

UAW FIGHTS LEWIS INVASION

Drivers Sign Pact
Covering 11 States,
250,000 WorkersTentative 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.

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 Sclisowski 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.

When this contract goes into effect, the International Brotherhood of Teamsters will emerge as the most powerful and largest union in the country. The building of the North Central District, an advance comparable only to the unionization of such industries as auto, steel and rubber, has closely followed the organizational tactics used by the Minneapolis teamsters in expanding their unions over the Northwestern states.

The militant leadership of Minneapolis Local 544, developed in the great strikes of 1934, has pointed the way for the organization of teamsters over the vast area of the new North Central district. Dobbs, secretary and leading spirit of the negotiating committee, played an important role in the long struggle preceding the signing of the agreement.

UNITY AGAINST PICKET BAN
The C.I.O. and A. F. of L. unions of California have united to fight a proposal to outlaw picketing. The proposal which was made by the bosses' stooge Committee for Peace in Employment Relations will become a law unless it is defeated by the workers at the next election.Appeal Available
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MORE SHIPS TO
BE RUN BY GOV'TCommission 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.

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)

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.

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 weathervane 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 cannot bring a solution nearer. 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.

Were such a drive definitely begun, the crucial point for Germany would be Czechoslovakia. This is true for economic, strategic and military reasons. Economically, Czechoslovakia could supply to a large degree the needs of Germany. Germany imports foodstuffs. Czechoslovakia exports them. Germany needs iron ore and other minerals. Czechoslovakia has them. Germany needs more facilities for speeding up her giant armaments program. Czechoslovakia has the world-famous Skoda armaments firm, with its more than 40,000 workers. The three provinces of Bohemia, Moravia, and Silesia, which are compactly grouped within the maw of Germany, also form one of the most highly industrialized areas in Europe. Czechoslovakia, in short, fits excellently with the economic needs of Germany.

Vital War Factor
For military and strategic reasons, too, Czechoslovakia is central in German expansion. An untouched Czechoslovakia would just like a Roman blade towards the vitals of the German economy (Continued on page 3)

"Der Führer" Gives Europe the "Jitters"



ADOLF HITLER

Klement Reported
Killed, Body FoundHeadless 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 Moulou 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.

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

UNION-SMASHING
DRIVE OPENS IN
SAN FRANCISCOWarehouse 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 other 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. International 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.

Committee of 43

In the forefront for the employers is the San Francisco Distributors Association, warehouse operators closely allied to the Waterfront Employers Association, which will deal with the longshoremen. Fighting the retail clerks is San Francisco Retailers Council, denying union conditions to the store employees. Lurking behind all the boss committees, and furnishing strategy and coordination to all, is the notorious Committee of 43, successor to San Francisco's infamous strong-arm Industrial Association.

The end of the old Industrial Association came two years ago when the waterfront unions successfully withstood a 100-day lock-out and turned it into a victorious strike. Supplanting T. G. Plant, whose guns and clubs only roused the workers into a more militant solidarity, the Committee of 43 came to practice a more insidious brand of union-busting. Mouthy genial phrases and appealing to the public's sense of "fair play," the new committee asked only that the unions be "reasonable" and "respectable."

The new committee found strange allies in the labor movement itself: Harry Bridges and the rest of the Communist Party leaders of the West Coast C.I.O., who were already trying to become "respectable" and "reasonable." Under the joint sponsorship of the Stalinists and the Committee, "Town Meetings" were held where the forum attempted to take the place of the picket line. Under the influence of soft words and pleasant meetings, the vigilance of the workers relaxed, and concessions were made. Bridges even found it possible to send longshoremen and warehousemen through the picket lines of other unions, such as the Sailors' Union of the Pacific.

Hews to Class Line
In spite of all past "cooperation," cooperation that the A.F. of L. Central Labor Council consistently refused to the bosses, it is the unions under the control of Bridges that feel the first blows from the employers. Roger Lapham, leader of the Committee of 43 and chairman of the American-Hawaiian Steamship line, drops his false cloak of friendliness and backs the ultimatums delivered by the warehouse operators.

Under the guise of demanding a uniform contract, the distributors' association is determined to strip the warehouse workers of the wages and conditions gained after nearly four years of struggle. By a uniform contract the bosses mean reducing the workers of the whole industry to the scale of the lowest-paid group of workers.

In reply to demands for a decent wage scale and a shorter work week for the retail clerks, the store owners refuse even to meet with union representatives (Continued on page 2)

Locals Condemn Plan
To Set Up DictatorshipLewis 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 loincloth 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 Frankenstein 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 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 machinators 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 money 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)

COPS SURROUND
N. Y. RELIEF SIT-INProtesting Jobless
Denied Food As
Bureau Closes

NEW YORK.—New York's largest relief sit-in of the past two years was in progress Tuesday night as members of Workers Alliance Local 15 occupied the Bleecker Street bureau, holding on grimly as a cordon of 50 police kept food from the protesting unemployed.

Members of Local 15, most militant local in New York W. A., came to the bureau to demand the reopening of the case of a married woman denied relief by the authorities. The woman, living with her husband for the past seven years, was, after several weeks of evasions by the relief officials, told to return to her parents for support. This is the first time that such a dodge has been attempted, as any married couple constitute a family unit and are entitled to relief as such.

Doors Locked Early
When her case was explained to the membership of Local 15 at their regular Monday night meeting, a motion was passed to give mass support to her claim for relief. The next morning more than 40 Alliance members appeared at the bureau, and the crowd continued to grow during the day. At 4 P. M. a committee of three was sent out for food for the sit-in crowd. As soon as they left the building the doors were shut and (Continued on page 4)Chinese Trotskyists Lead
Strike Against Japan Ship

Due to militant strike action by Chinese dock workers in Hongkong, in which the Communist League of China (Section of the Fourth International) participated actively, at least one Japanese ship has had to be towed to Formosa for repairs, after attempting in vain for ten days to compel Chinese workers to perform the necessary work.

Inspired by the actions of American and British maritime workers in refusing to load or unload Japanese cargoes, the dock workers at the Tai Kou Dock Yards, the largest dock yards in Southern China, rallied to a call

issued in a manifesto by the Communist League of China and downed tools when called upon to repair a badly damaged Japanese ship early in June.

The strike continued for ten days, until the owners of the ship decided to take it to Japanese-controlled territory, realizing the firm determination of the Hongkong workers not to aid in repairing an enemy vessel.

The activity of the Fourth Internationalists before and during the strike so completely refuted in the minds of the workers the (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 than 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 problem 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 GOV'T

(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 flunk 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

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)

peacefully. Although Police Commissioner Pickert and Superintendent Fred W. Frahm entered the plant to talk to the strikers, no attempt was made to have the police force them to come out.

Some trouble developed at the Wyandotte plant when about 60 workers tried to force their way through the picket lines. The battle stopped almost before it started, and there were no serious results with the plant still remaining closed.

Resume Negotiations
Negotiations between the management of the McCord company and the union began Thursday afternoon.

According to Moskun, negotiations were broken off before the strike when the company rejected a proposal in which the U.A.W. agreed to a 5 per cent wage cut for six months, after which it was to be restored, and the union would agree to demand no further wage increase for an 18-month period. In return the company was to grant a closed shop, agree to stop the movement of machinery and return the Hudson Motor business to Detroit.

President Homer Martin advised the management of the Allis-Chalmers Company in Milwaukee, the Studebaker plant in South Bend, and the Packard and Hudson companies in Detroit, that U.A.W. members would not work on McCord radiators until the strike was settled.

While the "United Automobile

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 Vi to Marcantonio, president of the Stalinist I.L.D., as chief speaker.

Announce Plans
Demonstrating clearly how these Browder hacks 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 Republican 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 predominantly 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, Gen. Nerosi Pope.

"Friends of Labor"
A pamphlet recently written by Chairman Antonini, of Local 89, denouncing this self-alleged "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

Worker" stated that the "McCord strikers are being hailed 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 service, and not just lip service.

lined up for the new Congress, has nothing but the O.K. of Roosevelt, the Stalinists and "their" Workers Alliance.

Louis Waldman, No. 1 Old Guard social-democrat in N. Y. State and infamous for his attempts to purge the Socialist Party of "communists" (i.e. "militants"—revolutionary Socialists), during the Old Guard split in the S.P. of 1936, is also slated for support by the Stalinist-Republican-ALP-Old Guard — Roosevelt "democratic front."

Celler's Record

Congressman Emanuel Celler, another "progressive" politician, also professes 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 Brownsville, 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 hirelings booed, 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!

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 rightful representation 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.

STOP WORK ON JAPANESE SHIP

(Continued from page 1)

Stalinist slanders of "traitors" and "Japanese spies" that the Chinese Stalinists felt forced to resort to their well-known G.P.U. methods to remove the Fourth Internationalists from the scene.

Working hand in glove with the Hongkong police authorities, to whom they supplied false documents, they finally succeeded in tracking down some of our comrades who were forthwith arrested and tortured.

The Manifesto

The Manifesto issued by the Communist League of China to the Tai Kow 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.

Lewis Arbitrator

"Any dispute . . . that cannot be mutually settled . . . shall be referred to the executive officers of the C.I.O. for determination." This point should really cheer the progressives. That is, if they get any cheer out of picking up the deuces Lewis has been dealing them from his stacked deck of cards. With Lewis as arbitrator, the Stalinist minority on the Executive Board will be converted in short order into a majority. They will appeal every decision where they are the losers to him. If the present appeal is any indication, Lewis will decide in their favor. And, incidentally, what happens to the autonomy of the U.A.W. under this set-up?

The workers have no doubt been surprised to learn that "this agreement is made in the greater interests of our organization and for the protection and advancement of the best interests of our membership."

Don't take our word that the gold brick Lewis is presenting the auto workers has been signed, stamped and delivered by the union-busting Stalinist clique. Their daily rag has been so deeply steeped in the faction fight that they have not the creation to remain quiet at least until Lewis puts over his "peace plan." The Daily Worker editorial commends Lewis and his associates for their obviously fair and constructive proposals. . . . It urges "the acceptance of these proposals." It condemns in advance those who fight the proposals as being "allied with the big-union-wrecking employers and their stooges, the Lovestonites and Trotskyists."

C. P. Demagoguery

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 demagoguery 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 branded as opponents of John L. Lewis and of the C.I.O.

The lie sticks in their throats. Auto workers who oppose a plan to wreck their organization are not enemies of the C.I.O.—they are its staunchest advocates. Those who want to tear down the U.A.W., most powerful of the C.I.O. new affiliates—they are the real enemies. Auto workers need not bow to John L. Lewis as if he were the Seventh Son of the Seventh Son. It is their right and duty to fight Lewis to the hilt when he is allied with Stalinist reaction as he is now. Or any other time they see fit. Harry Bridges was also a Sacred Cow until the West Coast workers got wise to him rather than see their unions ground to bits. We are confident that for the majority of automobile workers, too, the name of John L. Lewis is no longer magic—unless it is black magic.

The conferences of District 9 mentioned in original)?

"Our lands are confiscated; our houses are raided; and our sisters are raped by our bitter enemy. Are you willing to repair this Japanese ship?" "Should this ship be placed in good repair through your hands, it will load supplies of food for Japanese troops. If it is repaired through your hands, it will carry guns with which to shell us!"

"Dockworkers and sailors in England, America and other countries are helping us in our fight against Japan by refusing to load or unload Japanese cargoes. We must not lag behind our foreign brothers! We must struggle hand in hand with our foreign brothers!"

"Workers defending the fatherland! Do not help our enemy! Do not serve as slaves of our enemy! Do not repair our enemy's ship!"

"If the owners and bosses want to compel you to work for their own interests, go on strike!" "Communist League of Southern China, (Section of the Fourth International),"

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.

The new agreement, the worst the furriers ever worked under, was acclaimed by the Stalinist administration and hailed by the C.P. press as a great victory. In order to get a general idea of this agreement, we will take up some of its major points.

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 the bosses since the present raises are smaller than those of the past. But worse yet, the number of workers receiving these raises is very negligible. A worker must be employed in the shop prior to the month of July to receive the raise. The fact of the matter is that the overwhelming majority are hired in the month of July. Then there is another trick of the bosses. If they need workers in the shop prior to the month of July, they only employ them for two weeks, fire them and hire other workers in their place. The much advertised raise in wages consequently benefitted only a tiny fraction of the workers. And even for this group, the raise was smaller than in previous years.

Another point in the agreement, which the Stalinist press presented as a 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 treachery 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 you 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 Stemmers 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.

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 maneuver in the interest of their favorites while the bulk of the workers did not share in the division at all.

The new agreement covering division of work includes the period from May to the end of December and provides for a two-week trial period. But there is a rider to this clause which provides that during the season of June, July and August, the bosses are entitled to employ twenty per cent of temporary workers. Thus, when it is really busy, the unemployed worker has no hope of getting attached to a shop. All he can get is temporary employment. And then only by signing the yellow-dog agreement.

Try to Dodge

The administration of the union, confronted by great dissatisfaction of the workers with the yellow-dog provision in the agreement, arranged for a hurried conference with the bosses' association and had the procedure slightly modified. Instead of the individual workers signing the agreement with the boss, the union is notified of it and the union representative makes a public announcement of it at the shop meeting.

The result of this so-called equal division of work is that not 80 per cent but only a small fraction of workers, always privileged to begin the season earlier and be the last ones to conclude, share in this division of work.

The old agreement provided that beginning with 1938, only one boss in a shop would be permitted to work. Instead of enforcing this, the Stalinist administration agreed in the new contract to delay its enforcement for another year, thus depriving many workers of the opportunity of getting work, now being done by the bosses in the shop. One more concession to the bosses.

Not Prepared to Fight

These are the main points of the agreement which was introduced to the workers with the fanfare of trumpets and shouts of victory. How did the furriers who have a reputation as class-conscious militants swallow such an agreement? The answer is not hard to find. Whoever knows the Stalinist-reformist-policy of catering to the bosses will under-

stand that a better agreement could not have resulted under this leadership.

The leadership made no preparations to win a better agreement through a strike. Whoever dared mention that the furriers could win better conditions through a strike was denounced as a stool pigeon and a union-wrecker. The union leadership relied entirely on the Labor Relations Board and on LaGuardia, and on the "sense of justice" of the bosses. The bosses, on the other hand, knowing the policy of the Stalinists, knowing that they were not prepared for a fight, utilized the occasion for a lock-out.

Finances Drained

Even then the Stalinists would not answer the lockout with a strike and waited fully seven weeks before a strike was declared. By this time the workers were sufficiently discouraged, starved and demoralized, and having no confidence in the ability of the leadership to get a better agreement, had no other immediate alternative but to accept the contract. To this should be added: when the strike began, there was no more than 100,000 dollars in the treasury. This in spite of the fact that in the past three years of peace in the industry, three day's-pay assessments were levied on the members. Together with other union incomes, this amounted to over a million dollars. This did not help the morale of the workers at the time the agreement was presented for their approval.

The elections which followed the strike have already shown that the dissatisfaction of the workers with the Stalinist clique is taking on organized form and is showing surprising strength in a field which was so thoroughly dominated by Ben Gold and the "party line."

UNION-SMASHING BEGINS IN S.F.

(Continued from page 1)

unless basic demands are withdrawn.

On the Embarcadero, the waterfront employers open agreements to complain of "quickie strikes" and "work stoppages"—effective means of enforcing union agreements long ago abandoned under Bridge's leadership—and warily watch developments on the other scenes.

Unions Retreat

With the bosses offensive going ahead full steam, officials of the unions, Stalinists all, are confused and fearful. After months of conciliation and kow-towing to the employers, the union officialdom is faced with an attack threatening to wipe out the whole structure of the unions. To the lock-out the Stalinists have replied with peace offers. To the bosses' cynical offer of a "uniform contract," the Stalinists have already conceded good agreements.

As the leadership of the unions reveals its unwillingness and inability to answer the lock-out with a determined counter-offensive, the employers grow bolder, their ultimatum stronger.

Now the labor movement is feeling the disastrous effects of the splitting tactics of the Stalinists. Faced with a major battle on all fronts organized labor in San Francisco is split in two, with the unions under the control of Bridges and the Stalinists isolated. The ruinous tactics of the Stalinist leadership has placed in danger the gains won in four years of bloody struggle.

Appeal Army

To All Branch Literature-Agents!

We experienced great financial difficulties in getting out this issue of the Appeal. The last of the summer weeks almost succeeded in drowning us! We don't want to make a special plea for help, but we urge all branches to immediately pay up on their bundle-order bills. Monthly statements were mailed last week and should be in the hands of all literature-agents now. Send in all available funds right now! We must have this money to pull through until after Labor Day.

Now that the summer period is about over and all literature-agents, comrades and friends are returning from vacations, we expect to see the Appeal circulation increase its steadily rising rate. Many branches found it necessary to cut their order for a while. They should now be able to at least order what they took formerly! We expect large increases, beginning right away. Here's something for all Appeal agents to go to work on.

Do you see Chicago standing at the head of the sub-getters this week? Well, most of that was the work of Karl Shier, the Chicago literature-agent. He now stands far in the lead of the sub-contest with a total of 18 subs to date! But there's still a month to go!

Here's the list of new subs for the past two weeks: (We omitted it last week for lack of space and

also because we were running around trying to lay hold of some cash!)

CHICAGO	15
New York City	12
California	9
Boston	6
Minneapolis	4
Detroit	2
Illinois	2
Tennessee	2
New Jersey	1
St. Paul	1
Montana	1
Canada	1
TOTAL	56

Special thanks to the Brownville Branch of New York City for sending in a donation on the Appeal's First Anniversary.

Vol. 1 No. 5 of the Appeal is badly needed. We will greatly appreciate comrades sending in this missing issue. Send as many copies as possible. They are needed for binding purposes. Please note that it is from the year 1937!

Have you ordered your bound volume of the Appeal yet? Why not have a neat file of papers, instead of a messy, dog-eared pile?

Send all contributions and subs to:

SOCIALIST APPEAL
116 University Place
New York, N. Y.

Peace & Plenty

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—peace 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 these words: "I'm confident that the people in that 'heaven' 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 Holmsburg prison in Pennsylvania, where the steaming to death of four hunger-striking prisoners is under investigation, began his career as a cavalry sergeant in the Philippine Insurrection. During the three-year guerrilla 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'."

August Heckscher, "financier and philanthropist," stated to the press on the occasion of his ninety-third birthday: "This used to be a great country before we had the income tax. For seventy years I didn't pay anything, but now we have nothing left." He had enough left, however, to celebrate with an elaborate birthday party, including champagne in his Vanderbilt Avenue penthouse.

A recent survey by the American Institute of Public Opinion revealed that nearly one-third of those surveyed could last only a month or less before going on relief if they lost their jobs, and another one-fifth could hold out for from two to six months. Only 21 per cent could keep going for three years or more on their savings or income.

The New York Times stated editorially last week: "To be sure, both Communists and Fascists may and do pretend to favor such movements (for democracy) merely for strategic reasons. But they become dangerous only when they begin to talk and act like Communists or Fascists." This is another instance of the ruling class showing clearer insight into the nature of the class struggle and the real dangers to capitalism in working-class movements than some so-called working-class parties. It is high time many people who think they are Communists learned that they will be dangerous to the capitalist system "only when they begin to talk and act like Communists," and not when they talk and act like bourgeois democrats.

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

By DAVID COWLES

The corrupt profits system haunts even the sick-bed.

Quite recently, the Federal government charged the American Medical Association, national organization of the medical profession, with acting as a health trust and restraining the free practice of medicine.

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 a \$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.

Off the Press Soon! "America's Permanent Depression"

By ART PREIS

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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 protest 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 trial in Barcelona.

The indefinite postponement of the trial is an admission that there is not an iota of credible evidence against the revolutionary workers now in the jails of Barcelona.

If that is so, why are they being kept in jail? What interferes with their immediate and unconditional release? It would appear that while the Stalinists are not strong enough to compel the Loyalist Government to proceed with a frame-up, they are strong enough to prevent the release of the revolutionary anti-fascists.

The progressive workers everywhere will not be satisfied with the indefinite postponement of the trial. They will intensify their campaign for the release of the loyal anti-fascists.

For victory against fascism liberate the revolutionary anti-fascists!

At all times, the supremacy of profits over health has resulted in sickness and death among the lower paid workers. But in the present epoch of capitalist decline, it oppresses even the better paid workers and the lower middle class. The answer of the latter has been to get doctors and medical care through cooperatives, thereby destroying the profit motive in health. But the fight of the American Medical Association is similar to that of all monopolies. It is a fight to keep up prices of services, to keep up profits and to increase their wealth, no matter at whose expense.

The government's warnings to the American Medical Association, however, are no sign that the New Deal has suddenly begun to represent the interests of the masses against the profit system. Deceivers and reformers will doubtless say so, but it is completely false. We need only glance at the past and present use of the anti-trust laws to see this clearly.

Laws No Safeguard

In the past, the anti-trust laws were used against industrial and financial monopolies. And that, indeed, was their original purpose. The smaller business men thought to use them as instruments with which to break the power of the monopolies over prices and give the competing small business interests a chance to make more profits. Today, monopolies exercise open dictatorship over the economic system and less obvious domination over the government. They are not only not prosecuted, but they are given official recognition. And they continue as before, manipulating prices, mulcting the masses, lowering living standards of the great majority of the people—and increasing disease as a consequence.

In the present case, the anti-trust laws act as an instrument of the industrial monopolists against the petty medical businesses who have associated themselves in the American Medical Association. The laws would act to break down their control over prices of medical care, to lower their profits, and to reduce their income. This would help profits in industry in two ways.

First, lowering doctor bills would leave more money for

workers to use to purchase goods and enable the manufacturer to increase his profits. Second, it would be easier for him to reduce wages, since lower wages would be partly compensated for by lowered medical costs. In both cases, the increase in profits of the capitalists would be at the expense of the professions. Doctors, too, suffer and will suffer further from the oppressive burden of capitalist decline.

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, before it has started and prevents it from starting. But the declining standard of living which is being heaped upon the

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 bear 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 a 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. 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. — With an unusual degree of efficiency, the court authorities of Puerto Rico have placed nine young Nationalists under indictment for the attempted assassination of Governor 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, Pierluisi—jackies 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 consorts, that they do not dare to follow the dictation of the White House in San Juan.

In this dilemma they transform the "humanitarian" opposition to the reintroduction of the death penalty into a means of disguising their participation in the official terror against the Nationalists. The proposed legislation of the governor will hardly find the necessary majority.

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

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.

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 imperialism 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 Caribbean Buro in New York.

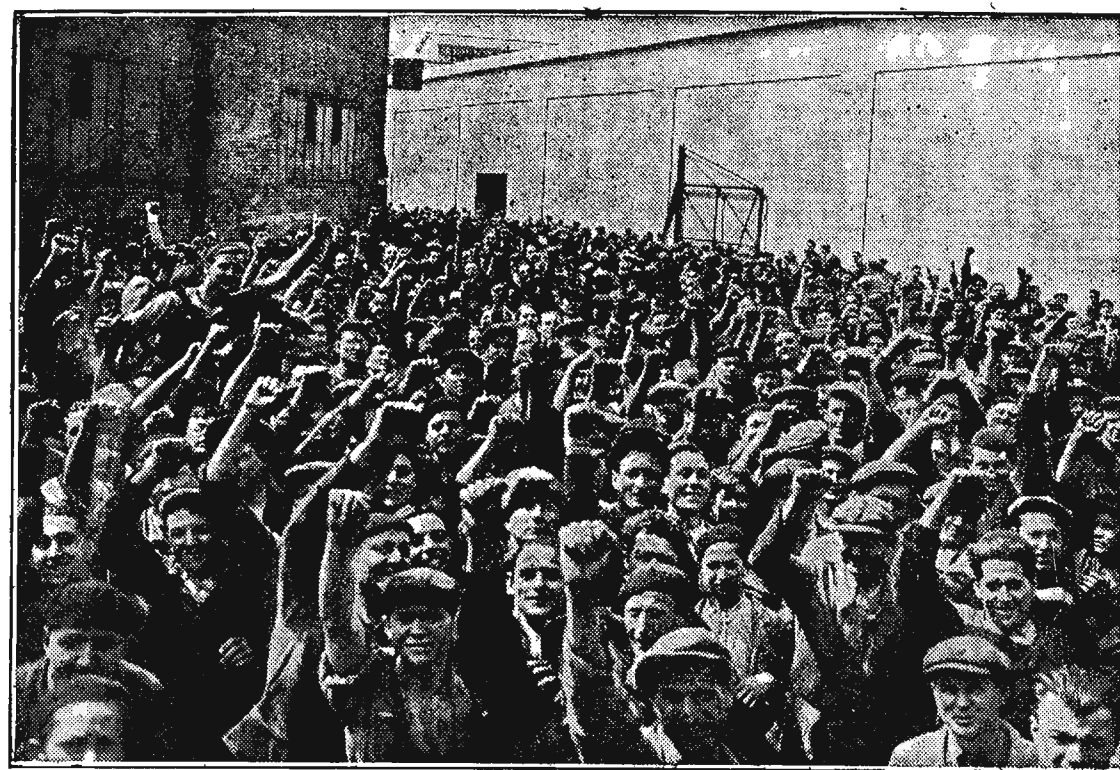
Strange Defense

Therefore, the Stalinist Bahamonde tries honestly if unsuccessfully to do right by both sides. He can't resist appearing in court at the side of the Nationalists, but at the same time Bahamonde declares that he is interested in the defendants not because they are innocent, but because they are "defenseless."

Naturally, the court has nothing to fear from such a 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 franc 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.

After the boastful self-congratulations of French imperialism on the success of its first pre-war loan, it is significant that after three whole weeks there have not been issued any figures whatsoever on the public acceptance of the second, the National Defense Bonds. French capitalism continues to be sick. And who ever has not temporarily escaped to the forgetfulness of vacationing is nervous. No sooner is the Nippon-Soviet incident settled than Italy closes its French frontier. Just when lenient judges had freed the last of the C.S.A.R., 140 tubes of cheddite are found in a Cagouard's garden near Clermont-Ferrand. And though wholesale price indices soften slightly, the retail cost of living inexorably rises.

Marseilles labor, always militant, now increasingly active, holds attention on the strike front. After 24 days, the strike of the metal workers, sabotaged by its own national federation in the C.G.T., went down to bitter and angry defeat. But no sooner had the bosses permitted themselves a little too-public gloating than the strike burst out again. A temporary truce and resumption of work was arranged on August 17, but the situation smolders angrily.

Dock Workers Strike

Meanwhile the dock workers become an increasingly irritating thorn in the bosses' sides. Demanding 64 francs a day instead of 55 1/2 (the franc is quoted this week at 273 cents), the dockers refused to work any supplementary hours beyond the statutory 40 unless they were given good overtime percentages above the regular hourly rate, and enforced their demands by direct action. Now the shipping company bosses are about the most reactionary in France, demonstrably behind two important fascist factions, the C.S.A.R. 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 reservists) 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.

Since this was written, Senegalese troops were used last week-end to move cargo that the Marseilles dock workers refused to handle after they had worked their 40-hour week.—Ed.]

When the government showed it was afraid to do this, the shipowners started a wild agitation in Algeria among the fruit and vegetable growers, some of whose shipments have been partly spoiled in the port of Marseilles by the dockers' refusal to break the 40 hours. Mediators sent by the French capitalist state have, on not very plausible technicalities, decided invariably against the workers. But worst of all, the C.G.T., the national labor federation, is doing absolutely nothing to help this strike of one of its own unions, and the trade-union bureaucrats have to date succeeded in holding back the other

Marseilles workers from any solidizing action with the dockers. No accident, but policy, this sabotage by the C.G.T. of the strikes of its own component organizations is deeply significant. The Marseilles struggle looks to be long-drawn-out, a war of attrition (though at present writing the Marseillais may succeed in getting a general strike of stevedores in all French Mediterranean ports). And, with the sabotaging attitude of the C.G.T. tops, the prognosis is not very favorable. The situation should be underlined, however, as symptomatic of the situation of French labor today: a basic militancy, kept carefully localized and canalized by the trade-union bureaucracy, and sabotaged if it gets out of hand.

Teachers Show Militancy

The other side of the picture is more cheering. Preparatory to the annual convention of the C.G.T. in November, its component federations are holding each its own. Among these the teachers' union, outstanding for being almost unanimously representative of the teachers of France (110,000 members out of 130,000 teachers). This union has just held (August 3-6), at Nantes, an exciting congress. The directing majority under Delmas, straight syndicalist rather than political, submitted a majority general report smashing the condemnation of Popular Frontism as a sell-out and a failure, frankly telling the Stalinist party to keep its tyrannical hands off the teachers' union, and demanding militant action in the autumn for the demands of the teachers and all the other government functionaries. This program the Stalinists, swallowing their rage as best they might, had to support with

all their weight, because 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 Boomed

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 boomed him into silence. It was necessary to clear the hall and severely warn the delegates before Jouhaux could purr his hurt and offend 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 Frontism lured it so tragically away.

Europe Tense in War Crisis; Waits Nazi Move

(Continued from page 1)

and within easy reach of great cities. It would increase by hundreds of miles the frontier which Germany would have to defend against possible attack. But a Czechoslovakia that is at least truncated from Bratislava northward, with the western section "autonomous," would turn Germany into a far more powerful fighting machine.

The "autonomous" section would be swallowed up by Germany, increasing its economic-military strength. The salient to Germany would exist no more, and the frontier to be defended against invasion from Czechoslovakia would be reduced by about four-fifths. Germany would have practically the resources of its pre-war alliance with Austria-Hungary without the weakening elements of that alliance: the nationalist movements striving for independence, the sprawling territory and the poorly organized control. Germany would have one solid block of territory with a minimum frontier to defend and maximum striking power for attack. German imperialism would dominate Europe.

That the German drive to truncate Czechoslovakia is definitely on is obvious from observing the demands of Henlein and the Sudeten Party. They demand nothing less than complete autonomy, free from all intervention from the central government, controlled by the Czechs. The Czech bourgeoisie refuse to concede this, since they realize that doing so would be to sign their own death warrants in favor of German capitalism. And they are prepared to crush the Sudetens by force should the latter try to overthrow the government. But the Sudetens are only the tools of the German foreign policy. And behind the Sudetens, and preparing for intervention in

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, warned Germany that she would be 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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MAX SHACHTMAN

Editor

HAROLD ROBERTS GEORGE CLARKE

Associate Editors

S. STANLEY

Business Manager

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 claims and rights of exploited peoples and nations.

It is high time to demand an answer from Roosevelt's cohorts in the American labor movement. The line is marked clearly: on which side do they stand? It is impossible to fight for the freedom of the people at home when we participate in the oppression of the people of another country.

The New Deal shows its true character openly in these notes of Hull to Mexico. Support of the New Deal is necessarily support of Hull's Mexican policy. Let Lewis explain this to the labor Congress which he is scheduled to address in Mexico City!

"Peace" Means War

The "democratic" imperialist governments of the United States, England and France have good reason to congratulate themselves on the results of the proceedings of the Second World Youth Congress which held its sessions at Poughkeepsie, New York. For the middle-class youth who were delegates to the Congress clearly indicated that they will support these governments through thick and thin in case they are involved in a war against Germany, Italy and Japan.

There is no other conclusion that can be drawn from the "peace pact" in which the approximately 500 delegates present at the Congress pledged to do all in their power "to give assistance to victims of treaty violations" and "to take necessary concerted action to prevent aggression and to bring it to an end."

Is there any one who does not see the implication of these fine-sounding words? The youthful delegates of Bulgaria and Hungary grasped their meaning without difficulty. They refused to sign the "peace pact" because they were for a revision of the unjust Versailles Treaty, and they protested against guaranteeing existing boundaries.

The Bulgarian and Hungarian delegates struck the nail on the head. The policy of concerted action (a new formula for collective security) against aggressors signifies, at the present time, nothing more than guaranteeing France and England in their spoils of victory. If we accept the basic approach of the Congress, the delegates of Hungary and Bulgaria were perfectly justified in their reasoning. Why should the winners of the World War keep their booty if the delegates coming from the satisfied imperialist powers are willing to go to war to keep the boundaries as they are, what blame can attach to the youthful delegates of the defeated countries if they favor support of their governments in an attempt to

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.

signed by Jerome Benton. With the national convention of the Alliance near, the bureaucrats who support LaGuardia and his relief-slashing 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 NLRB 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 NLRB 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 NLRB, 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.

Attacks N.L.R.B.



BILL GREEN

It would be a delusion to imagine that the present attack is a merely legalistic one. Like the passing of the Wagner Act, the present attack must be understood in terms of the actual relationship of the social forces involved.

Aims of Wagner Act

The Wagner Act, sequel to Section 7A of the N.R.A., came into being as a class collaborationist 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

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 NLRB 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 NLRB. 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 NLRB 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 set-backs which the C.I.O. has received during the past year. These set-backs 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 disputing the dominance of the C.I.O. in the American labor movement. Today the A. F. of L. is shifting again toward the ascendant.

As in all important cases, the parliamentary questions, though having a secondary relative autonomy, are in the last analysis subordinated to the relationship of social forces. The fate of unionism in this country will be decided neither by preservation nor by amendment of the Wagner Act, but by the class strength and militancy of the workers themselves, outside of the courts and the halls of Congress.

This does not, of course, mean that workers should be indifferent to the fate of the Wagner Act. On the contrary, all proposed amendments designed to aid craft against industrial unionism, to bolster faked contracts, to lessen employer responsibility, or to limit and bind trade union activities should be vigorously resisted. But the best way of putting up this resistance also is not by parliamentary jockeying but by extending and deepening the mass organization of the workers and by combating militantly the direct offensive of the bosses on the economic front.

FATE OF POLITICAL REFUGEES RESTS WITH LABOR

By V. R. DUNNE

The American Fund for Political Prisoners and Refugees, sponsored by an active committee of militants, places before the American labor movement a task demanding immediate action.

In Europe, brave working-class fighters are today facing torture and death at the hands of Fascist agents of reaction. Where yesterday magnificent trade unions and workers' political movements flourished, and promoted the interests of the working class, today, bloody, totalitarian regimes herd all working-class militants into concentration camps and ruthlessly crush every workers' organization.

Crumbs from Evian Table

Refugees from Fascist terror clamor for help from the "democratic" nations of Europe but receive only the meager crumbs of assistance which the Intergovernmental Refugee Committee feels forced to give them. This Committee, now continuing in London the work begun last month by the Evian Conference, attempts to hide its imperialistic aims behind a mask of humanitarianism and high idealism. However, when the Committee discusses the practical aspects of providing new homes and livings in democratic countries for the thousands of helpless victims of Fascist reaction, it reveals the decadent nationalism of democratic capitalism.

Delegates to the Conference speak of unemployment in their own countries; the necessity for restrictions on immigration, etc., etc. The Prime Minister of Southern Rhodesia objects to the Conference's proposal to send 500 Jewish families there since "it would appear to cut across the policy of keeping South and Central Africa under British influence." Democratic capitalism neither can nor desires to offer real assistance to all of the persecuted victims of Fascism. Each democratic country participating in the Conference is itself being driven into a position of extreme nationalism by a dying-capitalist order.

If it is decided by the Conference to evacuate 600,000 refugees from Germany and Austria in the next five years (no persons over fifty are to be included, since they cannot be depended upon to earn their own livings in the new country) how many of these will be working-class refugees from Fascism? Myron Taylor, the spokesman for the United States Government at the Conference, formerly spokesman for United States Steel, can be depended upon to guarantee that no revolutionary victims of Fascism become the beneficiaries of "democratic humanitarianism."

"Democracy" Mocks Refugees
The humanitarianism of the democracies is a mockery. In most of the so-called democratic countries the right of asylum is today a meaningless phrase. Workers who have escaped the nets of Fascist police spies in their homelands are now being terrorized by other capitalist police spies in the democratic countries to which they have fled. Even France, the liberal nation, the democratic ally of the U.S.S.R., for whose favor, Stalin sacrifices the welfare of the French workers has passed laws imposing severe penalties upon any French citizen aiding an exile. Its Popular Front Government under Daladier makes it impossible for political refugees to obtain citizenship status and thus earn a living. Nor is France more reactionary than other European democracies.

A thousand examples of persecution of political refugees by all of these democratic countries could be given. Foremost in our minds, however, is the story of that most heroic political exile of our times, Leon Trotsky. Who can forget the cruel persecution of Trotsky by the governmental agents of almost every European democracy during the past ten years? Above all, what excuse can be made for the brutal deportation of Trotsky from the Norwegian democracy in 1938, except that it was dictated more by its tangible capitalist interests, namely, its trade with the Soviet

Union, than by its abstract democracy.

No Safety in Stalinland
Equally opposed to the entrance of revolutionary refugees from Fascism is Stalin's "Fatherland." Serge, Cilliga, Tarov, Beal and many others have borne witness to the fact that no revolutionaries are safe in the U.S.S.R. Even the corrupt Comintern bureaucrats from foreign countries, who long ago left the line of revolutionary Marxism are not always safe there.

In fact, the Soviet Union has its own political refugees. They have fewer living refugees probably than do Germany and Italy, since the G.P.U. agents are more expert at ferreting out revolutionists; more successful in staging frame-up trials against them; and more ruthless about delivering them to the firing-squad.

G.P.U. Allied With Police

Directly related to this is the program upon which Stalin's G.P.U. agents in capitalist democracies have now embarked, that is, a program of co-operation with capitalist police spies to persecute and deport to Fascist prisons the revolutionary refugees who have found a temporary shelter in these countries. Democratic capitalism, so-called, now preparing a new war for the division of the world among the big capitalist powers, Fascist and Democrat, welcomes the assistance of the G.P.U. in crushing the revolutionary elements in the ranks of the workers. The clear-sighted thinkers in the ranks of American labor, who, themselves, resist being pushed into the inferno of war, owe it to their own movement as well as to the European labor movement to come to the rescue of the hounded political refugees who most consciously oppose the war-makers of Europe.

The fate of the new trade union movement in this country will be tragic indeed if it fails to understand the meaning of this cruel persecution. These brave militants who have seen the great trade union movements of Ger-

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 it be 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 lamentations. 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 try 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 Internationalist 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. Widlick in which books by Major R. Ernest Dupuy and George Fielding Elliot, by Hanson W. Baldwin, Liddell Hart, Sutherland Denlinger and Charles B. Gary are covered. The three articles sum up compactly, yet fully, the course of American imperialism toward war.

The role of Canada in relation to world politics is described in detail in an article by E. Robertson. Robertson's views have since received ample vindication in the speech of President Roosevelt and the attitude of the United States toward Canada.

Saviours of Capitalism

The soothsayers or saviours of capitalism, as represented by its outstanding schools and schools of thought—Harvard University, Brookings Institute and Jerome Frank—are dissected and their inadequacies exposed in a lengthy

review by Dwight Macdonald. A favorite of New Internationalist readers, George Novack, concludes the second part of his review on "The Politics" in an article entitled, "The Two-Party System in the United States."

Political Survey

The editor's comments are concerned mainly with the developments in New York politics, primarily the course of the American Labor Party; the Roosevelt purges and the various pension schemes which have arisen.

Continuing the public discussion of issues now being discussed in the Socialist Workers Party and the Y.P.S.L. (4th Internationalists), Albert Goldman writes on the question of the labor party.

"In Memoriam" is a review by Elsa Reiss on the life of her husband, Ignace Reiss, murdered by the Stalinist G.P.U. S. Stanley writes once again on contemporary India.

Various other features complete the September number, which can be purchased at 20 cents per copy or a subscription entered for one year for the price of \$2 by addressing:

NEW INTERNATIONALIST
113 University Place
New York, N.Y.

many and Austria smashed by Fascism know that there is no safety for workers in a dependence upon "democracy" for the preservation of their organizations. American trade unionists must learn that independent working-class action alone can preserve and extend the rights to which workers feel entitled.

Voices will be heard within our ranks, "America is not Europe." "Here we have real democracy." "Let the European labor movement take care of its own," etc.,

etc. These and similar ideas must be combatted with all vigor. We must lead the fight on an international scale against the black-list, the frame-up, the torture and murder methods of "democratic" as well as Fascist reaction. We must support the American Fund for Political Prisoners and Refugees, which brings to the persecuted European working-class fighters immediate badly needed aid and helps to establish for these refugees a real political asylum.

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(Continued from page 1)

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

Immediately a patrol of police, uniformed and in plain clothes,

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