Five Cents per Copy

# **An** Urgent Appeal **AID THE REVOLUTIONISTS!**

By James P. Cannon

I received a letter the other day from a comrade, now in France, who was recently in the United States. I want to pass this letter on to the readers of the Socialist Appeal. It deals with a matter of paramount importance to all of us—the desperate situation of the hounded and persecuted revolutionists from fascist countries who have sought asylum in France. The unadorned story told in this letter is the most convincing argument that can be made for the "American Fund for Political Prisoners and Refugees" which was announced in the Socialist Appeal last week.

Here is the letter:

Paris. May 29, 1938.

Dear Comrade Cannon, "When I saw you in New York, I told you about the situation of the many German refugees; well that was from personal experience with them before I left to go to America. On returning to Paris, I am sorry to say that it is even worse now than it was then. Their lives have become more endangered and I am writing to you to ask for some help. I hope you will understand and will not mind.

"The recent new laws have made things so bad that for them to work is now practically impossible. Once it was possible to work without the cards. But now one can't do that and many of them are being sent out of Paris to other departments. They may be able to stay there for a very little while, but the general feeling is that before the year's out all of them will have got an expulsion order, as the present trend is against them and all left thought or ways.

"I was amazed at the change in Paris when I got back after four months. One of them got an expulsion and gassed himself and his wife. Another comrade found him, he was saved, but the wife died. They got him better and he came home again, only to do it again. This time they found him too late and so he is now dead.

"Another one is very ill from under-feeding and not enough warmth or clothes. Another is still in prison. the second time this year! When he comes out I wonder what they will do with him; there is not much hope

"If you could collect some money for them, it would make matters very much easier. It is impossible to ask the French comrades as they are so hard up that they have not enough for themselves, but I thought you might be able to send some over . . .'

There really isn't much to add to such a letter. We have all known for some time that things were far from well with our refugee comrades abroad. The victims of reaction in Europe have cried for our aid for a long time now. We delayed too long with this burning task, to their detriment and our own shame.

Through accidental circumstances and no special merit of our own we still live in relatively favorable circumstances in America. That puts upon us the special obligation to share a part of our limited means with the vanguard fighters of Europe. We must not let them perish. They who have stood up against fascism in their native countries and now continue the fight in emigration are humanity's best pledge for the

The committee that has been organized to aid them is composed of experienced and reputable veterans of the labor defense movement. They are going at their task with the concientiousness for which they are well known, with energy and a firm will. I hope every reader of our paper will respond to their appeal.

The "American Fund for Political Prisoners and Refugees" has a legitimate claim to the support of every militant. Send something today—don't wait till you can spare it-to George Novack, secretary, Room 1609, 100 Fifth Avenue, New York City.

# **Puerto Rican Slavedrivers** Balk At Wage-Hours Bill

The inclusion of Puerto Rico on under homework conditions in the Wages and Hours Bill Mannfacturers in the United passed at the last session of Con- States ship the materials to gress is upsetting Puerto Rican Puerto Rico for distribution by employers. On June 17, "indus- agents to workers who do the trial leaders" in San Juan sent finishing, and the complete proa radiogram to President Roose- ducts are shipped back to the velt protesting the application of United States. That this is prothe legislation to the Island, and fitable despite the shipping costs predicting "grave economic dis- and the commissions of the turbances" as a result. Embroid- agents, and frequently of subery manufacturers in the United agents who do the actual distri-States, who send work to the buting, is due solely to the al-Island, had protested to Governor most incredibly low wages paid Winship that a 25-cent minimum the slaves of U.S. imperialism. wage would make it necessary The manufacturers' profits. o to discontinue that practice.

Since the agricultural industries of Puerto Rico, including absentee owners on the mainland sugar, would be exempt from the and not to native owners. wage-hour laws, the needlework industry, second to sugar in size the needle trades receive less of pay-roll, would be chiefly af- than two cents an hour, accordfected. In the last five years the ing to the Report of the Comvalue of the needlework industry, missioner of Labor of Puerto according to the annual report of the governor of Puerto Rico for 1937, increased from \$12,000, 000 to \$21,000,000.

## Sweated Industry

The needle trades in the Island for 36.5 hours of work, and the are a sweated industry carried

course, follow the typical colo nial pattern in that they go to

About half of the workers in Rico for 1936-37. Another third receive between two and four cents, and the highest paid (51/2 per cent) from nine cents to 25 cents. In 1936-37, the average male worker made \$4.83 a week

(Continued on page 4)

# Is Welcomed Far and Wide

**Enthusiastic Response Greets Formation Of** N. Y. Committee

NEW YORK .- The announce ment in last week's Socialist Appeal of the formation of an American Fund for Political Prisoners and Refugees has met with enthusiastic response from all sections of the country. At a meeting held in New York a local committee was organized with Lyman Paine as secretary, and plans were laid for an intensive campaign to raise a fund immediately to aid revolutionary refugees in Europe.

George Novack, Secretary of the American Fund for Political Prisoners and Refugees, announced this week that a visa has been obtained for a German refugee and his wife, both of whom were in danger of deportation to Nazi Germany.

A sum of \$300 is needed provide for their transportation to the country granting them risas. The American Fund now has several thousand collection lists out throughout the country. But this urgent case cannot await their return. The \$300 must be raised within the next few days. The American Fund calls upon all workers and friends of democratic rights to come to the aid of these comrades.

The American Fund announced that it now has several dozen cases demanding immediate attention. The following are but a few of the many:

A former Communist Party member of the German Reichstag, and a leading member of could with the meager assistance nourishment, he developed a his place of exile.

Assistance is also children of an Austrian revolutionist to enable them to proceed counted on in this administration to another country. The husband fortress. and father, who was among the of Austria, was arrested for reserving a two-year prison sen-

The cases come piling in, each demanding immediate action.

ed at the office of the Fund, Painter.

# Refugee Fund | Progressives Chalking Up New Scores In N. Y. Painters' Union Fight

Make Clean Sweep Of Offices In Local 892; Stalinist Campaign Of Slander Fails To Halt Advance Of Militant Candidates

NEW YORK .- Test votes in ed exposure of an alleged fund elections held last Saturday by grabbing racket run by the Locals 892 and 905 for local of-Zausnerite Harry Rosen, former ficers and delegates to District business agent of Local 442, and Council No. 9 indicate that the D. Stark, financial secretary of strength of the progressives the local, some three years ago. continues to rise as the general To produce this "exposure" in election campaign in the New time for election propaganda, York Painters' Union draws to the services of a Stalinist aca close. Spokesmen of the Inter-countant, one Morris Greenbaum, Local Conference of Progressive were enlisted. The regular ac-Clubs predict a comfortable countant of D.C. 9, Jacob Falk, majority for L. J. Stevens, pro-refused to be used as a local gressive candidate for secretaryreasurer, in the District Council elections on June 25. Stevens defeated Louis Wein-

stock, Stalinist big-shot in the painters' union, for the nomina-Local 848, Weinstock's own local. whose record is entirely unknown to the membership of the

#### Clean Sweep Made

In Local 892 the progressive opposition made a clean sweep of local offices and defeated the Stalinist Shnurman as delegate to the District Council. William Haupt, who defeated Shnurman two to one for the nomination for secretary-treasurer of D. C. 9 two weeks ago-later declining in favor of Stevens-picked up 50 new votes in a successful race for the post of recording secretary of the local. In Local 905 in the East Bronx

-the Stalinist stronghold in the union, said to contain a fraction the Lenin Bund, 52 years old. of no less than 300 C.P. mem-His home was raided by the bers — the opposition likewise Nazis in 1933 and his wife was registered progress. The key post arrested and later released. He of financial secretary was retainwas forced to flee and has been ed by the popular progressive, in exile since, living as best he Hoffman, with a majority of 785 against the 645 for the adminisof friends. As a result of under- tration's candidate Schwarts. The ed fight against the Zausner re-Communist Party forces were gime in Local 442, combining serious stomach ailment and kidable to retain the chairman, their with the Weinstock group to oust candidate M. Gainer receiving it two years ago. The case of threatened with expulsion from 959 votes against 417 votes for the painters arrested will come Isidore Polstein, the progressive up in court next Friday. candidate. Polstein's vote, howneeded by the wife and two ever, was some 100 larger than the progressives themselves had

Dismayed by the steady growth founders of the Communist Party of the progressive movementorganized only within the last volutionary activity and is now few weeks into a cohesive though vens who took a lead in the fight their own defeats in the primaries, the Stalinist-Weinstock admore tragic than the other, each ministration has been working on all cylinders in a last-minute If you are unemployed and effort to manufacture scandals cannot make a donation at this and frame-ups as "election istime, get a collection list and sues." In each case the progreshelp raise money from others to sives have been right on the spot help in this important and ne- to expose the machinations by

Room 1609, 100 Fifth Ave., N. Y. One such scandal is the belat-

Willi Muenzenberg Is Entered On

"Vishinsky." In an open letter to the membership of Local 442, Falk points out eight major errors of accounting in the "exposure" and warns the members against accountants who are tion in the primaries held in "rubber stamps for officials with political aims in view." Falk Against Stevens, the Stalinists challenged Greenbaum to bring are supporting a stooge named thim up on charges before the Ghidoni, nominated by Local 51, Society of Certified Public Accountants. The challenge was unanswered.

Attempting to smear L. J. Stevens and the progressives with this alleged Zausnerite fund-stealing "scandal," the Stalinists met with a storm of pro tests on the floor of the local. Two weeks in succession they had to adjourn the meeting before the business could be con-cluded.

Unable to put over this elecstunt on the floor of the union, they called a special meetof members of Local 442 last Saturday in Irving Plaza under the auspices of their "Rank and File Unity Club. When opposition members of the union entered the hall to attend the meeting, the Stalinists called the cops and had them ar-rested on charges of disorderly was I. Gittlin, a well - known anarchist militant in the union. who for years led a single-hand-

Another frame-up was the charge that Stevens was nominated in Local 848 by a combination not only of Zausnerites, but of "Nazi-influenced Germans." As a matter of fact it was Stebroad opposition—as well as by against Zausnerism, had his head cracked by Zausner's henchmen, and was nominated on the slogan "Kick the ex-Zausnerites (Kosloff, Zughaft, Pasini, and Co.), who are now Weinstockites, out of the administration.'

In a statement to the press last week, Stevens challenged the Stalinists to name the Zausnermeans of hard-hitting leaflets ites and the "Nazi-influenced (Continued on page 2)

# Growing Blacklist Of The G. P. Muenzenbzerg from the Central Committee of the German C. P. is nothing but a preparation on the part of the perfidious G.P.U. for his final expulsion from the party, if not for more

Word has just reached New York from a trustworthy source in Europe that Willi Muenzenberg, the Goebbels of the German Communist Party, has been expelled from its Central Committee. During the last two years a silent struggle

has been going on between Muenzenberg, and the G.P.U. In 1936 he was incautious enough to express to F. Brupbacher, a former leader of the Swiss C. P., under oath of secrecy, his doubts about the Moscow trials. This confession became known to some of the Swiss Fourth Internationalists, who were at that time preparing a libel suit against the Stalinist press in the name of Leon Trotsky. Naturally, they did not hesitate to unmask the double-dealing of this cynical bureaucrat, and announced that they would subpoena his confidant to testify before the court.

## ON G.P.U. BLACKLIST

This incident may not have been the sole cause of Muenzenberg's banishment. In any event, it is an open secret that since that time he has been on the G.P.U.'s blacklist. His removal has not been easy. Muenzenberg is too well acquainted with the devices of the G.P.U. He answered an invitation to come to Moscow in 1937 by entering a sanatorium near Paris. There followed a certain "pause" in the Muenzenberg story.

It is clear that the expulsion of the perfidious

drastic measures. For Muenzenberg, who for long years was the G. P. U.'s wire-puller in Europe, is a too well-informed witness.

## PROSPECTIVE VICTIM SILENT

How does Mr. Muenzenberg react in this situation? He keeps quiet. He is undoubtedly cooking up some little scheme to escape the dragnet of Yezhov's police. However, experience has shown that there is only one way to save oneself from Stalin's manhunt: an appeal to international public opinion, an open confession to the world proletariat of one's own mistakes and crimes, a public break with the Kremlin clique. In this way Barmine and Krivitsky saved, not only their honor, but their

But it seems that Muenzenberg, who was "great" as the guiding spirit of the petty maneuveres and sly foxes of the German C.P., is incapable of decisive action in any serious crisis. These crooked bureaucrats swear only by backstage ruses, because they have long since lost faith in the working class. Muenzenberg will have to pay dearly for his lack of courage and political firmness. But this is, after all, his own affair.

# **Labor Gains** Smashed By Spain Gov't

**Enterprises Are Handed** Back To Exploiters As Fascists Advance

With the blessings and active support of Prime Minister Cham berlain, Premier Edouard Deladier and, of course, Hitler and Mus solini, General Francisco Franco's fascist force began last week a new drive toward Valencia 🗓 another effort to bring the panish civil war to a close.

Neither the barbarous air raids which took hundreds of civilia lives-over which the "demo cratic" gentlemen in London an Paris shed such crocodile tears nor the steady bombing of Bri tish ships in Spanish ports b fascist aircraft have been per mitted to stand in the way or Chamberlain's "realistic" attemp to come to terms with the fascist dictatorships.

#### Daladier Accedes

The Anglo-Italian agreemen was based upon the premise o an early Franco victory in Spain. These calculations were upset by the stiffening of Loyalist resistance to Franco's drive on Barcelona late in the Spring. This stiffening was generally attributed to the fact that the French permitted arms and supplies to cross the border in considerable quantities. That is why the ut nost pressure has been brought o bear by Mussolini and Champerlain on Daladier to force the hermetic sealing of the French frontier. To this demand, it now seems, Daladier, only yesterday one of the chief "heroes" of the People's Front, is acceding.

Augur, the White Russian journalistic spokesman nitish Foreign Office, reported to the New York Times on June 20 that the French government had promised Britain to establish a "complete blockade" as soon as the government is relieved of the necessity for answering embarrassing questions in th French parliament.

## Fascist Victory Desired

The plan is, as before, to bring about a swift fascist victory in Spain, to hasten a Franco-Italian agreement, and thus pave the way for Anglo-French approaches to Germany. The underlying premise of this policy is to bring about some kind of temporary 'appeasement" in Western Europe at the expense of the Soviet Union.

The present policies of the 'democratic" powers show how false and futile and disastrous was the policy of suppressing the Spanish revolution in order to insure "democratic support" for

the Loyalist cause. Special dispatches to the New Collection lists can be obtain- and their paper, the Progressive Germans" who supported him in York Post by Frank C. Hanighen Local 848. He pointed out that last week revealed how far the Loyalist regime had gone in desstroying the gains made by the workers in the first upsurge of July, 1936. With but a few exceptions, all private factories which were "collectivized" by the workers have now been "decolectivized," i.e., restored to their original owners.

## Pictures Negrin Government

A Loyalist official told Hanighen "that the Negrin government has become more conser vative and capitalistic than the government existing before the Aragon offensive and predicted that any future cabinet shifts would turn it even further to the right." All of this was being done, Hanighen added, to prove that the Loyalist government was not "red." He then went on to mining enterprises in which foreign capital, British, French, American, South American, predeminates, to which the government has restored complete reedom." He even cited a dedee "decollectivizing" certain electrical power plants in which German capital predominates. But events are proving that le suffocation of the Spanish volution, which was supposed le policy which led more and pore speedily to disaster. The destruction of their economic ains, and the Stalin-G.P.U. error against all revolutionists, sapped the initiative of the (Continued on page 4)

# **CP Wreckers Force Splits** In Maritime

Founding Organizations Withdraw From Pacific Federation After Bridges Packs Convention And Unseats Tacoma I.L.U. Delegation

# STALINIST "UNITY" IS EXPOSED

SAN FRANCISCO.—The Maritime Federation of the Pacific Coast was split wide open last week when the packed majority dominated by the Communist Party refused to seat the Tacoma longshoremen. Several of its founding organizations, notably the National Organization of the Masters, Mates and Pilots, the Marine Firemen, Oilers, Watertenders and Wipers Association, the Marine Engineers Beneficial Association, and the Sailors Union of the Pacific, walked out of its convention in protest.

Harry Bridges' splitting maneuver in unseating the Tacoma I.L.A. climaxes his systematic campaign to drive from the waterfront all those seafaring organizations which refuse to shackle themselves with the ball-and-chain of the Stalinist C.I.O. in the maritime industry.

The Bridges apparatus of would-be dictators is dead set on solidarity with the S.U.P., and smashing the Tacoma longshoremen because they voted against affiliation with the Stalinist C.I.O. outfit, declared their

# WARN AGAINST **AGENT OF GPU** ON THE COAST

Suspicious Movements Of Hanoff Are Noted In San Francisco

SAN FRANCISCO.-On June B, Hanoff, suspected G.P.U head for the West Coast, enter ed a small restaurant near the waterfront in San Francisco close on the heels of Charles Brenner, vell-known militant member of the Sailors Union of the Pacific. As he entered, Hanoff kept his face covered with a handkerchief of the C.I.O. The keynote of the as if he were blowing his nose. He ordered a cup of coffee unseat the Tacoma I. L. A. and (which he never touched) and to refuse the longshoremen the glanced around until he saw floor to state their case, was

worker and saw that he, himself, step and almost bolted. Outside he nodded to two well-dressed, draw from the convention. "Let heavy-set men, who then follow- them go," he sneered. "We'll soon ed him quickly to a large, highpowered car in which another man sat behind the wheel. They all got in and the car drove off Knowing the practices of the G.P.U., it is not hard to guess the purpose of Hanoff's visit. He should be warned that if Brenner or any other militant worker falls prey to the Stalintern's bloody crew, he will be held personally accountable by the workers. There has been altogether too much G.P.,U. dirty work in

the working class. It is high

time the workers called a halt

to these outrages and built work-

ers' defense groups in every

the firemen and refused to smash through the latter's picket lines during the Shepard beef. Bridges, who gleefully conducted a strike - breaking crew through those picket squads under police protection, will not tolerate such militant solidarity with the independent, "non-conformist" seagoing unions bucking the domination of his commissars.

#### Constitution Violated

This new action on the part of he clique dominating the Federation is a clear encroachment pon the democratic rights of affiliated bodies to conduct their own affairs without outside interference. In fact, the constitution adopted at the founding convention of the Federation, at which the Tacoma longshoremen vere present, includes a clause recognizing the fullest autonomy of each affiliated organization to govern its own affairs."

The most ludicrous part of the sorry spectacle is that Bridges continues to sing a cracked first tenor in the "Unity Glee Club" convention, whose first act was to 'Unity and Solidarity" on the Hanoff then started to leave waterfront for September 30, but when he recognized another when the current contracts expire. Bridges revealed his brand was recognized, he quickened his of unity a la Stalin in his statement on the delegates who withhave them all hanging from telegraph poles.'

## A Hollow Shell

By its latest action, the Federation stands revealed for what it is— no longer a militant united front of genuine maritime unions against the shipowners and the government, but a hollow shell, wrenched onto a reactionary, union-busting course by the infiltration of stooge shore outfits and the rule-or-ruin policy of the Communist Party.

Originally organized in 1935 on the principle that only organi-(Continued on page 2)

# **Additional Troops Sent** To Crush Jamaica Strike

British troops on strike duty in economic conditions in the Briresters Regiment on the cruiser Donald on June 1.4. York. At the same time, police platoons were strengthened in Berbice County, where more than year, stated that he had been 1,000 sugar plantation workers

were on strike. Two Jamaica labor leaders, Alexander Bustamante and Wil- rica's doorstep." No one can disliam Grant, arrested on charges agree that Great Britain's "slum of sedition and other offenses, were freed by the court on June cleaning up, least of all the be "realistic," was precisely 15, as the prosecution was unable Jamaican workers who are strivto produce any evidence against

## Commission Apopinted

commission to survey social and vicinity as Puerto Rico.

the island of Jamaica were rein- tish West Indies, announced to list a number of the principal forced last week by the arrival the House of Commons by Coloof soldiers of the Sherwood Fo- | nial Secretary Malcolm Mac-Former premier David Lloyd

George, who visited Jamaica last 'appalled" by conditions there. 'We do not want a slum empire," he said, "particularly on Ameempire" in the Caribbean needs ing to do so by striking for

better wages and conditions. But Britain scarcely needs to blush before U.S. imperialism The scandal of Jamaica has led such an outstanding example of masses. The position of the Soviet to the appointment of a royal a "slum empire" in Jamaica's

# Maritime Federation Disrupted By Stalinist Union-Busters On Coast

(Continued from page 1)

zations whose members were directly engaged in shipping and marine transportation should be admitted, the Federation has become a stamping ground for phony hunting for a pie-card, Stalinist free-lancers trained in putting the party line over. Bona-fide But, true to the concept of intaking into its fold cannery workers, farm laborers, and ladies' auxiliaries of various sorts. The packing process has gone so far that the Inland Boatmen's Union, a scab-herding out- that "government agencies comfit which was organized as a dual mand our respect;" and he has "union" to encroach on the jurisdiction of the S.U.P., has been welcomed with open arms by the Bridges machine.

#### Drive Against Militants

This change in composition, which makes the Federation a vicious caricature of the original 1935 Federation, lays bare the real nature of Bridges' unionsmashing campaign. The Stalinist crew is determined to drive the militant unions out of existence, to wipe out their hiring halls, bring the National Maritime Union out to the West Coast and set up a National Federation clamped in the death-grip

of the Communist Party. Woven into the unity chant is the vociferous slogan, "Replace the S.U.P. with the N.M.U." The Bridges version of unity demands the elimination of all militant unions which will not swallow his infamous strike- in preparation for the Fall showbreaking policy of handling down. Their joint program in-"perishable cargo" during the 1936-37 strike; or Bridges' refusal to back up the sailors and firemen in their fight against the government Fink Book, on the grounds that a fight against the government is a "bum beef;" or the actions of a crew which systematically breaks the picket lines of brother unions, accepts open-shop conditions and wage-

#### The Issue Posed

30 in sharpest form. The conven-

and deed, consistently violated around.

every principle of militant union defense on which the Federation was founded.

The closed shop? Bridges reassured the shipowner guests of honor at the class-collaborationist "Town Meeting" that "the paper unions, incipient careerists union shop is often open to compromise."

No wage cuts, increase in hours, chiseling on working sea-going outfits such as the conditions? Bridges urges the sailors, firemen, engineers and boys to "take anything the I.L.A. longshoremen have been bosses will give you;" he admits shoved out by the C.P. dictators. that conditions among his own longshoremen of the I.L.W.U. dustrial unionism, the Federation are worse than they have been strenuous campaign to win the has compensated for the loss by in years, and blames it on the cooperation of government and "employers' sit-down strike a- shipowners in the establishment gainst Roosevelt."

Against government control? Bridges, full of sweetness and light, informed the shipowners given left-handed support to the proposal for fink books, government training ships, and the N.L.R.B.'s anti-union in the Shepard beef.

#### Glorifies Scab Action

Unity? Bridges pledged himself to the shipowners, before (A.F.L.). The invitation was 11,000 people, to eschew the sympathy strike, and pointed with pride to his smashing of picket ard Line.

It is clear that the Federation dictators hope to utilize Sept. 30, not for militant union defense, but to further their busting campaign on the waterfront -to smash, once and for all, the S.U.P. and its allies. But Bridges will not find the progressive unions unprepared. Already the S.U.P., the Masters Mates and Pilots, the firemen and the Puget Sound I.L.A. have formed a fighting alliance cludes the following inviolable points: (1) No compromise on hiring halls; (2) no wage cuts, increase in hours, or chiseling on conditions; (3) united front for wage increases and better conditions; (4) uncompromising fight against any form of government control; (5) against arbitration of any of these fundamental union principles.

This program for a united front of all seafaring organizations, in co-operation with the startling developments longshoremen and teamsters, has within the Federation pose the Bridges and his stooges shiverissue of a program for September ing in their boots. The form of "struggle" which they envisage tion, of course, went on record consists of blackslapping with "Unity of all component the bosses, salaaming before the coastwise organizations" to de- government agencies, and scotchfend present wages, hours, and ing any fighting tendencies withconditions, protect hiring halls, in their own ranks. But if they etc. in the coming negotiations hope, through their desperate But, in this connection, it is real militants off the waterfront, well to remember that Bridges they will meet with a bitter surand his colleagues have, in word prise when September 30 rolls

# Painters' Elections See **Progressives Advancing**

(Continued from page 1)

there were many German painters in that local, but that in the titled "Weinstock's Daily Worker past they had supported Wein- Tries to Blackmail the A.L.P., stock almost unanimously. To the progressives quote from the slander them as Nazi-influenced, minutes of the District Council Stevens declared, is to stir up to prove that they made a motion the vilest kind of race and na- to levy a legal assessment for itonal prejudices and to play the the A.L.P. several times higher game of the Nazis themselves. in amount than the contribution In Local 1011, overwhelmingly actually made by Weinstock. The Jewish in its composition, the Stalinist Aaron Lotker, present chairman of the District Council. attempted to rehash this reactionary slander at a meeting at which Stevens spoke. The Jewish workers of Local 1011 gave the slander the proper answer by booing him out of the hall. In other locals, Jewish workers have similarly responded to this chauvinistic outrage.

## Daily Worker Lies

Still another frame-up was attempted last week, after the favorably on Steven's candidacy. The Daily Worker charged editorially that Stevens is a Tammany man who had opposed camto the American Labor Party. The Stalinists hoped in that way held at once? to bludgeon American Labor pointed out that what Stevens the A.L.P., but illegal raids on ed. Libel action is being consithe treasury, such as Weinstock dered by the progressives. constantly undertook, contrary to the constitution and by-laws of answering every attempt of the the union, in favor of the Daily Thirteenth Street frame-up art-Worker and other Stalinist ists to befog the membership, causes. It was the method of the have nevertheless continued to contribution to the A.L.P. which stick to the real issues. They rely was protested on the grounds of for winning the elections on illegality. Stevens challenged the June 25 on a program which in-

Stalinists to prove that he belonged to Tammany.

Incidentally, in a leaflet en-Stalinists "referred" and thus buried, the motion fearing they would have to go through legal procedure—once the procedent was established.

Stage a Burglary Finally, the Stalinists attempt-

ed what a progressive leaflet Sunday morning Stevens and and assessments. other progressives, including the socialists Marcal and Wagner, staged a burglary at the D. C. 9 offices in order to "cripple the election apparatus." The pro- rotation machine, to do away gressives very pointedly ask: with the present system of Jewish Forward had commented What earthly reason would they favoritism and discrimination have to want to "cripple the and to give every union painter election apparatus?" Hadn't they a fair chance at a job. registered one success after another in recent test votes, sufpaign contributions by the union ficiently indicative of their excellent chances in an election

Stevens has challenged the ad-Party leaders into support of ministration to present proof of union painters. their stooge against Stevens. In his responsibility for the alleged a statement to the press as well "burglary" to the District Atas in a leaflet, the progressives torney's office on penalty of Zausnerites who are now said making themselves guilty of and other progressives had op- compounding a felony. Of course, posed was not financial aid to this challenge has gone unanswer-

The progressives, although

# CURRAN MOVES TO ELIMINATE RIVAL UNIONS

Militant Organizations Are Threatened By Ray Proposal

NEW YORK .- The New York Maritime Council has begun a of "mediation and arbitration machinery" for the settlement of disputes between unions and the shipowners.... and inter-union, jurisdictional disputes."

Thomas Ray, secretary of the council, last week sent a conference call to the Maritime Commission, the National Labor Relations Board, the Department of Owners Association, the Shepard Steamship Company and Joseph P. Ryan of the International Longshoremen's Association accepted by the N.L.R.B., the Labor Department and the Shep-

#### Owners Taken to Task

As a follow-up to this call, Ray sent out a letter elaborating owners to task for refusing to attend the conference because of their desire to remain aloof from "jurisdictional disputes." According to Ray, "Whether 'innocent' or 'guilty,' the shipowners are bound to become involved in a the unions.... therefore, some such conference as we have pro-

posed is absolutely necessary.' The meaning of the Council's proposal is clear. It is part of by establishing governmental agencies as all-powerful overlords of maritime labor. Curran N.M.U. know full well that they have a loyal ally in Washington, especially after the union-smashing decision of the N.L.R.B. against the Sailors Union of the Pacific on the Shepard Line issue. It is significant that the government representatives accepted the invitation with such alacrity. They, too, wish to crush the fighting elements on the

# Refusal Significant

interest them in the least.

eliminate jurisdictional disputes the U.A.W." by wiping out all unions outside of the council, will fare no better than did the N.L.R.B. decision in the Shepard beef.

cludes the following planks:

calls a "Reichstag Fare a la endums, except strike votes, Goering." They charged that last especially in the levying of taxes 2. Election, not appointment, of all union officials.

3. Dispensation of all jobs

4. For a genuine housing proboration with the other building trades unions, to clear the slums and provide work for the uremployed building mechanics and

5. For the ousting of all the unnecessary job-holders, the ex-Weinstockites; for a corresponding reduction in dues.

It is a minimum program/on which every self-respecting union man can stand one-hundred er cent. It is one which the Stalnists cannot meet and which only a progressive administration cm carry into action.

ASK FOR THE APPEAL

# Stalinist Wreckers Act Concertedly To Smash Auto Workers' Union

Plunge Locals Into Pandemonium, Seek To Place International In Receivership In Order To Advance Rule Or Ruin Policy

DETROIT— The Stalinist pack is now in full cry in the United Automobile Workers Union. Driven to the wall by public exposure of their rotten policies and aims, they cannot rest until they have made their killing—even if the proud and powerful auto union is torn to shreds in

The Socialist Appeal predicted that the Stalinists would be determined, regardless of the cost, to seize control of the union. Now that prediction has been confirmed to the hilt. Nothing is too despicable for these unscrupulous political adventurers.

The crisis precipitated by the . combination is now ravaging the large, the sentiment of the great union from one end of the coun- majority of auto workers is try to the other. Everywhere antagonistic to war. But let nolocal unions have been thrown in- body forget that once this Frankto pandemonium. The word has ensteen-C.P. gang take over the Labor, the American Steamship gone out from a caucus center, union, the auto union will be operating far more efficiently thrust into the front lines of the than it ever did in building the "we-want-war" shouters. For the organization, to crudify Homer time being, however, the Stalin-Martin once and for all.

#### Stalinist Program

Packed local union meetings -where administration spokesmen are howled down—are being called upon to vote for a threepoint resolution: reinstate the his proposal and taking the ship- John L. Lewis to intervene and work. In line with their bellytake over; convene a special conitulate to the ultimatum.

Meanwhile the wrecking crew a letter to all local unions directthey will stop at nothing in their perfidy. The sky is the limit in this reactionary game.

#### Victimization Pretence The infernal din resounding

through the International consists of one clamor: "We are the persecuted defenders of democracy!" The hypocrisy of this cry is almost too obvious to need contradiction. however, many good militant The shipowners' refusal to sit elements among the rank-and-file But they are in fact doing everyat the peace table with the have been deceived by it. These thing in their nower to destroy ASTORIA BRANCH SOCIAL at council is also significant. They workers need only look at the are deeply appreciative of the aid record. "Democrat No. 1" in the their factional ends. rendered them by the N.M.U. ranks of the splitters is Richard and its associates in smashing T. Frankensteen. Six weeks ago sailors' picket lines. They wish, this gentleman was taking disnaturally, to continue to employ ciplinary action against all groups the services of Curran's outfit in to eliminate "factionalism." We splitting and disrupting maritime quote from his letter sent to all labor. The proposal to "talk over" board members at the time just jurisdictional disputes does not to refresh the memmry of those who might have forgotten:

However, the S.U.P. and its "Agreement to take disciplinary allies have already demonstrated action against any party, group that their fight for the closed or section of the membership shop and decent conditions will which does not go down the line not be stopped by any number with the program." And "all of government mediation boards. caucuses to be abandoned imme-They have shown in the Shepard diately, specifically the Progresdispute that neither the N.M.U. sive and Unity caucuses will no dictators nor their government longer exist and the program adhenchmen will force them to give vocated is to be the program of up their contracts or liquidate the International Union. To entheir militancy. This latest class force this we abolish and procollaborationist move, designed to hibit all factional groups within

## Democracy-Where?

Frankensteen picked it up a- of democracy in this agitation.

In the dark of night, when they were sure nobody was look- cally. ing, the Stalinists decided to pull a fast one. What was the signigram to be worked out in colla- ficance of this new move? Merely a factional maneuver to take control on the basis of a temporary majority? Not at all. Fact was that despite the complete and unanimous endorsement by the Board of the 20point program, the Stalinists had never reconciled themselves to trality in this battle. Non-inter-

it. Two ponits stuck in their craw: 1.-Opposition to the war bills of the Roosevelt government and support of the Ludlow amendment; 2.-The program to organize W.P.A. workers in the U.A.W. auxiliary.

The pro-war advocates of collective security rankled at the thought of any kind of opposition to war. But what could they do about it? They had al-AT YOUR NEWSSTAND ready taken a heavy licking on

Communist Party-Frankensteen | the war question once. By and ists had to swallow hard and take the program.

#### Stalinists Sabotage

But the problem of organizng W.P.A. workers is another matter. Ever since the adoption of the 20-point program the Stafive suspended officers; call upon linists have been sabotaging this crawling attitude to Roosevelt, vention if Martin refuses to cap- the Communist Party doesn't want to see W.P.A. workers organized. Sooner or later this oris setting up a dual organization ganization will embarrass Roosestructure within the framework velt. So the Stalinists wriggle of the union. Having failed to out of a tough spot by pushing strike or lockout action involving tie up the funds of the union, their stooge Workers Alliance to George Addes, suspended Sec- the front. At the same time, retary-Treasurer, has circulated they press to divide union W.P.A. workers along craft lines and ing them to send all dues and jack up Auto Union W. P. A. conference that Davey be called funds to his private home in De- Auxiliary dues to a point where to address it was so roundly Joe Curran's concerted drive to wipe out militant maritime unions by establishing governmental advised to withhold all per capita program. Result: only a handpayments to the International full of W.P.A. workers organiz- your friends and punish your en-Union. At this writing it is dif- ed to date. In Detroit Secretaryand his Stalinist stooges in the ficult to tell what is the next Treasurer Addes was doing his But certain it is that best to throw a monkey-wrench in the W.P.A. Auxiliary.

We will have occasion to prove in the future how Mortimer, Frankensteen, Hall and Addes violated and sabotaged the 20point program at every turn. Certainly no thinking worker can sympathize with a crew that will sign their names to a program and then turn around at the first opportunity and drop the program into a sewer. They whine that Unfortunately, the union needs unity in the face of depression and wage-cuts. and disunite the organization for

## Receivership Sought

But let us return to this question of democracy. The key point of the resolution quoted above is the section calling on John L. Lewis to set up a receivership over the auto union. The auto union elected its officers at the last convention by democratic vote. The constitution gave Martin, as International president, power to remove any officer, subject to trial. Good or bad, the Unity Group voted to grant Martin these powers at the last convention. But there is nothing in the constitution anywhere-let Frankensteen dig it up-giving a John L. Lewis or any other leader, big or small, the authority to come in from Washington or anywhere else and throw out the elected leaders of the auto work-What was there that even ers. When William Green and vaguely resembled democracy in Francis Dillon tried this on the this program? Just as much de- A.F.L. unions, everybody howled mocracy as there is in one of dictatorship. And they were 1. Secret ballot in all refer- Stalin's firing squads. Indeed right! And it doesn't make a Krankensteen is lined up with particle of difference if the dic-Stalin's American agents. It was tator is John L. Lewis or Wilonly because this plot was un-liam Green. Let the people who covered and exposed that Frank- want a dictator say so openly ensteen dropped it cold. But at so the workers will know where the first new opportunity, on the they stand. But whether they available through the union by advice of Earl Browder and Co., admit it or no, there's not a trace The auto workers should vote down this resolution-emphati-

## The Real Struggle

If this is not a fight for democracy, what is it? It is a struggle for clique control of the auto union. And when this clique establishes its control there won't be any democracy left. It will be a miracle if there is a union left. There can be no neuvention means support of the Stalinists. They thrive on the position of the fence-sitters. We are not advocating support of everything the Martin administration has done in the past or will do in the future. We have oursevels made the most unsparing criticisms in the past when we disagreed with the adminis-

tration. But all of these bureau-(Continued on page 3)

**Passing Mourned** 



RODNEY SALISBURY

# UNIONS REFUSE **ENDORSEMENT** TO GOV. DAVEY

Ohio Labor Federation **Delegates Declare** "Nothing Doing"

AKRON, Ohio.-Hopes of labor-hating Governor Martin L. Davey that he would receive A. F. of L. support in his campaign for re-election were dashed to pieces last week when a statewide conference of A. F. of L. delegates rejected that idea. It is no secret that Willian

Green, president of the A. F. of L. wanted the Ohio union to support Davey in his crusade against the C.I.O. Yet every suggestion by Green's henchmen at the booed that the conference adjourned after merely reaffirming the old policy of "reward emies. Davey sat at the state house

all afternoon awaiting a call to come to the conference, but he waited in vain.

Even the extremely conservative building trades delegates from Akron went to the confernce determined to oppose Davey's endorsement.

# ANNOUNCEMENTS

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

NEW YORK

Side Branch headquarters) near 59th Street, on Saturday, June Big Apple contest, drinks. Subscription 25 cents.

25, 8.30 p.m., at 159 Rivington St. Admission 20 cents.

READ UNSER WORT, monthly organ of the German section of the IV International. No. 8. E. 12 St., N.Y.C.

Y.P.S.L. DUES DRIVE. A reminder to all Y.P.S.L. districts: Convention Dues Drive closes July 15. How does your District stand? — National

BAND BEING FORMED. All those interested in learning to play musical instruments, and all those who already can perform on any musical instrument, communicate at once with L. Reynolds, National Office, 116 University Place. Al 4-8547.

READ THE RUSSIAN BUL-LETIN of the Opposition, organ of the Russian Bolshevik Leninists. Leading articles by Leon Trotsky. International news and letters. Single issue, 20 cents. Subscription rates \$1 for six months. Order through Rae Spiegel, care of Socialist Appeal, 116 University

## CHICAGO

SUMMER FESTIVAL—Chicago S.W.P. picnic. Food, games, camp fire, at Schiller Park Forest Reserve (end of Irving Park Line, June 26, 10 a. m. to

CAMPS

CAMP SEVEN OAKS, Eatontown, N. J. Excellent swimming pool and tennis court. Capacity 25. Good food and housing. No tents, no mosquitos. Fare 80 cents to Red. Ave., S.W: at Seventh Ave., S.E; at Sixth Ave., RROOKLYN, Grant Bouleva, Ave., S.W: at Seventh Ave., RROOKLYN, Grant Bouleva, RROOKLYN, Grant Bouleva, RROOKLYN, Grant Bouleva, S.W: at Seventh Ave., RROOKLYN, Grant Bouleva, Rrooklyn, Rro Rank. Inquire phone Bryant | S.W; opposite Sterns; 103 W. 9-7620 for train schedules. 44th St.; 46th St. and B'way, S.E. June rates, daily \$2.50, weekly,

## WANT ADS

LARGE DOUBLE ROOM for rent on Riverside Drive, near 125th Street, N.Y.C. Very reasonable. See S. Stanley at City Headquarters for details.

A Veteran Passes RODNEY SALISBURY DEAD

A few grief-stricken lines from Pete Gallagher and John Boulds have brought us the shocking report that Rodney Salisbury died of a brain hemorrhage in the Plentywood, Montana, hospital on June 14, 1938, after a three-day illness. He was fifty years old.

The death of this model revolutionist came as an especially rude blow to those of us in New York-Jim Cannon, Marty Abern and myself-who had known and esteemed him since the early days of the communist movement.

#### Prominent As Leader

Born on May 2, 1888, in Brinsmade, North Dakota, he moved to Montana, where he homesteaded in the hard days. From the early founding of Sheridan County, which was later to become Montana's "red county," he was a familiar figure in and around Plentywood. For years he was among the leading spirits of the fighting weekly of Montana's workers and farmers, the Producers News, and a prominent leader in every progressive move-

In 1922, he was swept into office as sheriff of Sheridan County and served three terms. There never was a more unique sheriff in the United Stats, for his "jail" was plastered with the posters of the International Red Aid, the International Labor Defense and the Mooney Defense Committe. Many a homeless and hungry migratory worker learned that Rodney's "jail" was far more like a hotel for the night.

#### Ran For Governor

In 1932 he was the Communist Party's candidate for governor, stumped the state as he had a dozen times before, and did a dozen times after, indefatigable as speaker and organizer of the thousands of workers and farmers of the state who knew him intimately and respected his courage, selflessness and devotion. At the time of his death he was still president of the Montana Farm Holiday Association, which he founded.

Rodney made good friends and good enemies. He hated oppression and iniquity and his only ambition was the triumph of the revolution. And hard-headed and tough-fisted militant that he was, he had no lack of ability to fight for his views. That is why he could not reconcile himself with Stalinism, and joined our movement in its early days. The bureaucrats hated and feared him, and they had good cause.

#### S. W. P. Pays Tribute

The National Committee of the Socialist Workers Party, to which he belonged and in which all his work and hopes were bound up, sent the following telegram to Rodney's comrade, Pete Gallagher:

"Please convey to Rodney's family and all friends and comble -hearted comrade and friend, Rodney Salisbury His death is a rades our sorrow and condolence at the untimely death of our noheavy blow to our movement and to all the oppressed who found in him always a faithful champion, counsellor and friend. Our lives are richer for having known him and his undying memory will inspire us to keep up the good fight to the end.

Rodney is survived by a widow and five children, Michael, Jardis, Camille, and Gene and Patrick.

MAX SHACHTMAN.

TOTAL .

Things would have been bad

Abe Miller is holding an emer-

crew to find out what the trouble

Paul with two subs which were

neapolis last week'... And, in-

cidently, St. Paul has been run-

ning its own sub drive in con-

junction with that of Minneapolis

Literature Agents: Sit down

right now and send in a list of

newsstands carrying the Appeal.

We want that column going by

San Francisco

Boston ......

Miscellaneous

New Yorak City

# Appeal Army

National Appeal Campaign: This past week, letters have been pouring in from all over the 916 Ninth Ave. (Upper West country describing plans and local campaigns being initiated July 1, the date for launching 25, 8.30 p. m. Swing music, our 10,000 circulation drive. Ann Charloff, the new literature agent this week if Minneapolis hadn't of Los Angeles, has requested come through... Especially with RED RIVINGTON REVELRIES. extra sub-blanks, bulletins and N.Y.C. in such a terrific slump. Join with the East Side Fire-other campaign material and has trap Floogies, Saturday, June already ordered 100 extra copies gency session of his literature of this week's Appeal.

From 'Frisco, El Booth writes, is..... We want to credit St. We will launch into the campaign with enthusiasm, since erroneusly chalked up to Mingood ground work has been laid just out. Labor Book Shop, 28 for such a campaign." She also promises to make good use of the expired sub-lists that have been sent out. In Chicago, a special meeting of all literature agents was held with the aim of getting the Appeal more wide-Finance Committee, Y.P.S.L. ly circulated in that city. And from Boston, comrade Leonard next week. informs us that we can expect many new subscribers shortly.

> Here's this week's result in new subscribers: Notice the splendid results of Minneapolis and the not so splendid results of New York City:

MINNEAPOLIS St. Paul .... Chicago ..... Pennsylvania ..... Detroit

Send all subscriptions and contributions to: SOCIALIST APPEAL 116 University Place New York City

The following issues are missing from our files: Vol. 1-Nos. 6, 7, 18; Vol. 2-Nos. 2, 3, 9, 18, 22. We request branches and subscribers to send in as many copies of these issues as possible.

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Candy Store, S. E. 9th St. and Second Ave; Biederman's Book Store, 12th St. and Second Ave; Wigerson, 145th St. and St. Nicholas Ave; 110th St. and Columbus Ave.

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BROOKLYN: Grand and Union Aves.; Havemeyer Avenue and South 4th St; Marcy and Broad-Essex and Delancy Sts; Book- way; Pitkin and Douglas Aves; store at Grand and Attorney Sts; Sutter and Pitkin Aves.

THE NEW INTERNATIONAL Monthly Marxist Magazine -- SUBSCRIBE NOW!--

powers renewed until November, alley of the lesser evil. has sent its dutiful parliament home for summer vacations.

Fired with courage by the cowardice of his People's Front of the defeats, one of them wrote admonishers, Daladier took a in Populaire during the prefirm stand against the very con- congress discussion: "The procept of advancing any proposal in labor's interests, threatening dissolution of the People's Front and of parliament as well.

#### Working Class Stifled

ness to fight on the part of the Stalinist and reformist leaders would have sufficed to call into the with discouragement and bring things were proved conclusively: streets the French working class, including the tens of thousands of state functionaries, among whom there is a strong strike have crumbled overnight. The secret of his "power" lies prethe dissatisfied working class bankruptcy. and the bloodthirsty fascists, Daladier, under the tutelage of Prime Minister Chamberlain of Great Britain, has established for the nonce a more efficient Bonapartist regime.

Since the collapse of the People's Front government of Leon Blum, the Socialist and Stalinist leaders have found themselves in a most embarrassing situation. Blum himself stated openly in Populaire that the Socialist Party has been deeply shaken by the defeat of masses ask fearfully: What will come after Daladier? Opposition to the vote in support of Daladier is strong in the ranks of both the Socialist and Commun-

#### Tolerating Daladier

Nevertheless, at the congress of the S.P. held in the early days of June in Royan, Blum won support for his proposal to tolerate Daladier's domestic and foreign policy with 4,817 votes for his motion. A motion of the asking for the immediate reestablishment of a People's Front government and a termination of Spanish non-intervention policy, mustered about 1,700 suburbs), were not admitted to around the demand for a

"People's Front of struggle." Blum achieved his majority at the congress with great difficulty. Chief credit for this victory goes to the Yezhov of the party, general secretary Paul Faure, who intimidated the party membership by brutal organizational slugging of the Parisian left wing. The organizational steps were supplemented by the clever political propaganda of Blum and his majority. The second-rank leaders played a radical tune. They asked that an end be put to the Daladier government "at the earliest possible moment."

## Taste of National Union

Even Paul Faure wrote in Populaire, a few weeks before the congress, that "the atmosphere in which he (Daladier) rules, the guarantees which he gives to gain the confidence of the trusts, provide us with an advance taste of what a National would be. The Royan congress should say this clearly."

Another member of Blum's majority states: "The People's Front is dead, whether one wishes it or not. The truth of the matter is that no party has the courage to bury it." But this lack of courage is easily explained. steps of the Spanish P.O.U.M. The maintenance of the external which originally had the same shell of the People's Front is name. the only way to prevent mass outbursts against Daladier's reactionary course and to provide a formal cover for the continual SUBSCRIBE NOW TO betravals of the S.P.

Blum therefore has recourse to arguments of pure "legality." He says: "The engagements of the People's Front still bind by law (!) the parties who entered into them." And by means of this unique conception of "law" the sophisticated bourgeois attorney Blum engages the working class to accept passively the complete reversal of even those modest measures which the People's Front forced through because of mass pressure.

## In A Blind Ally

Thus the Socialist party has now arrived, after all its ambitious promises, to fill decadent bourgeois democracy with genuine proletarian content, exactly at the point where the German

had its plenipotentiary Hitler's victory-in the blind

But many partisans of Blum's majority are beginning to lose their illusions. Seeking the causes gram (of the People's Front) was actually incapable of realization because, although its end was well established, the means to attain it were not foreseen." The slightest sign of a willing- policy of the Daladier govern- Park on June 4, in order to let -"will rapidly instill the masses movement."

Such a statement on the part of a Blum supporter and enemy sentiment. Daladier's power would of the Socialist left wing throws a revealing light on the confu- cannot be conducted in a slipshod, sion and disorientation which haphazard, unorganized manner. cisely in the consistent stifling dominate the Socialist Party. But of working class militancy by the this does not alter the fact that labor bureaucracy. Maneuvering the writer has touched upon the between the restless camps of secret of the People's Front's

#### S. P. Enters Third Period

Afraid of the masses, and fearful of losing the last vestiges of Hague man. favor from their bourgeois colleagues of yesterday, the Socialist Party has now entered the "third period" of its opportunism since the events of February, 1934. First the Socialists tried to meet the growing mass radicalization after the German defeat with radical phraseology. Paul Faure and Zyromsky wrote about the "dictatorship of the cannon, fired shots in Populaire against the right wing Socialists who favored governmental collaboration with the party of Daladier and Herriot.

Then came the "reform radicalism" of the People's Front, Socialist Party has reached a new turn, naturally under the pressure of the main party of bour-Stalinists. It consists in the tosemi-Stalinist deputy Zyromski, leration of the pre-war Bonapartism of Daladier-Chamberlain.

#### Left Wing Perspectives

What are the forces and pervotes. The left opposition, whose spectives of Pivert's new left leader, Pivert, as well as the wing? Its membership, amountother delegates of the expelled ing to 4,000 at the outside, is Seine Federation (Paris and its concentrated mainly in Paris. It carry out his recommendations. commands certain sympathies the convention, rallied 1,400 votes among the Socialist youth, a section of which was expelled for olidarity with Pivert. It also has everything within their power to lose these possibilities.

The situation calls for a genuine Marxist party, ready to oppose boldly the priests of the People's Front and to raise the banner of the proletarian revolution. However, Pivert and his friends continue their courting of the Socialist leadership, and even attempt diplomatic manderstandably, they are not pleas-Internationalists.

The near future will show whether this group will definitely Union.... under his leadership establish itself as a centrist formation which, though it may gain a certain mass influence, will provide another instrument for burying the French revolution. The fact that the party has chosen the name, Workers and Peasants Party, shows that it intends to follow in the foot-

## THE SOCIALIST APPEAL

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# Bonapartism Rules In France As Parliament Is Sent On Vacation Anti-Hague Drive Launched By SWP

A vigorous campaign against the blighting menace of Mayor MAYOR HAGUE Hague's reactionary dictatorship, already near-absolute in Jersey City and extending into other parts of New Jersey, is being conducted by the North Jersey District organization of the Socialist Workers' Party. Following is an abridged version of a leaflet published by our comrades as the starting point in their drive to arouse a mighty movement of the working class to end the Hague dictatorship. —Ed.

When the Newark police opened up the crowd around Norman Thomas as he attempted to speak And the writer feels that the from a stand in Newark Military that broke up the meeting, two back to life the moribund fascist that the fight against Hagueism and what it stands for is not confined to Jersey City, or Jersey City officials, or Jersey City cops alone, and that the fight

> Now Newark is supposed to be a liberal city, under a liberal City Commission, with its mayor elected on the slogan "Keep Hague out of Newark," and with only one of the five commissioners (Byrne) an acknowledged

#### Attack On Unions

As Hague met each new attempt and won, Byrne grew more vicious in Newark. He knew the difference between his function and Hague's. Hague was preventing better conditions for the workers in Jersey City by preventing the organization of unions. But in Newark, unions proletariat." Blum, with his toy already exist. Byrne, recognizing the way to take from Newark workers the few advantages they have was by tearing down the existing unions, began with his man, Overseer of the Poor, Malady, an attack on one of the more militant organizations, the whose main task was to stifle Workers Alliance, demanding that the revolutionary offensive of the it be refused recognition and the French proletariat. And now the right it had won by many picket lines to bargain for its members in the relief stations. Duffy, of the "liberal" bloc, in charge of geois class collaboration, the the police, helped them by turning over police and detectives to make Malady's investigations.

Then Byrne and Malady called on the veteran's organizations to support them. Reactionary leaders of the Veterans Alliance came across nobly, passing resolutions supporting Malady and demanding the City Commission

## Alliance In Action

It was only the resolute detervague sympathizers among the this anti-labor measure (like the Stalinist rank-and-file. Undoubt- determination of the Hudson edly there are favorable objec- County Crucible Steel workers tive possibilties. But in view of not to permit the Hague cops to the past and present political ac- | break their recent strikes) and tivity of the leaders, there is their show of strength in mobillittle doubt that they will do izing hundreds of unemployed workers in the City Hall the day the question came up for a vote before the Commission, and the support given them by the C.I.O., that forced the Commissioners to refuse to act on it one way or the other, preferring to drop the

matter. Temporarily, the anti-labor forces had been checked. But not for good. Byrne made a series euvers with the Stalinists. Un- of talks, addressing the veterans' organizations, commending them ed by the hindrances placed in on the fine stand "their leaders' the way of their centrist schemes had taken. "And when it comes by the criticisms of the Fourth to the reds, communists, pinks or the Workers Alliance.' told them, "rock 'em and sock 'em all the way through!" (Newark Evening News, May 17,

> When Germany and Italy reached a crisis, the bosses turned from so-called "peaceful" and "democratic" rule over the workers to fascism.

## How Fascism Begins

It began in the same way things have begun around North Jersey. First small bands of thugs, claiming to be patriots, veterans and so on, aided and greater protection by the city protected by the police, break up Commission or the cops or anymeetings, beat up workers. If thing else-but your own organthey are successful at this and ized strength! their red scare, they become bolder, enter and wreck union halls, kill labor organizers, terrorize showing them how we can smash the wokers, prepare to make the it here! labor movement illegal, and institute fascism.

America is reaching a real crisis too. The new depression has hit United States capitalism hard and fast. Production has ment-endorsed by his own party in the band and the hoodlums fallen more in eight months than values on the N. Y. Exchange have been reduced by \$27,000,-000,000 in the course of a year. Steel is working at 30 per cent capacity, Millions are working one or two days a week. Conservative estimates again place the number of unemployed at 13,000,-

#### Bosses On Offensive In the face of this new depres-

sion the American bosses are preparing a new offensive against the labor movement—to put the burden of the crisis off on the workers. They look hopefully toward Hague in North Jersey. Every victory of Hague's gives them new hope and new confidence. It is for that very reason that Hague must be stopped-Hague and his allies, wherever they are, in the Jersey City or the Newark City Hall. They must be stopped short-no one is going to "rock and sock" the labor away with it. If anyone is going to do any socking, it should be the workers who for so long have produce for the profits of the bosses and the Hagues and the

The enemies of the workers have just taken their first steps along these lines in Newark. They must be stopped before they fact, these thugs, like all strikebreakers and scabs, are really yellow. A good scare, a mighty demonstration, determined, persistent opposition, will send them scurrying back to their poolrooms and saloons like the rats they are. There were really only about a hundred of them. A few more may get up some nerve on booze next time too. But they can be routed easily. This last affair need not have been another victory for Hague's forces-if the workers here had been prepared

#### to protect it. Labor Must Fight

Workers cannot afford the luxury of "crawling in a corner and wanting to die" when the bosses and their agents attack them. Because then their enemies will crawl right in after them to really finish them off. When the bosses try to lower wages, etc., in the factories the workers must organize defense committees to protect and extend those rights.

That is the program of action for workers in the face of this new threat. Organize workers' defense committees! All workers are threatened: all workers must participate in the fight! Whether they are in the C. I. O. or A.F. of L., whether they agree politically or not (we certainly don't agree with Thomas's politics), this is the step they must take.

When another Thomas meeting is held, when any similar meeting is held, when any workers' meeting is held, the workers of Newark, organized through their unions and other organizations for action in defense committees, trained and ready to fight back, must be present in mass.

## On To Struggle

Workers, prepare for struggle! Place no confidence in anything -be it promises of probes and

Teach the Jersey City workers how to smash Hagueism there by

Build workers' defense com-

# Build The Socialist Appeal! Forward To 10,000 Circulation!

# HOLDS STAGE IN N. JERSEY

#### Uses Forum Of Court To **Expound His Fascist** Views On Labor

The struggle between Loss Hague and the C.I.O. was transit did in the first three years of ferred during the past week from the 1929 depression. Quoted stock the streets and parks of Jersey City and Newark to the Federal Courtroom at Newark where the C.I.O. and American Civil Liberties Union had brought injunction proceedings to prevent Jersey City authorities from interferring with labor organizing activities.

Taking advantage of the forum presented to him by his opponents, Mayor Hague held the center of the stage while he defended his dictatorial conduct and expounded his fascist views and politics before the whole nation. His performance was aided by the C.I.O. attorneys who acted as stooges by feeding him leading questions, designed to "expose" the despot, but which Hague cleverly used as springboards for attacking the militant labor movement and all his critics. The Federal Judge permitted him wide latitude.

#### Hague on Offensive

On the stand, Hague belligerently transformed himself been denied all the things they fashion the Jersey Fuehrer as- er for a paper cover edition violence. He branded all C.I.O. leaders (except John L. Lewis) New York City. take the second. As a matter of and sympathizers as "Reds." Among them were the Socialist, Norman Thomas, and his fellow-Democrat, Representative Jerry O'Connell. He accordingly justified his denial of free speech and free assembly to all of these

He falsely accused the C.I.O. head of a drive to overturn the fied his coup d'etat by the Reichhis own "strong-arm" squads.

## Jersey Boss Sees Red

He also declared that William Carney of the C.I.O. had threatened to invade his domain with 3.000 armed men, although he later admitted that Carney's men, whom his cops slugged, arrested and deported last November, numbered less than two hundred and were unarmed.

"The riots, bloodshed and disturbances" accompanying the strikes of the C.I.O. (such as were to Hague conclusive evidence of the C.I.O.'s revolutionary character and aims. Any selfdefensive actions of the workers against the attacks of the bosses or their strikebreaking and any struggle for their rights were proofs of "revolution."

Hague defended all the gangster tactics of his storm troops in expelling "radicals" who tried to speak under his totalitarian regime.

## Admires Roosevelt

He humbly professed great admiration for the head of his party, Franklin D. Roosevelt, who has not lifted a finger against him, although he repudiated the financial and political support accorded the Democratic Party by the C.I.O.

He urged that all "reds be exiled to a concentration camp in Alaska and that all radical aliens be deported. "Reds," he said, have no constitutional rights.

Throughout the hearings, Hague mocked his questioners, laughed in their faces, turned the tables on them again and again.

The signifiacance of Hague's actions, featured by the whole American press, must be dearly understood. Hague has deiberately assumed the political leadership of the reactionary offensive in the United States. He voices the sentiments, protects the interests, and carries out the program of Big Business and the most reactionary section of the capitalist class. "America's 60 Families" have their eye glued upon the captain of ther gen-

#### Attempt Made To Bar Appeal Sales

NEW YORK .- The owner of a newsstand at Broadway and Marcy Avenues, Brooklyn, reports that a group of youths threatened to withdraw the Daily Worker and Freiheit from his stand if he continued to carry the Socialist Appeal.

This is but another incident in the campaign of the Stalinists to squelch the voice of the revolutionary proletariat in America. Although recently the Stalinists wailed about the attempts of the fascist followers of Father Coughlin to keep the Daily Worker off the newsstands, they find it perfectly consistent to emulate the fascists.

We feel sure that all workers will support and patronize the newsstands that carry the Appeal, and will repel all attempts, by whomsoever made, to ban working-class papers therefrom.

# **Labor Book Shop Suggests Books** For Militants

The entire radical movement and all others interested in the Moscow Trials will be glad to know that Harper & Bros. have finally set a definite publication date for the Final Report of the Commission of Inquiry, June 28. The volume will have approximately as many pages as "The Case of Leon Trotsky." To Miss Suzanne LaFollette, hard-working secretary of the Commission goes the credit for the striking title the volume will bear.... 'Not Guilty!"

The regular edition will sell from a witness into a prosecut- for \$3.50. The Labor Book Shop ing attorney. In real fascist has contracted with the publishsailed the C.I.O. movement as which will sell at \$1.50. Advance 'un - American," "Communist," orders are being taken at 98c up and "revolutionary," aiming to to the date of publication. Mail overthrow the government and orders postmarked on that date organized religion by force and will be honored at the advance price. Address 28 East 12 Street,

One of the most thorough studies of German imperialism yet to have appeared has just been published in England by Secker and Warburg under the title of "Germany: World Empire or World Revolution." The author is Gunther Reimann, Marxist economist with a long record of actof making Jersey City the spear-livity in the German labor movement that dates back to the government, just as Hitler justi- | Spartacus Bund. The author was stag fire frame-up. He alleged this study for the Communist be sent there. that Harry Bridges had sent 500 International but completed his "strong-arm men and killers" into work after his break with Sta- cession was restored to Chinese of peasant unions and the launch-Jersey City to destroy the ship- linism. No one interested in the sovereignty by the independent ing of a vigorous drive for the 37 seamen's strike broken up by rule on the shaky foundations of who seized it on January 3, 1927, ants. miss this book.

> darmes, hoping that Hague will emerge the victor in his fight against the C.I.O. His triumph will be the signal for a concertlabor by the bosses in all fields.

## For a Real Struggle

Meanwhile, the C.I.O. concentrates its struggle against Hagueism almost exclusively upon the Memorial Day Massacre!) the courts, although so far neiand the sit-down strike itself ther the courts, the capitalist politicians, nor the preachers have advanced their struggle a step. Even if the court should a fee and wearing a peddler's 13 of illness resulting from render a favorable decision, who badge, is to receive a court test pneumonia and overwork. will enforce it in New Jersey? | as the result of the arrest of two Hague is the law there. He has men last week for selling a So- unionist and shipyard worker announced his intention to continue defying the decision of the U.S. Supreme Court on the right to distribute handbills. Will view of the U.S. Supreme Court | Unemployed League and later in he be any the less lenient in re- decision in the Griffin City, the Workers Alliance. His loss gard to union organization?

There is only one power in the state capable of really enforcexercise of their democratic City. That is the power of organized labor itself.

Hague's cynical challenge must not go unanswered. The C.I.O. must counter his declaration of war against it. by taking the struggle against Hague out of the courts, lobbies and backrooms and into the streets and parks where it began. The masses must be organized and prepared for the struggle. The program of action, proposed by the North Jersey District of the Socialist Workers Party and published in this issue, indicates the way Hague's offensive can be beaten back and the political and police apparatus that supports him smashed.

#### LA NOCHE de la FIESTA

See Announcement NEXT WEEK

# **Kuomintang In Crisis** As Japanese Advance **Up Yangtse To Hankow**

U. S. Courts "Incidents" By Ordering Gunboats To Remain In Zone Of Hostilities: Floods Remain In Zone Of Hostilities; Floods

#### By LO SEN

Flood waters of the Yellow River, rushing through breached dikes in northern Honan, have stopped the Japanese threat to Hankow from the north. They are at the same time bringing death and untold privation to cores of thousands of peasants abandoned to their fate in the

flood area. The Japanese drive on the provisional Kuomintang capital now being concentrated along the Yangste River, where Japanin the river channel.

#### U. S. Seeks "Incidents"

The announcement by Admiral Harry E. Yarnell that American gunboats would remain in the zone of hostilities has paved the way for new "incidents" like the sinking of the Panay last Decem-

Meanwhile at Hankow itself

signs of an internal political crisis have been multiplied. A week ago it seemed that Chiang Kai-shek had decided to abandon the city. Government officials and bureaus had already begun a new exodus farther inland. Evidence was not lacking that high Kuomintang circles, including Chiang Kai-shek himself were beginning to toy with the idea of seeking a compromise with Japan. In a series of syndicated articles published in the American press, Mme. Chiang Kai-shek dropped her more-accustomed pose of hypocritical hand-raising to God and the democracies, and hinted very broadly that her husband might be smarter to think in terms of the new "realism" in world politics than to wait until the democracies in their own good time came more effectively to China's aid.

#### Offer Britain Concession

The extent to which the Chinese courgeoisie is looking to its and to rout out the widespread Anglo-American imperialist ment- sabotage and corruption which ors to save it from Japan was has done so much to sap the ndicated by a New York Times Chinese defense; the setting up report to the effect that the of committees in all towns and Chinese had actually offered to return their former Hankow con- the wealthy landlords and mercessions to the British in the chants pay the largest share of originally commissioned to make hopes that British troops would the necessary war levies without

mustion of how long Hitler can action of the Hankow workers German capitalism can afford to then we see how far from the present calculations of the the fighting strength which will Kuomintang leaders is the wag- make it impossible for the ining of a real war for national vaders to sit secure in a single liberation for China. The report square mile of Chinese territory. went on that the British were Along this road and along this cool to the proposal. That also road alone lies victory in the shows how far the present meows struggle for Chinese national ed campaign against organized of the ailing British lion are liberation.

## LEAFLET LICENSE LAW TO GET TEST

NEW YORK CITY.-The new city code, prohibiting the sale of pamphlets and other literature member of the Socialist Workers on the streets without a license, which requires the payment of cialist Labor Party pamphlet. It who for many years was also a is contended by the defense that leader of unemployed and W.P.A. the law is unconstitutional in workers, first in the National Georgia case.

from the roars of a decade ago. The surest indication that Chiang Kai-shek is at least thinking in terms of surrender is the fact that the Stalinists in China have come out with a radical threat to defend Hankow with the aid of the "armed masses of Wuhan workers" on the basis of "revolutionary positions." Value to Moscow

# The "National United Front"

for which the Stalinists trampled on and destroyed these "revese warships are trying to shell olutionary positions" rests entheir way through barriers in tirely upon continued Kuomintang resistance to the Japanese. because this is the principal value of the pact to the Soviet bureaucracy. Should this resistance cease, the whole situation would naturally be transformed. But it is precisely for this contingency that the Stalinists have least prepared themselves and the masses by their wholesale capitulation to Chiang Kaishek and the bourgeoisie, their abandonment of the struggles of

the workers and peasants. It is indeed, however, u p o n the strength of the "armed masses" and upon revolutionary policies based upon the "revolutionary position" of those masses that the successful prosecution of the struggle in reality depends.

#### Road to Victory

The empty threats of the Stalinists are useless. What is needed is a concrete program that will arouse the masses. This would involve a bold social policy which will satisfy the immediate needs of the workers and peasants who are bearing the chief brunt of the cost of the war; the ruthless expropriation of funds and supplies now hoarded by bankers and merchants in order to provision guerillas and refugees; the setting up of peasants' and workers' committees to exert vigilant control over the handling of these supplies villages which will see to it that passing them on to the peasants: When we recall that this con- and above all, the organization

Out of such forces will come

It is obvious that such a provision could be used as effectiveing any court decree against ly against labor and radical or-Hague that will benefit labor or- ganizations as the ordinance ganizations and restore the free against leaflet distribution was used in Hagueville until even rights to the people of Jersey Hague's minions were forced to tended the funeral. Reuben Plasrecognize its violation of the constitutional rights of free speech. If it is upheld, labor must de-

#### CARTER MACK DIES. LOSS TO N. JERSEY

NEWARK, N. J.—Carter Mack, a Negro comrade and charter Party, Lenin Branch, of the North Jersey District, died June

Comrade Mack was a trade is keenly felt both by the local labor and unemployed movement and the S.W.P.

A large delegation from the Workers Alliance, the shippard workers union of Kearny, and the Socialist Workers Party atkett, chairman of the Alliance local to which comrade Mack belonged, and Marc Davis, representing the S.W.P. spoke at the services.

# Stalinist Wreckers Organizing To Break Up Auto Union

(Continued from page 2)

presented by the Stalinist cam- fying anybody for his opinions. plague on both your houses" and be able to judge for themselves then votes for the Stalinist re- whether these men were justly solutions, is cowardly and delib- suspended. erately misleading.

the union into a powerful force to meet the challenge of the deeratic missteps fade into insig- pression. The issue is clearly nificance compared to the danger | put. It is not a question of crucipaign. The attitude of such as A full and open trial will reveal Walter Reuther, who says "a the facts and the workers will

In the meantime, the job of The auto union can survive every militant, of every honest this crisis but it must beat the rank-and-filer, is to stop the Stal-Stalinist campaign. The 20-point inist crew of wreckers and splitprogram sets the pace for con- ters, and to defend the union structive action and rebuilding against their attacks.

# Socialist Appeal

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MAX SHACHTMAN Editor. FRANK GRAVES HAROLD ROBERTS Associate Editors. S. STANLEY Business Manager.

# **Expropriate The Railroads!**

The railroad workers, one of the largest single sections of the American working class, are facing a new 15 per cent wage-cut.

When the railroads first announced their proposal for a cut, the Railroad Labor Executives Association, composed of the union officials, replied with a threat to take "national strike action if the matter is pressed."

They declared further that they would demand of Congress that it empower Roosevelt to take over and operate the railroads in case of a serious strike.

The ideas expressed by the labor officials, even if not properly and fully developed, were correct.

Three days after their statement, however, they announced that they had abandoned their demands on Congress. There is absolutely no reason in the

world for such a retreat. The railroad industry is bankrupt. Its bankruptcy is part of the general decay of American capitalism. It is a living illustration of the inability of the American ruling class, the bankers and capitalists, to provide the workers with jobs, or to provide the employed with a living wage.

For the railroad workers to take the wage-cut lying down, would not only be a blow at themselves, but a blow at the entire American working class. The railroad workers have a golden opportunity now to show the workers of all industries the road to take—if they themselves will only take militant action. For a railroad wage-cut would only be the signal for cutting wages of the already badly-paid workers in all industries.

The most concentrated preparations must be made immediately to resist the insolent offensive of the railroad corporations and their banker-lords. But the railroaders must not limit themselves to strike preparations against the wage-cut. They can and should go further.

The railroad companies admit their bankruptcy, their inability to run the roads on the present basis. They have admitted it in another way in the past, by throwing hundreds of thousands of employees on the scrap-heap.

If they cannot run them, let the workers run them! The employers have made countless millions of profit on watered stock, on over-capitalization, on phoney bonds. Demand their expropriation! Let the government take over the railroads. but under the management of the railroad workers! The workers can run them, even more efficiently, without the payment of profit or interest, and with such a reduction in hours as will make it possible to re-employ the dismissed railroad workers at trade-union wages!

This would be a serious step towards counteracting the attempts of Wall Street to unload the burden of the crisis on the shoulders of the workers. It is | and Owen D. Young!

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By FELIX MORROW

a step-that every railroader, employed and unemployed, would support and fight for.

# We Are Not Excited

The Grand Jury has indicted a whole slew of men and women as Nazi spies and espionage agents, and the entire capitalist press, with the Daily Worker naturally in the lead, is having a Roman holiday with the big spy scare. It appears that "our government" is in danger, "our institutions" are imperilled, "our territory" is menaced, "our lives" are threatened, and there is a bomb under every subway seat.

We refuse to get excited. Our "democrats" are not concerned with fighting fascism, otherwise, for example, Roosevelt would never have had Frank Hague as national vice-chairman of his party, and LaGuardia would never have run on the same ticket with George U. Harvey. They are interested, above all, in press paring the war-hysteria atmosphere, in which a few spy raids always play an impressive part for the ignorant and gullible.

Every important country—we repeat, every single one, not even with the exception of the United States or the Soviet Union—has its secret agents trying to spy out the economic and military plans of every other country. Where its own spies are not enough, it uses free-lance agents. And the spies, like the governments they work for, know neither limits nor scruples. In war-time, spies become "heroes," and when was is over they sometimes have statues erected to commemorate their services.

So the latest spy scare is another piece of hypocrisy—one of those tricks governments use to work the people up to a fine frenzy of war-chauvinism.

And let us not forget that a spy scare is an excellent device for diverting the attention of the workers from their growingly serious plight under the system of rotting capitalism.

# Where Anything Goes

According to its official resolutions, the Socialist Party is on record in support of the Loyalists in the Spanish civil

According to the same resolutions, the Thomas organization considers wars an inevitable product of capitalism, which can be eliminated only with the elimination of the present social order. Hence, the need of a militant struggle against imperialist war and capitalism.

In words, we see, not so bad. But if you imagine that the S. P. obliges its members to present the party's view in public activity—especially if the view is tinged in the least degree with radicalism—you show a deplorable ignorance of the Thomas party. Take the latest example:

The Peace House, a pacifist group, has just issued a leaflet, with an enrollment blank in which the signer is to pledge himself thus: "I therefore am determined not to support any kind of war, international or civil, and to strive for the removal of all the causes of war."

Among the signers already listed we find Harry W. Laidler, chairman of the New York S. P., and Devere Allen. Allen, by the way, is the man usually chosen to report on the anti-war resolu-

tion at party conventions! The S. P. is a party where anything goes. Or more exactly, anything but a revolutionary, socialist policy. Those who advocate such a policy are bureaucratically expelled by the hundreds, so that the party leaders may do just as they jolly well please. Witness the Thomas junket with Herbert Hoover

# SPAIN FEATURED

IN N. I. FOR JULY

Among the many features of the July issue of the New International, which is now on the press and will be ready for sale shortly, is a sensational article on the "Betrayal in Spain," written by a syndicalist militant who was both participant and eye-witness

in the civil war in Spain. With indisputable facts and detail, the author shows how the rulers of Loyalist Spain-the Popular Frontists-have been steering the struggle to defeat in the interests of the financial and political overlords of British im-

perialism. The revelations, dramatically written, are certain to create comment everywhere. Branches are urged to make all the necessary arrangements for the widest distribution of the July issue. All orders should be forwarded to the business manager at 116 University Place, New York,

# Leon Trotsky Mexico and British Imperialism

imperialist circles are United States of America ac- fascist nations. This is not one waging over the expropriation of complished in three quarters of whit more clever than the Mos-Mexican oil enterprises by the a century, beginning with the cow trials. Humanity learns, not of imperialism's propagandistic War for the abolition of slavery Mexican oil because of the ill-Bacchanalias — combing impud- and for national unification. The ence, deceitfulness, speculation in British government not only did because of Chamberlain's selfignorance with cock-sureness in everything at the end of the its own impunity.

was given by the British govern-status of a colony, but later, in ment when it declared a boycott the years of the Civil War, sup- more Mexican oil, and again upon Mexican oil. Boycott, as is ported the slaveholders of the known, always involves self-South against the abolitionists of sensible person it is now beyond boycott, and is therefore accom- the North, striving for the sake of all doubt that if Mexico should panied by great sacrifices on the its imperialist interests to thrust find herself forced to sell her part of the boycotter. Great the young republic into a state liquid gold to fascist countries Britain was until recently the of economic backwardness and the responsibility for this act argest consumer of Mexican oil; national disunity. naturally not out of sympathy for the Mexican people, but out of consideration for her own ad-

#### Britain and Cedillo

Heaviest consumer of oil in with its gigantic fleet and rapidlearn this fundamental conclu-

Both chronologically and logicdillo grew out of Chamberlain's policy. The Monroe Doctrine prevents the British admiralty may be sure that the negotia- not have the least basis for it tions of its agents with general I first learned of the decree of Cedillo are not included. Imperial- expropriation from the news-

#### Ignorance and Deceit

In order to compromise the expropriation in the eyes of houreois public opinion, they represent it as a "communist" measure. Historical ignorance combines here with conscious deceit. Semiordinating to themselves legisnistration. Under these conditions expropriation is the only effect-

international campaign same work as, for instance, the of supplying Germany and other will of General Cardenas and not upon the governments of the im-

#### Britain and Slavery

To the Chamberlains of that time, too, the expropriation of the slaveholders seemed a diabolical "Bolshevik" measure. In and her ilk stand the Moscow reality the historic task of the prompters. At first glance this Great Britain itself is the state Northerners consisted in clearing seems preposterous, since other the arena for the independent prompters of the same school use ly-growing air force. A boycott democratic development of bour-diametrically opposed librettos. of Mexican oil by the British geois society. Precisely this task But the whole secret consists in government signifies, therefore, is being solved at this stage by the fact that the friends of the a simultaneous boycott not only the government of Mexico. Gen- | G.P.U. adapt their views to | point of view in two or three of British industry but also of eral Cardenas stands in the series geographic gradations of latitude firm and weighty columns, comnational defense. Mr. Chamber- of those statesmen of his country and longitude. If some of them pared to which the editorials of lain's government has shown with who have been fulfilling work promise support to Mexico, unusual frankness that the pro- comparable to that of Washing-1 others picture General Cardenas fits of Britain's capitalist robbers ton, Jefferson, Abraham Lincoln as an ally of Hitler. From the presidential election (it will be loom above state interests them- and General Grant. And, of latter point of view, Cedillo's oil selves. Oppressed classes and op- course, it is not accidental that rebellion should be viewed. it among the big bourgeois papers, pressed peoples must thoroughly the British government in this case, too, finds itself on the other interests of world democracy. side of the historic trench.

The world press, in particular ally the uprising of General Ce- the French, preposterous as it fate. We do not have them in may seem, continues to drag my | mind, but the class-conscious name into the question of the ex- workers of the entire world, propriation of the oil industry. Without succumbing to illusions from applying a military-naval If I have once already refuted and without fear of slander, the blockade of the Mexican coast. this nonsense, it is not at all advanced workers will completely They must act through internal because I fear "responsibility" as agents, who, it is true, do not was insinuated by one talkative their struggle against the imopenly fly the British flag, yet agent of the G.P.U. On the serve the same interests as contrary, I would consider it an oil is neither socialism nor com-Chamberlain—the interests of a honor to carry even a part of the clique of oil magnates. In the responsibility for this courageous White Book issued by British and progressive measure of the diplomacy just a few days ago we Mexican government. But I do ist diplomacy carries on its major papers. But, naturally, this is not business under cover of secrecy. the question.

#### Two Aims Pursued

Two aims are pursued in interjecting my name - first, the organizers of the campaign wish to impart to the expropriation a "Bolshevik" coloration; secondly, they are attempting to strike a colonial Mexico is fighting for blow at the national self-respect her national independence, poli- of Mexico. The imperialists are tical and economic. This is the endeavoring to represent the afcapitalists, not ordinary bourge-lignobile hereditary slaveholders' oisie. Having seized the richest psycology! Precisely because will sell out and betray the weakcountry, standing on their billions backward nations which are only own identity, every honest workand supported by the military- now impelled to fight for their ing class organization of the endiplomatic forces of their metro- independence, greater audacity of tire world, and first of all in polis, they strive to estabilish in thought is engendered among her Great Britain, is duty bound to the subjugated country a regime statesmen than is granted to the of imperialistic feudalism, sub- conservative dregs of a great against the imperialist robbers, past. We have witnessed similar lation, jurisprudence, and admi- phenomena in history more than The French weekly, "Marian-

ive means of safeguarding na- ne," a notorious organ of the tional independence and the ele- French People's Front, even asmentary conditions of democracy. serts that on the oil question What direction the further the government of General Careconomic development of Mexico denas acted not only as one with may take depends decisively Trotsky but also .... in the inupon factors of an international terests of Hitler. It is a question. character. But this is a question you see, of depriving the greatof the future. The Mexican re- hearted "democracies" of oil in volution is now carrying out the case of war and, contrariwise,

boycott. But then the "demoeighteenth century to retain cracies" posses a simple way of The signal for this campaign the United States under the paralyzing this "fascist" plot: let them buy Mexican oil, once Mexican oil! To every honest and would fall fully and completely

#### Prompting from Moscow

perialist "democracies."

Behind the back of "Marianne"

Let us, however, leave the clowns and intriguers to their own support the Mexican people in perialists. The expropriation of munism. But it is a highly progressive measure of national selfdefense. Marx did not, of course, consider Abraham Lincoln a communist; this did not, however, prevent Marx from entertaining the deepest sympathy for the struggle which Lincoln headed. The First International sent the Civil War president a message of greeting, and Lincoln in his answer highly appreciated this moral support.

## Workers, Support Mexico

The international proletariat program with the program of the Mexican government. Revolu- sentence: "Though the United tionists have no need of changing basic meaning of the Mexican fair as if Mexico's statesmen color, adapting themselves, and revolution at this stage. The oil were incapable of determining rendering flattery in the manner expressed its wish to remain at magnates are not rank-and-file their own road. A wretched and of the G.P.U. school of courtiers, who in a moment of danger natural resources of a foreign Mexico today still belongs to those er side. Without giving up its nor will they remain neutral in take an irreconcilable position their diplomacy, their press and their fascist hirelings. The cause of Mexico, like the cause of Spain, like the cause of China, is the cause of the international

working class. The struggle over Mexican oil is only one of the advance-line skirmishes of future battles between the oppressors and the oppressed.

LEON TROTSKY.

Coyoacan, D. F.

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# U.S. Will Fight in New War, Says N. Y. Times

finance capital. It is not given to the democracies. momentary hysteria. Its policies Mexican government has been Revolutionary War for independ- without amazement, that Great are weighed coldly and delibedistinguished by all the features ence and finishing with the Civil Britain is being deprived of rately, from a point of view from 1914 to 1916: an immense which has little in common with the rantings of cheap and vellow journalism.

The position of the Times is acknowledged by a dozen governments, including the government of the United States. In decisive matters, the Administration often speaks first to the public through columns written by Arthur Krock, head of the Times staff traditional adherence to Anglo-American collaboration, British imperialism also, as is well known, frequently uses the Times as its American mouthpiece.

#### Voice of Authority

The Times utilizes its editorial columns sparingly. Most often they are filled with dull or trivial pieces of no great significance to anyone. Only occasionally, on a subject of genuine and decisive importance, does the Times square off and make known its most other papers sound like small boys quarreling. On a remembered that almost alone would seem, as a struggle in the the Times declared for Roosevelt); labor acts or reorganization bills; sit-down strikes; above all, on foreign policy, this newspaper speaks with the voice of authority.

In the light of these considerations, it is impossible to exaggerate the importance of the leading editorial which appeared in the Times of June 15. Coinciding with and complementing perfectly the recent addresses of Secretary of State Hull and his assistants, the Times, in this editorial, entitled "A Way of Life," states its program for American imperialism on the most vital of all questions. There is no ambiguity here; no illusions nor day-dreams; this is the voice of the rulers speaking.

#### U. S. Will Go to War

The content of this editorial can be summed up in a single sentence: A war is coming and the United States is going to take part in that war. Indeed, with a surprising lack of hypohas no reason to identify its crisy, the editorial says this in so many words in its very first States has lived for two years under a Neutrality Act which not neutral now in any situation which involves the risk of war. any future situation which threatens to disturb the balance of world power."

Naturally the Times does not leave it at just that. The editorial goes on in an amazingly frank manner to state both the genuine reasons for the United States' entry into the coming war and also the ideological and moral justification which is being and will be used to enlist the people of the United States in that war.

## Imperialist Frankness

The United States is on the side of China, says the Times. And with contempt to mere hypocrites, it remarks: "We are not ashamed of a frank commercial interest in desiring the continuation of the Open Door.' But not China alone. The United States is also on the side of Czechoslovakia, against the European "aggressors." And with scorn for purist isolationists: The average American "knows that, despite geographical re- Union which Stalin thought to moteness and a traditional desire strengthen by preserving capitalto avoid entanglements in other ism in Spain, is now more perilpeoples' quarrels, we are inevit- ous than ever before. The capitalably the natural allies of the ist "realism" of Chamberlaindemocracies of Europe.' And to the pacifists and dream-

ers in general:

The New York Times is the "We shall be fully prepared, most powerful, authoratitive and if war on a large scale envelops authentic organ of American Europe, to choose the side of

"That will mean, at the very least, what it meant in the years moral support.... and a deliberate policy of favoring our friends in the interpretation of laws which control our relations which govern our policies on the high seas (the Times is not at all "legalistic" in its thinking-in a crisis it knows how unimportant are the laws on statute books). At most it will mean, as it meant in 1917, a decision on the part in Washington. Because of its of the United States to intervene....

#### U. S. Rivals Warned

"It is important that the statesmen of aggressor countries should realize that today, no less than in 1917, there are specific and vital American interests in all parts of the world which would almost certainly be affected by war on a large scale...

"No remoteness from the scene of a potential European conflict can isolate the United States from the consequences of major war. No Neutrality Act can prevent the American people from favoring their natural allies. In any ultimate test of strength between democracy and dictatorship, the good-will and the moral support-and in the long run more likely than not the physical power of the United States-will be found on the side of those nations defending a way of life which is our own way of life....

How empty seem the eager and nervous debates between "isolation" and "collective security" in comparison with this! The Times cuts through the controversy because, unlike the debaters, the Times means business-imperialist business, and it knows that imperialist business means war.

#### The "Democratic Garb"

Of course, the Times also draws around its program the shining folds of "international law and order" and above all of "democracy." The frankness—the Open Door, the defense of imperial interests - will disappear as the war approaches nearer; the "way of life" will alone re-"Loyalties," "freedom." main. "tradition," "progress," "equality"-these will be inscribed on the banners. They are all included abundantly in the editorial. But today the Times can still afford to speak more openly about the hard realities lying behind the banners.

There are many, unfortunately many, who regard the position of Marxists on the question of war as sectarian and over-rigid. Let them study well this remarkable editorial. The program of the Times differs from that of the Stalinists only in being less hypocritical; it differs from the isolationists only in being more realistic, only in dealing with the real world instead of a world in someone's imagination.

You have got to be either for or against imperialism; there is no middle ground. And if you are for it you are for its wars. whatever slogans you use to try to hide this. And if you are against imperialism and its wars, you have got to overthrow it. There is no other way! The Times rightly calls its program "A Way of Life." And in the modern world there is one and only one other to oppose it.

#### SPANISH WORKERS' GAINS ATTACKED

(Continued from page 1)

Daladier-Negrin can be fought only by the revolutionary realism of the masses.

# Puerto Rican Bosses Balk

(Continued from page 1)

average woman \$3.49 for 34.4 hours. When the Puerto Rican 25-cent minimum wage is com-Reconstruction Administration set prehensible. But the Puerto Rican up a needlwork cooperative, it was found it could not profitably be impressed by threats that appay the wage asked by the I.L.G.W.U. of \$1 a day.

## Commissions Not Mentioned

ing the Wages and Hours Bill Puerto Rico. In an Island where have pointed to high "labor food costs are from 20 to 25 per unit costs," attributing them to cent higher than in New York 'less skilled and less efficient City, 25 cents an hour is scarcely labor." They fail to mention the too much to demand.

important factor of the agents' commissions in increasing costs. The average agent's commission is from 20 to 30 per cent of the workers' earnings, and in 22 per At Wage Bill cent of the cases it is from 30 to 50 per cent to 50 per cent.

With wages at less than two cents an hour for half of the workers, the consternation of the bosses at the prospect of a workers must not let themselves plication of the law "would bring further economic difficulties by diminishing the working opportunities." They must oppose The "business leaders" protest- amending the Bill to exempt