

Hague's Rule Still Awaits Real Challenge

Farmer-Labor Congressmen, Acting On Advice Of
Stalinist J. 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 repeat 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,

A. F. of L. Bosses Back Hague Terror

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

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

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

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

By seven o'clock 350 police guarded Journal Square. Wrecking cars had dragged away all the autos parked in the vicinity. Escorted by mounted police and members of the American Legion motor trucks carried 3,000 placards into Bergen Street with such slogans as "Reds Destroy Industry and Business but not in Jersey City," "Civil Liberties Union is a cloak for Communism," "Let all the Radicals and Red Foreigners go back to Russia." These were distributed among the waiting crowd of Hague henchmen. The Legionnaires bore two 20-foot streamers, one inscribed "Labor! A.F.L. Will Never Join Hands with C. I. O. and Communism," and the other, "Norman Thomas, Roger Baldwin and Stalin, One for All and All for One—Keep Out."

Congressmen Stay Away

All traffic was stopped by the police and the area roped off. By 8:30 over 25,000 people, including in large part W.P.A. workers (Continued on page 3)



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 is 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

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—
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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

case rested on perjured testimony to the effect that the platform stood on the sidewalk. The defense produced five witnesses who testified that the platform was in the gutter and that a passage lane of fifteen feet was available for pedestrians. The presiding judge, "Old Mother" Murphy, sour-puss protege of Democratic boss Ed Flynn, made prejudiced comments throughout the trial, overlooking the civil liberties issue and ruling in favor of the false testimony of the policeman.

Unlike the liberal congressmen who shied clear of Hague-town under threat, the local Y.P.S.L. branch will hold a rally in defense of civil liberties on the same spot next Monday night.

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

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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-doing, the American operatives of the G.P.U. have taken the unsuspecting trade unionists unawares. They have inched their way into strategic control of many unions and are reaching out for power in others.

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

The Workers Must Be Prepared

The economic crisis, plunging deeper and without prospects of alleviation, automatically endangers the position of the trade unions and sternly imposes upon them a policy of preparedness for coming storms. Production is away-down and is dropping steadily. Unemployment figures are up to the 1935 level—the 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 Frankensteen and his similars against the Martin administration. This crooked factional maneuver is carried forward, of course, under the slogan of "an end to factionalism." In this, the jingo-Stalinites only slavishly imitate the hypocritical tactics of the 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 strategem? Can they really wish, after the terrible experiences of workers in the Stalinist controlled unions, to experiment with such "control" in the great organization of the auto workers?

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Big Business Asks Curb On Trade Union Rights

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

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.

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 with in 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

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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.

The courts are once again teaching the lesson that the workers must rely on their own organized class strength, and that hope in the institutions of the capitalist government leads always into blind alleys.

Cheered up 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 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.

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

Union Smashing Was Issue

It should be recalled that these cases involve Ford's and Republic Steel's open smashing of unionization at their plants, and Inland Steel's refusal to sign a contract with the Steel Workers Organizing Committee.

The courts are once again teaching the lesson that the workers must rely on their own organized class strength, and that hope in the institutions of the capitalist government leads always into blind alleys.

Cheered up by the Supreme Court decision, General Motors' W.S. Knudsen (whose recently reported 1937 salary alone totaled over \$300,000) took the floor at the Chamber of Commerce sessions to lash out at industrial unionism.

Industrial unionism, Knudsen declared, had been put in the balance and found wanting. And he was no doubt being honest enough in this reflection: in the balance by which Knudsen measures, industrial unionism is certainly a large negative quantity.

Knudsen and Irresponsibility

Industrial unions are irresponsible, Knudsen complained. That is, to put it in other words,

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new jobs. At the present time it is mobilizing the W.P.A. office workers to secure higher wages and to stop the nation-wide wage-cutting drive against white-collar workers initiated by the Washington authorities.

How decisively the Stalinists were defeated is indicated by the fact that Francis Murphy, candidate for secretary and organizer for the letter-head American League for Peace and Democracy, received just three votes. (The three C.P. members at the meeting.)

While the Stalinists were distinguishing themselves by coming late to meetings, arguing against motions they had never even heard, bringing in not more than one single member in four months, trying to sneak over pro-war collective security resolutions and other reactionary ideas in the last moments of meetings, and slandering the leadership from whose projects 99 per cent of the membership of the union has been gained, the so-called "Trotskyite" leadership together with the other militants went ahead quietly building the union and daily risked the loss of their jobs by aggressively fighting to protect the workers on the job and win concessions for them.

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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 Frankensteen 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

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's sake. Factionalism, 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 Frankensteen

Undoubtedly the third case is most applicable to Frankensteen. As outlined in previous issues of the Appeal, Frankensteen'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, Weinstone and Foster promised Frankensteen the Lieutenant-Governorship of Michigan. What applies to the piffling figure of Richard T. Frankensteen 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 was the public removal of Assistant President. Last December Martin had committed the error of appointing Frankensteen 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 Frankensteen 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 Frankensteen appointment, declared that "after consideration of the constitution upon the complaints lodged and on the authority vested in me as president of the U.A.W., I am hereby declaring that the office of assistant president has no constitutional standing with the International Union, and therefore does not and cannot exist under the constitution."

Martin Group Carries

On all issues, mostly of a secondary nature, to come before the board in its first two sessions, the Martin group has carried by 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 Frankensteen's program. The Socialist Party has adopted a similar decision. It remains to be seen whether Reuther will follow the determined and un-

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Frankenstein Move Balked At UAW Meet

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

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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 infraction 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 unscrupulously 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 employer 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

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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., haled 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.

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

Hommer Martin's defense of the union from outside clique control was a real advance for the cause of progressive unionism in America and must be supported.

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 work rather than pay compensation — men who were injured in the plant. Not all salaried men were affected.

Frankenstein-Browder plans. Only a few weeks previously, Reuther and other S.P. members received a bitter taste of Stalinist double-crossing when Victor Reuther, youngest of the three brothers, was defeated for the post of secretary-treasurer of the Michigan C.I.O. council, after the C.P. promised to support him at a meeting of the unity caucus. The Stalinists openly voted for Reuther's opponent!

Reuther's Role

While Walter Reuther refused to go along with the Frankenstein-Stalinist clique (he has been a bitter enemy of Frankenstein for two years) he apparently still tried to oppose Martin by another maneuver. He wanted George Addes, "neutral" secretary-treasurer of the union, to run for presidency in event Martin was kicked out, it was announced publicly. Apparently this proposal fell flat, judging by subsequent events.

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

Recently, Martin appeared at a district council meeting in Detroit, and read the minutes of a Stalinist fraction meeting, thereby putting the crimp in maneuvers they had planned for that meeting.

C.P. Covering Tracks

Realizing that their ruthless and irresponsible factionalism is exposing them in the eyes of all militant workers, the Stalinists are trying to cover up their tracks through a belly-crawling retreat announced in the *Daily Worker* of May 10.

"The Central Committee (of the Stalinist Party) has forbidden its membership to organize fractions or act as a group within unions of the C.I.O.," the *Daily Worker* claimed.

This announcement would be funny if it were not intended as a new cover for Stalinist maneuvers. What militant unionist in any C.I.O. union, auto, rubber, steel, or elsewhere, has not been invited to a Stalinist fraction meeting? How about the minutes of the fraction meeting that Martin exposed?

Rank and File Revolted

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

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

New Deals Ahead

The statement of the "new turn" announced in the *Daily Worker* of May 10 should serve as a warning to all militants in the union, "Public" opposition to Martin has proven a boomerang. Watch them for undercover and underhanded moves, probably through C.P. agents in the Labor's Non-Partisan League from the A.F. of L.

For nearly two months, the full fire of 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 charged 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 scale" 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.

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.

More Speed-Up

Speed-ups, too, have increased. Some lines it is impossible to speed-up; men already work as fast as possible. Recent step-ups are especially noticeable among the skilled and semi-skilled. One man doing the work of two, three or even five is not uncommon. During this past summer, new badges for all Ford workers in the country were made in the Dearborn plant. The first complete set was thrown away: the picture of a V8 was stamped on the face and it was thought the model might change soon. This set was produced in about 4½ weeks although the job was scheduled for, and had always taken, six weeks. The week and a half in costs was saved by speeding up the men. No extra machinery was used. The next set of badges, which bears the same face as did the old—the Ford factory—was finished in three weeks. Again, added efficiency meant stepping up production. Today these conditions are the rule wherever possible.

Just last week, approximately 4,000 men were laid off. Most of these did not turn in badge and tool checks. This means that when and if they resume work, they resume without a wage reduction. Many of these are diehards for Henry Ford, others are not. The policy of taking up badge and tool checks and rehiring at the minimum wage is, as are not a rare phenomenon.

Members, or former members, of the service department are not to my knowledge taking any wage-cut. Many are, however, being taken off "service" and placed back 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

have nothing in store for them, even if they resume work. Yet they are not decided that the U.A.W. will act. They want to be resolute but are afraid. The future of the Ford drive depends on overcoming this fear. A general rise in economic conditions even for a short period of a few months, may furnish this opportunity. In the meantime it is necessary to prepare.

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

Radio Union Votes Against Boss War

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 front.

This broad formulation of the purpose of the League is intended to cover the possibility of turning it into a labor party if sentiment among the rank and file continues. It is a statement which can be made to fit whatever political developments arise. Hillman is seldom caught napping.

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

The report of the general executive board discussed political action by labor and stated that the union intended to establish

It is intended that the F.W.O.C. will have jurisdiction over relief clients as well as W.P.A. workers, with the object of raising relief standards and providing security for the 10,000 relief workers in Lynn," he said.

Poulos claims that complaints are coming into the C.I.O. office that unsatisfactory relief conditions exist at the State Foods Distribution Center on Stewart Street, and at City Hall, and that intimidation and favoritism are marked at certain W.P.A. projects.

Whenever possible, Poulos states, unemployed workers are to be reintegrated with their respective unions, and those previously unconnected with any union will be united in a broad unemployed organization.

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

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 and money, 5 cents extra for postage. Modern Book Shop, 59½ W 5th St., Los Angeles.

FOR RENT

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

SUBSCRIBE NOW TO THE SOCIALIST APPEAL

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 gesturers 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

Despite their victory the Stalinist clique in the rank and file, and a demoralization induced by the failure to see any way out of the present blind alley the rubber industry, along with the rest of American capitalism, finds itself in.

With union leaders still pressing for continued negotiations, and James P. Miller of the national labor relations board still hovering on the sidelines, it is not to be excluded that a further attempt to set up rubber labor in a compulsory arbitration proposal, using as bait an annual living wage, work guarantees, etc., will be attempted again in the not too distant future.

Appeal Army

Can't we raise our weekly sub-increase 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

LEAGUE SERVES TO CONSECRATE ETHIOPIAN RAPE

(Continued from page 1)

submit, with the tolerance of the League, to the arbitrariness of Polish aggression—will declare that the law of the League is always on the side of the mightier.

China Pleads In Vain

The representative of victimized China has already repeated his request for protection against Japanese aggression. His appeal will disappear noiselessly in the dusty archives of the League for the Protection of Anglo-French Imperialism.

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

The Jews of Roumania and Austria will remind the Council of the stipulations for the protection of national minorities. Adjournment, as usual, will be the answer.

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

Mussolini Wants Time

Hitler's visit has produced nothing new. The military alliance originally planned has not been realized. But Mussolini was circumspect enough to maintain the "axis." After his Austrian defeat he must gain time. As Britain's simple partner he would be no less helpless than as Hitler's simple ally. Only as the decisive weight in the balance of power between England, France and Germany can he hope to gain positions for Italy which would surpass by far her economic importance in the imperialist system.

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, Litvinov was assigned the task of making all the crimes of imperialism palatable to the masses. The criminal policies of the Soviet and Comintern bureaucracy facilitated by Mussolini's Abyssinian adventure, aided "non-intervention" in Spain, and assisted the Japanese invasion of China.

Now that Stalin has disarmed the international proletariat for the sake of his dealing with the imperialists, Halifax knocks the diplomatic saber out of his hand. The increasing elimination of the League from any active role in international politics, and its replacement by bilateral agreements in the diplomatic style of Hitler, is to a great extent directed against the Soviet Union. Litvinov's speeches in the Council are the swan song of the Stalinist foreign policy of collective security. They may prove to be his own swan song as well.

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. There is no dearth of possibilities for its defense. There is a dearth only of correct policies for exploiting them.

Over all the fascist countries hangs the pall of a war economy, strained to the utmost. In Japan one political crisis follows another. The Abyssinian war brought Italy to the verge of revolution. France, Belgium, and even present-day Spain contain tremendous revolutionary possibilities. In China Chiang Kai-shek maintains himself only thanks to Stalin's political assistance. In Central and Eastern Europe dozens of little nations live in social and economic decay, under the constant threat of national enslavement.

What tremendous objective possibilities for the development of an audacious policy of international revolution! Today, perhaps more than ever before, the Soviet Union could act as the liberator and protector, not only of the colonial but also of the small European nations, and gather around herself a genuine League of Nations of the oppressed.

Stalinist "Audacity"

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

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

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 of the so-called "independent" parties (British Independent Labor Party, Swedish Socialist Party, Spanish P.O.U.M., etc.). As is already well-known, the S.A.P. signed a declaration calling for a Fourth International together with the Trotskyist organizations in the fall of 1933.

Shortly afterward, however, they turned against our alleged "sectarianism" and took up international collaboration with parties like the Norwegian Labor Party and similar "mass" parties as models of revolutionary realism and genuine connections with the masses. They said at that time that while we were repelling the masses by our sectarianism, the S.A.P. would win them by means of wise and patient tactics.

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 Norwegian Labor Party, the only party in the London Bureau worthy of the name, has just joined the Second International without any appreciable opposition within its own ranks. The P.O.U.M., which appeared to be developing into a mass party, was not encouraged by the S.A.P. and the London Bureau to take an opportunist path, has in the meantime been crushed by events. It is becoming ever more clear that in any case the London Bureau is an entirely useless instrument for winning the masses.

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. It is interesting to note what Haakon Meyer, the former representative of the N.L.P. in the London Bureau and a particular friend of the S.A.P., writes about the latest

New International For May On Stands

The May issue of *The New International* 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, and with the National Progressive Party recently formed by Governor La Follette of Wisconsin; (3) The Land Problem in Mexico by Bernard Ross; (4) Statements by a group of Palestine Communists and by Charles Rappaport, French Communist, on why they quit the Communist Party; (5) Principles and Tactics in War by W. St.; (6) The Crisis of Stalinism in Brazil; (7) A Meeting of Bankrupts by Joseph Carter; (8) Lenin and Rosa Luxemburg by Max Shachtman.

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 International*, 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. 3c
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. "The international question constitutes no stumbling block for the S.A.P.," says Meyer, who ought to know. "It knows that a broader realignment of groups will pose the question whether this realignment should take place within the folds of the Socialist and Labor (Second) International and it will not oppose such an idea."

New Allies

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

One further little irony offered by us 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, Bandler and Thalheimer, are making their entry into it. And making this entry by defending the same position that Walcher took against us in 1933. This position, reduced to its shortest formula, reads as follows: "To be sure, the Trotskyists are right in many things, and we shall make use of their arguments insofar as it is of service to our brand of political merchandise, but naturally, Trotsky is a hopeless sectarian; it is too soon to found a new International—it is necessary to be wary of excessive demands, and to collaborate with all independent tendencies."

Bandler and Thalheimer may rest assured that they will have no more luck with their brand of anti-Trotskyism than did Walcher and Froelich. They need but study the development of the latter to read their own horoscope.

MAX EASTMAN SUES THE DAILY WORKER

NEW YORK—Max Eastman, well-known radical author and lecturer, this week filed \$250,000 libel suit against the *Daily Worker*, organ of the Communist Party of America, and three individuals, including Earl Browder, general secretary of the party.

The piece de resistance—and we don't mean maybe—will be the *MUSIC HALL REVUE*, in which such luminaries as Max Eastman, Eugene Lyons, James Rorty, Max Shachtman and Sidney Hook, etc., etc. will give a practical demonstration in the Enjoyment of Laughter. Ben Lieberman has composed original scores for the songs. Pioneer predicts that the songs, which will later be available for use throughout the country, will be "sensational" hits.

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."

Tickets for the affair are \$1.00.

They can be obtained at Pioneer Publishers, 100 Fifth Avenue, or at the Labor Bookshop, 28 E. 12 Street.

At 10:45 Marcantonio announced that O'Connell and Bernard had finally been persuaded not to go to Jersey City. "The reason why it has taken so long," he said, "is that I have been unable up to this moment to persuade either of them not to go... I have been insisting and arguing for the last three and half hours against it. I know that they are ready to face any personal danger and that no threat of physical violence could deter them from their readiness to defend the constitutional rights of American citizens."

Motivates Back-Down

"However, as president of the I.L.D., I cannot permit innocent people to face certain bloodshed, violence, and perhaps death at the hands of a mob incited to do violence by Mayor Hogan through his henchmen."

"We are interested in preserving law and order against lawlessness, in defending the democratic and civil rights of the American people. The issue is not one of physical courage, for that issue is well settled against Hague's mob.... They act brave only when the odds are 1,000 to 1."

The two congressmen spoke far more militantly than their Stalinist saviors. They were evidently willing to risk their

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. "In certain respects we've made fools of ourselves," O'Connell declared, as they departed for Washington.

He said that he and his partner were only beating a "strategic retreat in preparation for a new offensive when the organization of the masses has been brought about."

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 Breit-Litov is the Lithuanian May West.

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

But enough is enough, for at this point nausae 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.

200 French Communists Hear Trials Denounced

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

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 DeMonzie, 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. DeMonzie advised those who made the pleas to write to Romain Rolland, the famous French author. But Romain Rolland replied: "I have written twenty letters and received no answer."

This reply by Rolland 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."

Rakovsky, the second speaker, told of the dual life led by G.P.U. 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.

Hague's Rule Still Awaits Real Challenge

(Continued from page 1)

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.

Irving Plaza will be especially decorated for the evening. Guests will be seated at Music Hall tables. The prettiest waitresses in town will serve drinks and refreshments. An eight-piece popular swing-band will provide the music for dancing.

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. There they stayed while the president of the I.L.D., the ex-Republican congressman Vito Marcantonio, received telephone bulletins from the battlefield in Jersey City.

At 10:45 Marcantonio announced that O'Connell and Bernard had finally been persuaded not to go to Jersey City. "The reason why it has taken so long," he said, "is that I have been unable up to this moment to persuade either of them not to go... I have been insisting and arguing for the last three and half hours against it. I know that they are ready to face any personal danger and that no threat of physical violence could deter them from their readiness to defend the constitutional rights of American citizens."

Thanks to the failure of the Stalinist leadership and their liberal Congressmen to prepare in any adequate way to meet the mobilization of Hague's gang by rallying the workers of Jersey City in a counter-demonstration against them, they had no forces at their disposal and were compelled to capitulate in a cowardly manner before the threats of Hague's thugs. To avoid a repetition of this fiasco in the future, it is imperative that the organized workers of New Jersey City take the initiative in creating a movement of self-defense against Hague's henchmen. The organized workers in the C.I.O. constitute the only force capable of mobilizing the masses and generating a movement powerful enough to undermine Hague, dislodge him from power, and restore the elementary rights of American citizens.

"We are interested in preserving law and order against lawlessness, in defending the democratic and civil rights of the American people. The issue is not one of physical courage, for that issue is well settled against Hague's mob.... They act brave only when the odds are 1,000 to 1."

The two congressmen spoke far more militantly than their Stalinist saviors. They were evidently willing to risk their

lives in 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. The Chamber of Commerce, by agitating against union "irresponsibility" and by calling for the amendment of the Labor Relations Act to make unions "responsible," is seeking a formula whereby, under the cover of contracts ambiguously drawn up and interpreted by the courts uniformly in the bosses' favor, strikes will be legally prohibited.

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

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

The government, which could not find the necessary armament credits on the money market, has through devaluation made it possible to "create" money through printing new banknotes. On the other hand, the employers breathe more easily, since the cheapened cost of labor permits them again to work "profitably."

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MAX SHACHTMAN
Editor.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 seasonable even now to point out that the opportunist policies and bureaucratic practices of Martin have alienated many of the best fighters in the ranks and made them easy victims of the Stalinist demagogic.

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 KnocksFor 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 chieftains.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-Pyatakov trial in Moscow, the Prague courts compelled the official Stalinist rag in Czechoslovakia to make a public retraction of its calumnious statement that the German Fourth Internationalist emigre, Erich Wollenberg, was a Gestapo agent. And only a few weeks ago, the French courts decided in favor of the libel action brought by the Menshevik emigre Theodore Dan, whom the Stalinist organ, *l'Humanite*, had declared to be a fascist agent, associated with the other "fascist spies" who were tried in Moscow's frame-ups.

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

Lifeguards of CapitalThe 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 tintop 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—we 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 "business-unionism." From "le-

galized" 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) in 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 Weinstock, 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 shrunk. 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.)

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 Pharisaism. 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 subsoil 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 politics as in Spain—passively in relation to Spain, actively in Mexico. We are now witnessing the first steps of this activity. What will be its further development? No one can yet foretell. Chamberlain himself does not yet know. One thing we can affirm with assurance: the further development of the attempts of British imperialism against the independence of Mexico will be 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 resolution 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.