jefferson capitalists were a lot more factual than they are today. Long before Marx discovered the key to history in the class struggle, Madison and Jefferson pointed out that the class struggle was the basis of practical politics. When our constitution was being made, Madison got right down to scientific fact and revealed the forces of society and the function of capitalist government. “. . . the most common and durable sources of factions has been the various and unequal distribution of property. Those who hold and those who are without property have ever formed distinct interests in society. . . . (This) divides them into different classes. . . .” The function of government was to “regulate” this class struggle in the interest of the ruling class.

The capitalists were scientific then. They were revolutionary, too. They were struggling with feudalism so they had to deal with facts. The facts were on their side. Science is always on the side of the class that is revolutionary and aims to destroy an outdated, decaying social set-up. Today science belongs to the working class. They must master it and apply it to the world they live in. The science of the working class is the science of Marx and Lenin.

The capitalist class no longer deals in facts, in science. Truth is dangerous. The capitalist class has traded science for baloney; truth for hypocrisy.

Today the capitalist class denies the scientific facts revealed by Jefferson and Madison. On the one hand, they deny that there is a class struggle. On the other hand they argue that the government is an impartial arbitrator that protects both industry and labor. They tell the worker that he is living in a democracy. The government belongs to him. The majority of the people control it. They tell the seaman that he stands on a basis of equality with the shipowner. Workers and capitalists are equal before the law.

Yeh?

The real truth of the matter is that this is a capitalist government—a rich man's state. The government is there to act on behalf of the shipowners and to protect the inter-



ests of the shipowners and other monopoly capitalists against the interests of the people. The government is the executive committee of the big trusts.

That shouldn't shock you, sailor.

Take a look at the representatives of the government you come in contact with every day.

The Shipping Commissioner is supposed to enforce the law. His first stop is the captain's cabin, where he gets a few drinks, a cigar, and a line-up on the crew. If a seaman protests a log he better have a damn good union patrolman there to help him fight it. It pays to be a sea lawyer.

Next, the forty thieves, the customs officials, give him the business—one hand in the seaman's sea-bag, the other very often held out for a bribe.

The cops are always ready to slug him if he drinks a little too much. Very often the cops work together with the pimps and whores and other sharks who cover the waterfront, ready to take over the seamen.

In some ports things like this have happened:

A cop sees a seaman on a street corner. For no reason the cop takes him in. Charge:drunkenness.

The seaman appears before the judge.

"What's your occupation?"

"Seaman."

"Guilty. Thirty dollars or thirty days."

Equality before the law.

Seamen come even closer to the real significance of government and politics when they fight for better wages and working conditions. Then they see who really controls the government and the police.

The government for the most part built the American Merchant Marine. The job was done with taxpayers' money. The shipping interests have received government-owned ships practically as a gift. To further swell the shipowners' profits the government gave them huge subsidies with which to operate these ships.

Whenever seamen have organized to improve their wages

and conditions, shipowners have used the government machinery to destroy this threat to their high profits. In 1921, the I.S.U. was smashed and existing agreements scraped by a government agency, the U. S. Shipping Board.

The anti-labor role of the U. S. Shipping Board, in 1921, is now being carried forward by the U. S. Maritime Commission.

The government is a weapon of power in the hands of the shipowners and other monopoly capitalists. That is why the capitalists are the ruling class. The government is there to make it possible for monopoly capital to exploit and oppress the workers and the colonial people. The government, its laws, agencies, police, militia, army, the courts, jails, the legislatures—all are there to make capitalist exploitation possible.

We hear a lot today about labor disputes. The press makes it sound as if capital and labor were on an equal basis, and the government is an impartial judge who will decide which side is right. Actually there are no "labor disputes." The capitalist on the one hand wants to press more sweat and blood, more profits, from the workers. On the other hand the workers fight for a bigger share of the wealth their labor creates.

This is war! It is *class* war.

One class, the capitalists, wages war against the other—the workers. In this war the government always sides with the capitalist, the shipowner. They may do it with a lot of democratic sounding language and a deep concern for "public interest." But the big stick is always ready. The government is the big stick of the shipowners.

This is the only realistic, factual view of the government.

The Communists are the only political organization which recognizes the basic nature of capitalist government. Government may change its appearance. It may use a parliamentary and seemingly democratic set-up, with limited free speech and organizational freedom for its opposition. As long, of course, as the opposition is not too

dangerous. But when it becomes disturbing for big capital they produce a few anti-labor laws like the Copeland Fink Book that was aimed to prevent the seamen from striking. Sometimes the big capitalists find it necessary to do away with even the appearance of a democratic set-up and institute a reign of terror against the workers as they did in Nazi Germany. Since the end of the war capitalists in America have threatened to openly use the government to control the lives and labor of the American workers. If they should succeed America would become a fascist country.

Fascism is a form of the capitalist state. Fascism is the open, brutal, terroristic dictatorship of monopoly capitalism. Through the fascist form of the state monopoly capital puts the entire burden of economic crises on the backs of the workers. Monopoly capitalism looks to fascism to solve the problem of markets by enslaving other nations and re-dividing the world through another war.

Monopoly capitalism uses the fascist form of the state to destroy the organizations of the people and remove every obstacle that stands in the way of capitalist exploitation.

Appearances and speeches may change but the fact remains. The essence of capitalist government is the preservation of capitalism.

THIS IS WHAT HAPPENED—1937-1940:

FLASHBACK No. 9

SPAIN . . . 1937.

*From far off fatherlands we've come,
We took nothing with us but our hate;
Yet we haven't lost our homeland,
Our homeland is now outside Madrid.
With our Spanish brothers in the trenches,
Fighting in the hot Castilian sun—*

*Forward International Brigaders, Forward!
Raise the Banner of Solidarity!
Forward International Brigaders, Forward!
Raise the Banner of Solidarity!*

*With rifle, bomb, and our machine guns,
We'll exterminate the fascist plague,
Free all Spain of plunderers and pirates.
Spanish brothers, Spain belongs to you.
Free all Spain of plunderers and pirates.
Spanish brothers, Spain belongs to you.
Show no mercy to the fascist rebels,
Nor to any traitor in our ranks.*

—SONG OF THE INTERNATIONAL BRIGADES.

The International Brigades were formed of anti-fascists who came to Spain from all over the world to defend Spanish democracy against German, Italian and Spanish fascism.

In Europe, fascism stalked the continent, aided ironically by Big Business the world over. Fascism stuck its greedy claws into the backs of the Spanish people.

Fascism had to be stopped in Spain or the world would be engulfed in the most devastating world war ever.

Communist seamen went to Spain.

The men from the maritime industries who went to fight the fascists were products of the great struggles of the seamen and longshoremen. They helped to initiate those struggles. They helped to lead them to success. These men had done the tough, hard work that gives birth to progressive unionism. To be an organizer, on coffee and doughnuts and a flop on the floor, takes guts. It is tough to work and work and hardly see any improvement. It takes discipline to organize without expense money and find your transportation in boxcars.

It took men to do that kind of a job. Many of these men went to Spain.

Men like Harry Hines, editor of *The I.S.U. Pilot*, who

was one of the first American seamen to be killed by fascist bullets.

Men like Joe Bianca, and the many others who are now buried in the Spanish soil they sought to defend from the fascist aggressors.

And the hundreds of other great fighters who came back to carry on the struggle against fascism right here in America.

500 Maritime Workers Fought in Spain!

“THEY FOUGHT BECAUSE THEY BELIEVED IN THE PRINCIPLES OF 1776, AND HAD THE COURAGE TO FIGHT FOR THESE CONVICTIONS; MEN WHO WERE STRONG BECAUSE THEY BELIEVED IN THE STRENGTH OF THE WORKING CLASS; MEN WHO HAD FAITH BECAUSE THEY HAD FAITH IN THE CAUSE OF THE WORKERS.”

No better tribute could be paid any of these men than the tribute to Joe Bianca that appeared in the *Voice of the Federation*, the newspaper published by the Maritime Federation of the Pacific.

Joe Bianca was a member of the Sailors Union of the Pacific, and was judged the “best fighter in the Lincoln Battalion.”

“Joe Bianca was a Communist. As a Communist, he first fought for union organization where there was none. As a Communist, he fought for unions to be controlled by the membership instead of any clique. As a Communist, he advocated unity of all workers, regardless of affiliation, and as a Communist he advocated resistance to fascism and proved his sincerity by going out and giving his life for the defense of democracy and you and me. Could any better proof be given that the Red-baiters of every stripe are lying when they tell you that Communists and Reds are some kind of animals, different from you and me?

“I salute a man!

“The seamen, the workers everywhere have lost a fighter. But there will be thousands to take his place in the

fight against the fascist hyenas and the fight for working class unity and for the preservation of democracy all over the world. I salute a man!"

BRITT WEBSTER,
Book 2605, I.L.W.U.I.-13.

MARCH 16, 1937 . . . MARITIME WORKERS SCORE BIG VICTORY.

Washington, D. C. . . . After months of bitter struggle and political action the seamen registered a decisive victory against the Copeland Fink Book. By mass pressure on the government the maritime workers forced the House Merchant Marine Committee to recommend to Congress that the Fink Book Law be optional rather than compulsory.



The seamen would not have to carry a discharge book which would serve as a blacklist for the shipowners; instead they could simply carry a certificate of identification and receive discharges in the form of discharge slips.

Down on the waterfront, a Communist seaman was addressing a group of maritime workers, telling them of the victory against the Fink Book.

"So you see, Brothers, the fight against the shipowners has two sides. The fight must be fought on two fronts—the economic front and the political front. The two fronts add up to one thing: the fight for a decent life. A lot of guys on the front, Wobblies and others, argue that the Communists bring politics into the unions, into labor's fight for conditions.

"It's the bosses who bring politics into the fight. The Fink Book was a shipowner move. The shipowners were using the government as a big stick against the seamen. The seamen had to fight back *politically* to stop it. Brothers, you can't ignore the political fight because the shipowners are always going to try to use the government against you.

"Look what happened to the seamen in Germany. You can't ignore the political fight. The German workers did—and now they have lost their freedom. They have been enslaved by the bosses."

APRIL 7 . . . The *Daily Worker* began running a special column devoted to the struggle of the seamen. The column was called "CALLING ALL PORTS." On the waterfront the *Daily Worker* was recognized as the only paper that consistently fought for the maritime workers.

APRIL 27 . . . ACTIONS ON SHIPS SWEEP COAST.

Strike action swept the coast with sit-down strikes taking place on scores of ships to force recognition of rank-and-file officials.

MAY, 1937 . . . SEAMEN ORGANIZE INDUSTRIAL UNION.

What has been a slogan projected by the Communists in the 20's and early 30's became a reality. The seamen,

who by their great, united industrial strikes had encouraged industrial organization in other basic industries, organized an industrial union in the maritime industry.

The historic strikes of the seamen had given impetus to the Committee for Industrial Organization.

The seamen organized the National Maritime Union of America, C.I.O., uniting for the first time all the crafts in the Maritime Industry.

PLOT!

The Rank-and-File movement had become a great giant on both the East and West coasts. Here was living proof of the strength of the American working class once they were united.

The shipowners had failed miserably to destroy this great giant of organized labor.

But shipowners don't give up easily.

They had fought the rank-and-file movement from the outside.

Now they tried to destroy it from within by disrupting the unity of the maritime workers.

The shipowners had their agents within the rank-and-file movement. Where they didn't have any they bought some. Some shipowners' agents even managed to worm their way into the Communist Party.

The Trotskyites are the agents of the bosses and fascists that worm their way into the very heart of the labor movement and poison it with disunity and Red-baiting.

The shipowners' counteroffensive began!

AMERICAN TROTSKYITES PLOT TO DISRUPT MARINE UNIONS.

The Trotskyites worked with the agents of fascist Germany and Japan to prepare for war against the Soviet Union. They murdered Kirov and other working class leaders of the Worker's Republic, and plotted the death of Stalin.

In Spain, they worked behind the lines and disrupted the people's struggle against the fascists.

In America, they attacked the unity of the Maritime Workers.

On the Pacific Coast, the iron unity of the maritime unions was disrupted by Barney Mayes, whose real name was Mass. Using the same tactics as the Trotskyites in Europe, Barney Mayes and his partner, Norma Perry, tried to smuggle an anti-Soviet, anti-working class policy into the Maritime Federation of the Pacific.

Barney Mayes got his job as editor of the *Voice of the Federation* with the use of forged references. Many years before he had been expelled from the Communist Party for misappropriation of funds. Later he participated in a bank holdup in Michigan.

Under his editorship the *Voice* slandered and attacked the People's Front of Spain and the Communists in the maritime unions. On every basic question, he and the other Trotskyites used their influence to produce a split in the ranks of the maritime unions.

Barney Mayes was finally removed by the rank-and-file of the West Coast unions.

A handful of Trotskyites continued to do the shipowners' dirty work in the unions.

Roy Hudson, the Communist leader, in a statement to the press concerning the Trotskyites said:

"Driving them like rats out of the trade unions and other organizations is one of the best guarantees for the continued advance of the American workers and the American people toward a free, prosperous and happy life."

On the East Coast, as soon as the seamen set up their own union the shipowners and their agents prepared to wreck it from the inside.

Joe Ryan, one of the labor movement's biggest labor fakers, set up a phony "Marine Division" of his racketeer-dominated longshoremen's union. Militant seamen were singled out and severely beaten on the waterfront by Ryan's goons. How did he know who to attack? In Washington, before the Copeland Committee, he blurted out: "I have

my men inside the Maritime Union to keep me informed as to what is going on."

Around March, 1937, a shipowner-supported newspaper, called the *Rank-and-File Pilot*, hit the front. This paper's main activity was to label every militant seaman a "Red." According to this newspaper the only people on the waterfront who weren't Reds were Joe Ryan, Harry Lundeborg, and the shipowners.

The real Communists on the waterfront, of course, were the targets of the most vicious attacks. Those who are Communists don't deny it. The real Communists on the waterfront were open and above-board and could take anything the phonies had to dish out. Men like "Blackie" Myers and Al Lannon, and the hundreds of rank-and-file Communists, stood up and defended their right to be Communists.

When the membership stood solid behind the rank-and-file leaders, Communist and non-Communist alike, the shipowner stooges resorted to violence. They took over the N.M.U. hall with baseball bats and the aid of the police, on the pretext of protecting the membership from the Communists. They forced through many phony resolutions.

Kelly, an intimate friend of Jerry King, who was later exposed as a shipowner agent, approached "Blackie" Myers:

"Here is a resolution," Kelly said, "demanding the resignation of all Communists. We want quick action or else. . . ."

Myers asked: "Is it all right to be a Republican?"

"It's all right to be anything," Kelly said, "if you can stand the pressure of baseball bats."

THE RATS ARE SMOKED OUT.

Things looked pretty good for the phonies for a while—until the rank-and-file found them out.

The first to stumble was Carlucci. Carlucci was exposed by the United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers

Union, which recognized him as a labor spy who had tried to operate in their union.

Soon as one was exposed they all began ratting on each other. Their connections with the shipowners were fabulous. One by one, the rank-and-file of the N.M.U. kicked out these ratting, Red-baiting labor spies.

Senator LaFollette, whose committee investigated the labor spy racket, put his finger on the tactics of the shipowners' agents when he reported:

"Raising the Red scare is a common practice with detective agencies, not because of any profound fear of radicalism among the employers, but because the identification of labor with radicalism serves their anti-labor policy."

1938 . . . EQUAL RIGHTS EXTEND BEYOND THE PICKET LINE.

The great strikes had forged unity of Negro and white seamen. In those great struggles the seamen learned to judge a man by his guts—by his willingness to fight the shipowners.

But after the strike the shipowners began working to split the unity of the seamen. Equal rights meant a united front of the seamen. No shipowners could stand up against that kind of unity. They encouraged discrimination. They wanted the seamen to fight among themselves. The Maritime Commission actually had a policy of encouraging disunity and discrimination on federally subsidized shipping.

The Communist Party has always been the best fighter for equal rights for all people.

Seamen Communists fought discrimination aboard ship and ashore.

We had equal rights on the picket line. Now let's make it stick.

BLACK AND WHITE—UNITE AND FIGHT!

JANUARY 10, 1938 . . . Down in Baltimore Negro seamen were having a tough time.

Pat Whalen, Communist and Port Agent, led a delegation of Negro seamen to Washington. They fought their



way through the red tape until they got before the U. S. Maritime Commission. Then they blew their tops. Where the hell did the government get off to encourage discrimination on shipping lines that were subsidized by taxpayers' money? Are we dedicated to the proposition that "all men are created equal" or aren't we? They got results.

In every waterfront struggle against discrimination the Communist seamen proved themselves the best fighters for equal rights—for real democracy.

FEBRUARY, 1938 . . . LONGSHOREMEN STRIKE IN PUERTO RICO.

"Blackie" Myers, Communist Vice-President of the N.M.U., went down to Puerto Rico, offering aid from the seamen.

The shipowners aimed to drown the strike in blood.

Repeated attempts were made to "get" Myers.

One night, armed with machine guns, they were able to get scabs down on the dock. The crew of one ship were ordered to prepare for unloading. The crew sent for Myers and got him aboard. Then they told the "Old Man" that if he wanted a crew he had better not let the scab longshoremen near the cargo. Meanwhile the crew armed themselves with marlin spikes and galley utensils just in case the scabherders were going to try any rough stuff. The skipper promised the crew that the ship wouldn't be unloaded by scabs.

The beef settled, Myers went down the gangplank. At the end of the dock he was attacked. He was knocked down. Down on the ground he was stabbed repeatedly. A crew member saw the whole thing. He quickly got the gang together. They came down on the dock. It was dark and there was a great deal of confusion. Myers was able to break away. Wounded as he was, Myers was still able to warn the crew to get back on the ship. The whole thing had been planned to provoke the crew. Machine guns surrounded the docks ready to drown the strike in blood.

Because the workers refused to be provoked the strike

ended in victory. The demands of the Puerto Rican longshoremen were won.

APRIL 21, 1939 . . . TANKERS ON STRIKE.

In the great tanker strike, the seamen relearned the lessons of the earlier strikes. The Communists had long pointed out that the government was controlled by the bosses. In the tanker strike, the seamen learned through bitter experience that the government served as a big stick for the shipowners. How can the workers separate pork chops from politics if the shipowners don't?

JULY, 1939 . . . MURDER!

Pete Panto Was Murdered!

Pete Panto was a longshoreman. Pete was a Communist.

In July, 1939, he disappeared. He said "so long" to his girl that night and just before he left he said:

"I am going to meet a couple of guys I don't trust."

He was never seen alive again.

In March, 1940, the then Brooklyn District Attorney, O'Dwyer, disclosed that Panto had been murdered by waterfront goons.

Why was Panto killed?

Panto fought the racketeers and phony officials of the East Coast longshoremen's union. He fought to do away with the "shape-up" system of hiring. He fought for wages and conditions and democratic unionism.

Pete Panto was a Communist.

The rank-and-file under his leadership began to show real signs of fight. The shipowners got worried. The racketeers got worried.

Pete Panto was murdered.

His body was found in a lime pit near the Passaic River.

Pete Panto is dead. Tens and hundreds, and even thousands, will take his place.

The bosses and their racketeers can't murder the whole working class!

X. SEAMEN AND SOCIALISM

Socialism is not a dream. Socialism is a science. A science that has been put into practice, tested and *verified* on one-sixth of the earth's surface, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

Just as capitalism varies in every country so would the practical application of socialism vary according to the development and traditions of each country.

But just as the basic characteristics of capitalism are the same everywhere so would the basic characteristics of socialism be the same in every country.

The first essential feature of socialism is that the means of production are taken from private ownership and used for society as a whole. In our industry that would mean that the ships would not be run by the shipowners for profit but would be used by society as a whole in the interests of the great majority of the people. Don't forget the ships and factories that make up the means of production represent labor, surplus value that the workers were never paid for.

The workers taking over the means of production is only the beginning. That is the first step—the step that clears the ground for the planned development of the productive forces.

It is a mistake to think that this development is only necessary in a country as industrially backward as Russia was when the working class took over there. Even a country where the productive forces are as advanced as in America, is held back from the full development scientific knowledge today makes possible.

America is not further advanced today because of the capitalist system of production. Under capitalism, economic crisis always checks production. Because production is for profit, for a market that is constantly restricted under capitalism, the growth of the productive forces is held back. Under capitalism, monopolies buy up inventions in order to prevent them from being used. New inventions sometimes cut into profits. Under capitalism production cannot be planned, so there is no systematic growth. And look at the tremendous resources destroyed in wars and the class struggle, and the terrible waste of human beings through unemployment!

Factories and ships, mines and railways, power stations and farms, must be reorganized and brought up to date, so that a much higher level of production is reached—so that more things are produced for more people. This reorganization is necessary to raise the standard of living of all the people.

What is needed is *planned* production.

Under capitalism new factories are built and new articles are produced only when a high rate of profit can be made by producing the article. A high rate of profit on the article doesn't always mean that the particular article is needed by the people. The demand may come from a tiny section of the very rich who demand luxury items that are practically useless, while most people need such necessities as food and clothes. The shipowners were not interested in bringing the GI's back when the war was over because more profits could be made by carrying bananas.

When profit is the motive force there can be only anarchy in production. The result is overproduction in one direction and underproduction in the other.

Only in socialist society, where production is not for profit but for use, is it possible to plan production.

There can never be overproduction in a socialist economy. Wages are adjusted to equal the total price of the

goods to be consumed. Under socialism the workers own the goods their labor produces. There is no capitalist who pays the workers just enough to live on and keeps for himself the biggest share of the value that the workers' labor creates.

When production is planned, it is possible to plan the distribution of the things produced.

I can hear a guy in the messroom who at this point says: "Yeh, but what kind of a setup is that where people who are lazy get the same as people who put out and produce?"

Well, I'll tell you, brother, that is something you picked up from Hearst and not from Marx. In the first place, "*He that does not work, neither shall he eat.*" Which doesn't bother people like us who have worked all our lives, but it does make it a little tough for the shipowner who never had to lift a finger in useful effort. In the second place, you get paid wages in a socialist society according to how much you put out. The more you put out in a socialist system the more everybody benefits, not just a shipowner. The more you put out, the more you get. And when you produce, you don't just increase the wealth of a few—you raise the whole level of society. A guy who does that can be proud of himself and of his work.

That is the difference between work under socialism and work under capitalism.

Just as workers change under capitalism—learn to organize and work together, slowly but surely learn to fight capitalism because the conditions of their existence force them to—*people change under socialism because their manner of existence changes.*

From the time the working class takes power and begins to change to socialism, a change takes place in the outlook of the people. The barriers of capitalist society break down. Education and opportunities are open to everybody and are not just limited to those who can "afford" it. Everybody becomes an "intellectual" and intellectuals learn to work.

Women are no longer looked on as either angels, prostitutes, or housekeepers. They come out into the world and play a role with the same freedom everybody else has.

Discrimination and barriers between national groups are broken down. There are no capitalists in a socialist society to play one worker against the other. No one is treated as superior or inferior because of his color or nationality.

Democracy stops being a slogan and becomes a reality. And it doesn't mean just voting every couple of years. In every factory, every ship, every community, men and women shape their own lives and the destiny of their country. Under socialism they can do this because they own the means of production.

Yes, people change when their method of existence changes. You *can* change "human nature," but not by telling people they should do this or that, or be good Christians, but by changing the material conditions of life—through socialism.

What would a seaman's life be like under socialism?

The seamen themselves would decide that. For the first time their lives would be shaped by themselves instead of being determined by the shipowners' greed for profits.

In the first place ships wouldn't be built the way they are today with cargo space and passenger space given every consideration and the seamen given whatever rat-holes are left. The people would own the means of production and the seamen would be right there when the ship was designed. And we all have a few ideas on how ships ought to be built.

The seaman would go aboard the ship with just his shoregoing gear. He wouldn't have to worry about oilskins and boots, and heavy weather gear. The ship would provide them. No getting rooked in the slop chest, either.

He would have a room, not a foc's'le with sweating bulkheads. The room would have enough locker space to take

care of his clothes properly. The room would be equipped with proper lights, comfortable chairs, and a desk.

He wouldn't have his laundry hanging up on a line around his bunk. There would be a good, large laundry, and a steam-heated room to dry clothes.

The messroom would be a large, well-decorated room where the whole crew eats. And there would be a decent recreation room far enough away from sleeping crew members so that no one would be disturbed. The recreation room would be properly equipped for all kinds of entertainment, and large enough to hold meetings of the entire crew, with room enough for everybody to be comfortable.

In a socialist America, the seamen will have a voice in the running of the ship. The ship will have definite work to do. Fulfilling the plan of work will be the job of the crew. If they do more than the plan calls for they draw extra wages. The plan isn't just handed down by the captain, either. The means of production are owned by everybody and the crew takes part in the making of the plan of production. Decisions are made by everyone together, and observed and carried out by everyone.

The captain is responsible for the navigation of the ship and for discipline on watch.

The ship's committee is responsible for the organization, and social life, and the work to be done. The ship's committee decides food, menus, lays out the work, settles disputes. The ship's committee, with the entire crew, decides which crew members shall study in schools ashore. Those who go to school continue to get the same wages that they were earning aboard the ship.

There would always be full employment for the seamen because there can never be overproduction under socialism. Through proper vacations, the seamen could live a normal life for the first time in the history of the maritime industry. Seamen could marry and have children with the knowledge that their loved ones are secure

and with the possibility of seeing them often and having normal, healthy relationships. In many instances, wives will live aboard ship with their husbands. Women at sea will not be the strange phenomena that they are under capitalism where good, healthy, normal relations are actually a phenomenon.

This is a rough sketch of a seaman's life under socialism—the real thing the seamen will shape themselves to meet their needs and aspirations. Just as socialism will be brought about by their struggles, life under socialism will be what they themselves make it.

THIS IS WHAT HAPPENED—DEC. 7, 1941:

FLASHBACK No. 10

PEARL HARBOR!

**THE FASCISTS UNLEASHED THEIR FULL FURY
ON THE PEOPLES OF THE WORLD!**

That day the seven seas became the front lines in the war against fascism. That day Nazi and Japanese submarine commanders peered through periscopes and sent flashing, death-dealing torpedoes into the hulls of unarmed American ships. That was the day it began. From that day on, the seamen were in the front lines.

But wait a minute.

That was the day it began officially. That was the day it became respectable in the eyes of Government officials and the State Department for a guy to be an anti-fascist.

The war against fascism began long before that.

Communist seamen had fought fascism ever since fascism began stalking the earth.

In 1932, Communist seamen called on their fellow marine workers to refuse to carry war materials to fascist Italy or imperialist Japan.

In 1934, they picketed Nazi-German consulates, pro-

testing the brutal enslavement of the German working class by the Nazis.

The seamen Communists fought fascism from the beginning. They knew what fascism meant to the workers—the open, brutal, terroristic control of a country by the monopoly capitalists. The different color shirts and phony left-wing speeches didn't confuse them.

In Spain, over 500 American seamen fought fascism.

It is action that proves theory—not talk.

On December 7, Communist seamen were ready to act. They knew the score from the start.

They were ready to avenge the death of their comrades all over the world—to avenge the death of Harry Hines and Joe Bianca and the others killed by fascists in Spain.

It is easy to be tough when you're in a well-armed submarine and getting all the breaks. But it takes real guts to face torpedoes on an old rust-bucket of a ship without guns. American seamen have that kind of guts. Communist seamen have that kind of guts.

GIVE US GUNS!

Survivors of torpedoed ships demanded to know why American merchant ships were not armed.

"What do you want us to do? Fight submarines by throwing potatoes at them?"

"Where are the guns? *We need guns!*"

The big industrialists weren't ready to produce guns yet. They were in Washington holding out for government guaranteed profits. They got them, too. But a lot of good guys died before the big boys figured they were going to make enough profits to make it worth their while to produce guns for the merchant ships.

But the torpedoed seamen shipped out again and again. Hitler was the most important fascist then. Put him out of the way and then let's see what we can do about the home-grown fascists.

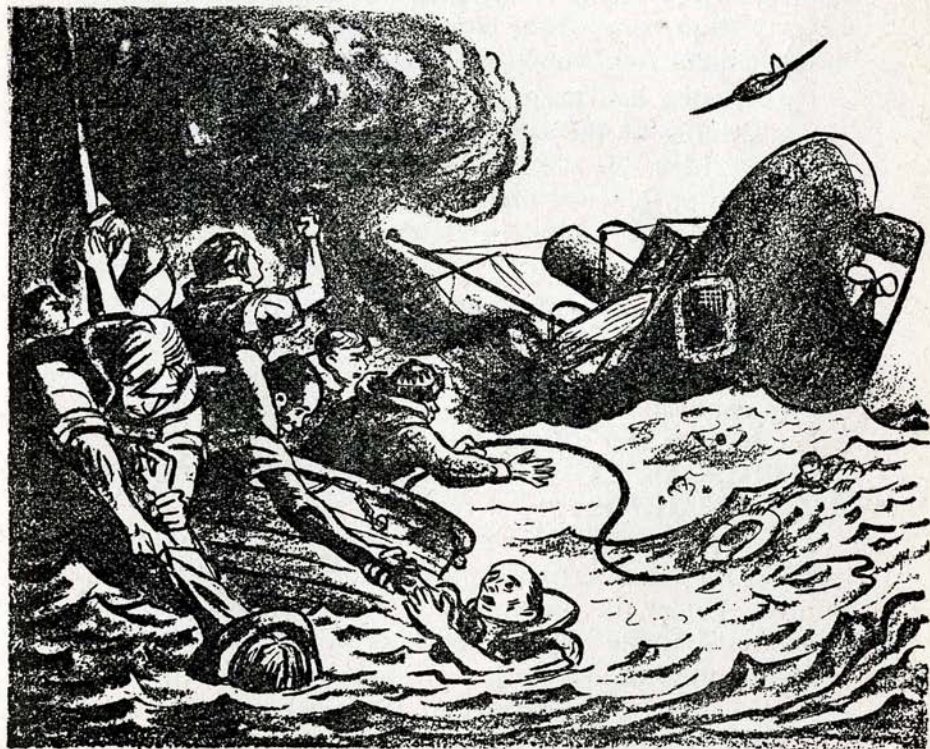
With bonuses being paid by the government take-home pay was on a fair level for the seamen. But when the sea-

men turned their energies toward fighting Hitler the shipowners began breaking down conditions. The shipowners were still more interested in fighting the seamen than they were in destroying fascism.

The main job was to lick the Axis.

DON'T LET THE SHIPOWNERS PROVOKE A STRIKE!

The Communists fought for a no-strike policy in the marine industry. Until the fascist nations were licked strikes would only harm the interests of the workers. Together with all American seamen they maintained a no-strike record throughout the war in spite of the tremendous provocations and difficult conditions the seamen had to work under.



Keep 'em sailing!

Come hell or high water, keep them sailing until fascism is licked.

The seamen maintained the lifelines of the war until the democratic nations could prepare for the offensive. Until that time the seamen themselves faced the full might of the Axis. And when the United Nations went on the offensive the seamen carried the troops and the supplies that finally crushed the Axis.

NAME A LIBERTY SHIP FOR A SEAMAN!

Early in the war when a larger percentage of seamen were being killed than in all the armed forces combined, the seamen demanded that one of the Liberty ships be named after a seaman who had lost his life in the war. Liberty ships were being named for all sorts of people—most of them the seamen had never heard of.

Pat Whalen had been torpedoed and killed soon after the beginning of the war. Pat Whalen was well-known among seamen. He was an old-time fighter for rank-and-file unionism. He was one of the leaders in the struggle for democratic shipping in Baltimore, in 1934. He had been active in the great strike struggles.

Pat Whalen was a militant fighter for the seamen.

Through mass pressure the seamen succeeded in getting a ship named for Pat Whalen.

The good ship SS. *PATRICK WHALEN*.

Pat Whalen was a Communist.

EUROPEAN COMMUNISTS CRITICIZE AMERICAN COMMUNISTS!

The program and policies of the American Communists came in for severe criticism from leading European Communists. Under the leadership of Earl Browder American Communists came to mistaken conclusions about the nature of capitalism in America. Browder claimed American capitalism was progressive—that the workers could solve their problems by collaborating with the bosses. European

Communists nailed this policy for what it actually was—*opportunism*.

William Z. Foster maintained a correct and scientific view. Foster recognized that the basic nature of capitalism and imperialism had not been changed by the war. He knew that even before the war was over the bosses would cut wages and that the workers would have to fight and fight hard for a decent standard of living. He knew, too, that only socialism could offer a decent solution to the problems of the workers. Under Foster's leadership American Communists hammered out a correct policy.

The Communists hide nothing from the workers. They had made serious errors. Had they maintained a correct Communist view of capitalism they would have been better fighters against fascism; better because, while correctly fighting German and Japanese fascism, they would also have fought fascism at its roots—monopoly capitalism all over the world.

The American Communists corrected their policy. They removed Browder from the leadership, and later expelled him from the Party when he opposed its policies and decisions and attempted to disrupt and weaken it through factional activities.

At their convention in July, 1945, they hammered out a fighting program capable of giving real leadership to the American people in the struggle for peace, democracy and economic security.

At that convention they elected seamen to leading positions in the Communist Party of America.

Josh Lawrence, young Negro seaman, was elected to the highest body in the Party—the National Board.

“Blackie” Myers and Al Lannon were elected to the National Committee.

Joe Stack was elected to the New York State Committee.

XI. SEAMEN AND THE COMMUNIST PARTY

"The transformation of the world is a great, complicated and painful process. For this great task a great class is required. Big ships go on long voyages," remarked Joseph Stalin to H. G. Wells in an interview in 1934.

The big ship is the working class. Its navigator is the Communist Party. The only party with a science of navigation capable of navigating this great class through the stormy waters of our times into the secure port of socialism.

The Communist Party is the navigator of the workers in their struggle against the old system and in the building of the new system.

The Communist Party is a political party. Its job is to lead the struggles of the working class as a whole for state power.

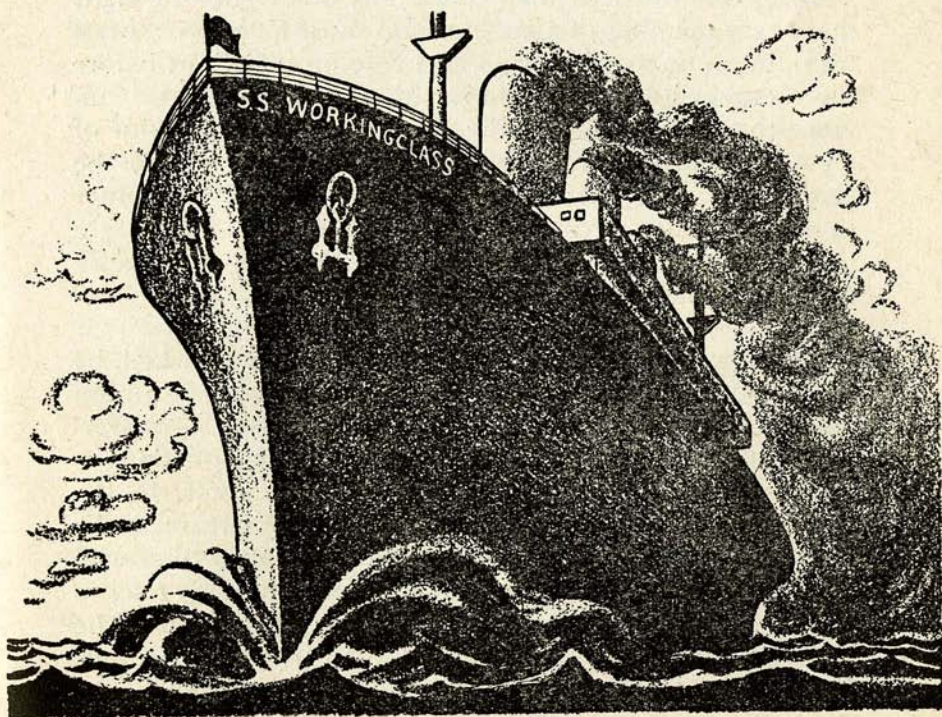
The Party concerns itself with every phase of this movement. It unifies the different struggles, gives them direction, fills them with the spirit of the class struggle, and charts a course toward the ultimate establishment of Socialism.

The Communists look upon every activity of the workers from this point of view. Every major struggle of the workers is a step toward Socialism. There is no contradiction between the ultimate aims of the Communists and the immediate interests of the workers. Whatever is harmful to the ultimate political aims of the working class is

also against the immediate interests of the workers and is therefore rejected by the Communist Party. The Communists are the best fighters for wages and conditions.

The Communist Party draws into its ranks the most militant fighters among the seamen. The seamen Communists are the most militant fighters on the waterfront. The Party teaches them how to navigate in the labor struggles of the maritime industry. It teaches them the science of navigation—social, political, and historical navigation. It is the science of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin. The Communist Party looks on its members as leaders in the struggles aboard ship and ashore. It trains them to be fit for this work.

The Communist Party watches very carefully every turn in the development of the country. At every turn of the



economic, political, social or cultural life of the country and the whole world, the Party points out to the workers what they have to do in order to get the maximum results. The Communists, together with the rank-and-file workers, work out a line of activity for every branch of the labor movement at every given moment.

The Communist seamen are working seamen. Like all seamen they work aboard the ships and are interested in the same things all maritime workers are interested in. The Communist seamen are interested in building the maritime unions and fighting for wages and conditions. The Communist seamen believe in and fight for rank-and-file control of the unions. They believe unions should be used to protect the interests of the workers. The membership alone has the right to determine the policy of a union.

The Communist seamen claim only one right—the right that every member of a trade union must have—to express his opinion on any question and vote on questions before the membership. If they have this right and fail to convince the membership of the correctness of their point of view, then the Communist seamen figure there must be something wrong with the point of view or the manner in which it has been presented. If the Communists are to be the navigators of the working class they must work in such a manner as to win the confidence, respect and trust of those people who are not Communists.

Communists on the waterfront are often attacked by the shipowners, the Hearst newspapers, and phony union officials for supposedly being “un-American,” “subversive,” “unpatriotic,” and an “alien” influence on the waterfront. Of course, the real test is in life itself. In the war against fascism the reactionaries who screamed the loudest about the “Red menace” were the very ones who tried to sabotage the war effort, who tried to keep fascism alive by destroying the unity of the United Nations. The Communists are justly proud of their role in the war. Communist seamen have given their lives in the fight

against fascism ever since the war in Spain. When America entered the war Communist seamen fought for the slogan of "keep 'em sailing," and along with all freedom-loving American seamen they kept them sailing. The beliefs of Communist seamen have been tested in real life and struggle. That is the only test of patriotism. Communist seamen met that test.

These same reactionary, fascist-minded elements in American life argue that the patriotism of the Communist seamen and the Communist Party is half-hearted because Communists do not set America above all other countries. Communists despise nationalist and racial prejudices. By constantly fomenting hatred and contempt for other nations and races the reactionaries bring about the poison of fascism. Fascism demonstrates its "superiority" by Negro lynchings and attacks on the Jews and other minority groups, and finally declares war on neighboring nations.

The Communists are always ready to fight for the liberty of their own country. But Communists would never fight for the suppression of the liberty of another nation. The first is patriotism. The second is not.

Enemies of the Communist Party claim that Communists cannot be patriots because they stand for the international solidarity of the working people. Communists *do* stand for international solidarity. So did Abe Lincoln, who wrote in a letter to Karl Marx: "*The strongest bond of human sympathy, outside of the family relation, should be one uniting all working people, of all nations and tongues and kindreds.*"

Yes, Communists believe that, and will fight for it!

The most common attack of Red-baiters and fascists is on the ground that the Communists are loyal friends of a foreign country—the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. In no country do the intelligent workers and progressives deny their solidarity with the Soviet Union. This solidarity is in harmony with the best aspirations of real patriots in every country. This is solidarity with a *socialist* coun-

try. A country that is free from imperialist appetites. A country that fights for equality and self-determination for all nations. A country that is a reliable defender of the peace. The Soviet Union is such a country because it is a socialist country.

Only the most reactionary pro-fascists continue to attack the Soviet Union.

When the workers of Russia became the complete masters of their own country, the intelligent workers of all countries declared their solidarity with the first socialist country. The Soviet Union became the motherland of the workers of all countries. At the same time this strengthened their love and patriotism for their own country. The inspiring example of the Soviet people gave the American Communists hope for a brighter future for America.

That is the basis for the solidarity of the American Communists and all intelligent workers with the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

True patriotism fights imperialism. True patriotism fights for decent human conditions of existence for the working masses.

American Communists are such patriots.

The Communist Party of America is the navigator of the American working class.

The Communist Party of America is charting a course that leads to the abolishment of wars and man's exploitation of man—the course that leads to the establishment of socialism.

THIS IS WHAT HAPPENED—1945:

FLASHBACK No. 11

1945 . . . THE WAR WAS OVER!

Out on the Hudson a Victory ship lay at anchor.

All the way down in the engine room you could hear

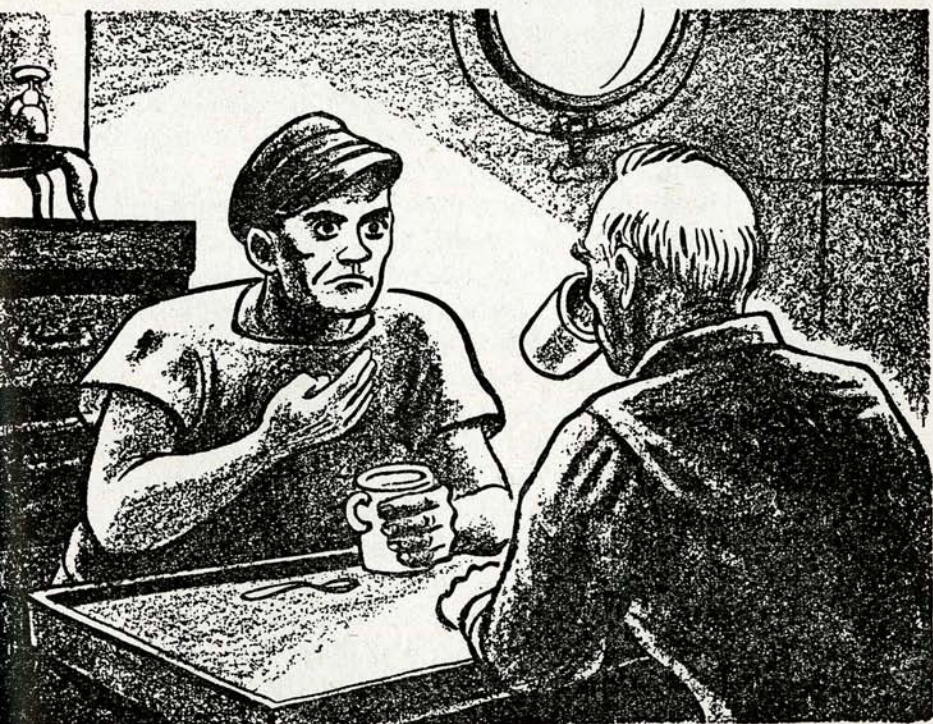
the bells ringing and the horns blowing over on the island of Manhattan. The war was over! Up on the bridge the mate on watch tugged on the ship's whistle and let go with a long-drawn, ear-splitting blast.

Down in the messroom an old AB who was standing security watch drew himself a cup of coffee. A young oiler came up from down below and made himself some cocoa.

The oiler grinned. "Bet the boys ashore are having themselves one hell of a time."

"Yeh," the AB grunted. "It's over. Now we're bums again. Heroes up until a few minutes ago. The war is over and the war is just started."

"What do you mean the war is just started? The war is over—finished."



"No, it ain't. The war for wages and conditions has still got to be fought. You know sometimes I wonder if it's going to be like after the last war. It better not, that's all I can say."

The oiler drank his cocoa. "Listen, Pop, it ain't going to be like after the last war, see."

"Yeh? Who says it ain't?"

"Me, Pop—I says it ain't. Me and a lot of other Joe Bananas with grease on our dungarees."

The old AB grinned. "Feel pretty tough, huh, kid?"

"That's right. I feel pretty tough." The oiler rinsed out his cup and went back down to the engine room.

OCTOBER 1, 1945 . . . THE GREAT NEW YORK DOCK STRIKE.

For 18 days 35,000 longshoremen conducted a strike struggle on the waterfront.

Since V-J Day there had been a growing resistance on the part of American workers against monopoly's drive to place the burden of reconversion upon the backs of the workers. The grievances of the workers had been piling up in the course of the war.

The strike of the longshoremen was no ordinary strike.

It was a strike for wages and conditions. It was also a strike against the reactionary leadership of Joe Ryan, head of the International Longshoremen's Union. The I.L.A. leadership had done nothing to protect the interests of the men on the docks.

The rank-and-file were on strike.

In the beginning they had no leaders, no funds, and no organization. Ryan bitterly opposed the strike. But the 35,000 longshoremen were determined to win.

When the arbitration board handed down its decision the longshoremen were the first American workers to receive the two-dollar increase after the war.

All the demands were not met. A proper sling load limit and larger gangs were yet to be won. But the rank-and-file was on the march.

The seamen supported the strike. Unity between seamen and longshoremen on the East Coast was hammered out during the strike. The N.M.U., the M.F.O.W., the A.C.A. and the M.C. and S. set up a joint seamen's strike committee to support the longshoremen. Chairman of the committee was Joe Stack, a Communist.

OCTOBER 9 . . . ELECTIONS IN THE M.F.O.W.

"Attention, Firemen!" was the title of a little leaflet got out by Walter J. Stack, a seaman Communist running for office in the M.F.O.W. The leaflet answered a Red-baiting attack aimed at the Communists in the M.F.O.W.

"Should a Communist be rejected for office as a union official because he is a Communist?"

"Certainly not. Each man should be judged by his work. Did we reject the support of the Red Army because it was Communist-led, or of Premier Stalin because he was a Communist? The answer is obvious.

"Did the anti-fascist resistance movement in every invaded country of Europe and Asia refuse to fight fascism because Communists led the fight? Naturally not.

"When the *Western Worker* (official organ of the Communist Party of California) offered its bi-weekly paper to the longshoremen to use as its official strike organ in the great 1934 maritime strike, did they refuse it because it was Communist? Certainly not.

"Have you ever heard of a Communist who finked in a strike? Certainly not. But plenty of anti-Communists have.

"Our aim is to show that when some people holler "RED!" they are just trying to use outdated prejudice to influence members against an idea or people against whom they have no constructive criticism.

"The record of Communists in the trade union movement can stand for itself in any strike or building of a rank-and-file union.

"Who led the fight against phony racketeers, crooks, etc., in the maritime unions? The Communists, supported by the rank-and-file.

"An old trick of the reactionaries is to label all opposition "Communist." Even the late President Roosevelt was so labeled. So were the maritime unions in the 1934 strike. Every militant delegate has been called a Red by some phony chief, skipper, or company at some time or other.

"The interests of the Communists are the interests of the workers. There is no such thing as a conflict of interests. The Communists are workers and have no other interests than the interests of their class—the working class. The program of the Communist Party is for the brotherhood of all seamen—of all workers—for unity of action of all workers to maintain and improve working and living conditions and wages.

"When capitalism can no longer provide the minimum security to exist as humans, and cannot prevent recurrent wars, depressions, and general misery, we, along with the majority of our class, the working class, will take any and all steps necessary to change the system.

"Our parting word to you, Brother, is: Don't be taken in by any phony 'anti-Communist' line. If a man is OK, back him. If he is phony, bounce him."

Signed: WALTER J. STACK,

Member of Seaman's Branch, C.P.

Walter Stack was elected!

DECEMBER 3, 1945 . . . GREED SHIPPING TIED UP.

American seamen in a smashing attack on the shipowners' greed for profits tied up every ship that was not being used to bring the soldiers back from overseas.

For twenty-four hours seamen and longshoremen tied up all commercial shipping, dramatically illustrating the unity of labor and the GI's.

A further step toward unity of all maritime workers was hammered out in the strike action of December 3. Taking part in the stoppage and other activities were the

N.M.U., the A.C.A., the M.F.O.W., the M.C.S. and the I.L.W.U., the West Coast longshoremen's union. On the East Coast, the longshoremen refused to cross the seamen's picket line even though their president, Joe Ryan, proclaimed to the press that the stoppage was a "Red plot." Many rank-and-file members of the S.I.U. and the S.U.P. participated in the action.

Less than a week later, Communist seamen carried the fight to bring the GI's home right into Times Square when they staged a surprise demonstration around the slogans:

EVERY SHIP A TROOPSHIP—LET THE BANANAS WAIT!

HANDS OFF CHINA—BRING OUR GI'S HOME!
DON'T LET CHINA BE THE SPAIN OF WORLD WAR III!

1946 . . . AMERICAN IMPERIALISM DRIVES FOR WORLD DOMINATION.

TWO MILLION WORKERS ON THE PICKET LINES.

That was the way the new year began.

The seamen Communists rolled up their sleeves and prepared to fight for democracy and a decent life at home with the same guts that kept them sailing to lick the fascists abroad.

Seamen joined the other workers on the picket lines with the grim knowledge that soon they themselves would have to hit the bricks for a living wage.

"It looks tough," said a worker on the picket line.

"Yeh," said a seaman, "but we'll make it. The future belongs to us—to the guys that work and produce the stuff, and the guys that sail the ships. We'll make it."

XII. WHERE DO WE GO FROM HERE?

It is true that seamen played a great role in building the capitalist world. It is also true that today seamen have become a leading section of the industrial working class.

It was the maritime workers who cut through craft divisions and showed the way to industrial organization in the great general strike of 1934.

It was the maritime workers who raised strike action to a new political level in the gigantic work stoppage of December 3, 1945, protesting imperialist, undemocratic foreign policy, and demanding that the GI's be brought home.

The American labor movement looks on the seamen as foremost fighters for the interests of the working class.

It is time for the seamen to set their sights on the future and chart the course that will lead to a decent life.

When it comes to charting that kind of a course there are no better sextants and navigating charts than the science of Marx and Lenin.

WE FIGHT FOR UNITY OF MARITIME LABOR.

The shipowners and their government agencies are united against the seamen and longshoremen.

The same shipowner-government gang that threatens the wages and conditions of the seamen is lined up against the longshoremen and the harbor workers. The Maritime Commission has given direct aid to the shipowners in the recent longshore struggles on every coast. In New York,

the regional representative of the War Shipping Administration was directly engaged in scab-herding against the longshoremen and harbor workers. The shipowners are organized on an industry-wide basis.

The seamen and longshoremen and harbor workers are divided into almost a dozen unions each going its own way.

What does that lead to?

Take your hand and twist the fingers one at a time. It hurts, doesn't it? You could break your fingers that way if you wanted to.

That is what the shipowners are doing to the seamen. Though all seamen have basically the same interests, the different unions have not been working together. Each has separate agreements that expire at different times. Each union fights the shipowners almost singlehandedly. And sometimes the shipowners even get the unions to fight among themselves.

Now take your hand and make a fist. Nobody is going to twist any fingers now. If the shipowner walks into that it won't be the fist that gets hurt.

That is what we need in the maritime industry. *A fist!* The seamen need unity of all the maritime unions. Not only the seamen's unions, either, but the longshoremen and the harbor workers and all maritime labor.

Can you imagine the kind of wages and conditions that could be won if all the workers in the maritime industry stood solid behind every demand?

The seamen have struggled for that kind of unity for a long time. The Communists have always fought for unity of the maritime unions, and for industry-wide organization. The great maritime struggles of '34 produced the Maritime Federation of the Pacific. The Federation was composed of all the maritime unions on the West Coast, and included both longshoremen and seamen. The shipowners worked overtime to smash it. The Trotskyites, the agents of the shipowners inside the unions, finally disrupted the unity of the maritime workers by poisonous

Red-baiting. The shipowners Red-baited from the outside and their agents Red-baited within the unions themselves. Many attempts have been made on both coasts to forge unity of all the unions, but so far every movement was smashed by the shipowners and reactionary labor leaders.

This time we cannot afford to fail.

Unity must be hammered out. And it must be built from below—by the rank-and-file.

In ports all over the world the crews of different ships and different unions should hold regular unity meetings to discuss these important problems and take action to build one great industrial organization for all maritime workers. In American ports joint meetings must be held with the longshoremen. Seamen and longshoremen should get together and discuss their problems and work out a minimum program.

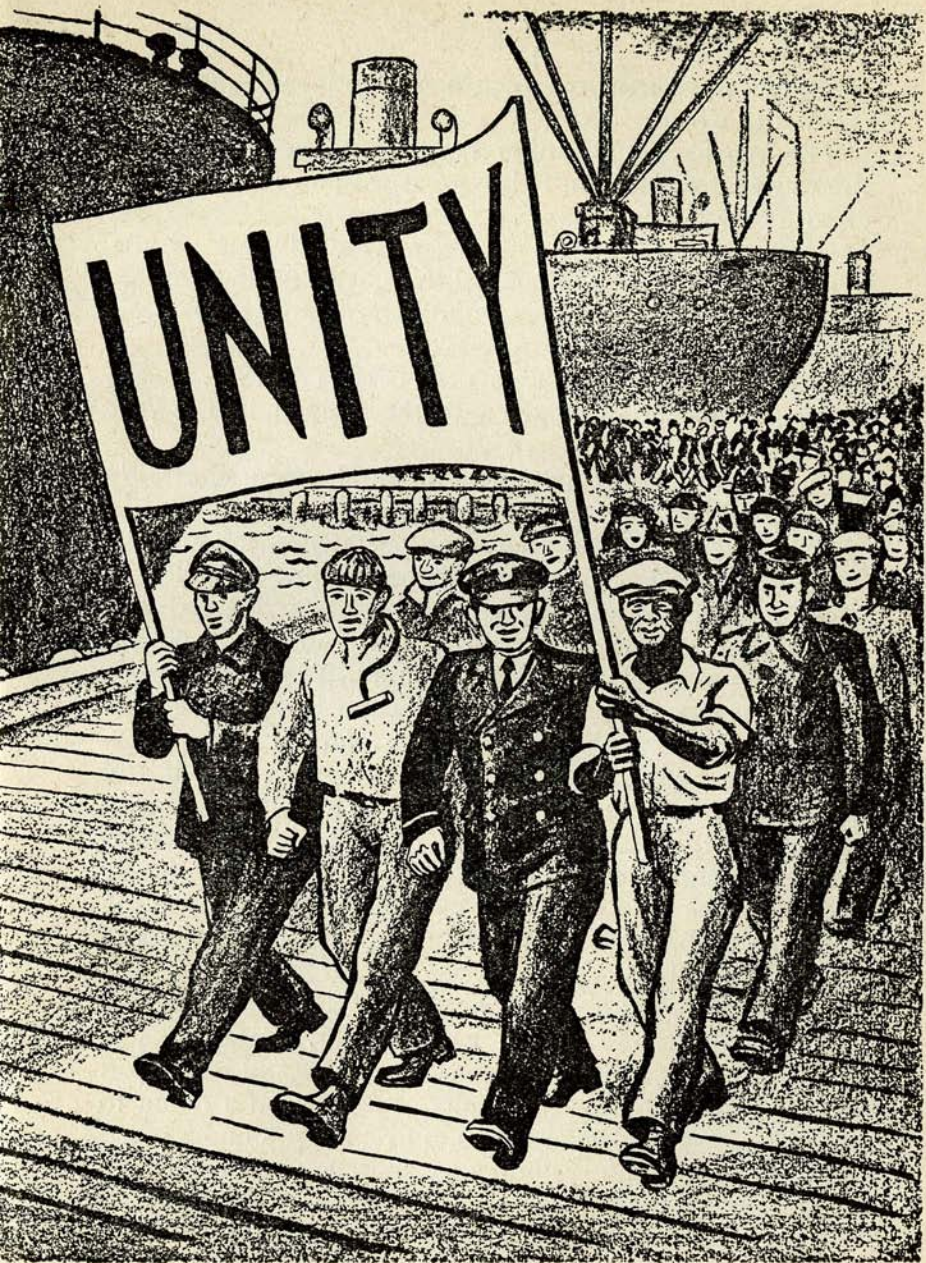
Forward to unity of all maritime workers and all maritime unions! Seamen and longshoremen, unite!

An injury to one is an injury to all!

WE FIGHT FOR INTERNATIONAL LABOR UNITY.

The World Federation of Trade Unions that was formed in 1945 marks a new high in organized working class strength.

The seamen are in the most international of all industries. They have a keen interest and a deep need for international organization. When seamen anywhere in the world are poorly paid and have bad conditions it is a threat to seamen all over. The shipowners argument for low wages is always on the basis of competing with nations where the seamen receive sub-standard wages and conditions. The worst paid seamen in the world are right in our own hemisphere—the seamen of Chile and Brazil. This is a threat to the living standards of American seamen. The only answer to this threat is international organization that will fight to raise the living standards of seamen all over the world.



Seamen must fight to strengthen the unity of the workers of the world.

The World Trade Union Federation was born out of the war against fascism. It is a great weapon for the workers of every country.

We must fight for an active marine division of the World Federation of Trade Unions. We must fight for a real brotherhood of the sea. *Solidarity of Seafarers all over the world!*

LOOK AT THE RECORD OF CAPITALISM.

What has capitalism given to the seamen in the past generation?

From 1914 to 1919 there was full employment—but *only at the price of war.*

From 1920 to 1922 there was a sharp depression and the seamen's wages were slashed and their union destroyed.

This depression was followed by the great "boom." The war had created enough damage and enough of a commodity shortage to supply the capitalists with a market. Did the seamen get anything out of the boom? They did not. AB's were making about \$50 a month.

In 1929 the capitalist system caught up with itself and the bottom fell out of everything. During the depression as many as 17 million workers were unemployed in America. The seamen were among the hardest hit.

From 1934 until 1939 the government tried to save the dying capitalist system by feeding it 30 billion dollars of made-work subsidies.

The war gave capitalism the shot in the arm it needed. Capitalism can't get along without war. Gigantic war orders kept the wheels of industry turning and developed new industries. Now the capitalists count on a boom to last them through the next two to five years—a boom based on war damages and commodity shortages caused by the war.

This is what the capitalist system has given the seamen. Unless sharp measures are taken by the working class we

can look forward to an economic smash-up that will make the last depression look like a picnic.

It is easy to see from the recent record of capitalism in America that capitalism cannot maintain full use of industry without government orders in the form of subsidies such as the shipowners always manage to get, or through war munitions, or the market created by war damages.

Seamen, along with the rest of the American labor movement, must go into action on a mass scale to protect their economic interests. This means fighting for legal protection of their trade unions and collective bargaining, and fighting against legislation aimed at smashing the organizations of the workers. It means fighting for a decent system of social insurance and unemployment insurance, and for the seamen in particular to be included in such legislation. Generally, bad legislation hits the seamen first and good legislation reaches the seamen last. It means also fighting for a program of government works to furnish jobs when capitalist industry cannot.

And when the wonderful ships and factories that were built during the war by the government and the surplus value created by the workers (which they were never paid for), when these great productive forces are closed down and laid up by the capitalists, let the workers themselves open them up and run them in the interests of the people.

The people have gone through too much to permit idle factories and ships. If the capitalists cannot run them—let the people run them. What the capitalists fail to run—*nationalize!*

WE FIGHT FOR A SECURE PEACE.

America is an imperialist country.

Seamen are very familiar with the imperialism of England, France and Holland. These countries are openly imperialist. American imperialism has its own methods. It dominates other countries by its great economic power,

military strength, and aggressive foreign policy. American imperialism would like to do what Hitler failed to do.

With the end of the war American capitalists started their ruthless campaign to dominate the world. They used the atom bomb as a big club. They intervened in China on the side of Chiang Kai-shek and Standard Oil. They aided British and Dutch imperialism in their attempts to crush the democratic movements for freedom and independence in the colonial countries.

The maritime workers were quick to fight the imperialist adventures of the capitalists. They were the first to demonstrate in support of freedom for the people of Indonesia. The work stoppage of December 3 was the most direct action taken against intervention in China.

The democratic forces in America gave imperialism a momentary setback. The democratic opposition to imperialism included the broad strike movement, the protest demonstrations by the GIs, the strong resistance in Europe against interference by American capitalists, and the Soviet Union's determined defense of people's movements everywhere, waged within the U.N. and outside of it.

That was a setback for American fascism. It will take more than that to stop fascism. It will take more than that to prevent American imperialism from attempting to succeed where Hitler failed.

Every day the failure of capitalism to meet the needs of the people becomes more obvious. Every day it becomes more difficult for capitalism to mask its vicious face.

Where is the brave, new, shiny, postwar world that was promised to our veterans and our workers?

Today imperialist forces are trying to put the whole burden of the war and the failures of capitalism on the backs of the working people.

Today the bosses seek to wipe out every slight wage increase through higher prices.

Today monopoly capitalism strives to prevent the growing unity of labor and the people by brutally attacking and

terrorizing Negro Americans in Columbia, Tennessee, by brutally murdering Negro servicemen in Freeport, New York. Today in America all minority peoples are targets for terror—terror launched by monopoly capital in its reactionary offensive against the peoples of the world.

Today, in America the bosses use every weapon to smash the growing strength of the labor movement. From the outside, the labor unions are under sharp attack from the bosses and the boss press; from the inside, a fifth column seeks to poison the heart of the labor movement with Red-baiting.

Today, imperialist circles are trying to build another "anti-Comintern" Axis: a Washington-London Axis to replace the Rome-Berlin Axis destroyed at such great cost by the freedom-loving peoples of the world. If reaction has its way, the U.N. will merely be an extension of this axis—a reactionary anti-Soviet bloc aimed at the growing democratic movements all over the world.

Today, in the heart of America, the Tory Churchill, the voice of imperialism, openly exposes the aim of the Washington-London Axis. The actor was Churchill, but the lines were Hitler's. The die-hard voice of capitalism called for war—war against the Soviet Union! War against the rising democracies forged in the crucible of the fight against fascism!

The pattern is familiar. *The pattern stinks of fascism.*

The attacks on the maritime unions, the attacks on the Negroes and the Jews, the attacks on colonial peoples, the attacks on the Soviet Union—they are all cut from the same cloth; they are all part of the same pattern.

The cloth and the pattern spell war and fascism!

Must it happen here? Labor and the people have been slow to recognize the rotten stench of fascism and a third world war. Do we have to live through the agony right here in our own country to realize the menace of war and fascism. Do we have to go through its physical terrors to understand the importance of uniting and fighting against

it? Will it take fascism to make America understand that the best guarantee of peace and democracy is a great and powerful labor movement and a strong Communist Party?

The maritime workers along with the rest of the American people must act quickly to put a stop to the military march of Big Business toward world domination. The maritime workers of Europe have indicated that they will not permit their labor to be used to bring back fascism to Europe. In America the maritime workers have always prided themselves in their militant, democratic, revolutionary traditions. Certainly they will not permit themselves to be used to enslave other peoples. Certainly we will profit by the experience of other countries and not permit ourselves to be enslaved. Rather, let us use the labor of our bodies and our minds in the service of peace and democracy.

This is the story of the Communists on the waterfront. It is also the story of all progressive seamen in the struggle for genuinely democratic unionism, the fight for peace and security. It is a history to be proud of.

You maritime workers made this history. You made it on the picket lines. You made it on the ships in the war against fascism. You are making it today in the fight for peace and democracy, the fight for jobs and security—the fight to win the future.

America needs a strong Communist Party!

Your place is in the Communist Party. It is your Party. In the Party you will become better fighters.

Seamen, longshoremen, workers—the future belongs to you.

JOIN THE COMMUNIST PARTY!

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