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WORLD UNITE!

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Hague's Rule Still Awaits Real Challenge

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

FREE SPEECH FIGHT IMPERATIVE

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

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

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

Police Fill Square

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

"I Am the Law"



MAYOR HAGUE

LEAGUE SERVES TO CONSECRATE ETHIOPIAN RAPE

Italian Conquest Will Be
Legitimized At
Geneva

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

The Negus or his representatives will be granted the democratic privilege of appearing before the high assembly; there will be some speech-making, but everything is settled in advance. The President of the Council—who, to complete the picture, is the delegate from Lithuania, the country which recently had to

(Continued on page 3)

Y.P.S.L. Members Arrested At Street Meeting In N. Y.

NEW YORK—Two members of the Young Peoples Socialist League (Fourth International) were found guilty and fined five dollars each this week for "obstructing the sidewalk"—the latest dodge of local police and businessmen to prevent minority parties from exercising their rights of free speech and assembly.

The young comrades, Morris Blum and David Goldberg, were attacking LaGuardia's new taxes when they were arrested at the corner of 163rd St. and So. Boulevard on a no-permit charge which was changed to "obstructing the sidewalk" after police authorities discovered the original charge was unconstitutional. In court, the policeman's whole

Workers! Unite All Forces Against the Union Wreckers!

By JAMES P. CANNON

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

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

The Workers Must Be Prepared

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

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

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

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

Crisis Aggravates Union Problems

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

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

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

The Auto Union Situation

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

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

DEVALUATION OF FRANC TO RAISE COST OF LIVING

Daladier Move Strikes
Blow At Workers'
Standards

The Daladier government last week devalued the franc, for the third time since 1936, to the rate of 2.79 cents, the lowest in the history of the franc.

The immediate consequences of this new devaluation of the currency will be an increase in prices, especially those of consumers' goods. And, as experience demonstrates, retail prices always soar more rapidly than wholesale prices. In other words, the workers, who have just forced meager wage increases through a series of strikes, are now automatically losing these gains, and probably even more, through the shrinking purchasing power of their income.

The glory for having effect— (Continued on page 3)

Big Business Asks Curb On Trade Union Rights

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

Stimulated by the Supreme Court decision in the Fred O. Morgan Sheep Commission Co. case, the spokesmen for Big Business let themselves go at last week's convention of the U.S. Chamber of Commerce, but piously neglected to notice the S. E. C. hearings which were proving that most of the prominent figures in Wall Street knew for months of Richard Whitney's thefts and were thus legally accessories to his crimes.

Big Business, as usual, had every reason to thank its gods for the Supreme Court, with its Papal power to intervene on any occasion to uphold the divine rights of property and profits. Mousing a customary fulsome sentence—"The liberty and property of the citizens shall be protected by the rudimentary requirements of fair play"—the Court in the Morgan Co. case struck a heavy blow, ostensibly at various government agencies, but in reality at the unions in the mass industries.

"Unfair" to Bosses

The Court claimed that the Secretary of Agriculture, in issuing an order against the Morgan Co., had not given the Morgan Co. a sufficient chance to get at all facts and to present its side of the case. The full incidence of the decision, however, falls on the National Labor Relations Board. What it means is that the procedure heretofore followed by the N.L.R.B. in a number of major cases has not, according to the Court, given the corporations their usual complete power to delay, obstruct, and finally prevent the carrying into practice of any decision rendered in favor of a union.

That this is the meaning of the decision became at once apparent. The N.L.R.B. has far-reaching cases pending in the courts against Ford, Republic

APPEAL SALESMEN ARE THREATENED

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

Toledo White Collar Workers Put Progressives In Office

TOLEDO, Ohio. — Progressive and militant labor forces won a decisive victory here last Saturday, when a complete slate of progressives was elected to office in Local 29, W.P.A. Division, of the United Office and Professional Workers of America, C.I.O., despite a campaign of the Stalinist reactionaries to seize the reins of the union.

Art Preis was elected chairman; Richard Gigandet, vice-chairman; Alex Feldstein, secretary; and Clarence Rose, treasurer. The new officers have for years been active organizers and leaders of the unemployed in Northwest Ohio, and have helped win many decisive victories for the unemployed and relief workers.

Progressive forces in the Toledo Industrial Union Council were also bolstered by the election of Rose, Gigandet and Ted Selander, former national executive board member of the Workers Alliance and leading labor militant here, as delegates to the C.I.O. central body.

This union was started in February and is the first C.I.O. chartered group of organized W.P.A. workers in Toledo. By a militant and aggressive program it has succeeded in stopping all lay-offs of white-collar workers and won hundreds of

Martin Balks Frankenstein Plot In U.A.W.

Browder's Candidate For Union Presidency Gets
Rebuff At Executive Board Meeting;
Stalinists Begin to Squirm

UNION-BUSTERS STRIKE SNAG

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

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

BRIDGES THUGS ATTACK PICKETS ON WEST COAST

Revolt Movement Grows
Among Rank and File
Longshoremen

SAN FRANCISCO.—Six sailors picketing the contract-breaking Shepard Line were beaten and pursued for three blocks by a gang under orders of Harry Bridges, West Coast C.I.O. director and Stalinist leader of the International Longshoremen and Warehousemen's Union, last week.

Victims of the attack were members of the Sailor's Union of the Pacific, picketing the Shepard Line because the company refused to abide by an agreement signed with West Coast seamen's union over a year ago.

Bosses Fare Badly

Despite the support of the Stalinist misleaders in the C.I.O. maritime unions, the cause of Shipowner Shepard fared badly as two ships, the Wind Rush and the Harpoon, were manned by West Coast men and a third, the Timber Rush, remained tied to its dock in Tacoma.

Growing opposition from the rank-and-file maritime workers against the union-wrecking activities of the Communist Party is making Bridges' position within his own union precarious. At a recent meeting of the I.L.W.U., Henry Schmidt, Bridges' right-hand man, was forced to plead "dumping" their own officials, with the membership not to start (Continued on page 2)

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

Weather-Vane Frankenstein

Undoubtedly the third case is most applicable to Frankenstein. As outlined in previous issues of the Appeal, Frankenstein's opposition on caucuses and on most other problems facing the union have changed as often as it was necessary to serve his overweening ambitions. It is even rumored that out of the bigness of their hearts, Weinstein and Foster promised Frankenstein the Lieutenant-Governorship of Michigan. What applies to the pitiful figure of Richard T. Frankenstein holds good for the Stalinist bureaucrats. Their unscrupulous course in the auto union has been dictated solely in the interests of the Stalin bureaucracy. Where principled considerations can be said to motivate their policies, these principles can be classed as distinctly inimical to the interests of the auto workers.

The first slap in the face administered the Communist Party bloc was the public removal of Frankenstein from the post of Assistant President. Last December Martin had committed the error of appointing Frankenstein to this post despite the absence of any constitutional provision calling for such an office. Earl Browder's new disciple felt that this post made him heir-apparent to the presidency of the union. Since his alliance with the Stalinist gang, it appeared likely that Frankenstein would use his post to become a frankenstein.

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

Martin Group Carries

On all issues, mostly of a secondary nature, to come before the board in its first two sessions, the Martin group has carried by a vote of 14-10. Although there has been no public declaration of policy on the crucial issue, it appears likely that Walter Reuther, president of the West Side Local, will line up against the anti-caucus. He has been committed to this stand by a meeting of the joint council of his local. He called this meeting for the purpose of receiving instructions for the executive board sessions. He was duly instructed, on a motion of John Anderson, West Side executive board member, to oppose Frankenstein's program. The Socialist Party has adopted a similar decision. It remains to be seen whether Reuther will follow the determined and unmis-

(Continued on page 2)

Frankenstein Move Balked At UAW Meet

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

(Continued from page 1)

takable stand of the rank-and-file of his local and his party.

Meanwhile the anti-Stalinist sentiment among the ranks, reacting against bureaucratic policies and unprincipled deals, is beginning to surge forward. Last night, for the first time, the unchallenged position of the C.P. caucus in the district council of the Detroit U.A.W. was visibly shaken. A motion to oppose the Frankenstein anti-caucus program was defeated by the slim margin of 42-40. Six months ago the very conception of such a vote would have been laughed out of court.

Strike Problem Up

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

The problem of strike action has been a particularly grievous one. Employers have been eager to provoke premature and ill-prepared action so they could smash the union in a time of wide-spread unemployment. Strikes must be carefully prepared and the time for them properly chosen to the extent that is possible. The issues must be carefully picked.

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

Union to Fight

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

The next sessions of the executive board can mark a turning point for the auto workers union. It can once and for all smash the sinister threat aimed at its very existence by the Communist Party. This it can do only by rallying the membership around a program and then translating this program into deeds.

In brief a program for the auto union must begin by guaranteeing the membership against that which they have feared most: the infringement of their rights and the violation of local autonomy. The mistakes of the past and the inadvised actions can be corrected by steering a course which will assure these most precious rights to the rank-and-file. Particularly, must the assurance be keenly felt that all future contracts will be submitted for ratification to the workers involved. It was the failure to do this that aroused widespread and justified resentment among the workers in the General Motors plants. This resentment was uncritically exploited by the C.P.-inspired Unity Group. That should be a lesson for all time.

Against Wage-Cuts

Secondly, a vigorous campaign against wage-cuts, the most trying problem before the union, and the organization of the dozens of competitive plants, which are breaking down all union standards, must be seriously undertaken after the board meeting. The solution of these problems is vital to the very existence of the union. They brook no postponement.

Finally, the organization of W.P.A. workers and an aggressive struggle for an improvement of their conditions is of paramount importance. The offensive of the employers cannot be stopped

Daily Worker Retreats From Anti-Martin Fight To Escape UAW Wrath

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

By B. J. WIDICK
Labor Secretary S.W.P.

The grandiose scheme of the Richard Frankenstein-Earl Browder factions in the United Automobile Workers of America, to oust Homer Martin, international president, and to capture control of this great C.I.O. union suffered a set-back at the first session of the international executive board in Detroit this week.

Martin took the bull by the horns when he announced at the session that he was abolishing the post of assistant president, which was Frankenstein's job. This was the first test of opposition forces to Martin's administration. Martin won.

C.P. Squirms

No sooner had Martin showed his strength by the aggressive stand he took in fighting his unprincipled enemies, than the Stalinists began squirming in an effort to avoid the boomerang created by their deal with Frankenstein.

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

The shock in the ranks of auto unionists over the brazen deal between the Stalinists and that arch red-baiter in the auto unions, Frankenstein, aided Martin in exposing the reactionary role of the C.P. in the union movement.

Terms of Deal

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

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

BRIDGES THUGS ATTACK PICKETS ON WEST COAST

(Continued from page 1)

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

Koci was charged with "conspiring" with the S.U.P., hailed before a packed trial committee, and then suspended.

Another union, the Ships Clerks, decided that they had enough of the Communist Party union wrecking, and were voting to withdraw from the I.L.W.U. when Bridges and Schmidt descended upon their meeting. Bridges spoke for about an hour and a half and was followed by Schmidt, who spoke for thirty minutes.

Bridges blustered and blew, using every form of intimidation, even threatening to take over the Ships Clerks' hiring hall and run the union himself. In an attempt to further intimidate the membership by a show of physical force he tried to have the meeting moved to the Warehousemen's headquarters, a hangout of the picket-line smashing C.P. stooges.

It is apparent that any serious attempt of the rank-and-file to throw out the Bridges machine that is forcing the bitter inter-union war now threatening the existence of the West Coast maritime unions, will be met with the same tactics employed in the Shepard Line dispute.

ped except by the most intimate unity of the employed and unemployed. Anywhere up to and over 50 percent of the U.A.W. membership is now in the ranks of the jobless. They must not be lost to the union. On the contrary, they should become its most loyal and valiant fighters. The picket lines of the next period will be manned by the unemployed if the U.A.W. organizes and leads them in the struggle for improved welfare and W.P.A. conditions.

Worker Paints Revealing Picture Of Conditions In Ford Factories

By A FORD WORKER
DETROIT.—Approximately 10 per cent of those now employed at the Ford Motor Company, were affected by recent wage cuts. Incomes of salaried men were reduced first, and wages of factory workers shortly afterwards. No wage is as yet below 75 cents per hour. In a large part, those affected are skilled men who have been transferred to unskilled jobs, or men whom the company keeps at Ford rather than pay compensation — men who were injured in the plant. Not all salaried men were affected.

That only a small percentage of men were affected by the cuts, and that they hit salaried men first, and that the 75 cents minimum still remains, indicate the company's fear of unionism. In the previous depression, wages were slashed as high as 50 and 60 per cent at one time.

Lay-offs and Pay Cuts

The cuts followed recent lay-offs involving approximately 75 per cent of the Ford workers. Most of these men—even the skilled—will be rehired at the minimum wage. The policy of laying off and rehiring at 75 cents per hour is a regular one at the Ford Motor Company, even when lay-offs are not necessary. It is a substitute for wage-cuts. Another substitute is to place men on more highly skilled jobs than they have handled, without increase in pay, thus displacing the skilled man who had been paid more. Apprentices placed in complete charge of a job, trade school boys—paid as low as 15 cents an hour—working on regular jobs, are not a rare phenomenon.

Members, or former members, of the service department are not to say knowledge taking any wage-cut. Many are, however, being taken on their old jobs. Some are also being given lay-offs for periods of two or three weeks. They return to work at their old hourly rate.

Foremen, too, feel present conditions. Recently, 17 were sent home from the Motor Building. They will be called back to work "when needed." Others were put back on production jobs. Some will probably never be called back, others will return to work at production jobs, many will return at the minimum wage. Many foremen, as well as servicemen, tend because of these conditions to be in sympathy with the worker.

Police Regime Installed

This past summer, the service department reached its zenith in strength and number. Service men patrolled aisles within the plant, they filled the seats of many five-passenger cars stationed around each factory gate, they were armed with guns, handcuffs, and clubs. Many workers were taken off their jobs and placed under the direction of a

Hillman Hints At New Attempt To Effect A. F. L.-C. I. O. Unity

ATLANTIC CITY, N. J.—Another behind the scenes effort to negotiate terms for C.I.O. and A. F. of L. unity was hinted at in the opening address last week of Sidney Hillman, in charge of C.I.O. negotiations with the A. F. of L., before the convention of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of which he is president.

His public prediction of peace between the C.I.O. and the A. F. of L. and the cautious attitude of the union towards the A. F. of L. as expressed in the report of the general executive board indicate that Hillman sees hope for resumption of negotiations. It also makes more possible his fondest dream—presidency of the united labor movement.

The Amalgamated will retain its allegiance to the C.I.O. and it will neglect no opportunity to bring about unity in the labor movement, Hillman emphasized.

Toledo Militant Is Vindicated by Union

TOLEDO, Ohio.—Progressive unionism in this auto center won a real victory in recent weeks when the Toledo Central Labor union voted 113 to 80 to reject a report of a special trial board backed by reactionaries to expel Carl Joseph, militant president of the Longshoremen's union from the A. F. of L.

For nearly two months, the full fire of a reactionary attack by A. F. of L. bureaucrats has fallen on Joseph because of his advocacy of militant unionism and unity of the labor movement. The trial board charges against him included: "espousal of communism," "sabotaging" the Central Labor Union, being in "league" with the C.I.O., and permitting use of an A. F. of L. seal on a C.I.O. newspaper.

Joseph blasted the lies and exposed the reactionary purpose including the "red scare" raised against him. His defense rallied every healthy element in the C.L.U., and the vote in his favor came as a great shock and blow to the bureaucrats whose hold over the C.L.U. had never been successfully challenged in recent times.

Cafeteria Union Bosses Sell Out Hard-Won Gain

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

Throttling an aroused membership by base trickery and flagrant violation of union democracy, the Stalinist-ruled administration of the Cafeteria Employees Union, Local 302, recently erased the most important gain made by the union since its inception—job security. In return for an eight-hour day, the union conceded the demand of the Affiliated Restaurateurs' Association that all cases of discharge of workers shall be decided by an "impartial" Adjustment Board or a State Labor arbiter.

Previously, all such cases were decided solely by the union's Executive Board and the membership as a whole. Vigorous and highly effective opposition to this sell-out of the fundamental right of all workers had been led by the United Progressive Group of Local 302. The Stalinist leaders and their natural allies, the racketeers' ex-henchmen, had frantically called innumerable "rank-and-file" caucuses to extol the virtues of the proposed arbitration or adjustment clause on the following grounds:

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

These contemptible and scabby gestures were amply answered by the Progressives who cited the following facts:

1. That if 500 workers could get job security, then 12,000 workers can hold it.
2. The 8-hour day can be fought for and won in the manner of all clean and free trade unions.
3. The Adjustment Board covers only 95 association shops

Goodrich Workers Vote Ten-One Against Wage Cut Plan

AKRON.—By a vote of 10 to 1 the Goodrich local of the United Rubber Workers of America last week voted down a compromise wage cut proposal.

At the same time the bakery drivers concluded a contract providing for no wage cuts; using a short one-day strike to clinch the agreement.

Stirring speeches by leading progressives helped to swing the anti-wage cut decision. Under the impact of the wage cut proposals and the catastrophic economic decline, progressive elements are beginning to awaken out of the apathy induced by a lethargic leadership, a stand-pat

Appeal Army

Can't we raise our weekly subscription over the 30 mark? And as far as bundle order increases are concerned, the showing is only a little improvement over the past few weeks. Where are those promotion experts in Chicago, Boston, San Francisco, Minneapolis, etc., etc.?

New subs that came in last week:

NEW YORK CITY	14
California	4
Chicago	3
Massachusetts	2
Philadelphia	1
Montana	1
Connecticut	1
Minneapolis	1
St. Paul	1
Jersey City	1
Girard, Ohio	1
TOTAL	30

The following branches increased their bundle orders:

Kansas City, Mo.	15
Vancouver, Canada	25

Here's a letter from Comrade Danil in Seadrift, Texas, that should set an example for our younger comrades:

"I am really not able to subscribe but will try to help the cause \$1 for which send me paper for six months. "I have been sick for some time now, am almost 82 years old and only getting \$15 per month from the government, but can depend on me always living and being for the cause." Many thanks, Comrade Danil and we wish you many more revolutionary years. *** Plans are now being drawn up to launch the biggest Appeal sub drive and circulation campaign we have yet tried. Details will be published shortly. All Appeal friends with ideas and suggestions are urged to send them in immediately. We guarantee they'll receive our attention. *** We hope our friends and sympathizers in New York are carrying out the suggestion of the New York City literature agent, Abe Miller: Request and purchase your weekly Appeal at your local newsstand.

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ANNOUNCEMENTS

Insertions in this column are 23 cents for five lines. Copy must be in at the APPEAL office before six o'clock Monday evening.

NEW YORK

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

NEWARK

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

LOS ANGELES

SPECIAL FOR THIS WEEK ONLY. ART AND SOCIETY by G. V. Plekhanov, 35 cents. Orders filled promptly. 5 cents extra for postage. Modern Book Shop, 509 1/2 W 5th St. Los Angeles

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

LEAGUE SERVES TO CONSECRATE ETHIOPIAN RAPE

(Continued from page 1)

submit, with the tolerance of the League, to the arbitrariness of the Polish aggression...

China Pleads In Vain

The representative of victimized China has already repeated his request for protection against Japanese aggression...

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

The Jews of Roumania and Austria will remind the Council of the stipulations for the protection of national minorities...

Mussolini Wants Time

Hitler's visit has produced nothing new. The military alliance originally planned has not been realized...

In the midst of these changes, what has become of the foreign policy of the Soviet Union? After Russia's entry into the League of Nations in 1934...

Now that Stalin has disarmed the international proletariat for the sake of his dealing with the imperialists, Halifex knocks the diplomatic saber out of his hand...

Workers Are Ready

Despite Stalin and all his crimes, the overwhelming majority of the exploited masses of the world are still ready to defend the first workers' state...

Over all the fascist countries hangs the pall of a war economy, strained to the utmost. In Japan one political crisis follows another...

What tremendous objective possibilities for the development of an audacious policy of international revolution! Today, perhaps more than ever before...

Stalinist "Audacity"

But the Soviet bureaucracy displays "audacity" only in the persecution of revolutionists. Through its cowardly retreat before world imperialism...

German Centrists Give Bleak Conference Report

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

PARIS.—The April number of Neue Front, the organ of the S.A.P. (Socialist Labor Party of Germany) contains an extraordinarily pessimistic report of the last conference of the London Bureau...

Shortly afterward, however, they turned against our alleged "sectarianism" and took up international collaboration with parties like the Norwegian Labor Party...

Masses Absent

Today, however, the S.A.P. complains that not a single representative of a truly mass organization was present at the conference...

The skeptical report of the Neue Front on the conference of its own International acquires real meaning only when one knows that the S.A.P. itself already stands with one foot, or more correctly, with a foot and a half, outside of the London Bureau...

To Follow N.L.P.

Since the S.A.P. did not succeed in winning the Norwegian Labor Party for the Fourth International, it is now making ready to follow it into the Second International...

New International For May On Stands

The May issue of The New Internationalist is off the press. A review of its contents indicates clearly that it will meet with a very favorable reception everywhere...

Among the more important items are: (1) The Crisis and the Reform Labor Politics by David Cowles; (2) The Editor's Comments, which deal with the disintegration of the Democratic and Republican Parties...

Important articles for the June issue are already in course of preparation, including one by Maurice Spector entitled "Five Years of the New Deal"—a balance sheet of the Roosevelt Administration...

Anyone who wishes to obtain the magazine can do so by sending 20 cents for a single copy or \$2 for a year's subscription to The New Internationalist, 116 University Place, New York, N. Y.

sed nations becomes the task of the Fourth International. The road is not smooth, but it offers a thousand times greater chances of success than the wretched diplomatic maneuvers of the Soviet bureaucracy.

HOW TO FIGHT WAR? Isolation Collective Security? Relentless Class Struggle? by JAMES BURNHAM 16 pp. Socialist Workers Party 116 University Place New York City

developments in the latter party in the last number of the theoretical organ of his own party. Now that the S.A.P. leaders have been sobered up not only by their experiences in the London Bureau but also in the German "People's Front," they are considering either building a new party together with Max Braun, Victor Schiff, Breitscheid and other social democrats or else, a fraction within the old social democracy...

New Allies

The new allies of the S.A.P.—Messrs. Max Braun, the hero of the Saar plebiscite, Breitscheid and his colleagues—differ from the old party only in the considerably greater degree of their corruption. Herr Braun published a paper with means furnished by the French government and one of his pet ideas is incorporating a volunteer corps of German emigrants in the army of French imperialism...

One further little irony offered us by history is the fact that at the very moment when the leaders of the S.A.P.—Walcher and Froelich—are preparing to leave the London Bureau, their former factional colleagues, Brandler and Thalheimer, are making their entry into it...

Having rounded out seven years of service to the revolutionary movement (believe us, a good enough reason for celebrating), Pioneer has been unusually fortunate in getting the outstanding wits and satirists among the radical intelligentsia to collaborate in a show which will be remembered as the gayest in the annals of the radical movement...

MAX EASTMAN SUES THE DAILY WORKER

NEW YORK—Max Eastman, well-known radical author and lecturer, this week filed a \$250,000 libel suit against the Daily Worker, organ of the Communist Party of America...

Last March, basing itself on evidence reportedly given in the frame-up trial in Moscow of Bukharin, Rykov and 18 other Soviet leaders, the Daily Worker described Eastman as a "spy for the British government," an "agent of the German and Japanese secret services," a "notorious person," a "bandit and notorious swindler," etc., etc.

Eastman told the press: "Browder is trying to assassinate my character only because he cannot assassinate me. I want to discuss these lies with Earl Browder in a court of justice where people are tried before and not after they are condemned."

Pioneer Frivolities Music Hall Revue DANCING • REFRESHMENTS With a large cast including such eminent actors as: MAX EASTMAN, EUGENE LYONS, SIDNEY HOOK, JAMES RORTY, MAX SHACHTMAN, MAURICE SPECTOR, etc., etc.—supported by a chorus of dazzling diversionists.

SPECIAL FEATURES A Political Fashion Show (With hotcha models!!!!) Elections to the Order of the Enemies of Mankind See the mad dogs, spies and diversionists in person Browder Toes the Line Yesterday and Today

Come To Irving Plaza WEDNESDAY, MAY 18th at 9 P. M. to dance, drink and laugh with us. Music Hall Tables seat 10, 12 and 14 persons Tickets: \$1.00—On Sale at: Pioneer Publishers, 100 Fifth Avenue; Labor Bookshop, 28 East 12th Street. For Benefit of Pioneer Publication Fund

Cowley Labored

-And He Brought Forth Some Mice

In a previous issue we commented on the circular letter being sent out to the Stalinist signers as Mr. Guy Endore, who believes in witches and consequently knows a witch-trial when he sees one; moreover, his famous manuscript, "Autobiography of an Idiot," assuredly entitles him to a voice in such matters...

The hook has netted some fish, not very big ones, it is true, but fish nevertheless. The Daily Worker of April 28 prints on its obscure fourth page the list of those who bit. Space limitations alone prevent us from rescuing their names from oblivion by printing them all...

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

"Educators" — "artists" — "professors" — "Hollywood stars" and "Broadway figures"! What a tidy collection the Stalinists made! Half the signatories are saved by their own obscurity, for even a fair questioning of experts in the field fails to reveal who they are...

'Enemies of Man' Will Cavort At Pioneer Shindig

NEW YORK—Pioneer Publishers are putting off all their cares and worries for one evening — the evening of May 18 — when they invite all their friends — creditors, too! — to celebrate with them at Irving Plaza.

Having rounded out seven years of service to the revolutionary movement (believe us, a good enough reason for celebrating), Pioneer has been unusually fortunate in getting the outstanding wits and satirists among the radical intelligentsia to collaborate in a show which will be remembered as the gayest in the annals of the radical movement...

Franc Devaluation Hits French Workers' Standard of Living

(Continued from page 1) The workers had won wage increases of 25 per cent in the strike movement of June, 1936, the Blum government immediately invalidated them by diminishing the purchasing power of the franc to almost the same degree...

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

No less devastating is the judgment of such signers as Mr. Guy Endore, who believes in witches and consequently knows a witch-trial when he sees one; moreover, his famous manuscript, "Autobiography of an Idiot," assuredly entitles him to a voice in such matters...

But enough is enough, for at this point nausea triumphs over all. One need only compare this jolly crew with the list of the members of the Trotsky Defense Committee and the personnel of the Commission of Inquiry, to see on which side stand the serious and reputable elements in American intellectual life.

The latter asked for but one thing: that the truth be objectively investigated. The Stalinist suckers airily put their name to a murderous lie. A gulf separates the two.

Hague's Rule Still Awaits Real Challenge

(Continued from page 1) skins by proceeding to Jersey City, despite Marcantonio's warnings. "It was a damnable thing, getting us all worked up over this and then talking us out of it," Bernard was reported to have declared in irritation...

Meanwhile, the two congressmen who were slated to speak at 8:30 had been corralled by the Stalinists at the headquarters of the International Labor Defense in Manhattan, which had taken charge of the proposed meeting.

Big Business Seeks Trade Union Curbs

(Continued from page 1) workers organized into industrial unions insist on fighting for their rights; and this, from Knudsen's point of view, is the height of irresponsibility. If things continue in that way, Knudsen might have to take a wage cut down to a quarter of a million.

Once again the division in the ranks of labor was helping the bosses. Knudsen, who was of course attacking unionism in general, was able to pretend that he was attacking only one form of unionism—industrial unionism, and was thus making a play for A.F. of L. support or at least sympathy. The continuance of the A.F. of L.-C.I.O. split at every step is weakening the strength of the workers.

Wants Strikes Outlawed Knudsen was aiming at even bigger game. His stress on "irresponsibility" referred to the strikes, sit-downs, etc. in the Michigan area which have been provoked by the outrageous violations of the union contract by General Motors and its rank discrimination against active unionists...

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200 French Communists Hear Trials Denounced

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

NEW YORK.—The Jewish Daily Forward of April 27 reports an unannounced and unadvertised meeting of Communist Party members held in Paris two weeks ago to protest against the counter-revolutionary terror of the Stalin regime.

Most of the 200 attending the meeting had already tendered their resignation from the C.P., according to the report. The main speaker was Charles Rappoport, a leading theoretician in the French Marxist movement and Paris correspondent of Ivestia (official Soviet organ in Moscow) up to the time of his resignation from the Communist Party of France four weeks ago.

Another speaker was F. Shrager, until recently the editor of the Jewish language paper of the C.P., Neie Presse.

Forward quotes Rappoport, according to the Paris daily Haint, as follows: "It is not simply a matter of my activity or of the activity of others. It is a matter of rehabilitating the meaning of socialism. Marxism is a science; science is criticism, not faith. Karl Marx always combated the cult of personalities against the Utopians who used to link up the victory of socialism with the strength of various personalities. In the political field socialism was a continuation of democracy. Without freedom of thought socialism is impossible. This is one of the essentials of socialism.

"But what do we see in the Communist Party today? Everything is turned upside down. The party is ruled by the most abominable cult of personalities. It studies neither life nor society, but the whims of Stalin. It has almost reached the point where a Communist is prohibited from reading Marx. It is enough, there, to read only Stalin, just as the Catholic church once prohibited the reading of the Evangelicals and ordered only Papal encyclicals to be read."

Rappoport dwelt for some time on the conditions in the C.P. when the slogan "France for the French" was adopted. Many were expelled for opposing this slogan, he said. Rappoport himself had pleaded with the leadership against its adoption. He had pointed out that this chauvinistic slogan was originally launched and was still being propagated by the well-

known French anti-Semite, Drumont.

Totalitarian Cruelty

"In the ancient Byzantine empire," he continued, "the emperor gouged out the eyes of his opponents; in Turkey, the Sultan used to kill off his brothers. Stalin is far more cruel than that; he also robs the victims of his murders of their very honor."

With great emotion, the old theoretician recounted his experience in conducting a campaign to save Christian Rakovsky from execution at the hands of the Rumanian government before the war. "Now Rakovsky is accused of being an agent of the British Intelligence Service," he exclaimed in a bitter cry.

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

Rappoport then told how the Radical Senator DeMonsie, a "Friend of the Soviet Union," related to him stories of pleas he had received to intervene for Rakovsky's daughter, who has been arrested in Russia. DeMonsie advised those who made the pleas to write to Romain Rolland, the famous French author. But Romain Rolland replied: "I have written some twenty letters and received no answer."

This reply by Romain Rappoport said he had seen with his own eyes.

He concluded with the following words:

Fastens Responsibility

"Responsible for the bad name Russia is getting are those who are shooting revolutionists; responsible are those who have made a prison out of Russia. They are dragging in the mud the face of the Russian Revolution. This must not be allowed. We must not remain silent."

Shrager, the second speaker, told of the dual life led by C.P. members, who have to say one thing in public and think something else in private, in order not to be denounced as "Trotskyists" or spies. Others who took part in the discussion stressed the plight of the Jewish Communists in Russia. According to one of the participants, the works of Aaron Lieberman, the pioneer Jewish Socialist writer of Russia, have been proscribed by the government.

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HAROLD ROBERTS **FRANK GRAVES**
 Associate Editors.
S. STANLEY
 Business Manager.

Unite Against Union-Wreckers!

(Continued from page 1)
 In that case, you can be sure they will soon find out what disruptive "factionalism" really means.
 The National Maritime Union, raised up through heroic struggles of militant and self-sacrificing seamen, gives the latest example and warning of what Stalinite domination of a union really means. A servile belly-crawling attitude toward the bosses; the signing of agreements which shame the labor movement; an internal regime of bureaucratic terror and expulsions; the factional exploitation of the union for every twist and turn of Communist Party politics—that is what Stalinite domination of a union means, as the latest example of the National Maritime Union again demonstrates.

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

SUPPORT MARTIN

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

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

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

IN OTHER UNIONS

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

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

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

The Sheriff Knocks

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

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

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

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

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

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

Lifeguards of Capital

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

Editor,
Daily Worker:
 The writer is certainly glad to see that there are a few newspapers in this great country that will continue to uphold the hands of President Roosevelt, and if half of those who are knocking and trying to tear down would join those of us who are trying to save the economic system or at least make it work, we would be sure to avoid what is happening in Europe.
 (signed) John J. Lang.

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

UNITE AGAINST HAGUE!
Form Workers' Defense Committees!

An Editorial

The struggle now raging between gangster-mayor Hague and the people of New Jersey for the restitution of their democratic rights has tremendous significance for every American worker.

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

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

HAGUE GETS AWAY WITH IT

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

SURRENDER WITHOUT BATTLE

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Inside the N. Y. Painters' Union

2. In the Grip of Racketeers

In our first article we gave a picture of conditions in the painting industry, in the past as well as in the present.

How did these terrible conditions come about? Where was the union—and its leaders? What did they do to prevent such a mess? If they did nothing—why not? What is the present union administration doing to help the painter out of his fix? What can be done?

These are questions every painter should ask himself. An understanding of the answers that such questions call for, is the first step to finding a way out of the troubles the painters are faced with.

In the following lines we shall try to find some of these answers.

In the boom days after the World War, the apparent stability of the capitalist system gave rise to many illusions widespread in their influence. Prosperity—the professors of economics and the highly-paid journalistic apologists for the profit system told us—was here to stay. The differences between bosses and workers, they said, were fast being wiped out: the whole American population was developing into one single class—the class of profit-sharing stockholders. They anticipated Huey Long's famous slogan with a slogan of their own: "Every Man a Capitalist."

The entire officialdom of the American Federation of Labor, marching in the tow of the boss class from the earliest days of Gompers' rule, was completely filled with this false capitalist way of thinking and with this phoney optimism. The labor skates in every A.F. of L. union went in for all kinds of get-rich-quick schemes: labor banking, labor insurance, etc. Since wages in the unions they controlled—mostly those in the skilled crafts—were fairly high and work plentiful, they were able to hand down this spirit of self-deception to the rank and file, to a considerable extent. In return, they received a free hand from the latter for their "legalized" racketeering schemes—their so-called

"legalized" racketeering to illicit business-unionism was but a short step.

Graft Flourished

Just as graft and racketeering flourished in municipal government under the reign of Tammany's Mayor Jimmy Walker, so these same vices grew into bloom in New York's building trades under the rule of "Czar" Brindel, Tammany's ally in the local labor movement. Prohibition had raised the New York underworld to the status of a big business concern. Gangsters like "Legs" Diamond and "Dutch" Schultz became heads of tremendous "interlocking directorates" of racketeering. Through the beginnings of racketeering made by "Czar" Brindel and his crowd, these big shots of the underworld made their entry into the labor movement. When prohibition was repealed in 1933, they shifted their field of operations more exclusively to the trades unions.

Thus, when the economic crisis broke and burst the bubble of prosperity, the leadership of the building trades unions were left not only without plan or perspective—but far worse, thoroughly infected with the poison of racketeering and gangsterism. This situation only aggravated the already bad straits the union men found themselves in, due to depression.

Kick-backs Paid

In the Brotherhood, the rank and file painters who still managed to get a day's work here and there had to pay a heavy tribute in "kick-back" and other graft to the machine run by the gangsters "Lepke" and "Gurrah" under the Zausner administration in District Council No. 9. Most of the painters naturally found themselves out of jobs altogether, with not a word of hope from the union leadership.

Progressives in the union, who had been fighting gangsterism and who had forewarned against the illusions of "prosperity," slowly began to raise their heads. Their long years of patient explanation that capitalism, producing not according to plan nor on the basis of the needs of the population, was bound to bring about crises and depressions was borne out by events themselves. The rank and file began to give them a hearing. The only protection for the workers against the misery of capitalist crises and boss exploitation, the progressives explained, was:

1. The realization that they are a class whose interests are en-

tirely and always in conflict with the profit-greedy boss class;

2. The knowledge that their only safety lies in reliance on their own organized strength;

3. The determination to conduct a militant struggle for the maintenance of union standards;

4. The organization of the unorganized in the alteration and maintenance fields;

5. The re-establishment of democracy in the union, cleaning out the gangster elements.

Dual Tactics of C. P.

The task of the progressives was made extremely difficult by the dual union policies of the Stalinists (Communist Party) at that period. The latter split the progressive forces, withdrawing a good section of them for the formation of their "Alteration Painters Union." The Stalinist "Alteration Painters Union," based on the conception of the Communist Party at that time that all A.F. of L. unions were "company unions," did untold damage to the struggle of the progressives.

They carried their destructive dual union tactics so far as to actually scab on jobs struck by the District Council of the Brotherhood in the general strikes of 1933 and 1934 when the bosses tried to take advantage of the demoralization in the union brought about by the depression and by gangsterism. The few Stalinists, like Louis Weinstein, who remained inside the Brotherhood, served like a millstone around the neck of the progressives because of their half-concealed sponsorship of and their apologetics for the scabby "Alteration Painters Union." The old line administration and its gangster allies could maintain themselves in power as long as they did only thanks to the policies of the Stalinists.

The crisis had, in the meantime, brought about a change in municipal politics. The big New York capitalists who, for years, had looked on tolerantly upon the extravagant graft grabbed up by Jimmy Walker and the Tammany machine, began to be alarmed increasingly as their profits shrank. Through their mouthpiece, Samuel Seabury, they launched the attack on Tammany which resulted in the victory of the LaGuardia-Fusion ticket. LaGuardia, Seabury and Thomas Dewey, pledged to protect the bosses from the scourge of racketeering, began the clean-up which, aided by a press campaign, succeeded in ousting "Lepke" and "Gurrah" and brought about the

Leon Trotsky Challenges British Labor Party On Oil Land Expropriation

(The following letter was sent by Leon Trotsky to the London Daily Herald on the subject of the British government's demand for return of the oil property of the Mexican Eagle Oil Co., recently expropriated by the Cardenas administration.—Ed.)

The Editor,
 Daily Herald,
 London.

Dear Sir:
 In the vocabulary of all civilized nations there exists the word, cynicism. As a classic example of brazen cynicism, the British government's defense of the interests of a clique of capitalist exploiters should be introduced into all encyclopedias. I am therefore not mistaken if I say that world public opinion awaits the voice of the British Labor Party regarding the scandalous role of British diplomacy in the question of the expropriation of the Eagle joint-stock oil company by the Mexican government.

The juridical side of the question is clear to a child. With the aim of exploiting the natural wealth of Mexico, the British capitalists placed themselves under the protection and at the same time under the control of Mexican laws and the Mexican authorities. No one compelled Messrs. Capitalists to do this either by military force or through diplomatic notes. They acted entirely voluntarily and consciously. Now Mr. Chamberlain and Lord Halifax wish to force mankind into believing that the British capitalists have pledged themselves to recognize Mexican laws only within those limits where they find it necessary. Moreover, it accidentally occurs that the completely "impartial" interpretation of the Mexican laws by Chamberlain-Halifax coincides exactly with the interpretation of the interested capitalists.

Imperialist Cynicism

The British government cannot, however, deny that only the Mexican government and the Supreme Court of the country are competent to interpret the laws of Mexico. To Lord Halifax, who nourishes warm sympathies for the laws and courts of Hitler, the Mexican laws and courts may seem unjust. But who gave the British government the right to control the inner politics and legal procedure of an independent state? This question already contains part of the answer: the British government, accustomed to command hundreds of millions of colonial slaves and semi-slaves, is trying to fit those same methods also to Mexico. Having encountered courageous resistance, it instructs its lawyers hurriedly to invent arguments in which juridical logic is replaced by imperialist cynicism.

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

defeat of the Zausner administration.

Stalinists Change

The Stalinist party, on orders from Moscow, had changed its "line" just about at the same time. From the extremism of the period between 1929 to 1934—when they preached that John L. Lewis, William Green, Roosevelt and Norman Thomas were all Fascists; when they maintained that all official unions were "company unions;" when they predicted that the struggle for the streets and the "proletarian revolution" were just around the corner—the international Stalin machine swung around to the opposite form of extremism: Roosevelt was now to be the savior of the country; Lewis and Green were now to be "brothers" and Norman Thomas a "comrade;" the proletarian revolution was now a pipe-dream of the distant, very distant future—the thing now was to build a "People's Front" or a "Democratic Front" with Roosevelt, LaGuardia et al.

Overnight the order came to "liquidate" the "Alteration Painters Union" and for all its members to join the Brotherhood. With the groundwork done by LaGuardia and Thomas Dewey, the Stalinist machine in the Painters Union, reinforced by the recruits from the defunct "Alteration" outfit, well-organized and financed, found it a fairly easy job to take over control of the District Council when the Zausner administration was ousted.

What exact methods they used in coming into power, how they have given "leadership" to the union and how their "policies" are made—these questions will serve as the basis for articles to come.

juridical side. The executive committee of your party would, in my opinion, act correctly if it created a special commission for studying what British, and in general foreign, capital has contributed to Mexico and what it has extracted. Such a commission could within a short period present to the British public the stunning balance of imperialist exploitation!

A Robber Clique

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

Picture of Oilfields

Visit any center of the mining industry: hundreds of millions of dollars, extracted by foreign capital from the earth, have given nothing, nothing whatever to the culture of the country; neither highways nor buildings nor good development of the cities. Even the premises of the companies themselves often resemble barracks. Why, indeed, should one spend Mexican oil, Mexican gold, Mexican silver on the needs of far-away and alien Mexico when with the profits obtained it is possible to build palaces, museums, theatres in London or in Monaco? Such are the civilizers! In the place of historical riches they leave shafts in the Mexican soil and ill-health among the Mexican workers.

The notes of the British government refer to "international law." Even irony powerlessly drops its hands in face of this argument. About what kind of international law are we talking? Evidently about the law which triumphed in Ethiopia and to which the British government is now preparing to give its sanction. Evidently about that same law which the airplanes and tanks of Mussolini and Hitler are already announcing in Spain for the second year with the British government's invariable support. The latter held endless conversations about the evacuation of foreign "volunteers" from Spain.

Spain and Mexico

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

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

L. TROTSKY.

Coyoacan, D. F.

April, 1938.

P. S. — Several imperialist newspapers have attempted to represent me... as the initiator of the expropriation. Such nonsense does not even deserve refutation. I, a private person, enjoying the hospitality of this country, have learned only from the papers all the stages of the struggle of the foreign capitalists against the Mexican laws. But this was completely sufficient to form an opinion. To state this opinion aloud is the elementary duty of every participant in the liberating struggle of the proletariat.—L. T.