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# Hague's Rule Still Awaits Real Challenge

Farmer-Labor Congressmen, Acting On Advice Of Stalinist I. L. D., Fail To Make Good On Threat To Defy New Jersey Dictator

# FREE SPEECH FIGHT IMPERATIVE

Boss Hague, his private police force, and his army of office-holders remain in undisturbed possession of Jersey City. In the first test of strength between the Jersey autocrat and his opponents, the Mayor emerged victorious without a battle.

The widespread movement of popular protest engendered by Norman Thomas's expulsion from the city on April 30 and the continued provocations of Hague's agents during last week fizzled out miserably when the two Congressmen, Jerry J. O'Connell and John T. Bernard, who came from Washington to challenge Hague's dictatorship, failed to appear at the meeting scheduled for Journal Square last Saturday night.

For three days Hague prepared to prevent the meeting. Billboards and full-page advertisements in all the Hudson County papers, jointly sponsored by the 'American Federation of Labor Unions of Hudson County" and the "War Veterans Committee for Law and Order," headed by Col. Hugh Kelley, Secretary to Gov. Moore, called upon Jersey City citizens to "show their Americanism" and "be present in Journal Square" on Saturday evening to repeal the invaders. The leaders of the Democratic ward clubs, together with heads of several A. F. L. unions, rallied Hague's cohorts for the ex-

#### Police Fill Square

From noon on the atmosphere around Journal Square was noticeably tense. Plain clothes cop and uniformed police were sprinkled throughout the place The first act of violence occurred around one o'clock when Milton Filker, executive director of the Jersey City Committee of Labor's Non-Partisan League,

# A. F. of L. Bosses

JERSEY CITY, N. J. — A.F. of L. bureaucrats played their usual reactionary role against labor when they called together a meeting and passed a scandalous red-baiting resolution endorsing Mayor Frank Hague's vicious attacks on civil liberties.

They endorsed Hague's refusal to permit the holding of C.I.O. or other meetings in his city. This help was given to Hague 24 hours before he summoned his henchmen to stop the civil liberties rally at Journal Square last Satur-

A half-page advertisement in the Jersey City newspapers, paid for by the Central Labor Union, announced this redbaiting and Hague-supporting

was socked in the jaw by a plain clothes dick for distributing leaflets. An Associated Press photographer who tried to snap the scene had his camera smashed. Police Chief Casey stood smiling by and allowed the assailants to escape.

By seven o'clock 350 police guarded Journal Square. Wrecking cars had dragged away all the autos parked in the vicinity. Escorted by mounted police and members of the American Legion motor trucks carried 3,000 placards into Bergen Street with such slogans as "Reds Destroy Industry and Business but not in Jersey City," "Civil Liberties Union is a cloak for Commun-C. I. O. and Communism," and blage. the other, "Norman Thomas,

# Congressmen Stay Away

All trains was stopped by the police and the area roped off. By ting the sidewalk" after police town under threat, the local the decision became at once appolice and the area roped off. By substitution of the decision became at once ap-1 industrial unions are irresponsible of the origin- Y.P.S.L. branch will hold a rally parent. The N.L.R.B. has far-sible, Knudsen complained. That

Martin Balks

# Workers! Unite All Forces Against the Union Wreckers!

The "big push" of the Communist Party to take over or smash the United Auto Workers raises a question which is rapidly coming to a head in many unions. Supported by a strong press and apparatus, and with huge funds at their disposal, the Stalinists have become a big factor in the trade union movement, especially in the C.I.O. Catering to every prejudice of the most backward workers, combining with the worst types of labor fakers and even with discredited racketeers, cajoling, bribing, slandering and bull-dozing, the American operatives of the G.P.U. have taken the unsuspecting trade unionists unawares. They have inched their way into strategic control of many unions and are reaching out for power in others.

The first effects of this quiet and systematic penetration by the Stalinists are now becoming manifest. The affected unions are erupting in widespread dissension disruption and split as the victim of syphilis breaks out in sores and rashes. The labor movement is being frightfully weakened and undermined by internal disorders at a time when it needs all its strength for the external struggle.

#### The Workers Must Be Prepared

The economic crisis, plunging deeper and without prospects of alleviation, automatically endangers the position of the trade unions and sternly imposes upon them a policy of preparedness for coming storms. Production is away down and is dropping steadily. Unemployment figures are up to the 1935 level-the ultracautious statisticians of the A.F. of L. put the number of jobless at 11,232,000. If the entire history of capitalism means anything this state of affairs spells only one thing: organized and determined assaults of the employers to batter down wages and destroy the unions are on the order of the day.

Preparations for such a campaign are to be seen on every side. To meet this campaign successfully it is self-evident that the unions need a firm solidarity in their own ranks. They need to hold together, despite differences of opinion among the membership, and present a united front to the employers.

But this necessary internal cohesion is precisely what is lacking. The unions are sick. Take the almost daily reports of violent internal dissensions - auto union, maritime, pocket-book makers, New York painters. teachers, office workers, restaurant workers. Look

where you will, from one end of the country to another, in one union after another, the record of internal discord describes the fever chart of sick unions in convulsive struggles to throw off an alien poison. The name of this poison is Stalinism.

#### Crisis Aggravates Union Problems

The problems of the trade unions are many and varied. These problems are aggravated under conditions of the deepening crisis. In the newly formed organization in the big industries the problems are complicated by the inexperience of the workers and by the concentrated power of big capital arrayed against them.

Differences of opinion over programs and policies are inevitable. Trade union democracy alone can provide the arena for the responsible discussion of these differences and the disciplined execution of majority decisions. It is not possible, and it is not necessary, for all members of the beleagured unions to answer all questions in the same way. But there is one thing upon which all constructive and responsible trade unionists must agree and co-operate. That is the preservation of the unions against disruption and disorganization. This is a common platform for all bona fide trade unionists.

From this point of view, the class-conscious and militant forces in the unions must take the lead in the life and death struggles of the unions to overcome the dread disease of Stalinism in their ranks. They must become the champions of the united front of all unionloyal and constructive forces against the Stalinite wrecking crew.

#### The Auto Union Situation

This is a burning problem right now in the automobile workers union. In their mad drive to control or wreck the U.A.W. the Stalinists have formed a factional combination with the ultra-reactionary, redbaiting Frankensteen and his similars against the Martin administration. This crooked factional maneuver is carried forward, of course, under the slogan of "an end to factionalism." In this, the jingo-Stalinites only slavishly imitate the hypocritical tactics of the imperalist diplomats who always advance their war preparations under the guise of peace conferences and peace

Will a single intelligent militant in the auto unions be taken in by this cynical strategem? Can they really wish, after the horrible experiences of workers in the Stalinist controlled unions, to experiment with such "control" in the great organization of the auto workers? (Continued on page 4)

# **ATTACK PICKETS**

#### **Revolt Movement Grows** Among Rank and File Longshoremen

rs picketing the contractleader of the International Long-have changed as often as it was shoremen and Warehousemen's necessary to serve his overween-

Line because the company refus- Lieutenant-Governorship of Mi-

## Bosses Fare Badly

Shipowner Shepard fared badly said to motivate their policies, as two ships, the Wind Rush and these principles can be classed the Harpoon, were manned by as distinctly inimical to the in-West Coast men and a third, the terests of the auto workers. Timber Rush, remained tied to

rank-and-file maritime workers Frankensteen from the post of against the union-wrecking act- Assistant President. Last Decemivities of the Communist Party | ber Martin had committed the is making Bridges' position with- error of appointing Frankensteen in his own union precarious. At to this post despite the absence a recent meeting of the I.L.W.U., of any constitutional provision Henry Schmidt, Bridges' right- calling for such an office. Earl hand man, was forced to plead Browder's new disciple felt that 'dumping" their own officials. with the membership not to start to the presidency of the union.

# ETHIOPIAN RAPE

"I Am the Law"

Italian Conquest Will Be Legitimized At

Geneva

The only real point on the agenda of the Council of the League of Nations, which is meeting in Geneva this week, is Daladier Move Strikes the question of recognition of the new Italian empire which Mussolini has raised over the grave of the last independent native state in Africa — Ethiopia. Macchiavelli might well have studied in the school of Halifax and Daladier. Their task is to preserve the possibility of using history of the franc. the Negus against Italy at some later date-if and when that may be necessary or desirable. Meanwhile they yield to "reality" and call upon the League to adopt

its "principles" thereto. who, to complete the picture, is the shrinking purchasing power the delegate from Lithuania, the of their income. country which recently had to

(Continued on page 3)

Y.P.S.L. Members Arrested

At Street Meeting In N. Y.

# FRANC TO RAISE **COST OF LIVING**

Blow At Workers' Standards

prices, especially those of con- legally accessories to his crimes. sumers' goods. And, as experience The Negus or his representa- ways soar more rapidly than for the Supreme Court, with its favor. tives will be granted the demo- wholesale prices. In other words, | Papal power to intervene on any cratic privilege of appearing be- the workers, who have just forc- occasion to uphold the divine fore the high assembly; there | d meager wage increases through will be some speech-making. But a series of strikes, are now everything is settled in advance. automatically losing these gains, The President of the Council- and probably even more, through

> The glory for having effect-(Continued on page 3)

# DEVALUATION OF Big Business Asks Curb On Trade Union Rights

Knudsen and Others Sound Off At Chamber Of Commerce Session In Washington

The immediate consequences of minent figures in Wall Street rency will be an increase in Whitney's thefts and were thus Big Business, as usual, had

rights of property and profits. Mouthing a customary fulsome sentence—"The liberty and property of the citizens shall be protected by the rudimentary requirements of fair play" - the Court in the Morgan Co. case struck a heavy blow, ostensibly at various government agencies, but in reality at the unions in

# the mass industries.

The Court claimed that the Secretary of Agriculture, in is-NEW YORK-Two members | case rested on perjured testimony | suing an order against the Morof the Young Peoples Socialist to the effect that the platform gan Co., had not given the Morism," "Let all the Radicals and League (Fourth International) stood on the sidewalk. The de- gan Co. a sufficient chance to Red Foreigners go back to Rus- were found guilty and fined five fense produced five witnesses get at all facts and to present sia." These were distributed dollars each this week for "Ob- who testified that the platform its side of the case. The full inamong the waiting crowd of structing the sidewalk"—the lat- was in the gutter and that a cidence of the decision, however. Hague henchmen. The Legion- est dodge of local police and passage lane of fifteen feet was falls on the National Labor Reaires bore two 20-foot stream- businessmen to prevent minority available for pedestrians. The lations Board. What it means is ers, one inscribed "Labor! A.F.L. parties from exercising their presiding judge, 'Old Mother' that the procedure heretofore Will Never Join Hands with rights of free speech and assem- Murphy, sour-puss protege of followed by the N.L.R.B. in a Democratic boss Ed Flynn, made number of major cases has not, The young comrades, Morris prejudiced comments throughout according to the Court, given the Roger Baldwin and Stalin, One Blum and David Goldberg, were the trial, overlooking the civil corporations their usual complete in the balance by which Knudsen for All and All for One—Keep attacking LaGuardia's new taxes of the folse testimony of the when they were arrested at the of the false testimony of the finally prevent the carrying into certainly a large negative quancorner of 163rd St. and So. policeman. Boulevard on a no-permit charge Unlike the liberal congress- ed in favor of a union. All traffic was stopped by the which was changed to "obstructure" men who shied clear of Hague. That this is the meaning of

In court, the policeman's whole the same spot next Monday night. courts against Ford, Republic

Stimulated by the Supreme Steel and Inland Steel, favorable Court decision in the Fred O. decisions which would on the Morgan Sheep Commission Co. whole uphold the contentions of case, the spokesmen for Big the C.I.O. with respect to these Business let themselves go at companies. Charles Fahy, counsel The Daladier government last last week's convention of the to the N.L.R.B. moved to withweek devalued the franc, for the U.S. Chamber of Commerce, but draw these cases from the courts. third time since 1936, to the rate piously neglected to notice the realizing that the Supreme Court of 2.79 cents, the lowest in the S. E. C. hearings which were decision in the Morgan Co. case proving that most of the pro- would, on the basis of the records, result in decisions against this new devaluation of the cur-knew for months of Richard the board. The corporations gleefully contested Fahy's motions, confident that they can now force through decisions one demonstrates, retail prices al- every reason to thank its gods hundred per cent in their own

## Union Smashing Was Issue

It should be recalled that these Organizing Committee.

The courts are once again teaching the lesson that the workers must rely on their own always into a blind alley.

Cheered up by the Supreme Court decision, General Motors' W.S. Knudsen (whose recently reported 1937 salary alone totalled over \$300,000) took the floor workers. at the Chamber of Commerce sessions to lash out at industrial unionism. Industrial unionism, Knudsen declared, had been put in the balance and found wanting. And he was no doubt being honest enough in this reflection:

## Knudsen and Irresponsibility

Industrial unions are irrespon-(Continued on page 3)

# were made tonight by Stalinist

APPEAL SALESMEN

ARE THREATENED

DETROIT, May 9-Gangster threats of physical violence members of the executive board of Local 157, United Automobile Workers, against comrades selling the Socialist Appeal before a meeting of the District Auto Council. The issue of the Appeal carried a leading article exposing the Stalinist-Frankensteen alliance to throttle democracy in the auto union. The appearance of this article, at the opening of the International Executive Board meeting, has created a sensation in union

# Toledo White Collar Workers Put Progressives In Office of the executive board, respecting the just resentment evoked in

TOLEDO, Ohio. - Progressive | new jobs. At the present time it decisive victory here last Satur- workers to secure higher wages cases involve Ford's and Repub- day, when a complete slate of and to stop the nation wide lic Steel's open smashing of progressives was elected to office wage-cutting drive against whiteunionization at their plants, and in Local 29, W.P.A. Division, collar workers initiated by the Inland Steel's refusal to sign a of the United Office and Profescontract with the Steel Workers sional Workers of America, C.I.O., despite a campaign of the Stalinist reactionaries to seize the reins of the union.

er. The new officers have for years been active organizers and Northwest Ohio, and have helped win many decisive victories

Progressive forces in the Towere also bolstered by the elec-Selander, former national exto the C.I.O. central body.

ruary and is the first C.I.O. chartered group of organized a militant and aggressive pro-

and militant labor forces won a is mobilizing the W.P.A. office Washington authorities.

were defeated is indicated by the

leaders of the unemployed in tinguishing themselves by comagainst motions they had never for the unemployed and relief even heard, bringing in not more edo Industrial Union Council pro-war collective security relabor militant here, as delegates of the union has been gained, the This union was started in Feb- together with the other militing in large part W.P.A. work- al charge was unconstitutional. in defense of civil liberties on reaching cases pending in the is, to put it in other words, ping all lay-offs of white-collar workers on the job and win con- low the determined and unmisworkers and won hundreds of cessions for them.

# Plot In U.A.W. Browder's Candidate For Union Presidency Gets Rebuff At Executive Board Meeting: Stalinists Begin to Squirm

# UNION-BUSTERS STRIKE SNAG

Frankensteen

DETROIT, May 10-As the fateful session of the executive board of the United Automobile Workers of America rounded out its second day, the Martin forces had a clear majority and were confident of victory over the reactionary elements seeking to control or smash the

The Frankensteen Stalinist combination received its neaviest blow thus far when it became obvious that they proposed to throttle the union with a bureaucratic stranglehold. Homer Martin, President of the U.A.W. made the public declaration that "caucuses cannot be abolished by decree."

# **BRIDGES THUGS**

SAN FRANCISCO.—Six sail-

Union, last week. union over a year ago.

ts dock in Tacoma.

(Continued on page 2)

How decisively the Stalinists

fact that Francis Murphy, candidate for secretary and organiz-Art Preis was elected chair- er for the letter-head American organized class strength, and man; Richard Gigandet, vice- League for Peace and Democracy, that hope in the institutions of chairman; Alex Feldstein, secret- received just three votes. (The the capitalist government leads ary; and Clarence Rose, treasur- three C.P. members at the meet-

While the Stalinists were dis-

He elaborated his opinion, tracing the origin and conditions that give rise to factions. Three factors were responsible for the formation of factions, he continued: (1) Legitimate differences of opinion arising from the manifold problems of a union as large as the U.A.W.; (2) natural misunderstandings occasioned in the course of work; (3) opposi-tion's sake. Factionalism, he declared, can be eliminated only by uniting the membership around a program. Any other method ould not eliminate but merely suppress factions.

#### Weather-Vane Frankensteen

Undoubtedly the third case is breaking Shepard Line were most applicable to Frankensteen. beaten and pursued for three As outlined in previous issues blocks by a gang under orders of the Appeal, Frankensteen's opof Harry Bridges, West Coast position on caucuses and on most C.I.O. director and Stalinist other problems facing the union ing ambitions. It is even rumor-Victims of the attack were ed that out of the bigness of nembers of the Sailor's Union of their hearts, Weinstone and Fosthe Pacific, picketing the Shepard ter promised Frankensteen the ed to abide by an agreement chigan. What applies to the pitisigned with West Coast seamen's ful figure of Richard T. Frankensteen holds good for the Stalinist bureaucrats. Their unscrupulous Despite the support of the Sta- dictated solely in the interests linist misleaders in the C.I.O. of the Stalin bureaucracy. Where maritime unions, the cause of principled considerations can be

The first slap in the face administered the Communist Party Growing opposition from the bloc was the public removal of this post made him heir-apparent Since his alliance with the Stalinist gang, it appeared likely that Frankensteen would use his post to become a frankenstein.

Martin's statement to members ing the just resentment evoked in the rank-and-file by the original Frankensteen appointment, declared that "after consideration of the constitution upon the complaints lodged and on the authority vested in me as president of the U.A.W., I am hereby declaring that the office of assistant president has no constitutional standing with the International Union, and therefore does not and cannot exist under the constitution.'

# Martin Group Carries

On all issues, mostly of a secondary nature, to come before the board in its first two sessions, the Martin group has carried by ing late to meetings, arguing a vote of 14-10. Although there has been no public declaration of policy on the crucial issue, it apthan one single member in four pears likely that Walter Reuther, months, trying to sneak over president of the West Side Local, will line up against the antisolutions and other reactionary caucus. He has been committed tion of Rose, Gigandet and Ted ideas in the last moments of to this stand by a meeting of the meetings, and slandering the joint council of his local. He ecutive board member of the leadership from whose projects called this meeting for the pur-Workers Alliance and leading 99 per cent of the membership pose of receiving instructions for the executive board sessions. He so-called "Trotskyite" leadership was duly instructed, on a motion of John Anderson, West Side executive board member, to oppose ants went ahead quietly build- Frankensteen's program. The W.P.A. workers in Toledo. By ing the union and daily risked Socialist Party has adopted a the loss of their jobs by aggres- similar decision. It remains to gram it has succeeded in stop- sively fighting to protect the be seen whether Reuther will fol-(Continued on page 2)

# Frankensteen Move Balked

Browder's Candidate Is Set Back A Peg In Union Fight

(Continued from page 1)

takable stand of the rank-andfile of his local and his party. Meanwhile the anti-Stalinist sentiment among the ranks, reacting against bureaucratic policies and unprincipled deals, is beginning to surge forward. session that he was abolishing Last night, for the first time, the post of assistant president, the unchallenged position of the C.P. caucus in the district council of the Detroit U.A.W. was visibly sition forces to Martin's admishaken. A motion to oppose the Frankensteen anti-caucus program was defeated by the slim margin of 42-40. Six months ago the very conception of such a his strength by the aggressive vote would have been laughed stand he took in fighting his un-

#### Strike Problem Up

The strike problem came before the executive board today for consideration. By unanimous vote the board issued a warning against unauthorized strikes and declared, took the power of penalizing members responsible for these hands. The resolution stated that the unauthorized strikes and stoppages have been in direct violation of the constitution, have resulted in unemployment for large numbers of workers and prevented thousands of union memstrike question.

eager to provoke premature and movement. ill-prepared action so they could smash the union in a time of wide-spread unemployment. Strikes must be carefully prepared and the time for properly chosen to the extent that is possible. The issues must be carefully picked.

Nevertheless, this added power in the hands of the top leadership is fraught with danger unless properly handled. If the board becomes the acknowledged leadership of the rank-and-file and provides direction to the vigorous defensive strikes, the problem of unauthorized actions will cease to exist. Otherwise the effect will be to curb the rightful privileges and powers of the rank-and-file.

The last section of this resoluves the first guarantee against these dangers. It states: "Should the management attempt wage-cuts, the impairing of working conditions, or refuse to settle legitimate grievances in keeping with the contract, the International Union will not hesitate to authorize and fully support strike action in keeping with the International Constitution to meet the offensive of the employer." Now the job is to carry this resolution into practise.

The next sessions of the executive board can mark a turn- agreements with the Shepard ing point for the auto workers | Line. union. It can once and for all smash the sinister threat aimed at its very existence by the Com- ed before a packed trial communist Party. This it can do only by rallying the membership around a program and then Clerks, decided that they had translating this program into deeds.

auto union must begin by guar- when Bridges and Schmidt desanteeing the membership against cended upon their meeting. that which they have feared Bridges spoke for about an hour most: the infraction of their and a half and was followed by Fisher body plants rejected the rights and the violation of local Schmdit, who spoke for thirty autonomy. The mistakes of the minutes. past and the inadvised actions can be corrected by steering a course which will assure these most precious rights to the rankand-file. Particularly, must the run the union himself. In an atassurance be keenly felt that tempt to further intimidate the all future contracts will be sub- membership by a show of phymitted for ratification to the workers involved. It was the failure to do this that aroused widespread and justified resent- of the picket-line smashing C.P. ment among the workers in the stooges. General Motors plants. This resentment was uncrupulously exploited by the C.P.-inspired Unity for all time.

# Against Wage-Cuts

against wage-cuts, the most try- | Shepard Line dispute. ing problem before the union, no postponement.

mount importance. The offensive struggle for improved welfare of progressive unionism in Ameof the employers cannot be stop- and W.P.A. conditions.

# From Anti-Martin Fight To Escape UAW Wrath

At UAW Meet Stalinists Change Their Tune Overnight As News From Detroit Presages Failure For Their Plot To Capture Auto Union

By B. J. WIDICK

Labor Secretary S.W.P.

The grandiose scheme of the Richard Frankensteen-Earl Browder factions in the United Automobile Workers of America, to oust to unskilled jobs, or men whom Homer Martin, international president, and to capture control of the company keeps at work rather this great C.I.O. union suffered a set-back at the first session of than pay compensation - men the international executive board in Detroit this week.

Martin took the bull by the Frankensteen-Browder plans, which was Frankensteen's job. This was the first test of opponistration. Martin won.

#### C.P. Squirms

No sooner had Martin showed principled enemies, than the Stalinists began squirming in an effort to avoid the boomerang created by their deal with Frankensteen.

William Weinstone, Stalinist commissar in the auto industry, "Communists in the U. A. W., are making no move to oust Martin." He forgot to add unauthorized actions into its own that only one month ago the Stalinists openly distributed 100,-000 copies of a Daily Worker editorial branding Martin a who should be re-"fascist," moved.

The shock in the ranks of auto unionists over the brazen deal bers from casting a vote on the between the Stalinists and that arch red-baiter in the auto The problem of strike action unions, Frankensteen, aided Marhas been a particularly grievous tin in exposing the reactionary Employers have been role of the C.P. in the union

#### Terms of Deal

This deal was exposed in the May 7 issue of the Socialist Appeal. Frankensteen was promised the presidency in place of Martin and also Stalinist support that meeting. for achieving his ambition of becoming lieutenant-governor of Michigan if he would join forces with them against Martin.

Walter Reuther, executive board member, and former front man of the unity caucus, who carries a Socialist label, announced before the board session that he would not go along with the

# **BRIDGES THUGS** ATTACK PICKETS | Tractions of act as a green in unions of the C.I. Daily Worker claimed. ON WEST COAST This announcement would funny if it were not intended

(Continued from page 1)

In the Cooks and Stewards Union, where the Stalinists also have control, democracy was forgotten as Frank Koci was suspended for a year for daring to mention that, despite the N.L.R.B. ballot, the West Coast marine unions had signed

Koci was charged with "conspiring" with the S.U.P., hailmittee, and then suspended.

Another union, the Ships union wrecking, and were voting In brief a program for the to withdraw from the I.L.W.U.

> Bridges blustered and blew, using every form of intimidation, even threatening to take over the Ships Clerks' hiring hall and sical force he tried to have the meeting moved to the Warehouse-

It is apparent that any serious attempt of the rank-and-file to throw out the Bridges machine linists. Group. That should be a lesson that is forcing the bitter interunion war now threatening the existence of the West Coast maritime unions, will be met with Secondly, a vigorous campaign the same tactics employed in the

and the organization of the ped except by the most intimate dozens of competitive plants, unity of the employed and unwhich are breaking down all employed. Anywhere up to and union standards, must be serious- over 50 percent of the U.A.W. ly undertaken after the board membership is now in the ranks meeting. The solution of these of the jobless. They must not of their future moves must be problems is vital to the very ex- be lost to the union. On the conistence of the union. They brook trary, they should become its most loyal and valiant fighters. Finally, the organization of The picket lines of the next W.P.A. workers and an aggres- period will be manned by the unsive struggle for an improvement employed if the U.A.W. orof their conditions is of para- ganizes and leads them in the was a real advance for the cause hold over the C.L.U. had never

Only a few weeks previously, ist double-crossing when Victor brothers, was defeated for the the C.P. promised to support per cent at one time. him at a meeting of the unity caucus. The Stalinists openly voted for Reuther's opponent!

#### Reuther's Role

While Walter Reuther refused to go along with the Frankensteen-Stalinist clique (he has been a bitter enemy of Frankenwanted George Addes, "neutral" secretary-treasurer of the union. by subsequent events.

The sham of Frankesteen's slogan, "End factionalism" in the auto union, was evident to every active auto unionist who knows that the Stalinists, also "supporters" of this slogan, meet will continue to do so.

Recently, Martin appeared at district council meeting in being taken off "service" Detroit, and read the minutes of Stalinist fraction meeting, thereby putting the crimps in maneuvers they had planned for

#### C P. Covering Tracks

are trying to cover up their tracks through a belly-crawling retreat announced in the Daily Hillman Hints At New Attempt Radio Union Votes Worker of May 10.

orker of May 10.
"The Central Committee (of To Effect A.F.L.-C.I.O. Unity the Stalinist Party) has forbidden its membership to organize in unions of the C.I.O.," the Another behind the scenes effort pendent and progressive labor be and A.F. of L. unity was hint- ficers believe Labor's Non-Parti-

funny if it were not intended as neuvers. What militant unionist of C.1.0. negotiations with the movement is to be inferred from in any C.I.O. union, auto, rub- A.F. of L., before the convenber, steel, or elsewhere, has not tion of the Amalgamated Cloth- the League, "being flexible, will been invited to a Stalinist frac- ing Workers of which he is tion meeting? How about the president. minutes of the fraction meeting that Martin exposed?

## Rank and File Revolted

Again, the actions of the Stalinists in the present crisis in the United Automobile Workers only reveal the depths to which they have sunk. The hypocritical turns in their policy from week to week only emphasize the utter unscrupulousness of their methods in seeking to capture a union.

So revolting has become the policy of the Stalinist commissars (kindly note; the Central enough of the Communist Party committee orders in New York policy for unionists in Detroit) that the rank and file unionists who joined the Stalinist party have rebelled time and again. In Flint a whole fraction in the Stalinist policy foisted from above. The fraction was "reorganized.

## New Deals Ahead

The statement of the "new announced in the Daily Worker of May 10 should serve as a warning to all militants in the union. "Public" opposition to union voted 113 to 80 to reject Martin has proven a boomerang. men's headquarters, a hangout Watch then for undercover and underhanded moves, probably through C. P. agents in the Labor's Non-Partisan League from the A.F. of L. which has been flooded by Sta-

If the deal with Frankensteen fizzles completely, it only signifies that the Stalinists will intensify their efforts for more and bigger deals, which bring them "fruitful" results.

Against these reactionary maneuvers, the rank and file unionists should exercise the greatest vigilance. The Stalinists were brought out into the open at this treated likewise. The life and future of the United Automobile Workers is at stake.

Homer Martin's defense of the union from outside clique control rica and must be supported.

# Daily Worker Retreats Worker Paints Revealing Picture Of Conditions In Ford Factories Sell Out Hard-Won Gain

By A FORD WORKER

DETROIT.—Approximately 10 cuts. Incomes of salaried men were reduced first, and wages of factory workers shortly after-· 'Ana " 1811C wards. No wage is as yet below 75 cents per hour. In a large part, those affected are skilled men who have been transferred who were injured in the plant. Not all salaried men were affect-

That only a small percentage Reuther and other S.P. members of men were affected by the cuts, received a bitter taste of Stalin- that they hit salaried men first, and that the 75 cents minimum Reuther, youngest of the three still remains, indicate the company's fear of unionism. In the post of secretary-treasurer of the previous depression, wages were Michigan C.I.O. council, after slashed as high as 50 and 60

#### Lay-offs and Pay Cuts

The cuts followed recent layoffs involving approximately 75 per cent of the Ford workers. Most of these men-even the skilled-will be rehired at the minimum wage. The policy of laying off and rehiring at 75 steen for two years) he appa- cents per hour is a regular one rently still tried to oppose Mar- at the Ford Motor Company, tin by another maneuver. He even when lay-offs are not necessary. It is a substitute for wage-cuts. Another substitute is to run for presidency in event to place men on more highly Martin was kicked out, it was skilled jobs than they have announced publicly. Apparently handled, without increase in pay, this proposal fell flat, judging thus displacing the skilled man who had been paid more. Apprentices placed in complete charge of a job, trade school boys -paid as low as 15 cents an hour-working on regular jobs, are not a rare phenomenon.

Members, or former members, weekly in fraction meetings, and of the service department are not to my knowledge taking any wage-cut. Many are, however, placed back on their old jobs. Some are also being given layoffs for periods of two or three weeks. They return to work at their old hourly rate.

Foremen, too, feel present con-Realizing that their ruthless home from the Motor Building. they were armed with guns, hand-They will be called back to work cuffs, and clubs. Many workers months, may furnish this opexposing them in the eyes of all "when needed." Others were put were taken off their jobs and portunity. In the meantime is militant workers, the Stalinists back on production jobs. Some placed under the direction of a is necessary to prepare.

His public prediction of peace

between the C.I.O. and the

A.F. of L. and the cautious

attitude of the union towards

the A.F. of L. as expressed in

the report of the general ex-

negotiations. It also makes more

presidency of the united labor

The Amalgamated will retain

its allegiance to the C.I.O. and

it will neglect no opportunity to

bring about unity in the labor

movement, Hillman emphasized.

the union intended to establish

TOLEDO, Ohio.-Progressive

unionism in this auto center won

a real victory in recent weeks

when the Toledo Central Labor

a report of a special trial board

backed by reactionaries to expel

Carl Joseph, militant president

of the Longshoremen's union

For nearly two months, the

full fire of a reactionary attack

by A.F. of L. bureaucrats has

fallen on Joseph because of his

munism," "sabotaging" the Cen-

tral Labor Union, being in

"league" with the C.I.O., and

permitting use of an A. F. of L.

Joseph blasted the lies and ex-

posed the reactionary purpose in-

cluding the "red scare" raised

against him. His defense rallied

every healthy element in the

C.L.U., and the vote in his

favor came as a great shock and

blow to the bureaucrats whose

been successfully challenged in

seal on a C.I.O. newspaper.

Toledo Militant Is

The report of the general ex-

ecutive board discussed political C.I.O. representative, announced

action by labor and stated that this week that a Federal Work-

Vindicated by Union F.W.O.C. will have jurisdiction over relief clients as well as

advocacy of militant unionism be reintegrated with their res-

and unity of the labor movement. pective unions, and those pre-

The trial board charges against viously unconnected with any

him included: "espousal of com- union will be united in a broad

C.I.O.

movement.

possible his fondest dream - ping.

will probably never be called service man, without even being back, others will return to work told why. Their job was simply at production jobs, many will to obey their superior. These per cent of those now employed at the Ford Motor Company, Many foremen, as well as serlat the Ford Motor Company, Many foremen, as well as serlat these and handcuffs. In that period, with the worker.

#### More Speed-Up Speed-ups, too, have increased.

Some lines it is impossible to

speed-up: men already work as It is significant that several atfast as possible. Recent step-ups tempted sit-downs, spontaneous are especially noticeable among in origin, within the last 18 the skilled and semi-skilled. One months were broken almost beman doing the work of two, fore they got started. Results three or even five is not uncom- were disastrous for the workers. mon. During this past summer, new badges for all Ford workers in the country were made in the In the May 26 riots of last year, Dearborn plant. The first com- the police stood passively by plete set was thrown away: the while union men and women were model might change soon. This prohibiting distribution of literaset was produced in about  $4\frac{1}{2}$  ture in front of the main gates, weeks although the job was ostensibly "to avoid traffic conscheduled for, and had always gestion. taken, six weeks. The week and a half in costs was saved by speeding up the men. No extra set of badges, which bears the factory-was finished in are the rule wherever possible.

but still is very much in use.

#### Police Regime Installed

This past summer, the service department reached its zenith in strength and number. Service men patrolled aisles within the

it has those of the past."

C.I.O. To Organize

Lynn WPA Workers

LYNN, Mass .- John G. Poulos,

ers Organizing Committee had

been formed here, in accordance

with the national policy of the

W.P.A. workers, with the object

of raising relief standards and

providing security for the 10,000

relief workers in Lynn," he said.

are coming into the C.I.O. office

that unsatisfactory relief con-

ditions exist at the State Foods

Distribution Center on Stewart

Street, and at City Hall, and that

intimidation and favoritism are

marked at certain W.P.A. pro-

Whenever possible, Poulos sta-

tes, unemployed workers are to

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unemployed organization.

Poulos claims that complaints

conditions to be in sympathy I would estimate the number of the Stalinist-ruled administration against our Union. there are no more than a few sent back to their regular work.

The Dearborn polite and city administration help the company. picture of a V8 was stamped on slugged and beaten. The Dearborn

#### Lesson Learned

In the meantime the men in machinery was used. The next the plant have definitely learn ed that Ford is not their friend same face as did the old-the Poor wages, job insecurity, unemployment, intimidation, amid a three weeks. Again, added ef- host of other conditions, have ficiency meant stepping up pro- finally driven them to this conduction. Today these conditions clusion. This does not mean that the service men and stooges feel Just last week, approximately this way. In part, these are so 4,000 men were laid off. Most of demoralized that they care no these did not turn in badge and longer for anyone except themtool checks. This means that selves; in part, their sympathy when and if they resume work, for the worker is still latent; they resume without a wage re- and in part, they still think that duction. Many of these are die- if labor and capital get together hards for Henry Ford, others are everything will be all right. But not. The policy of taking up the worker who has seen only padge and tool checks and re- factory work for the greater part hiring at the minimum wage is, of his life, or who sees only this because of union threats, not as in store for him, looks favorably extensively utilized as formerly, toward the union. Especially do the unemployed feel this way. They understand that the future has nothing in store for them even if they resume work. Yet they are not decided that the U.A.W. will act. They want to be resolute but are afraid. Th plant, they filled the seats of future of the Ford drive depends many five-passenger cars station- on overcoming this fear. A geinons. Recently, 17 were sent ed around each factory gate, neral rise in economic conditions

# Against Boss War

ATLANTIC CITY, N. J. - 1a "permanent medium of inde-CHICAGO-Local 1121 of the to negotiate terms for C.I.O. action in politics." That the ofchine Workers of America lined the impact of the wage cut pro- attempt to sew up rubber labor ed at in the opening address last san League will meet the reweek of Sidney Hillman, in charge will meet the trade union war forces in the labor moveweek of Sidney Hillman, in charge ment by voting enthusiastic en- out of the apathy induced by a etc., will be attempted again in the statement by Hillman that dorsement of the anti-war resolution of the Minneapolis Central meet the needs of the future as Labor Council. There were only three dissenting votes.

This broad formulation of the During the last month, Local purpose of the League is in- 1121 has launched a whirlwind tended to cover the possibility of organization campaign under the turning it into a labor party if slogan: "A city-wide union agreesentiment among the rank and ment for the radio plants." file continues. It is a statement a step in that direction, Climax ecutive board indicate that Hill- which can be made to fit what- Radio Corporation was organized man sees hope for resumption of ever political developments arise. Hillman is seldom caught napits demands for a closed shop, seniority rights, a 40-hour week with time a half for overtime, and a 25 cent wage increase.

At Pacific Radio, the union has broken off negotiations because of the bosses' brazen demand for a six per cent wage cut. Preparations are under wav for a strike when the contract expires on May 12.

The Chicago area encompasses the largest center of radio and electrical manufacturing in "It is intended that the the world, employing over 90,000 F.W.O.C. will have jurisdiction workers, hitherto almost entirely unorganized.

## ANNOUNCEMENTS

Insertions in this column are 25 cents for five lines. Copy must be in at the APPEAL office before six b'clock Monday evening.

VILLAGE AUCTION and dance, 107 McDougal Street, Saturday May 14, Admission 25c.

NEW YORK

## NEWARK

CLASS IN TRADE UNIONISM Instructor, George Breitman. Four lectures, Tuesday nights beginning May 10, 8:30 P. M or 25 cents for four. 284 15th Avenue. Progressive Workers

# LOS ANGELES

SPECIAL FOR THIS WEEK ONLY, ART AND SOCIETY by G. V. Plekhanov. 35 cents. Orders filled promptly. 5 cents extra for postage. Modern Book Shop. 509½ W 5th St., LosAngeles PSL Troopers and "Izzy of

FOR RENT Two double rooms, with bath and kitchen privileges. Reasonable rent. 219 East 12 St. c/o Levine, top floor.

# Cafeteria Union Bosses

Job Security Sacrificed By Agreement To Refer Discharge Cases To "Impartial" Board

men doing "service" as close to of the Cafeteria Employees 10,000, a veritable army. Today Union, Local 302, recently erased the most important gain made hundred. The others have been by the union since its inception -job security. In return for an eight-hour day, the union conceded the demand of the Affiliated Restaurateurs' Association that all cases of discharge of workers shall be decided by an "impartial" Adjustment Board or a State Labor arbiter.

Previously, all such cases were decided solely by the union's Executive Board and the membership as a whole. Vigorous and highly effective opposition to the face and it was thought the city council passed an ordinance this sell-out of the fundamental right of all workers had been led by the United Progressive Group of Local 302. The Stalinist leaders and their natural allies, the frantically called innumerable the virtues of the proposed arbitration or adjustment clause on the following grounds:

### Stalinist Arguments

1. "That we are now a mem bership of 12,000 and not 500. 2. "That we are no longer living in the horse-and-buggy days. 3. "That unless you accept the Adjustment Board you won't get the 8-hour day. These contemptible and scabby

restures were amply answered by the Progressives who cited ers have been summoned before the following facts: 1. That if 500 workers could of "slander" and "disruption.

workers can hold it. 2. The 8-hour day can be fought of the C.P. published recently in for and won in the manner of all the Daily Worker, expressing

clean and free trade unions. 3. The Adjustment Board trade unions of all militant and

Throttling an aroused member- out of 500 Union Houses; preship by base trickery and flagrant ference to the Association shops violation of union democracy, will build it as a powerful weapon

#### Militant Workers Meet

So thorough was the campaign of the Progressives that a belligerent membership packed the meeting hall on the night of the voting. At the start of the reading of the proposed contractwhich was actually the demands of the bosses's association—the Stalinist-reactionary clique was outvoted by five and ten to one on minor points. But the contract was sixteen pages long. At 2 A. M., the vital clause was reached. A motion to conduct a referendum on the clause was declared "out of order." Near violence ensued for many tumultuous minutes. An appeal from the chair's decision was lost. whereupon two hundred stooges racketeers' ex - henchmen, had of the administration voted "aye' and fifty members voted "no" in "rank-and-file" caucuses to extol a deserted hall. Thereby job security was snatched from 4000 workers.

A few days later the contract was signed in the office of none other than our racket-busting district attorney, Thomas E. Dewey, who remarked amid clicking cameras: "This is the best contract I've seen yet.'

#### Progressives Charged

Despite their victory the Stalinist leaders received quite a scare. Several Progressive leadthe executive board on charges get job security, then 12,000 All this in compliance with the manifesto of the Cafeteria Units their intention of purging the covers only 95 association shops free-minded men and women.

# Goodrich Workers Vote Ten-One Against Wage Cut Plan

the Goodrich local of the Unit- file, and a demoralization induced Rubber Workers of America ed by the failure to see any way last week voted down a compro- out of the present blind alley the mise wage cut proposal. rubber industry, along with the At the same time the bakery rest of American capitalism.

drivers concluded a contract finds itself in. providing for no wage cuts; using a short one-day strike to sing for continued negotiations, clinch the argument.

lethargic leadership, a stand-pat the not too distant future.

AKRON.—By a vote of 10 to Stalinist clique in the rank and rubber industry, along with the

With union leaders still presand James P. Miller of the na-Stirring speeches by leading tional labor relations board still progressives helped to swing the hovering on the sidelines, it is United Electrical, Radio & Ma- anti-wage cut decision. Under not to be excluded that a further

# Appeal Army

Can't we raise our weekly subincrease over the 30 mark? And scribe but will try to help the 95 per cent, while by a series of as far as bundle order increases cause \$1 for which send me go-slow strikes the union is forc- are concerned, the showing is paper for six months. ing the management to accept only a little improvement over the past few weeks. Where are time now, am almost 82 years those promotion experts in Chi-old and only getting \$15 per cago, Boston, San Francisco, month from the government, but Minneapolis, etc., etc.? New subs that came in last

> NEW YORK CITY Ca.ifornia Chicago Massachusetts Philadelphia Montana Connecticut Minneapolis St. Paul Jersey City Girard, Ohio

TOTAL ..30 The following branches increas ed their bundle orders: Kansas City, Mo. to:.... Vancouver, Canada to: 25

Here's a letter from Comrade Danil in Seadrift, Texas, that Abe Miller: Request and purshould set an example for our vounger comrades:

"I am really not able to sub-"I have been sick for some

can depend on me always living and being for the cause. Many thanks, Comrade Danil and we wish you many more revolutionary years.

Plans are now being drawn up to launch the biggest Appeal sub drive and circulation campaign we have yet tried. Details will be published shortly. All Appeal friends with ideas and suggestions are urged to send them in immediately. We guarantee they'll receive our atten-

We hope our friends and sympathizers in New York are carrying out the suggestion of the New York City literature agent, chase your weekly Appeal at your local newsstand

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# THE NEW INTERNATIONAL

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# ETHIOPIAN RAPE

(Continued from page 1)

submit, with the tolerance of the League, to the arbitrariness of Polish aggression-will declare S.A.P. (Socialist Labor Party retical organ of his own party. that the law of the League is of Germany) contains an extraalways on the side of the ordinarily pessimistic report of have been sobered up not only mightier.

#### China Pleads In Vain

The representative of victimized China has already repeated his request for protection against Japanese aggression. His appeal dusty archives of the League French Imperialism.

The delegate of the legal government of Spain will again invoke the written law of the League in an attempt to save his country from foreign conquest. But in vain.

The Jews of Roumania and Austria will remind the Council ism and genuine connections with it will not oppose such an idea. of the stipulations for the protection of national minorities. Adjournment, as usual, will be the answer.

In the meantime, Mussolini, who is the sole beneficiary of tactics. this low comedy, has, with the British treaty in his pocket and a French treaty on its way, given a popular fiesta in Hitler's honor. The greater the misery under more dazzling are the spectacles conference. The Norwegian which they stage for the outside

#### Mussolini Wants Time

thing new. The military alliance which appeared to be developing originally planned has not been into a mass party, but was realized. But Mussolini was circumspect enough to maintain the London Bureau to take an opfeat he must gain time. As Brit- time been crushed by events. It ain's simple partner he would be is becoming ever more clear that no less helpless than as Hitler's in any case the London Bureau simple ally. Only as the decisive is an entirely useless instrument weight in the balance of power for winning the masses. between England, France and sitions for Italy which would sur- its own International acquires

what has become of the foreign a half, outside of the London policy of the Soviet Union? Bureau. After Russia's entry into the League of Nations in 1934, Litvinov was assigned the task of making all the crimes of imperialism palatable to the masses.

The criminal policies of the Soviet and Comintern bureaucracy facilitated by Mussolini's Abyssinian adventure, aided "non-intervention" in Spain, and assisted the Japanese invasion of transfer representative of the of anti-Trotskyism than did

the international proletariat for S.A.P., writes about the latest latter to read their own horothe sake of his dealing with the imperialists, Halifax knocks the imperialists, Halifax knocks the diplomatic saber out of his hand. The increasing elimination of the League from any active role in international politics, and its replacement by bilateral agreements in the diplomatic style of Hitler, is to a great extent directed against the Soviet Union. are the swan song of the Stalin- clearly that it will meet with a Litvinov's speeches in the Council ist foreign policy of collective security. They may prove to be his own swan song as well.

## Workers Are Ready

crimes, the overwhelming major- disintegration of the Democratic ity of the exploited masses of the and Republican Parties, and with world are still ready to defend the National Progressive Party the first workers' state. There is recently formed by Governor La no dearth of possibilities for its Follette of Wisconsin; (3) The defense. There is a dearth only || Land Problem in Mexico by Berof correct policies for exploiting | nard Ross; (4) Statements by a

hangs the pall of a war economy, French Communist, on why they strained to the utmost. In Japan quit the Communist Party; (5) one political crisis follows and Principles and Tactics in War der in a court of justice where Publishers, 100 Fifth Avenue, or other. The Abyssinian war by W. St.; (6) The Crisis of people are tried before and not at the Labor Bookshop, 28 E. brought Italy to the verge of re- | Stalinism in Brazil; (7) A Meetvolution. France, Belgium, and ing of Bankrupts by Joseph Careven present-day Spain contain ter: (8) Lenin and Rosa Luxemtremendous revolutionary possi- burg by Max Shachtman. bilities. In China Chiang Kaishek maintains himself only thanks to Stalin's political assistance. In Central and Eastern Europe dozens of little nations Years of the New Deal"—a ballive in social and economic decay, under the constant threat of national enslavement.

What tremendous objective possibilities for the development ing 20 cents for a single copy or of an audacious policy of inter- \$2 for a year's subscription to national revolution! Today, per- The New International, 116 Unihaps more than ever before, the Soviet Union could act as the liberator and protector, not only of the colonial but also of the gather around herself a genuine road is not smooth, but it League of Nations of the oppres-

## Stalinist "Audacity"

But the Soviet bureaucracy displays "audacity" only in the persecution of revolutionists. Through its cowardly retreat before world imperialism it throws the first proletarian revolution in history into unspeakable dangers, and calls forth the audacity of the imperialists.

The defense of the Soviet Union through proletarian revolution and the liberation of the oppres-

# LEAGUE SERVES German Centrists Give Cowley Labored TO CONSECRATE Bleak Conference Report

London Bureau, Uniting Miscellaneous European Groups, Fails To Make Headway

pendent" parties (British Indefall of 1933.

Shortly afterward, however, the masses. They said at that time that while we were repelling the masses by our sectarianism, the S.A.P. would win them by means of wise and patient

#### Masses Absent

Today, however, the S.A.P. complains that not a single representative of a truly mass organization was present at the Labor Party, the only party in the London Bureau worthy of the name, has just joined the Second International without any appreciable opposition within its Hitler's visit has produced no- own ranks. The P.O.U.M., "axis." After his Austrian de- portunist path, has in the mean-

The skeptical report of the Germany can he hope to gain po- Neue Front on the conference of pass by far her economic im- real meaning only when one portance in the imperialist sys- knows that the S.A.P. itself already stands with one foot, or In the midst of these changes, more correctly, with a foot and

#### To Follow N.L.P.

Since the S.A.P. did not succeed in winning the Norwegian wary of excessive demands and to collaborate with all indepenternational, it is now making dent tendencies." ready to follow it into the Second International. It is interesting to note what Haakon Meyer, the Now that Stalin has disarmed and a particular friend of the but study the development of the

# For May On Stands

The May issue of The New International is off the press. A review of its contents indicates very favorable reception everywhere.

Among the more important

items are: (1) The Crisis and the Reform Labor Politics by David Cowles; (2) The Editor's Despite Stalin and all his Comments, which deal with the Over all the fascist countries and by Charles Rappaport,

Important articles for the June issue are already in course of preparation, including one by Maurice Spector entitled "Five ance sheet of the Roosevelt Administration.

Anyone who wishes to obtain the magazine can do so by sendversity Place, New York, N. Y.

sed nations becomes the task of the Fourth International. The chances of success than the wretched diplomatic maneuvers of the Soviet bureaucracy.

HOW TO FIGHT WAR

Isolation 9 Collective Security Relentless Class Struggle

JAMES BURNHAM

Socialist Workers Party 116 University Place New York City

PARIS.—The April number of | developments in the latter party Neue Front, the organ of the in the last number of the theo-Now that the S.A.P. leaders the last conference of the London by their experiences in the Bureau of the so called "inde- London Bureau but also in the German "People's Front," they pendent Labor Party, Swedish are considering either building a Socialist Party, Spanish new party together with Max P.O.U.M., etc.). As is already Braun, Victor Schiff, Breitscheid well-known, the S.A.P. signed and other social democrats or will disappear noiselessly in the a declaration calling for a Fourth else, a fraction within the old International together with the social democracy. "The internafor the Protection of Anglo- Trotskyist organizations in the tional question constitutes no stumbling block for the S.A.P., says Meyer, who ought to know they turned against our alleged "It knows that a broader realign-"sectarianism" and took up in- ment of groups will pose the ternational collaboration with question whether this realignparties like the Norwegian Labor ment should take place within Party and similiar "mass" parties the folds of the Socialist and as models of revolutionary real- Labor (Second) International and

#### New Allies

The new allies of the S.A.P -Messrs. Max Braun, the hero of the Saar plebiscite, Breitscheid and their colleagues-differ from the old party only in the considerably greater degree of their corruption. Herr Braun published a paper with means furnished by the French government and one of his pet ideas is incorporating a volunteer corps of German emigrees in the army of French imperialism. As can be seen, the S.A.P., in its endeavor to win the masses, is treading on new paths.

One further little irony offer ed us by history is the fact that at the very moment when the leaders of the S.A.P.-Walcher and Froelich-are preparing to leave the London Bureau, their former factional colleagues Brandler and Thalheimer, are making their entry into it. And making this entry by defending the same position that Walcher took against us in 1933. This position, reduced to its shortest formula, reads as follows: "To be sure, the Trotskyists are right in many things, and we shall make use of their arguments insofar as it is of service to our brand of political merchandise, but naturally, Trotsky ers are putting off all their is a hopeless sectarian; it is too tional-it is necessary to be

Brandler and Thalheimer may rest assured that they will have scope.

#### MAX EASTMAN SUES THE DAILY WORKER

NEW YORK-Max Eastman, lecturer, this week filed a \$250,dividuals, including Earl Browder, music for dancing. general secretary of the party.

Last March, basing itself on swindler," etc., etc.

der is trying to assassinate my throughout the country, will be of physical violence could deter Stalinist leadership and their character only because he cannot "sensational" hits. assassinate me. I want to dis- Tickets for the affair are \$1.00. cuss these lies with Earl Brow- They can be obtained at Pioneer after they are condemned."

# -And He Brought Forth Some Mice

In a previous issue we commented on the circular letter being sent out to the Stalinist sucker list by Messrs. Malcolm Cowley, Marc Blitzstein and other pseudonyms for E. R. Browder for signatures to a public statement calculated to whitewash Stalin, the G. P. U. and their Moscow frame-ups in the name of Peace, Justice, Democracy and Liberty.

The hook has netted some fish, not very big ones, it is true, but fish nevertheless. The Daily Worker of April 28 prints on its obscure fourth page the list of those who bit. Space limitations alone prevent us from rescuing their names from oblivion by printing them all; from obloquy, nothing can rescue them. For, those who are not Stalinist party members and hence under compulsion to put their names to whatever piece of infamy and selfdebasement is shoved under their pens-and half the signers fall into this category—have only besmirched and dishonored themselves by signing a statement which includes the sentence: "The link between Hitler and the Trotsky-Bukharin camp is plain for us to see."

Is it really so plain to see, Messrs. and Mesdames Signers? And pray, where do you see it? In the official records of the trials? In the official record of Trotsky's counter-argument before the Dewey Commission of Inquiry? But surely you would not-at the very least, ninetenths of you would not have the effrontery to ask us to believe that you even thumbed through the pages of those records, much less read them with sufficient care to warrant a declaration on what is and what is not "plain"

"Educators" — "artists" — "professors" — 'Hollywood stars" and "Broadway figures"! What a tidy collection the Stalinists made! Half the signatories are saved by their own obscurity, for even a fair questioning of experts in the field fails to reveal who they are. As for others-again, apart from the known Stalinist party members - we are of course gravely impressed and even a bit shaken by such authoritative voices on the Moscow

Trials and the history of the Russian Revolution, as the eminent Hollywood warriors for human liberty: Melvin Levy, Samuel Ornitz and even Miss Dorothy Parker, the Martini Stalinist whose weight in these questions is established by her well-known belief that Brest-Litovsk is the Lithuanian May West.

No less devastating is the judgment of such signers as Mr. Guy Endore, who believes in witches and consequently knows a witch-trial when he sees one; moreover, his famous manuscript, "Autobiography of an Idiot," assuredly entitles him to a voice in such matters. Signers like ex-General Victor A. Yakhontoff, who is selected by God and nature to sit in judgment upon the organizer of the Red Army by virtue of the fact that he was for years General in the Army of His Imperial Majesty, Nikolay II, Czar of All the Russias, later Military Attache of the Czarist Embassy at Tokyo, and still later attached to the General Staff of the Armies of Alexander Kerensky, the originator of the accusation that Trotsky (and Lenin) was a German spy. Signers like Charles Recht, Bachelor of Laws, and cynical stipendiary of the G.P.U., who knows better. Signers like Dashiell Hammett, who knows a good detective story when he writes one and apparently sees no serious rival in mystery-story writers and frame-up artists like Yezhov and Co. Signers like Paul Peters, who is New Masses and Labor Defender Bolshevik under one name, and a not poorly paid editor of "Life" (which the "Daily Worker" calls "fascist") under another.

But enough is enough, for at this point nausea triumphs over all. One need only compare this jolly crew with the list of the members of the Trotsky Defense Committee and the personnel of the Commission of Inquiry, to see on which side stand the serious and reputable elements in American intellectual life. The latter asked for but one thing: that the truth be objectively investigated. The Stalinist suckers airily put their name to a murderous lie. A gulf separates the two.

# Will Cavort At Pioneer Shindig

NEW YORK-Pioneer Publishcares and worries for one evensoon to found a new Interna- ing - the evening of May 18 when they invite all their friends skins by proceeding to Jersey for the French" was adopted, ists or spies. Others who took and city employees conscript. City, despite Marcantonio's warn. Many were expelled for oppost part in the discussion stressed when they invite all their friends

rest assured that they will have tionary movement (believe us, a ers bearing placards, headed by no more luck with their brand good enough reason for celebrate the deputy police chief, kept the declared in irritation. "In certain this chauvnistic slogan was pioneer Jewish Socialist writer N.L.P. in the Lohdon Bureau Walcher and Froelich. They need fortunate in getting the out- and tried to incite a lynch spirit selves," O'Connell declared, as standing wits and satirists in them. remembered as the gay

well-known radical author and will be seated at Music Hall There they stayed while the pretables. The prettiest waitresses, sident of the I.L.D., the ex-000 libel suit against the Daily in town will serve drinks and re- Republican congressman Vito Worker, organ of the Communist freshments. An eight-piece popu- Marcantonio, received telephone Walsh of the Jersey City police, Party of America, and three in- lar swing-band will provide the bulletins from the battleground

The piece de resistance-and we don't mean maybe—will be ed that O'Connell and Bernard Instead of "organizing the masevidence reportedly given in the the MUSIC HALL REVUE, in had finally been persuaded not frame-up trial in Moscow of which such luminaries as Max to go to Jersey City. "The reason Buhkarin, Rykov and 18 other Eastman, Eugene Lyons, James why it has taken so long," he Soviet leaders, the Daily Worker Rorty, Max Shachtman and Sid- said, "is that I have been undescribed Eastman as a "spy for ney Hook, etc. etc. will give a able up to this moment to perthe British government," an practical demonstration in the suade either of them not to go... "agent of the German and Japan- Enjoyment of Laughter. Ben I have been insisting and argupredicts that the songs, which they are ready to face any per-Eastman told the press: "Brow- will later be available for use

12 Street.

Pioneer Frivolities

Music Hall Revue

DANCING • REFRESHMENTS

With a large cast including such eminent actors as:

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A Political Fashion Show

(With hotcha models!!!!!)

Elections to the Order of the Enemies of Mankind

See the mad dogs, spies and diversionists in person

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Yesterday and Today

Come To Irving Plaza

WEDNESDAY, MAY 18th at 9 P. M.

to dance, drink and laugh with us

Music Hall Tables seat 10, 12 and 14 persons

Tickets: \$1.00— On Sale at: Pioneer

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For Benefit of Pioneer Publication Fund

28 East 12th Street. .

chorus of dazzling diversionists.

# Enemies of Man' Hague's Rule Still Awaits Real Challenge

(Continued from page 1)

to collaborate in a show which men who were slated to speak at were only beating "a strategic 8:30 had been corralled by the retreat in preparation for a new est in the annals of the radical Stalinists at the headquarters of offensive when the organization Irving Plaza will be especially in Manhattan, which had taken about." decorated for the evening. Guests charge of the proposed meeting.

in Journal Square. At 10:45 Marcantonio announcsonal danger and that no threat them from their readiness to defend the constitutional rights of American citizens.

Motivates Back-Down

Stalinist saviors. They were the free speech and public assembly evidently willing to risk their to Jersey City.

with them at Irving Plaza. ed for Hague's demonstration, ings. "It was a damnable thing, ing this slogan, he said. Rappo- the plight of the Jewish Com-Having rounded out seven had gathered in Journal Square. getting us all worked up over port himself had pleaded with munists in Russia. According to years of service to the revolu- The legion bands and the parad- this and then talking us out of the leadership against its adop- one of the participants, the ing), Pioneer has been unusually crowd in a state of excitement respects we've made fools of ourthey departed for Washington. among the radical intelligensia Meanwhile, the two congress- He said that he and his partner

the International Labor Defense of the masses has been brought

## Cops Were Pleased

Marcantonio found support, however, from Chief Harry expropriation of the proletarian who remarked that "It's just as well they're not coming. It would have been murder if they had." ses," Marcantonio stated that "we would call upon President Roosevelt to intervene to restore law and order in a lawless city. Despite numerous appeals in the past months, the President has ese secret services," a "notorious Lieberman has composed origin- ing for the last three and half tion to proceed against his felperson," a "bandit and notorious al scores for the songs. Pioneer hours against it. I know that low Democrat Hague than has

rallying the workers of Jersey to a quarter of a million. "However, as president of the City in a counter-demonstration .L.D., I cannot permit innocent against them, they had no forces people to face certain bloodshed, at their disposal and were comthe hands of a mob incited to do ly manner before the threats of tion of this fiasco in the future, ing law and order against law- nized workers of New Jersey one of physical courage, for that ed workers in the C.I.O. con-strength of the workers. issue is well settled against stitute the only force capable of Hague's mob.... They act brave mobilizing the masses and geneonly when the odds are 1,000 rating a movement powerful enough to undermine Hague, The two congressmen spoke dislodge him from power, and far more militantly than their restore the elementary rights of

# Mass Meeting on Spain

Commemorate the Barcelona uprising of May, 1937

SPEAKERS:

HARRY MILTON Participant in the Barcelona events MAX SHACHTMAN Editor of the Socialist Appeal

8:00 p. m., SUNDAY, MAY 15 Germania Hall, (Third Ave. at 16th St.) Auspices: Socialist Workers Party, New York.

# 200 French Communists **Hear Trials Denounced**

Rappoport, Ex-Party Leader, Denounces Stalin's Totalitarianism At Paris Gathering

NEW YORK. - The Jewish known French anti - Semite, Daily Forward of April 27 re- Drumont. ports an unannounced and unadvertised meeting of Communist Party members held in Paris

the counter-revolutionary terror

main speaker was Charles Rap-

Party of France four weeks ago.

Jewish language paper of the

Marxism Vs Stalinism

Forward quotes Rappoport

according to the Paris daily

"It is not simply a matter of

ny activity or of the activity of

others. It is a matter of rehabi-

litating the meaning of socialism.

always combatted the cult of per-

political field socialism was a

continuation of democracy. With-

out freedom of thought socialism

is impossible. This is one of the

Communist Party today? Every-

thing is turned upside down. The

party is ruled by the most abo-

minable cult of personalities. It

but the whims of Stalin. It has

there, to read only Stalin, just

as the Catholic church once pro-

hibited the reading of the Evan-

gels and ordered only Papal en-

Rappoport dwelt for some

cyclicals to be read.'

essentials of socialism.

C.P., Neie Presse.

Haint, as follows:

of the Stalin regime.

#### Totalitarian Cruelty

"In the ancient Byzantine emtwo weeks ago to protest against | pire," he continued, "the emperor gouged out the eyes of his opponents; in Turkey, the Sultan Most of the 200 attending the used to kill off his brothers. neeting had already tendered Stalin is far more cruel than their resignation from the C.P., that: he also robs the victims of according to the report. The his murders of their very honor.

With great emotion, the old poport, a leading theoretician in theoretician recounted his exthe French Marxist movement perience in conducting a camand Paris correspondent of paign to save Christian Rakov-Isvestia (official Soviet organ in sky from execution at the hands Moscow) up to the time of his of the Rumanian government beresignation from the Communist fore the war. "Now Rakovsky is accused of being an agent of the Another speaker was F. Shrager, British Intelligence Service," he until recently the editor of the exclaimed in a bitter cry.

"People ask," he went on. "why the accused old Bolsheviks confessed. But how many hundreds did not confess and nevertheless were shot without a trial? To come into court in Russia one must be a celebrity.'

Rappoport then told how the Radical Senator DeMonzie, a "Friend of the Soviet Union," related to him stories of pleas he had received to intervene for Marxism is a science; science is Rakovsky's daughter, who has criticism, not faith. Karl Marx been arrested in Russia. DeMonzie advised those who made the sonalities against the Utopians pleas to write to Romain Rolwho used to link up the victory land, the famous French author. of socialism with the strength But Romain Rolland replied: "I of various personalities. In the have written some twenty letters and received no answer. This reply by Rolland Rappo-

port said he had seen with his own eyes. He concluded with the follow-

"But what do we see in the ing words:

#### Fastens Responsibility

"Responsible for the bad name Russia is getting are those who studies neither life nor society, are shooting revolutionists; resalmost reached the point where a prison out of Russia. They are a Communist is prohibited from dragging in the mud the face of reading Marx. It is enough, the Russian Revolution. This must not be allowed. We must not remain silent.'

Shrager, the second speaker. told of the dual life led by C.P. members, who have to say one thing in public and think sometime on the conditions in the thing else in private, in order C.P. when the slogan "France not to be denounced as "Trotskyoriginally launched and was still of Russia, have been proscribed being propagated by the well-by the government.

# Franc Devaluation Hits French Workers' Standard of Living

(Continued from page 1) ively introduced this method of

and petty bourgeois population, belongs to none other than Leon Blum, leader of the French Socialist Party (S.F.I.O.). After **Big Business Seeks** 

# Trade Union Curbs

(Continued from page 1) workers organized into industrial

unions insist on fighting for their other hand, the employers Thanks to the failure of the rights; and this, from Knudsen's breathe more easily, since the point of view, is the height of cheapened cost of labor permits liberal Congressmen to prepare irresponsibility. If things contile them again to work "profitably. in any adequate way to meet the nue in that way, Knudsen might But they are not yet satisfied. mobilization of Hague's gang by have to take a wage cut down Pointing to the 60-hour week in

Once again the division in the government formally abolish the ranks of labor was helping the 40-hour week, which even now bosses. Knudsen, who was of is frequently violated, especially violence, and perhaps death at pelled to capitulate in a coward- course attacking unionism in in the war industry, where the general, was able to pretend that government itself is the chief violence by Mayor Hague through | Hague's thugs. To avoid a repeti- | he was attacking only one form | employer. of unionism — industrial union-"We are interested in preserv- it is imperative that the orga- ism, and was thus making a play through the voluntary vote of for A.F. of L. support or at lessness, in defending the demo- take the initiative in creating a least sympathy. The continuance has acquired the aspect of a Nacratic and civil rights of the movement of self-defense against of the A.F. of L.-C.I.O. split tional Union government. is American people. The issue is not Hague's henchmen. The organiz- at every step is weakening the working might and main to carry

## Wants Strikes Outlawed

responsibility" referred to the ing the proletariat from a strikes, sit-downs, etc. in the counter - offensive against the Michigan area which have been Daladier program. provoked by the outrageous violations of the union contract by General Motors and its rank discrimination against active unionists. The Chamber of Commerce, by agitating against union "irresponsibility" and by calling for the amendment of the Labor Relations Act to make unions 'responsible," is seeking a formula whereby, under the cover of contracts ambiguously drawn up and interpreted by the courts uniformly in the bosses' favor, strikes will be legally prohibited.

Knudsen has no doubt observed how "responsible" labor is in living up to its contracts in Germany and Italy.

the workers had won wage increases of 25 per cent in the strike movement of June, 1936, the Blum government immediately invalidated them by diminishing the purchasing power of the franc to almost the same degree. Thus Daladier can claim that he is preserving faithfully the traditions of the People's

Front. The government, which could not find the necessary armament credits on the money market, has through devaluation made it possible to "create" money through printing new banknotes. On the

Germany, they insist that the

The Daladier cabinet, which, confidence of the workers' parties through finance capital's program of offense against the working class. It remains to be seen how Knudsen was aiming at even lasting is the strength of the bigger game. His stress on "ir- workers' bureaucracy in restrain-

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> MAX SHACHTMAN Editor.

FRANK GRAVES HAROLD ROBERTS Associate Editors. S. STANLEY

Business Manager.

# Unite Against **Union-Wreckers!**

(Continued from page 1)

In that case, you can be sure they will soon find out what disruptive "factionalism" really means.

The National Maritime Union, raised up through heroic struggles of militant and self-sacrificing seamen, gives the latest example and warning of what Stalinite domination of a union really means. A servile belly-crawling attitude toward the bosses; the signing of agreements which shame the labor movement; an internal regime of bureaucratic terror and expulsions; the factional exploitation of the union for every twist and turn of Communist Party politicsthat is what Stalinite domination of a union means, as the latest example of the National Maritime Union again de-

No, the militant and progressive members in the U.A.W. must give a different and more responsible answer to the Stalinite drive for control of their union. They cannot stand as neutrals on the sideline of the struggle either. If the militants in the auto union want to save their organization from such a fate, they need an active policy now in the present critical situation. That policy can only be the broadest united front in the union against a disruptive alien force. This is just as logical and just as necessary as solidarity on the picket line against a gang of scabs trying to break a strike. At bottom it is the same thing. And that is what it has already come to on the West Coast waterfront.

## SUPPORT MARTIN

The policy here recommended does not imply extensive negotiations over questions of program, etc. It does not necessitate formal agreements of any kind. The most important facts are already known, and the duty of responsible militants is clear. In the crisis provoked by the Stalinite bid for power, the militants have no choice but to support the Martin administration as against the Stalinite - Frankensteen combination. And this support should be given openly, frankly and aggressively.

To be sure, the progressive and militant forces in the U.A.W. have grievances, and serious grievances, against the Martin administration. We have spoken of them before and will speak of them again. I am not suggesting that these criticisms be muffled or put aside. On the contrary, it is seasonable even now to point out that the opportunist policies and bureaucratic practices of Martin have alienated many of the best fighters in the ranks and made them easy victims of the Stalinist demagogy.

But even in criticism it is necessary to respect proportions and concrete circumstances. The U.A.W. under the Martin leadership remains, by comparison, the most progressive of the C.I.O. unions and by far the most democratic. The victory of the Stalinists would swiftly put an end to all that. You have only to look around a bit to see what happens to a union that falls into the hands of the Stalinists and their stooges and bribed agents. To prevent that happening is the first task, and one that cannot be postponed.

## IN OTHER UNIONS

The same problem confronts the militants in numerous other organizations at the present moment. As this is being written the convention of the pocket book makers is split in two; Stalinists and gangsters combined to "end factionalism." The West Coast sailors are fighting it out with the Stalinists on the picket line to protect their closed shop agreements. By and large the same policy is required everywhere. The class-conscious militants, while insisting on their right of constructive criticism, must always be ready for common action with all other bona fide unionists to defend the

unions from external assault by the bosses or internal disruption by the Stalinists. Properly speaking, these are two sides of the same task.

The second is an even more immediate and pressing problem than the first. The Stalinists are a greater danger to the trade union movement than all the bosses precisely because they attack from within. They sail under false colors in order to deceive and befuddle the workers. They disrupt the unions with hypocritical cries for "unity." They preach solidarity only in order to betray the workers more effectively. Stalinism is the worst and most destructive disease of the labor movement of the world. Stalinism is deception, disruption and treachery organized and subsidized on an international scale. It is high time to diagnose this disease and quarantine the labor movement against it.

## The Sheriff Knocks

For a long time the Stalinist slander machine, with the estimable Daily Worker in the lead, has felt free to exercise, without fear of punitive consequences, its "democratic" prerogative to indulge in the most poisonous calumny of its political opponents and of all and sundry who in any way incur the wrath or displeasure of the Communist Party chief-

On May 3, Supreme Court Justice Meier Steinbrink awarded \$25,000 damages against the Daily Worker to Mrs. Edith Liggett of Brooklyn in a libel suit which the Stalinist scandal sheet deemed it unwise to defend. The Daily Worker, in its well-known style, had referred to Mrs. Liggett and her husband (the late Walter W. Liggett, murdered Minneapolis editor) as enemies of the labor movement.

The fact that the Stalinists did not defend the suit speaks for itself. Now that they are to pay, and pay heavily, for the privilege of slander, they may feel constrained to tread more warily in the future. They have already another libel suit on their hands, the action brought by Local 544 of the Teamsters Union in Minneapolis, which is claiming substantial damages against the Daily Worker for libelling both the union and its officials. This suit is expected to be heard in the near future.

The results of this suit cannot, of course, be foretold as yet. But the decision in the Liggett case is an indication of what may be expected when the professional slanderers are compelled to confront those whom they have sland-

As our readers know, the Stalinist press here is like its kin everywhere. About a year or so ago, the leader of the British trade unions, Walter Citrine, was given a favorable verdict against the slanderers of the London Daily Worker. Shortly after the Radek-Pyatakov trial in Moscow, the Prague courts compelled the official Stalinist rag in Czechoslovakia to make a public retraction of its calumnious statement that the German Fourth Internationalist emigre, Erich Wollenberg, was a Gestapo agent. And only a few weeks ago, the French courts decided in favor of the libel action brought by the Menshevik emigre Theodore Dan, whom the Stalinist organ, l'Humanite, had declared to be a fascist agent, associated with the other "fascist spies" who were tried in Moscow's frame-

The Stalinist liars, pilloried in public, are finding their profession a very costly

# Lifeguards of Capital

The following letter appeared May 10 in the correspondence column of the Stalinist Daily Worker, without editorial comment:

Editor,

Daily Worker:

The writer is certainly glad to see that there are a few newspapers in this great country that will continue to uphold the hands of President Roosevelt, and if half of those who are knocking and trying to tear down would join those of us who are trying to save the economic system or at least make it work, we would be sure to avoid what is happening in Eu-

(signed) John J. Lang.

Is it not high time that members of the Communist Party, who honestly believe they belong to an organization dedicated to the overthrow of capitalism and the establishment of a socialist society, took stock of their position? Is i not high time for them to ask themselves seriously in which direction they are really going?

# UNITE AGAINST HAGUE!

# Form Workers' Defense Committees!

The struggle now raging between gangster-

mayor Hague and the people of New Jersey for the restitution of their democratic rights has tremendous significance for every American

Not in isolated Harlan County or in rural California, but in the industrial appendage of New York itself, a petty boss has established a dictatorial, anti-labor regime. The elementary rights of free speech and free assembly have been nullified for every critic of Hague; arbitrary arrests and illegal jail sentences meted out to them by his judicial servants; C.I.O. labor unions placed under a ban. This is the way Fascism begins!

The insolent defiance and repeated provocations of the Jersey despot have aroused every militant element in the labor movement against

#### HAGUE GETS AWAY WITH IT

After a week of intense excitement, Hague's foes went forth to challenge him on Saturday at a public meeting. Both sides understood the importance of the occasion. Hague mobilized his whole reactionary army in Journal Square.

The liberal New York Post said in its leading editorial that morning: "The entire country is watching the proposed civil liberties mass meeting this evening and will know whom to blame if Boss Hague carries out the violent threats of his underlings... The 'deportation' of Norman Thomas last week has created a situation in which American citizens must either insist on civil liberties in Jersey City or knuckle under for good to Jersey City's arrogant dictator... Nothing succeeds like success -and if Mayor Hague gets away with the warning uttered by Governor Moore's secretary that eight hundred men with sections of rubber hose will prevent a meeting, other tinpot dictators will be encouraged to do likewise."

What happened? Hague got away with it! Without a fight he chalked up a complete vic-

Why was Hague permitted to get away with it? Who was responsible for the fiasco? What must be done to get rid of this menace? These are questions every worker and every radical ought to ask himself. His life and liberties depend upon a correct answer to them.

The arrangements for the demonstration were in charge of the Stalinist International Labor

in the painting industry, in

the past as well as in the

present.

faced with.

these answers.

In the following lines we

In the boom days after the

World War, the apparent stabil-

ity of the capitalist system gave

rise to many illusions widespread

in their influence. Prosperity-

the professors of economics and

the highly-paid journalistic apo-

logists for the profit system told

us-was here to stay. The dif-

ferences between bosses and

workers, they said, were fast

American population was deve-

loping into one single class—the

class of profit-sharing stock-

holders. They anticipated Huey

Long's famous slogan with a

slogan of their own: "Every

The entire officialdom of the

American Federation of Labor,

marching in the tow of the boss

class from the earliest days of

Gompers' rule, was completely

way of thinking and with this

phoney optimism. The labor

skates in every A.F. of L. union

went in for all kinds of get-rich-

quick schemes: labor banking,

abor insurance, etc. Since wages

in the unions they controlled-

mostly those in the skilled crafts

down this spirit of self-deception

to the rank and file, to a consider-

able extent. In return, they re-

ceived a free hand from the latter

for their "legalized" racketeer-

ing schemes — their so - called

Man a Capitalist."

Inside the N. Y. Painters' Union

short step.

How did these terrible flourished in municipal govern-

do to prevent such a mess? under the full of Tammany's ally in the local labor

If they did nothing — why movement. Prohibition had rais-

not? What is the present union administration doing cern. Gangsters like "Legs" Dia-

to help the painter out of mond and "Dutch" Schultz be-

his fix? What can be done? came heads of tremendous "inter-

These are questions every ing. Through the beginnings

painter should ask himself. of racketeering made by "Czar'

An understanding of the Brindel and his crowd, these big

answers that such questions snots of the and the labor move-

call for, is the first step to ment. When prohibition was re-

finding a way out of the pealed in 1933, they shifted their

shall try to find some of building trades unions were left

being wiped out: the whole naged to get a day's work here

plentiful, they were able to hand The rank and file began to give

troubles the painters are very to the trades unions.

2. In the Grip of Racketeers

In our first article we galized" racketeering to illicit tirely and always in conflict with

gave a picture of conditions business - unionism was but a the profit-greedy boss class;

Graft Flourished

conditions come about?

ment under the reign of Tammaintenance of union standards;

many's Mayor Jimmy Walker, so

4. The organization of the un-

under the rule of "Czar" Brindel,

locking directorates" of racketeer-

shots of the underworld made

field of operations more exclus-

Thus, when the economic crisis

broke and burst the bubble of

prosperity, the leadership of the

not only without plan or per-

spective - but far worse,

thoroughly infected with the

poison of racketeering and gang-

sterism. This situation only ag-

gravated the already bad straits

the union men found themselves

Kick-backs Paid

and file painters who still ma-

gangsters "Lepke" and "Gurrah"

under the Zausner administra-

tion in District Council No. 9.

Most of the painters naturally

found themselves out of jobs al-

from the union leadership.

together, with not a word of hope

Progressives in the union, who

ducing not according to plan nor

about crises and depressions was

them a hearing. The only protec-

tion for the workers against the

misery, of capitalist crises and

boss exploitation, the progres-

sives explained, was:

In the Brotherhood, the rank

in, due to depression.

Where was the union—and these same vices grew into bloom organized in the alterna

its leaders? What did they in New York's building trades maintenance fields;

Just as graft and racketeering

Defense. Its president, Marcantonio, took public responsibilty for calling off the meeting. In the face of a reactionary threat, the Stalinist leadership cravenly crawled on its bellies and surrendered without a fight.

Instead of going forward to meet the gangster army, they retreated before the Jersey Hitler just as the German Stalinist leaders, despite the great labor organizations behind them, succumbed to the Nazi battalions.

#### SURRENDER WITHOUT BATTLE

The liberal generals talked more belligerently but acted no less spinelessly than their Stalinist comrades-in-chief. "O, there never was a braver crew than these liberal Congressmen, they marched right down from Washington and marched right back again."

The Stalinists were able to plead the desire to avoid personal danger as a pretext for their capitulation only because they and their friends had made no preparations to organize or call out the workers of Jersey City in a counterdemonstration against the Jersey Hitler's

Representative O'Connell insisted that he and Bernard were only beating "a strategic retreat in preparation for a new offensive when the organization of the masses has been brought about."

He should be forced to make good his words. The C.I.O. unions, directly endangered by Hague's dictatorship, ought to invite him to come to Jersey City and speak under their auspices. He will need protection. The organized workers of the region and their friends can furnish it to them in the same way that they have protected themselves against scabs and police in their recent strike struggles.

Enough of begging Roosevelt to proceed against one of the national vice-chairmen of his own party! They work hand in glove. Hague uses the Federal patronage (relief, etc.) furnished him by the Roosevelt administration to force the unemployed to do his will!

Let the workers rely upon their own strength and their own independent action. Let them defend themselves with all the means at their

The militant and forthright action of the employed and unemployed workers of Jersey City alone can unseat the Hague regime and wipe that black spot off the political map.

2. The knowledge that their

only safety lies in reliance on

3. The determination to con-

duct a militant struggle for the

5. The re-establishment of de-

mocracy in the union, cleaning

Dual Tactics of C.P.

The task of the progressives

was made extremely difficult by

the dual union policies of the

Stalinists (Communist Party) in

that period. The latter split the

progressive forces, withdrawing

formation of their "Alteration

Painters Union." The Stalinist

'Alteration Painters Union."

based on the conception of the

Communist Party at that time

that all A.F. of L. unions were "company unions," did untold

damage to the struggle of the

They carried their destructive

Brotherhood in the general

pression and by gangsterism.

old line administration and its

themselves in power as long as

they did only thanks to the po-

The crisis had, in the mean-

dia, Seabury and Thomas Dewey,

pledged to protect the bosses

from the scourge of racketeer-

ing, began the clean-up which,

aided by a press campaign, suc-

licies of the Stalinists.

progressives.

good section of them for the

out the gangster elements.

their own organized strength;

# Leon Trotsky Challenges British Labor Party On Oil Land Expropriation

sent by Leon Trotsky to the committee of your party would, London Daily Herald on the created a special commission for vernment's demand for re- general foreign, capital has conturn of the oil property of tributed to Mexico and what it has extracted. Such a commission the Mexican Eagle Oil Co., could within a short period prerecently expropriated by sent to the British public the the Cardenas administra- exploitation! ion. —Ed.)

The Editor, Daily Herald,

London.

In the vocabulary of all civilized nations there exists the word, cynicism. As a classic example government's defense of the interests of a clique of capitalist exploiters should be introduced into all encyclopedias. I am therefore not mistaken if I say that voice of the British Labor Party regarding the scandalous role of of the expropriation of the Eagle Mexican government.

The juridical side of the question is clear to a child. With the aim of exploiting the natural wealth of Mexico, the British capitalists placed themselves under the protection and at the same time under the control of Mexican laws and the Mexican authorities. No one compelled consciously. Now Mr. Chamberforce mankind into believing that British capitalists have pledged themselves to recognize Mexican laws only within those limits where they find it necesoccurs that the completely "impartial" interpretation of the Halifax coincides exactly with ed capitalists.

#### Imperialist Cynicism

The British government cannot, however, deny that only the drops its hands in face of this Mexican government and the argument. About what kind of Supreme Court of the country are competent to interpret the laws of Mexico. To Lord Halifax, who nourishes warms sympathies for the laws and courts of Hitler. the Mexican laws and courts may seem unjust. But who gave the British government the right to control, the inner politics and already announcing in Spain for legal procedure of an independent state? This question already con- government's invariable support. tains part of the answer: the British government, accustomed tions about the evacuation of to command hundreds of millions of colonial slaves and semislaves, is trying to fit those same methods also to Mexico, Having encountered courageous resistance, it instructs its lawyers hurriedly to invent arguments in which juridical logic is replaced by imperialist cynicism.

The economic and social side of the problem is as clear as its

defeat of the Zausner administra-

## Stalinists Change

The Stalinist party, on orders from Moscow, had changed its "line" just about at the same time. From the extremism of the period between 1929 to 1934 when they preached that John L. Lewis, William Green, Roosedual union tactics so far as to velt and Norman Thomas were actually scab on jobs struck by all Fascists; when they maintainthe District Council of the ed that all official unions were "company unions:" when they strikes of 1933 and 1934 when predicted that the struggle for the bosses tried to take advant- the streets and the "proletarian age of the demoralization in the revolution" were just around the union brought about by the de- corner—the international Stalin machine swung around to the The few Stalinists, like Louis opposite form of extremism: Weinstock, who remained inside Roosevelt was now to be the the Brotherhood, served like a savior of the country; Lewis and millstone around the neck of Green were now to be "brothers" and there had to pay a heavy the progressives because of their and Norman Thomas a "comtribute in "kick-back" and other half-concealed sponsorship of and rade;" the proletarian revolution graft to the machine run by the their apologetics for the scabby was now a pipe-dream of the 'Alteration Painters Union." The distant, very distant future—the thing now was to build a gangster allies could maintain "People's Front" or a "Democratic Front" with Roosevelt, La-Guardia et al.

Overnight the order came to "liquidate" the "Alteration time, brought about a change in Painters Union" and for all its had been fighting gangsterism municipal politics. The big New members to join the Brotherhood filled with this false capitalist and who had forewarned against York capitalists who, for years, With the groundwork done by the illusions of "prosperity," had looked on tolerantly upon the LaGuardia and Thomas Dewey, slowly began to raise their heads. extravagant graft grabbed up by the Stalinist machine in the Their long years of patient ex- Jimmy Walker and the Tammany Painters Union, reinforced by the represent me... as the initiator planation that capitalism, pro- machine, began to be alarmed inrecruits from the defunct "Al- of the expropriation. Such noncreasingly as their profits shrunk. teration" outfit, well-organized sense does not even deserve reon the basis of the needs of the Through their mouthpiece, Saand financed, found it a fairly futation. I, a private person, enpopulation, was bound to bring muel Seabury, they launched the easy job to take over control of joying the hospitality of this attack on Tammany which rethe District Council when the country, have learned only from -were fairly high and work borne out by events themselves. sulted in the victory of the La-Zausner administration was oust- the papers all the stages of the Guardia-Fusion ticket. LaGuar-

"business-unionism." From "le-'a class whose interests are en-l"Gurrah" and brought about the to come.

(The following letter was juridical side. The executive in my opinion, act correctly if it subject of the British go- studying what British, and in stunning balance of imperialist

#### A Robber Clique

A small clique of foreign magnates, in the full sense of the word, pumps out the living sap of Mexico as well as of a series of other backward or weak countries. The solemn speeches about of brazen cynicism, the British foreign capital contributing "civilization," about it assisting in the development of national economy and so forth, are the sheerest Pharisaism. The question, in actuality, concerns plundering world public opinion awaits the the natural wealth of the country. Nature required many millions of years in order to deposit British diplomacy in the question | gold, silver, and oil in the subsoil of Mexico. The foreign imjoint-stock oil company by the perialists wish to plunder these riches in the shortest possible time, making use of cheap labor power and the protection of their diplomacy and their fleet.

#### Picture of Oilfields

Visit any center of the mining industry: hundreds of millions of dollars, extracted by foreign capital from the earth, have giv-Messrs. Capitalists to do this en nothing, nothing whatever either by military force or to the culture of the country; through diplomatic notes. They neither highways nor buildings acted entirely voluntarily and nor good development of the cities. Even the premises of the lain and Lord Halifax wish to companies themselves often resemble barracks. Why, indeed, should one spend Mexican oil, Mexican gold, Mexican silver on the needs of far-away and alien Mexico when with the profits obsary. Moreover, it accidentally tained it is possible to build palaces, museums, theatres in London or in Monaco? Such are Mexican laws by Chamberlain- the civilizers! In the place of historical riches they leave shafts in the interpretation of the interest- the Mexican soil and ill-health among the Mexican workers.

The notes of the British government refer to "international law." Even irony powerlessly international law are we talking? Evidently about the law which triumphed in Ethiopia and to which the British government is now preparing to give its sanction. Evidently about that same law which the airplanes and tanks of Mussolini and Hitler are the second year with the British The latter held endless conversa-

## Spain and Mexico

Naive public opinion thought this meant the halting of intervention by the foreign fascist bandits. Actually the British government demanded of Mussolini only one thing: that he remove his armies from Spain only after he guaranteed the victory of Franco. In this case, as in all others, the problem consisted not in defending "international law" or "democracy' but in safeguarding the interests of British capitalists in the Spanish mining industry from possible attempts on the part of

In Mexico, the British government carries on basically the same politics as in Spain-passively in relation to Spain, actively in Mexico. We are now witnessing the first steps of this activity. What will be its further development? No one can yet foretell. Chamberlain himself does not yet know. One thing we can affirm with assurance: the further development of the attempts of British imperialism against the independence of Mexico will to a great degree depend upon the conduct of the British working class. Here it is impossible to evade the issue by resort to indefinite formulas. Firm resoluteness is necessary to paralyze the criminal hand of imperialist violence. I therefore finish as I began: world public opinion awaits the firm voice of the British Labor Party!

L. TROTSKY.

Coyoacan, D. F.

April, 1938.

P. S. — Several imperialist newspapers have attempted to struggle of the foreign capitalists What exact methods they used against the Mexican laws. But in coming into power, how they this was completely sufficient to have given "leadership" to the form an opinion. To state this union and how their "policies" opinion aloud is the elementary are made—these questions will duty of every participant in the 1. The realization that they are ceeded in ousting "Lepke" and serve as the basis for articles liberating struggle of the proletariat. -L. T.