

UAW FIGHTS LEWIS INVASION

Drivers Sign Pact Covering 11 States, 250,000 Workers

Tentative Agreement Will Affect 2,000
Operators, Make Teamsters
Largest U. S. Union

CHICAGO.—One of the major advances in the history of organized labor in the United States took place last week in Chicago when a union contract covering a quarter of a million men and two thousand operating companies in an area of more than eleven states was signed by union and operators' committees.

The signing of the contract marked the successful conclusion of almost a year's effort by the powerful teamsters' group, the North Central Area Negotiating Committee, to completely organize the trucking industry of more than 11 states. As defined by the contract the North Central area includes Michigan, Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Wisconsin, Minnesota, Iowa, Missouri, North Dakota, South Dakota, Kansas and the territory contiguous to the south bank of the Ohio River between Portsmouth, Ohio, and Paducah, Kentucky.

Militantly Executed
While negotiations were not preceded by a single wide-spread strike, a number of strategic actions in key spots gave the employers ample proof that the teamsters were able and determined to back their demands with effective strike action. The whole project, boldly conceived, was carried out in a militant and forthright manner.

The operators' committee will recommend the contract to the operators as a whole, at a meeting in Chicago's Merchandise Mart. Local unions of the Teamsters' International will meet in Indianapolis on Sept. 7 to hear a report on the contract from the negotiating committee.

Present at the conclusion of the negotiations, and signing the contract as the representative of the International, was Thomas L. Hughes, General Secretary-Treasurer of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters. Chairman of the negotiating committee was Joseph Scislowski of Milwaukee, and Farrell Dobbs of Minneapolis served as secretary.

What makes the present contract notable in the national labor scene is that it was achieved at a time when the labor movement generally is on the defensive and in the midst of an economic depression. Despite these adverse conditions, under courageous and militant leadership, organized labor has shown its true strength and its ability to really fight for the interests of the workers.

Move to West Coast
An announcement that the Maritime Commission was considering reviving shipping between Seattle and the Orient would squarely place the question of control of hiring before the West Coast unions, as the ships on that run would be government-owned.

The two principal seamen's unions of the West Coast, the Sailors' Union of the Pacific and the Marine Firemen, are not waiting for the issue to be brought to their doorstep, but rather have initiated and supported the fight against the fink hall on the East Coast. Realizing that success in the government's effort to rob the unions of the hard-earned right to control hiring means sure death to all seafaring unions, the two militant unions have urged that a fighting united front against the fink halls be formed by all seamen's unions.

On the East Coast, where the fink halls are already well established, the National Maritime (Continued on page 2)

More Ships To Be Run By Gov't

Commission Extends
Hiring Control Over
More Seamen

NEW YORK.—Continuing its drive against union-controlled hiring, the Maritime Commission last week announced further increases in merchant shipping under its direction. Three large liners, formerly on the intercoastal run, will inaugurate a new passenger service between New York and the east coast of South America.

These ships, whose crews were discharged several months ago when they were laid up for repairs, will be manned by seamen shipped through the Sea Service Bureaus, government hiring halls maintained by the Commission, now being picketed by union seamen in New York and Baltimore.

Another large line, the Dollar, has virtually come under the control of the Maritime Commission, but it remains problematical whether the hiring for the Dollar fleet will be done through the fink halls, as the Sea Service Bureaus are known, or whether the West Coast unions, who have contracts, will continue to man the ships through union halls.

The unswerving opposition of the West Coast unions to government fink halls may force the Commission to find a legal excuse for temporarily abandoning their announced principle of government-controlled hiring.

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Seattle Council Hits Fink Halls

SEATTLE, Wash.—In a strongly-worded resolution the Seattle Central Labor Council condemned the establishment of hiring halls and training ships by the Maritime Commission and completely endorsed the struggle being waged by the Sailors Union of the Pacific and the Marine Firemen against the fink halls.

Declaring that the union hiring hall is the only possible method of maintaining unionism in the merchant marine, and that history has proved government control operates to regiment the seamen and in favor of the shipowners, the council sent copies to other labor bodies asking that the resolution be concurred in and supported.

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War Nears in Europe

Czechoslovakia Vital To German Plans For Expansion

One overpowering fact emerges from all the foreign news: Europe is on the brink of war. If war breaks out in Europe, it will encircle the world with a new conflagration.

The actions of all the capitalist powers serve to enforce this truth. Fortifications are being pushed at a feverish pace. Armaments are being piled up at inhuman speed. Opposing armies are maneuvering simultaneously and citizens are being mobilized in "test" mobilizations. Full cabinet meetings are taking place, with all eyes fixed upon one country—Czechoslovakia—and within that country upon only one issue—the Sudeten issue.

German Plans at Stake

The Sudeten issue is not just another ticklish minority problem. It is far more important than that. The Sudeten issue is the weather-vane of Germany's foreign policy. The direction it takes will indicate the direction of German imperialism and German war plans. It will decide definitely and irrevocably whether the coming world war will be primarily a struggle between conflicting imperialist blocs in which the Soviet Union will participate as an ally of one of them, or if it will subside into a four-power treaty that will settle conflicting interests in Europe by giving Germany a free hand in the Soviet Union, with the blessings of England and France.

In this, Germany is the moving figure and Germany must move soon. A new depression has just set in, and the need for foreign markets grows. Unless these are seized, economic decline will be accompanied by declining morale, accentuating the dire straits of German capitalism and pressing down still further the living standards of the masses. And economic straits and flagging faith will undermine the strength of Hitler's backing. Waiting simply gives England and France more time to rearm. Waiting makes Germany relatively weaker for the impending conflict. Failure to move would eat away at the very foundations of Hitler's regime. Making a move is accompanied by the prospects of defeat and destruction. Caught in the dilemma of German imperialism, Hitler must move—even if it is to his own destruction. And he must move soon.

Whichever the choice, the chaotic character of decaying capitalism will continue and become aggravated. Whatever the actions, wars and revolutions are certain to be sown.

Drive to Southeast

A four-power treaty at the present time is a purely academic alternative.

The second alternative is a drive into southeastern Europe, regardless of the consequences. The consequences, however, are certain war in which the rival imperialist blocs would fight for hegemony not only over Europe but over the entire world.

While the Fourth Internationalists bear the brunt of their hatred, no honest opponent of Stalinism is safe. Socialist, anarchist, any member of a group fighting against the policies of Stalinism is in danger of his life.

To save the militants of the labor movement from extermination at the hands of degenerate Stalinist bureaucrats it is essential to drive the vicious murderers out of the labor movement. A united and open struggle against them is absolutely necessary.

Nothing will avail the Stalinist gangsters. The working class in

"Der Führer" Gives Europe the "Jitters"



ADOLF HITLER

Klement Reported Killed, Body Found

Headless and Legless Body Tentatively
Identified as Fourth Victim of
G.P.U. in Europe

As we go to press the newspapers carry a despatch from Paris that a headless and legless body has been tentatively identified by two members of the International Workers' Party (Trotskyist) as the body of Rudolph Klement who was kidnapped by the G.P.U. on July 13th last. Klement, at the time he was kidnapped, was Secretary of the Fourth International and some years before he was secretary to Leon Trotsky.

Should it even turn out that the body is not that of our comrade Klement it would make no material difference. All the available evidence points to his having been murdered by the G.P.U.

Fourth to Die

Klement is the fourth of the adherents of the Fourth International kidnapped and murdered by the G.P.U., outside of Russia.

Ignace Reiss, a member of the G.P.U. who came over to the Fourth International after the Moscow frame-up trials, was murdered in Lausanne, Switzerland.

Erwin Wolfe and Moulin were kidnapped by the G.P.U. in Spain. Nothing has been heard from them. Their death must be taken for granted.

Leon Sedov, Trotsky's son, died in a hospital under circumstances that can be adequately explained only on the hypothesis of foul play at the hands of the G.P.U.

Killings Without Precedent

Never in the history of the labor movement has the revolutionary section been hounded as the Fourth Internationalists are now hounded by the Stalinist bureaucrats.

The Tsar's police, even the fascists are merciful in comparison with the murderous gang guarding the rule of Stalin in the Soviet Union.

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UNION-SMASHING DRIVE OPENS IN SAN FRANCISCO

Warehouse Lockout
Begins Campaign
Against Unions

SAN FRANCISCO.—The bosses' offensive against the workers moved toward a showdown last week in San Francisco, with 120 of the 200 warehouses in the Bay Area closed down, locking out more than 2,500 warehouse workers. On two fronts the employers became bold, with San Francisco's major retail stores refusing to renew contracts with the A.F. of L. retail clerks union, organized last year, and shipowners demanding extreme modifications of the longshoremen's agreement expiring Sept. 30.

The lock-out started a week ago when warehouse workers, members of Harry Bridges' C.I.O. Internat'l Longshoremen & Warehousemen's Union, refused to handle cargo loaded into a box car by strike-breakers at the F. W. Woolworth warehouse. In a deliberately planned maneuver, the car containing the "hot cargo" was shunted from warehouse to warehouse, with the workers being locked out as soon as they refused to unload it.

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DETROIT.—John L. Lewis is invading the auto union under the banner of "peace" and "harmony." He is bringing war and schism into the ranks of the U.A.W. in order to settle a gang of union-busters in the top positions of the union. But it takes two to make a fight, and Lewis is already discovering that the militant auto workers will not prostrate themselves before him like Ghandi's loin-cloth brigade. He'll get all the fight he wants—more than he can handle.

After consulting or rather conspiring for weeks, and probably months, with the crew of officers thrown out of the U.A.W. as disrupters, Lewis finally came forward with his "plan." This bed of roses for factionalists to lie in is full of sharp thorns.

Plan Not New
"Maintain the status quo . . . as existing after the adjournment of the last U.A.W. Convention . . . Homer Martin put his finger on this dodge when he declared: "We could have gotten that in the beginning. We were given that offer by the expelled officers themselves before the trial started." Lewis wants to reinstate Mortimer, Addes, Hall and Frankensteen under the conditions of September, 1937. As if nothing had happened since then! Leaving aside for a moment the long series of vicious practices that brought out on their expulsion, how can any man who pretends to be "concerned for the welfare of the U.A.W." call for the reinstatement of officers who violated every trust and broke every pledge in the few short weeks following their suspension?

They declared a dues strike to bankrupt the union and starve its officers to capitulation. They commenced court action to tie up union funds in litigation. They set up a dual International office. They made gangster attempts to break up the trial. They issued vile slanderous statements in the public press against all the union officials. Their G.P.U. friends burglarized the home of one of their opponents. And that doesn't begin to record their crimes. If reinstating these gentlemen shows "concern for the welfare of the U.A.W." then Henry Ford must be the best friend of the auto workers.

Just contemplate the reinstatement of George Addes to the Secretary-Treasurership. With the purse strings in his hands the U.A.W. would be easy pickings for every Stalinist racketeer, and every legitimate union enterprise would go to smash. The Socialist Appeal has already reported how Mr. Addes by his sabotage came very near wrecking the magnificent auto union's W.P.A. auxiliary because the Stalinists would not have a competitor to their hat-in-hand begging outfit known as the Workers Alliance. Similar instances can be cited by the score. Lewis may want Addes back—but you can bet your bottom dollar that the auto workers don't!

Year of Turmoil
"All appeals in the controversy . . . shall go to the next convention of the U.A.W." The next convention of the union is scheduled for August, 1939. That will give the Stalinist machinists one year to keep the union in incessant turmoil, to drive out every honest union man and in the meanwhile to build their fences, so they can pack the next convention with phoney delegates from paper locals. And Mr. Addes as Secretary-Treasurer will supervise the per capita representation to the convention! This is called an "impartial" proposal. The Communist Party thrives on this kind of "impartiality" and labor unions die under it.

"The officers . . . reaffirm their desire to adhere to the 20-point treaty." Does John L. Lewis believe the U.A.W. has so soon forgotten that the 20-point program was once proposed to "end factionalism"? That the expelled officers not only "affirmed their desire to adhere" but signed their names to the program. That before the ink was dry on their signatures, they were using the program as a door mat. No, they have not forgotten. And they are not likely to follow the double-

(Continued on page 2)

Locals Condemn Plan To Set Up Dictatorship

Lewis Acts as Foil for Union-Wreckers;
Would End Auto Union Autonomy and
Hand Control to Stalinists

LEWIS IN SPLITTERS ROLE

DETROIT.—John L. Lewis is invading the auto union under the banner of "peace" and "harmony." He is bringing war and schism into the ranks of the U.A.W. in order to settle a gang of union-busters in the top positions of the union. But it takes two to make a fight, and Lewis is already discovering that the militant auto workers will not prostrate themselves before him like Ghandi's loin-cloth brigade. He'll get all the fight he wants—more than he can handle.

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(Continued on page 2)

Open the Factories!

An Editorial

As the capitalist class stands by, helpless before the ravages of the economic crisis, the unions in St. Paul have proposed a method to bring to an end growing mass unemployment and to set into motion again the wheels of production.

Their answer to the enigma of the capitalist crisis is simple. The State of Minnesota shall set up factories and plants to be operated by unemployed workers, not for profit, but for the benefit of all unemployed workers. In this manner the vicious circle of depression—factories closing, more millions jobless and still more hunger and deprivation for the masses—will be reversed.

If this plan is to solve the dilemma of capitalist production it will be necessary to extend it far beyond the boundaries of Minnesota. Over all the nation the same problem confronts the workers and only by a bold execution of the plan on a nation-wide basis can any effective relief for the jobless be secured. To conceive of its operation within the narrow confines of a single State is to dream of a little utopia, such as Upton Sinclair's *Epic* scheme.

Nor can the workers be content to enter this on small scale, with a little industry balanced precariously with a primitive barter system for distribution. No, factories must be opened throughout the nation and the workers must set themselves to accomplish the task at which the capitalists failed—giving jobs and security to America's working masses.

Rather than wait for State commissions to establish new industries the workers must insist on taking over the idle factories, forfeited by owners unable to make a profit, and immediately utilize the now unused machinery of production. Far more vital considerations enter here that the pocketbooks of a few property-owners. Hunger and want is the lot of the fourteen million already forced into idleness by the closed factories. The living standards of the whole working population are being undermined as the vast economic machine drags to a standstill. The profits of the few must no longer stand in the way of the needs of America's millions.

The former owners of the closed factories cannot be expected to give up peacefully. They and their class allies will attempt to keep the newly-opened plants in the old ruts of production, hampered by debts and interest charges, distribution of products subjected to a myriad restrictions and the project as a whole tightly controlled and kept in "safe" channels.

Against this danger the proposal of the St. Paul unions sets an important safeguard. The operation of the factories to be opened by the State of Minnesota shall be under the control of workers councils, formed in each factory by the workers there.

This provision is highly important. Not only will the newly-opened factories be operated for the workers, but they will be operated *against* the capitalists. If the workers are to succeed in their plan to re-open the gates of industry to the millions of jobless they will succeed only by carefully guarding against the opposition, both hidden and open, of the capitalist class.

The owners of industry are firmly for the principle of profits, for the keystone of their society rests on profits. By the same principle they are against high wages and short hours, for profits depend on the free exploitation of labor. On these grounds they will bitterly oppose any attempt to give labor control over any share of industry, however small.

But only under workers control is the plan of the St. Paul unions capable of really answering the major problems facing the workers today. Only workers control will assure the free flow of the factory products. Only workers control will guarantee union hours and union wages in the State-owned plants. Only under workers control will it be possible to extend the scope of non-profit production to larger sections of the unemployed workers.

And only the initiative of the working-class will open the idle factories. In Minnesota the workers face a real struggle to compel the State to take over the abandoned factories and plants. Behind them must be rallied the organized support of workers throughout the nation.

Minnesota must not stand alone. Everywhere the cry must be raised; "Open the idle factories, put idle men back to work."

MORE SHIPS TO BE RUN BY GOVT

(Continued on page 4)

Union still urges its men to ship through the government halls. Jerry King, leader of the group that recently obtained a majority over the Stalinists, made a trip to Washington to confer with representatives of the Commission and reported to the membership that he was sure the N.M.U. could work "in harmony" with the Maritime Commission.

Land Reiterates

At the same time Admiral Land, head of the Commission, was reiterating the Commission's declared intention of absolutely controlling the hiring and firing of all men employed on government-operated ships. The press throughout the nation took up his words and hailed this new plan to deal with "trouble-makers" in the marine industry.

Only by deliberately confusing and glossing over the issue can the officials of the N.M.U. persuade the rank and file to use the government fink halls. One trick used to mislead the workers is picturing the picket line around the Maritime Commission hall as part of a plan to keep the C.I.O. from winning bargaining rights for the crews on the government ships. By keeping N.M.U. men off, the story goes, only men who will vote for the A.F. of L. will be aboard the ships when and if National Labor Relations Board elections are held.

What is forgotten by these "clever" people is the fact that there will be no unions, C.I.O. or A.F. of L., for any seamen, unless the right of union control of hiring is kept by the unions.

Hiring Paramount Issue

For that remains as the paramount issue before the sea-faring unions as a whole, regardless of affiliation. Unless the efforts of the Maritime Commission to rob the unions of union hiring halls is defeated soon, there will be no organization

Hook Alliance to Roosevelt Machine

Strange List of Politicians Named as "Progressives" by Alliance; to Collect Huge Slush Fund

By GEORGE MILTON

NEW YORK.—The Stalinist leadership of the Workers Alliance completed plans to turn this once promising organization of unemployed and W.P.A. workers into an adjunct of the Roosevelt political machine, at a meeting of some 300 W.A. local executives and members, last Friday night, called specifically for that purpose.

"The Alliance is to be put on a war . . . emergency basis," said Sam Wiseman, Stalinist Executive Secretary of the N. Y. Alliance, handing down the line in true Communist style. A campaign committee of 35, headed by Wiseman and Willis Morgan, President of the N. Y. Alliance, are to act as pall-bearers in carrying the Alliance to its final resting place, into the camp of Roosevelt and Co.

The Stalinist chieftains of the W.A. had previously announced through the press plans to raise a slush fund of \$50,000 to elect Roosevelt, politicians, and the meeting, a mere formality, called to lay down the line, which was decided long ago, was turned into a typical campaign pep rally, with Congressional Candidate Vito Marcantonio, president of the Stalinist I.L.D., as chief speaker.

Announce Plans
Demonstrating clearly how these Browder hawks operate when in control of an organization, they sent out press releases in the name of the W.A. Joint Board, without these items ever coming before the Board, according to one of its members—announcing the \$50,000 plan, and a telegram telling Roosevelt of their support of candidate James H. Fay, who is opposing Congressman (to-be-purged) John J. O'Connor in the Roosevelt primaries.

Said Wiseman in his report: "We'll elect 'progressive' candidates to office, so that we won't have to picket and demonstrate (at City Hall and Washington)." The records of these "progressive" politicians speak for themselves: Marcantonio, law-partner and close collaborator of Mayor (10% cut) LaGuardia, is being opposed not only in the Republicans and Democratic primaries, but also in his own A.L.P. primaries, where strong opposition to him comes from Italian Local 89, I.L.G.W.U., largest in the country. This opposition is the result of Marcantonio's speaking at fascist meetings. The 18th Congressional District, stamping grounds of Messrs. LaGuardia and Marcantonio, is predominately Italian, and these two political demagogues, seeking the large Italian vote there, think nothing of speaking at meetings of the fascist "Sons of Italy" and those sponsored by fascist editor, Genaro Pope.

Friends of Labor
A pamphlet recently written by Chairman Antonini, of Local 89, denouncing this self-styled "friend of labor" now the white-haired darling of the Stalinists, pictured Marcantonio and Pope feasting together at the same banquet table.

Efforts to find James H. Fay's demonstrations of "friendliness" for the labor movement, prove futile. This recipient of Farley patronage, a deputy internal revenue commissioner, has no record of anything, let alone a labor record. In a Columbia radio network speech, Fay said significantly "I believe in the President's program, and I believe that the carrying out of the President's program is necessary to insure social and economic peace, and to prevent social disturbance and economic unrest." This nonentity, typical of the "yes-men" being

capable of protecting the rights of seamen.

Any union, or any union leadership, that stands in the way of an open and unrelenting fight against the Maritime Commission is playing the game of the bosses and the government. Elementary labor solidarity demands that all organized labor join in the fight against the vicious anti-union Maritime Commission.

STRIKERS FORCE PARLEY ON MOVE
(Continued from page 1)

Pointing to a table piled high with confiscated Progressive Group bulletins, he told how they had been taken away from Alliance members. "Why don't you burn them, like they do in Berlin?" Cohen shouted.

In preparation for the coming National Convention of the Alliance, to be held in Cleveland, Ohio, September 26, the Progressive Group urged all progressive and non-Stalinist locals throughout the country to elect and send a maximum amount of delegates to the convention, "even if you have to thumb there." An attempt to disenfranchise progressive locals from the right-wing representatives to the convention was attempted by the Stalinist-controlled Joint Board when they ruled that any local sending a delegate independent of a city-wide bloc of 30 delegates, (picked by the C.P. fraction), would have to post a \$40 fee, with the City Office, to cover expenses.

Worker" stated that the "McCord strikers are being haled throughout U.A.W. ranks for their militant stand" and "President N. J. Moskun was acclaimed as one of the ablest field generals in U.A.W. ranks," other union officials can hardly come in for any praise at all.

Workers Expect Action
It was to be expected that the Stalinist leadership of the South Bend Studebaker Local would sabotage the strike by forcing their members to work on scab radiators. They are revealing on a small scale what conditions will prevail should the C.P. and Lewis gain control of the U.A.W.

But members of the McCord Local, battling a strike against runaway plants in the interests of the entire International, are not handing out any bouquets for the failure of the Detroit Regional office of the union, headed by Loren Hauser, to vigorously enforce the agreement worked out by Martin with the strikers to keep Hudson and Packard U.A.W. members from working on scab radiators. They expect real enforcement and not just lip service.

The Manifesto
The Manifesto issued by the Communist League of China to the Tai Kou Dock Workers reads as follows:

Workers:
"Japanese airplanes are bombing our native land. Japanese guns are slaying our brothers and sisters. Are you willing to repair this Japanese ship (name

U.A.W. FIGHTS LEWIS INVASION

(Continued from page 1)

crossing officers, even if Lewis is the candidate for Dictator."

"No officer shall discuss controversial questions at local unions or mass meetings . . . until the next convention." Once before a proposition of this order was made to muzzle the progressives and the administration while the Communist Party lined up the rank and file by lies and calumny in untouchable caucuses. It came from Frankenstein and Browder at that time. The author today is undoubtedly the same, even though the sponsor is changed. Not even Frankenstein had the temerity to bring this plan to the Board. The whole auto union knew its execution meant a Stalinist dictatorship. It has remained for Lewis to revive the Browder-Frankenstein plan. That makes it clear as daylight who is calling the tune for Mr. Lewis.

Celler's Record
Congressman Emanuel Celler, another "progressive" politician, also professed his love for the working class. This "friend of labor" was responsible for obtaining an injunction for the Wise Shoe Co. some years ago, naming specifically the Shoe Salesmen's Union, and the Young People's Socialist League, which organization was aiding the shoe salesmen in their fight against the Wise Shoe Company in Brooklyn.

Protesting this latest sale of the unemployed to the capitalist politicians, Rhoda Pearson, progressive Chairman of Local 4, denounced the Stalinists for building up the Roosevelt war machine. Hardly had Pearson started to make known her opposition to this liquidation of the Alliance in favor of doing the dirty work for the various politicians, when the meeting was turned into a hog-calling contest. Whereas Wiseman, Marcantonio and the other "defenders of democracy" held the platform for two hours, while Pearson had hardly spoken five minutes, including time she paused while the Stalinist hooligans booted, chairman Benton banged his gavel and refused to allow Pearson to conclude.

Milt Cohen, Vice-Chairman of Local 4, jumped to his feet at this point, and after virtually "forcing" recognition from chairman Benton, on a point of procedure, denounced this dictatorial conduct. This was the occasion for more boos and hog-calling. Progressive members of the Alliance were manhandled and threatened when they protested.

Seize Leaflets
Just prior to adjournment, Wiseman, in answer to Pearson's charge that the Stalinists were hog-tying the unemployed to the Roosevelt war machine, pulled this gem: "Watch out for revolutionary phrases . . . they will lead you directly to war!" Wiseman forgot that it is Roosevelt and the C.P. who advocate collective security, and that it is Roosevelt who is building the greatest peace-time navy and war machine!

C. P. Demagogery

Finally the Daily Worker lays down the line of attack for the Lewis plan: "It (the issues) is now this: For or against the C.I.O.!—For or against the leadership of John L. Lewis!" Thus the demagogic cry will rise in the auto union. All the sincere unionists, foes of the plan to turn over their union to the wreckers, will be as gain is the one dealing with equal division of work. But this gain is vitiated by a clause permitting the bosses to employ temporary workers for a six-week period. A worker getting a job under this "victorious" agreement is compelled to sign what is tantamount to a yellow-dog contract, specifying that he agrees to be a temporary hand.

No Closed Shop

Many naive furriers believed that with a unified union, unchallenged in the field, with "able" leaders, they would finally secure a closed shop agreement. This was particularly emphasized by the union leadership, which assured the workers at a meeting that

at Flint and of the Milwaukee District blazed a trail for their brothers in the rest of the country when they upheld the actions of the Executive Board towards the expelled officers and protested the interference in their behalf by John L. Lewis. They recognized that the autonomy and the unity of their union was at stake.

Union First Issue

Differences with Homer Martin or other members of the Board—however serious or justified—are not at issue now. Progressives must realize that every ounce of support must be thrown in the scales of the Martin forces against the Lewis-Stalinist plot. Any other course is treacherous to the auto workers and their union.

Our last remarks apply with especial force to the militants in the Socialist Party. The Daily Worker speaks of the "Frankenstein-Mortimer Reuther" group. After months of hedging and possum-playing, Walter Reuther takes his stand in this fatal crisis with the party to which he probably belongs—the Communist Party. This is the last opportunity now for the sincere fighters in Flint and Detroit to break clean from the stranglehold of Walter Reuther and the cowards and Stalinist agents in the S.P. who prop him up. It will be too late to fight when Lewis and the Stalinists have laced in their straight-jacket.

Keep out of the U.A.W., John L. Lewis! The auto workers want a real labor union—not a dictatorship or a Stalinist war racket!

Rid the union of the wreckers and go forward to a powerful united labor movement!

TOBACCO WORKERS STRIKE

A strike of tobacco workers at the Export Leaf Company, subsidiary of Brown and Williamson, has been in progress for more than a month in Richmond, Va. The United Tobacco Stewards and Laborers Union, C.I.O., charged that the company refused to increase the average wages of from \$4 to \$6 a week to the union demand of twenty-five cents an hour.

The Manifesto

The Manifesto issued by the Communist League of China to the Tai Kou Dock Workers reads as follows:

Workers:
"If the owners and bosses want to compel you to work for their own interests, go on strike!

"Japanese airplanes are bombing our native land. Japanese guns are slaying our brothers and sisters. Are you willing to repair this Japanese ship (name

Opposition Grows in Furriers Union

Dissatisfaction With New Agreement Brews
Discord in Union Long Under C. P. Control

By a FUR WORKER

NEW YORK.—Stalinist leadership in the Furriers' Union has been seriously shaken by the two recent events. First, the strike which dragged on for 14 weeks and was recently concluded. Second, the elections for officers in the union.

they would not sign an agreement

that does not include the closed shop. But this was pure deception.

More than ever before are workers thrown out of shops any time the boss desires. They no longer even wait for the work-week to end in order to fire workers from the shop.

Officially the present agreement

provides for two additional months of division of work.

The last agreement provided for six—

May, June, July, October, November and December. During the other months of the year the boss would discharge any one he wished.

In order to be entitled to

division of work during the above-mentioned months, a worker

had to be employed for three

consecutive weeks prior to the commencement of this period.

This makes it obvious how easy

it had been for the bosses to man-

euver in the interest of their fa-

vorites while the bulk of the

workers did not share in the di-

vision at all.

Wage Raise Slight

The raise in wages provided for in the agreement is very slight.

But whatever it is, it was not a

point of contention, and the same

raise could have been secured

from the bosses without a strike.

It has been a tradition of many

years standing, that during the

month of July, the furriers have

received increases from \$5 to \$15

per week—known in the industry

as the July-raises. Since the Stalinists took over the leadership of the union, they were compelled to

conduct strikes in some shops to

enforce the July-raises.

The present agreement provides

for July-raises from \$2 to \$6.

This is in reality a concession to

Peace & Plenty

DEATH TRUST: American Medical Ass'n Mulls Profits; But Disease Is Rampant

BY DAVID COWLES

The conclusion of the Chaco Peace Treaty by Paraguay and Bolivia was the only thing that could be found to celebrate on the observance of the tenth anniversary of the Kellogg pact "to outlaw war." The Chaco war raged for some years after the pact had been signed by Paraguay, but now the official representatives of the belligerents state that the war did not solve the problem; it was solved "through the medium of the opposite procedure—pacifice means." An editorial in the New York Times expresses doubt that the dictatorships have learned this, but states blandly, "It has been learned in the democratic nations, where opinion is free to be rational, and where free opinion can be heard." Why, may we ask, do the democratic nations continue to keep their colonies in line by force of arms in Palestine, India, the Caribbean, and North Africa, and to build up their war machines at a feverish pace, if they really know better?

President Roosevelt, sitting on his Hyde Park lawn, gave welcome to Father Divine's new Heaven" across the river in Ulster County will be good neighbors to us here in Dutchess County." In view of the form the "good neighbor" policy is taking in Mexico these days, and what it implies for the tightening of the stranglehold of U. S. imperialism on all of the Western Hemisphere, Father Divine and his "angels" might shudder a bit at being welcomed in these terms.

Governor Blanton Winship of Puerto Rico still is not satisfied with Rockwell Kent's mural in the Post Office Building in Washington, although the inscription on the airmail letter from Alaska in Eskimo dialect, which proved to be a plea for Puerto Rican independence, has been painted out. Governor Winship has asked for an appropriation of \$3,000 for a whole new painting. "The mural is in bad taste," he said in his message, "and conveys a false impression of conditions on this beautiful island."

Mr. Kent's painting depicts Puerto Ricans as Negroes (as a large percentage, though by no means all, are) and barefooted. Unfortunately the majority are shoeless—and consequently the prey to hookworm. With only six per cent of his income left for other necessities after he has bought his food, the average Puerto Rican cannot afford shoes. But the Governor wants his pictorial Puerto Ricans well-dressed and white, surrounded no doubt by gardenias and orchids.

William B. Mills, the warden of the Holmesburg prison in Pennsylvania, where the steaming to death of four hunger-striking prisoners under investigation, began his career as a cavalry sergeant in the Philippine Insurrection. During the three-year guerilla warfare in the Philippines, atrocities committed by Aguinaldo's native soldiers were, as Charles A. Beard has put it, "repaid with compound interest" by the U. S. troops. The fighters for Philippine independence were finally put down by "generous use of what the Americans called 'the water cure'."

Halo Ripped Away

This action tears the halo from the medical profession and shows the corrosive workings of profits beneath it. Under capitalism, the first concern of the doctor is fees, not patient's health. Where life interferes with fees, the action of the organized medical profession is to let the sick groan and die.

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POUM TRIALS POSTPONED: PRISONERS STILL IN JAIL

Information has reached us that the Loyalist Government has decided to postpone indefinitely the trial of the anarchists, Left-Socialists, POUMites and Trotskyites. The protests of working-class organizations throughout the world has evidently convinced the Loyalist Government that it would be inadvisable to proceed with a Moscow frame-up.

The chief issue involved is price. The price here is not for steel or fertilizer but for medical service.

The facts are simple: Several thousand low-paid Federal employees, whose sickness had cost the government hundreds of thousands of dollars, were encouraged by it to form a medical cooperative. Its aim was to give them regular medical attention at a cheap price. The government helped start the cooperative with \$40,000 subsidy.

Advantages of Cooperative

The advantages were as follows: The doctors got a fixed salary for their services, the members got service to the full extent of their needs and the use of expensive equipment and specialized care for which they might have had to pay exorbitant fees otherwise. Moreover, the doctor's interest was now in preventing sickness rather than in prolonging it. Incidentally, due to the regular medical care and the drop in sickness, the government saved itself money.

However, the medical cooperative strikes at the vested interests in medicine. The doctors are still individual enterprises in the business of distributing medical service. The cooperatives would turn them into salaried employees. As enterprisers, they can charge what the client—"the market"—can bear. The cooperatives would substitute a fixed wage. As enterprisers, they may make unlimited incomes from unlimited fees. The cooperatives would limit them to a definite income stated in the contract. Cooperatives and government medical service are a boon to the unemployed doctors, to the doctors who are employed but who cannot get enough paying patients, and to those who are more interested in practicing medicine than in practicing extortion. They are a threat to the exorbitant fees and incomes of the well-established members of the American Medical Association.

For some time, therefore, the American Medical Association has carried on a bitter fight against medical cooperatives and government medicine. Like big business, when it is threatened with cooperatives, it has tried to destroy them. It forbade doctors from servicing cooperatives. It has expelled doctors who disregarded the warnings. It has kept them out of hospitals. And, in the current instance, it has closed the hospitals of Washington, D. C., to members of cooperatives, even in time of emergencies.

Halo Ripped Away

This action tears the halo from the medical profession and shows the corrosive workings of profits beneath it. Under capitalism, the first concern of the doctor is fees, not patient's health. Where life interferes with fees, the action of the organized medical profession is to let the sick groan and die.

First, lowering doctor bills

would leave more money for

workers in the present period of economic decline saps the very life and resistance to disease out of them. It makes them open to every disease which slum living and rotten and inadequate food bring with them. The only prescription that can cure here is: Destroy decaying capitalism! Build a socialist world!

Meanwhile there are many millions without doctor's care, without hospital care, and even without medicine. To conserve their strength and prepare them for destroying capitalism, it is necessary to put forth a program now.

Hospitals Needed

To accommodate the sick in need of hospital treatment, the government should begin immediate construction of a large number of hospitals, with all modern equipment. These hospitals should be distributed throughout the country, in the slum areas of every large city. All services to workers and unemployed, the lower middle class and the poor farmer must be absolutely free of charge, whether for medicine, admission to the clinic, or anything else. The workers in the hospitals must get union wages and hours. The internes must get a minimum weekly wage of \$25. The doctors must get minimum weekly wage of \$50.

Disease and sickness in the country districts have long been a subject for horrified discussion among medical circles. It is time to do something about it. Let the government build medium-sized hospitals throughout the farm belts, with special concentration among the poorest areas.

Sickness and disease is a national problem. It is for the national government to handle. If Roosevelt and his aides are not just making more campaign speeches, if they are not just trying to deceive the masses with honeyed phrases, let them start the health program now.

Instead of billions for war, destruction, and death, let them appropriate \$5,000,000,000 for building a better life. And let those with wealth pay the taxes for health. But the failure of the New Dealers to take any effective measures to guard the health and life of the masses will not be forgotten.

The truth is that there are two sides to medicine, the curative and the preventive. The curative part deals with the disease after it has been contracted, when it is hardest to cure. The preventive part deals with sickness and disease before it has been contracted, before it has started and prevents it from starting. But the declining standard of living which is being heaped upon the workers.

The New Dealers to take any effective measures to guard the health and life of the masses will not be forgotten.

It will only become more firmly fixed in the people's mind as part of the system of profits and disease. When the workers shatter capitalism, when they start forward to a healthy, socialist world, THEY WILL REMEMBER. And they will clear away the governmental rubbish also.

Puerto Rican Nationalists Face Trial; Lawyer Quits

SAN JUAN, Puerto Rico.—victims of the police massacre at the time of the Nationalist demonstration in Ponce in 1937 was so incredibly arbitrary and indefensible that even the Puerto Rican bourgeoisie had to take a stand against Winship on June 25.

The governor himself has not remained idle; he called a special session of the colonial insular congress in order to press through a measure reintroducing the death penalty abolished in 1924. The Puerto Rico prosecuting attorney, Pierluissi—lackeys are always more shameless than their bosses—lost no time in declaring that he would have no qualms about demanding the death penalty for the youthful defendants and "then going quietly home to lunch."

The legislators of the republican-socialist coalition are much embarrassed. They would like very much to prove their loyalty to Washington by cleaning up on the terrorists, but on the other hand, the sympathy of the population for the nationalist defendants is so great, in spite of the propaganda inspired by Winship and de la Rocque's P. S. F. They have unleashed a furious campaign against the dockers. First they demanded that the government, as it had threatened to do in the Paris transport strike, declare a state of emergency and call the dockers (who are army reserves) to the colors for strike duty; then, under threat of the army penalties for mutiny and desertion, make them work the boats and break their own strike.

It is understandable that this new philosophy doesn't penetrate the heads of the Porto Rican Stalinists easily. For those who live amidst the misery of an exploited people, the blessings of Yankee freedom are not so manifest as for Browder and the Caribean Bure in New York.

The defendants have appeared without defense in the sessions of the trial held up to the present time. However, there bobbed up along side of the defendants a unique kind of lawyer. He asked in the name of the defendants for new postponements to carry on the search for defense attorneys. But he declined emphatically to be considered by the court as the representative of the Nationalist defendants. This remarkable defense and non-defense attorney is the Stalinist lawyer Bahamonde.

In the past trials of Nationalists the Stalinists placed themselves openly on their side. But the "legal" side of the trials was different. The charge against the leader of the Nationalists, now in Atlanta penitentiary, Albizu Campos and his comrades, was a rank frame-up. The trial against the

defendants has nothing to do with such defense attorney, and Bahamonde together with some other remaining "loyal" lawyers was named defender ex-officio.

But the court didn't take into account Stalinist party discipline, which can no longer suffer even the mere appearance of solidarity with the terrorist "underworld." Bahamonde stated suddenly that he must retire from the defense indefinitely for "family reasons."

French Workers in Action During an Auto Strike



French Workers Grow Restive Under Deepening Crisis; Strikes Break Out

Militancy Checked By "Loyal" CGT Bureaucrats

By TERENCE PHELAN

PARIS, August 18.—Under the calm of the August vacations, premonitory rumblings presage an uneasy autumn. Just prior to the opening of the disquieting German maneuvers, the front reached the lowest point permitted under its new stabilization.

The weakness of its subsequent recovery, coupled with the visit of Morgenthau, U. S. Secretary of the Treasury, suggests the possibility of another devaluation, but even more the probability of France's first trying some special form of exchange control.

Cooperation Limited

However, even if the American Medical Association backs down and permits the spreading of medical cooperatives, it will not touch the health problems of the workers. Membership in cooperatives is limited to those paying \$2.50 to \$3.50 a month. According to the Times only 1,500,000 people are now covered, 1 out of 100. No unemployed and none but the best paid workers can afford this. And even if a national system of free medical clinics, free hospitals, requiring the expenditure of at least a billion dollars a year, were instituted it would still not solve the health problems of the workers.

The truth is that there are two sides to medicine, the curative and the preventive. The curative part deals with the disease after it has been contracted, when it is hardest to cure. The preventive part deals with sickness and disease before it has been contracted, prevents it from starting. But the declining standard of living which is being heaped upon the workers.

The New Dealers to take any effective measures to guard the health and life of the masses will not be forgotten.

It will only become more firmly fixed in the people's mind as part of the system of profits and disease. When the workers shatter capitalism, when they start forward to a healthy, socialist world, THEY WILL REMEMBER. And they will clear away the governmental rubbish also.

Picture Changed

This time, however, the "legal" as well as the political picture has changed. It is common knowledge that the defendants have broken the laws of imperialist justice as far as their participation in the shooting can be proved.

For Marxists, this has, of course, no significance. Their moral solidarity with the young rebels is unreserved. Their sharp differentiation from the acts of terror of the Nationalists falls in the category of revolutionary expediency. For them the struggle of the masses for liberation is incompatible with individual terror.

But the Stalinists no longer hold this view. According to their new constitution, "Terrorists" have no place in the company of well-bred communists. Therefore when a couple of confused colonial slaves resort to the revolver, these "Communists" find themselves on the side of the exploiters.

It is understandable that this new philosophy doesn't penetrate the heads of the Porto Rican Stalinists easily. For those who live amidst the misery of an exploited people, the blessings of Yankee freedom are not so manifest as for Browder and the Caribean Bure in New York.

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But the court didn't take into account Stalinist party discipline, which can no longer suffer even the mere appearance of solidarity with the terrorist "underworld." Bahamonde stated suddenly that he must retire from the defense indefinitely for "family reasons."

Marseilles workers from any solidarity program, put forward by the minority program, put forward by the revolutionary left under Valiere, went ten times as far in the same direction, and the serious danger of its passage had conditioned the leftness of the majority resolutions. The vote, 862 to 238, with 38 abstentions, gives some idea of the leavening force of the revolutionary left. Finance-capital's organ *Le Temps*, which has lately been getting more and more jittery about labor, rushed out a front-page editorial, raving about a state within a state, hinted treason, and generally acted hysterical. But more was to come.

Jouhaux Boebed

The next day, following the enthusiastic singing of "The International," Jouhaux, the William Green of France, attempted to address the convention. Half the delegates and all the audience (over a thousand non-delegate teachers) whistled and booted him into silence. It was necessary to clear the hall and severely warn the delegates before Jouhaux could purr his hurt and honed words to the still sullen and often angrily interrupting congress. (One may imagine the embarrassment of the Stalinists, who hope by giving Jouhaux a post in their international trade-union organization to get as a swap high posts for themselves in the C.G.T.)

The teachers' convention is as significant as the Marseilles dockers' struggle. If the other C.G.T. union congresses, taking this keynote, will renew the class-struggle militancy they had in 1936, the November Convention of the C.G.T. will relaunch French labor on that revolutionary path from which the will-o'-the-wisp of Popular Front lured it so tragically away.

Europe Tense in War Crisis; Waits Nazi Move

(Continued from page 1)

Czechoslovakia to restore "order" stands the Nazi war machine.

Powers Back Czechs

But if the Sudetens are supported by the Nazis, the Czechs are backed by an even more imposing array of powers. The threat of Nazi intervention in Czechoslovakia had immediate repercussions. France, which has a diplomatic and military alliance with Czechoslovakia, announced that German invasion of the territory would be considered as war against France. Rumania and Yugoslavia, as members of the Little Entente, are bound to come to the support of Czechoslovakia against the invasion. The Soviet Union, as an ally of France, was certain to declare war against Germany. England, as an ally of France, was drawn into the conflict also. And the United States showed more openly than ever that in case of war in Europe, they would be involved and on the side of the "democracies."

Should Germany drive on Czechoslovakia, and should Italy support her, then the beginning of the European war is a matter of days. Once it begins in Europe, the imperialist blocs will expand over the world. On one side Italy-Germany-Japan, and on the other side England-France-United States, with the Soviet Union finding a fitful resting place among the "democratic" capitalist powers.

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Cordell Hull's Philosophy

A new note of Secretary Hull's, addressed to the Mexican Ambassador, and released to the press last Friday, brings to a turning point the current dispute between the Mexican and U. S. governments.

Hull, rejecting bluntly and rudely Cardenas' just, amply motivated and sufficiently modest reply to his earlier note, in effect denies the independent sovereignty of Mexico insofar as its relations with imperialist powers are concerned. In an extraordinary paragraph, he attacks the right of the Mexican government to confiscate for purposes of the public welfare the property even of its own nationals, much less of foreign residents.

Hull's correspondence on this issue of the Mexican expropriation is, in fact, achieving the status of a general defense of the foundations of imperialism. The latest note is a condensed essay on the "philosophy of property," and includes extended reflections on the eternity of property rights, tracing their alleged ancestry far back beyond the world of modern civilized nations.

Let us hope that Cardenas will see fit to show up the hypocrisy of the good Secretary by manipulating his own philosophy. Hull might well be asked what happens to these profound philosophical considerations when they concern, say, relations to other major imperialist powers—for example, those engaged in the late War, which have somehow been rather lax about "just compensation" in the Hull manner.

It would be difficult to exaggerate the issue which is now raised between the Mexican and the U.S. governments, an issue which is brought to a head by Hull's new note. Squarely and openly imperialism is drawn up against the overthrow of all imperialist governments, fascist and "democratic" alike.

While the Stalinist and their innocents will prattle about justice and righteousness, the class-conscious youth of the working class will

revise those boundaries? What is sauce for the goose is sauce for the gander.

Is there anything else necessary to prove the correctness of the revolutionary Socialist position that for the workers to support their "democratic governments" during a war will play into the hands of the fascist governments? Here are delegates of Hungary and Bulgaria reacting in a chauvinistic manner to the chauvinism of the delegates of the democratic capitalist countries. Nothing else could be expected. If there is anything that will arouse the German and Italian workers to struggle against their fascist governments during a war, it will be the example of their brothers in France and England.

* * *

"There can be no peace without justice," grandiloquently proclaims the "peace pact." Justice to whom? Did the delegates consider the subjugation of millions of colonial slaves by France, England, Belgium, the United States as something that falls within the realms of justice? Does their struggle against aggression include a struggle against these imperialist countries for the liberation of the exploited colonial masses?

How noble it is to be for justice when it does not involve taking up the cudgels on behalf of the exploited of one's own country!

Had the Congress been composed of middle-class pacifist youth, one could be more tolerant in estimating its work. For while pacifism is helpless in the struggle against war and capitulates completely to the ruling class when war is actually declared, it is nevertheless an expression of a genuine hatred of war and all that it involves, especially when it is embraced by young people. But those who gave the tone to the Congress were not naive pacifists; they were young Stalinist bureaucrats who used the tremendous prestige and influence of the Stalinist apparatus to confuse the youthful innocents and make them enthusiastic propagandists for the imperialist war mongers.

As these delegates will scatter far and wide to preach the gospel of concerted action against aggressors, trying to fool themselves and others that this means peace, they will be confronted by the advanced youth of the working class, who will also preach peace but a peace that can be achieved only through the class struggle, through the overthrow of all imperialist governments, fascist and "democratic" alike.

While the Stalinist and their innocents will prattle about justice and righteousness, the class-conscious youth of the working class will demand the right of the people to decide the question of war and peace in a referendum, will demand the expropriation of all war industries, the transfer of all armament funds for public improvements. The working-class youth will strive for peace by participating in the class-war.

Wages and Hours

According to estimates just released by officials of the Labor Department as many as four million workers might obtain shorter working hours ultimately under the new Wage-Hour Law. The law provides that after the first year the work-week will be reduced to forty-two hours, and after the second year to forty hours. That means that the estimated four million workers will have to wait two years before their hours of work will be reduced. That is not anything to make a worker shout for joy.

The purpose of a reduction in the number of hours should be two-fold. For the worker who is employed it will mean more leisure, and for the unemployed worker it will mean a greater opportunity to find work. If the capitalist system is unable to furnish work for all workers on the basis of a forty-hour week, then the work-week should be reduced to thirty or even less in order to make room for all the unemployed. *And there should be no reduction in wages.*

What the workers want is a job at their own trade with a wage that will give them a chance to live decently. The only productive class in society is not willing to remain idle because industry under capitalism cannot function.

Permanent unemployment, even under conditions where some relief is granted, is not in the least satisfactory to the American worker or any other worker. The workers do not want to be thrown out of industry, to lose their skill and to become members of a new class of permanent unemployed. That is the threat confronting millions of workers.

The present Wages-and-Hours Law has almost nothing to offer either to the employed or unemployed. Not only are its provisions meager, but they apply only to those industries operating in inter-state commerce. Domestic workers, agricultural workers and many other categories of workers are excluded from the operation of the law.

A really drastic reduction of hours will offer a partial solution to the problem of unemployment. A six-hour day and five-day week will put some millions of workers back at their jobs. And if a reduction to thirty hours a week will not suffice, then a further reduction must be made. Whatever work there is should be divided amongst all workers with a guaranteed minimum wage.

A job with a decent minimum wage for every worker! Let the workers organize a struggle for this necessary and reasonable demand.

(Continued from page 1)

locked although the bureau is regularly open until 5 P.M.

Immediately a patrol of police, unformed and in plain clothes, at 15 sent a message of support

was established about the building and no one was permitted to enter. Even the rear was guarded to make sure that no food was given to the demonstrators.

Messages of support came from all the neighboring W.A. locals and even the New York office of the Alliance, controlled by Stalinists who hate the militancy of Local 15, sent a message of support

signed by Jerome Benton. With the national convention of the Alliance near, the bureaucrats who support LaGuardia and his relief-slashers program are forced to give lip service to militant demonstrations.

ASK FOR THE APPEAL
AT YOUR NEWSSTAND

Attacks on NLRB Reflects Blows Suffered by Labor

William Green Joins With Employers Against Board

By JAMES BURNHAM

During the past month, the long sniping from many quarters at the Wagner Act and its creation, the National Labor Relations Board, has broken out into a sustained and rounded attack. As in the past, we discover in the vanguard spokesmen for the Republican Party and for the National Association of Manufacturers.

On this occasion, however, the American Federation of Labor is taking more conspicuous part, and indeed is currently the chief public critic. Hardly a day goes by without a new denunciation from Bill Green.

For the first time, moreover,

President Roosevelt has entered the controversy. Green last week held a long conference with the President. Following it, Green told the press that they had discussed possible amendments to the Wagner Act, and that Roosevelt was in favor of (unspecified) changes in order to clear up certain "ambiguities." By failing to issue a denial, Roosevelt has tacitly admitted the correctness of Green's report.

Want Courts Supreme

The bosses have long since made clear the nature of their attack, and the amendments which they demand. They wish to give employers the right to petition the N.L.R.B. directly, at present excluded by the wording of the law. They wish to subordinate more completely the actions of the Board to the regular Courts, in which they have full confidence. And they wish especially to write into the law certain requirements of union "responsibility" which would enable them to utilize faked-up or even genuine contracts as a means of smashing militant union activities.

The A. F. of L. charges that through its power to designate the bargaining unit, the N.L.R.B. has favored industrial unionism and the C.I.O., and that the law should be amended so as to "protect" the right of employees to bargain in craft unions. Green objects also to the personnel of the N.L.R.B. and tried unsuccessfully to block the re-appointment of Board member Smith. Green joins hands with the bosses in wanting the Board to be compelled to give increased recognition to contracts: that is, Green wants to be able to negotiate over the heads of the workers, a contract which the Board cannot upset.

Aims of Wagner Act

The Wagner Act, sequel to Section 7A of the N.R.A., came into being as a class collaboration device designed: (1) to swing the workers behind the New Deal's method of salvaging U. S. capitalism; and (2) to keep the growing mass movement of the workers from getting out of capitalist bounds, to restrain it firmly within the frame-work of the bourgeois state.

The Act was thus in one sense

a concession to the workers, a concession for the sake of the more general aim of preserving capitalism and renewing profits. At its inception it was opposed by many (though by no means all) employers, who were short-sightedly against making such concessions. Interestingly enough, there is no longer any explicit employer objection to the Act as a whole; the demand now is only for "amendments" or "modifications."

Act Is "Ambiguous"

The Act, called into being by the incipient movement of the workers, became itself a factor stimulating union organization. The "ambiguity" mentioned by Roosevelt is a fact, and no accident. The Act is sufficiently flexible to be utilized on one occasion as a factor in the growth and

Attacks N.L.R.B.



BILL GREEN

Militancy Alone Will Save Gains Under Wagner Act

strengthening of workers' organization; on another—as it has several times already been—as a factor weakening the workers and their unions.

There is no doubt that the N.L.R.B. has made many decisions in general favorable to the unions, and specifically favorable to the C.I.O.

This is not, however, a tribute to the beneficence of the Wagner Act and the N.L.R.B. In reality, it is a reflection in the juridical sphere of the strength, during the period recently ended, of the upsurge of the labor movement in general and of the C.I.O. in particular. The problem of the N.L.R.B. was to adjust class conflicts; and this meant above all to meet the challenge of the C.I.O.

Strength Shifts to A. F. of L.

Today's drive to amend the Wagner Act in a reactionary direction, and the prominence of the A. F. of L. in this drive, similarly reflects the weakening of the organized labor movement before the new slump and more specifically the terrific setbacks which the C.I.O. has received during the past year. These setbacks are altering sharply the relative positions of C.I.O. and A. F. of L. A year and a half ago no one would have dreamed of the A. F. of L. shifting again toward the as-

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Pinning 'em Down

By JAMES CASEY

SURPLUS BUT NO BREAD

New York City administration figures show that during the last seven months relief cases have increased by 41,115. There is no apparent reason to believe that other cities have fared better.

Autumn is almost upon us and then the dreaded winter for the jobless and destitute. The most conservative estimates place the number of unemployed at ten to twelve millions, and adding their dependents, at least twenty-five million men, women and children will face the coming months with lack of food, shelter and clothing.

Almost simultaneously with the issuance of the relief case report came the statistics relevant to the bread problem from the United States Department of Agriculture. These reveal that the country has too much wheat. To be exact, the United States has a wheat surplus of 517 million bushels. In other words, there is in the country enough surplus wheat to feed all the hungry millions for four full years.

Yet the jobless and their dependents can expect no more than 25 millions bushels to be set aside for relief. What will be done with the other 482 million bushels? The farmers don't know. The government doesn't know. Nobody knows!

The wheat may be held in grain elevators to keep up prices. It may be exported to South America through a government subsidy plan. It may be destroyed, as in other years of the New Deal administration.

So, although the nation's granaries are stocked to overflowing, millions of workers will be forced to skimp on bread crumbs and walk the streets hungry in search for jobs.

And the Washington administration will go on singing about the blessings of the New Deal!

THE PRESIDENT'S MORALS

Stop your kidding, Mr. Roosevelt!

The President has set up a cry that the Republicans are politically immoral.

Mr. Roosevelt is an astute politician, in fact the cleverest of any of those representing the rival wings of the Wall Street oligarchy. Accordingly, when he starts to shed tears in the open, it is in order to take inventory.

It seems that the Idaho Republicans entered the Democratic primaries to help in the defeat of Roosevelt's Senatorial "yes man." One way for the Democrats to "get even" would be to enter all the Republican primaries and, by means of their vastly superior number, nominate all the stooges hand-picked by Mr. Roosevelt. That would silence the G.O.P. for a while. But far better is it from us to advise the President in his forays with his immoral brethren.

What does interest us are the implications that are likely to be drawn by many workers from Mr. Roosevelt's laments. True enough, the Republicans are politically immoral, if one wishes to be charitable in thus describing them.

But since when, Mr. Roosevelt, has morality been considered a trait or requisite among capitalist parties and politicians?

Having himself invoked the morality issue, does the President remember his strange silence when the vice-president of his National Committee had a gang of strong-armed men pelt Norman Thomas with eggs and then kidnap him, because the latter attempted to exercise his constitutional right of free speech in New Jersey?

Does Mr. Roosevelt recall how the State Democratic boss ruthlessly suppressed meetings of the C.I.O., while appeals to the White House for intercession and some action were met with a shameful display of buck-passing or went entirely unheeded?

Does Mr. Roosevelt have any recollection at all of how Mayor Hague, representative of Standard Oil, boasted in the newspapers that the President was behind him in his fascist depredations, with not a word of denial forthcoming from the White House?

What had happened in those days prior to the election campaign to the President's sense of political morality? Why had he waited for weeks (after the storm had blown over) before making a lukewarm criticism of attacks on free speech, without even then daring to mention the name of Boss Hague? We repeat where were Mr. Roosevelt's virginal political morals at a time when they should have been given the widest exhibition.

We might also point out that the Great Moralist has remained silent all these years in the face of the black crime of California's big banking and utility interests against Tom Mooney.

Or does the President believe it is more moralistic politically to woo the resources and votes of the California's reactionaries than to right one of the gravest class injustices in America's history?

No worker can have any brief for the Republican bamboozlers or their immorality, to use the President's characterization. However, they are, in no respect, either better or worse than the political moralists in Mr. Roosevelt's own camp.

So far as America's workers are concerned, they can give answer to the President's moralistic cry with that apt phrase which he not so long ago used on a less appropriate occasion:

"A plague on both your houses."

Timely Articles On War Features September N.I.

The September issue of the New International is off the press.

Although emphasis is laid on the dangers of a world war, the contents are varied.

Albert Gates writes on the "Myth of Isolation"

and Hal Draper reviews the

course of Franklin D. Roosevelt

in an article entitled "Roosevelt,

the War Monger."

The "World War by Stages" is discussed in a book review by B. J. Widich

in which books by Major R. Ernest

Dupuy and George Fielding Eliot,

by Hanson W. Baldwin, Liddell Hart,

Sutherland Denlinger and

Charles E. Gary are covered.

The three articles sum up compactly,

yet fully, the course of American imperialism toward war.