

Progressives Force Close Painters' Poll

Two Years Of Weinstock Domination Finds Stalinists Hard Pressed To Win District Council Posts; Opposition Gains Impressive

WEINSTOCK GETS 615 MAJORITY

NEW YORK.—Progressives running against Stalinists for District Council offices in the Painters' Union made an impressive showing in elections held here last Saturday. Lewis J. Stevens, heading the progressive slate as candidate for secretary-treasurer, polled 3,147 votes against the 3,762 cast for Ghidoni, the Stalinist candidate.

The Communist Party-backed candidate squeezed in by a majority of 615 votes in an election turn-out that brought out the heaviest vote ever recorded in the history of the union. Nearly 7,000 painters participated. A line winding around a whole square city block poured into the 369th Regiment Armory at 143rd Street and Fifth Avenue, where the polling took place, from 9 a. m. to 5 p. m.

Stalinist Majority Down

Forty-six per cent of the total vote cast went to the progressives!—a significant fact in view of the two and a half years' domination of the painters' union by the Stalinist machine under Louis Weinstock. Fifty-four per cent voted for the Stalinist candidate this year giving him a majority of 615, as compared with 64 per cent last year, when Weinstock received a majority of close to 1,200 votes while running for the same office.

The powerful vote cast for the progressives and against the C.P. machine is especially striking when it is borne in mind that the progressive forces organized only a short six weeks before elections. It is an indication that continued organization and consolidation of their forces will in the near future turn the tide in their favor among a membership which is increasingly turning away from the Stalinist misdeeds.

Machine Vote Only

The Stalinist majority is obviously not a popular victory, but a straight machine vote. Their candidate for secretary-treasurer, Al Ghidoni, is a man entirely unknown to the membership. Their campaign was, in the main, a campaign to smear Stevens and the progressives with Zausnerism, of which the membership is rightfully afraid—and not a campaign on their own record in office.

Although this campaign fell flat in view of Stevens' progressive and anti-Zausner record, the fact that the general executive board expelled Weinstock two days before the elections in a most arbitrary and bureaucratic manner no doubt served, as the *Daily Worker* itself admits, as a sort of last minute face-saving device for the Stalinists. Creating sympathy for them, it cast a shadow over the progressives' campaign.

Undoubtedly the board was merely trying to fall in line with

what seemed like a landslide toward the progressives, after holding up the charges pending against Weinstock for nine months and after maintaining the most "amicable relations" with the C.P. administration up to the very last moment. But many progressives at the polls expressed the opinion that it was a premeditated trick intended to aid the Stalinists by providing them with a campaign issue.

Board's Opportunism

The general executive board is distinctly reactionary and extremely unpopular with the rank-and-file. For the past year, it has played ball with the Stalinist-Weinstock administration in District Council No. 9. The latter, in turn, have had nothing but praise for the board. Interested in the main in per capita payments to the international office, the board has always played the usual opportunist game of union bureaucrats.

When the tide seemed to be turning for the progressives last week, the board "remembered" that charges were pending against Weinstock from the time of the last international convention and hastily expelled him.

Some of the charges, contained in a document known as "Resolution 191," are distinctly of a reactionary character, demanding Weinstock's removal because he is a "Communist," because he had given support to Loyalist Spain, etc. Progressives in District Council No. 9, in a vote participated in by all the New York locals, a month ago, repudiated "Resolution 191" and its reactionary charges while emphasizing their opposition to Weinstock's illegal treasury raids in the District Council for all kinds of Stalinist "causes."

Weinstock's expulsion, coming when it did, tended to obscure the election issues and to throw sympathy to the side of the Stalinists. The latter, aside from the vicious campaign in their daily press and in leaflets, organized the "women's auxiliary" of the union as well as various party units for a house-to-house campaign among the painters. By means of the wildest rumors and through pressure upon painters' families, these "women's auxiliary" and special party squads exerted every effort to swing the painters into line.

Expulsion Aided Stalinists

The Weinstock expulsion aided these squads. One of their foremost arguments was: "An expulsion deprives a man of the right to make a living. Would you like it if you were deprived of your right to make a living by such an expulsion?" Militant painters, opposed to arbitrariness and bureaucracy in general, naturally responded sympathetically to such an argument. To

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Akron Labor Defense Hit By Stalinists

C.P. Press Calls United C.I.O.-A.F.L. Committee 'Trotskyist Plot'

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

AKRON, O.—A vicious campaign that can endanger the unity of the Akron labor movement and destroy the militant traditions of the United Rubber Workers of America was opened here last week by the Communist Party following its inability to curb the resurgence of progressive union policies that have revived and strengthened the union movement during and since the Goodyear strike.

The rule or ruin policy of the Stalinists was outlined in the June 18 issue of the *Midwest Daily Record*, official C.P. paper, by James Keller, Akron Stalinist organizer.

Confronted by the unanimous approval of every action of the United Labor Defense Committee (C.I.O. and A.F.L.), during the recent strike, the Stalinists haven't dared attack it openly.

Launch Sniping Attack

Instead, they have launched a sniping attack by "blaming" only the A.F.L. leaders in the committee for the "provocative" stand Akron labor took in warning the mayor and police that further violence would not be tolerated.

"Trotskyism!" cried the Stalinist spokesmen, when the Akron labor movement sought to defend its picketing rights and civil liberties in an emergency. "Trotskyism!" Keller yelled at militants for their outstanding work in the Goodyear situation, hoping, thus, to terrorize them with his crude red scare.

The *Midwest Daily Record* criticized the marvelous mass meeting which protested police brutality. It termed the militant speeches given by C.I.O. and A.F.L. officials "ill advised and thoughtless," claiming them given because of "pressure of the Trotskyites who raised the slogan: Meet force with force—organize squads for labor defense."

Seek to Wreck Defense

In their frantic efforts to quell militant action, the Stalinists saw in the fine solidarity of the A.F.L. and C.I.O. only "a bid of the Trotskyites for leadership."

Unable to dictate the policies of the United Labor Defense Committee, the Stalinists seek to wreck it by playing off the A.F.L. against the C.I.O.

The Stalinist program for Akron in essence is: Repudiate the good work of the Defense Committee in the Goodyear strike; exclude all unionists who refuse to take orders and therefore are called Trotskyites; for-

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Union Busters Prepare Marine Federation For Strike-Breaking Course

Bridges' Machine Forces Through Anti-Union Program As Seafaring Crafts Quit Convention; Unions Protest Splitting Tactics

SAN FRANCISCO.—Having broken the back of the Maritime Federation of the Pacific by driving out four of its founding organizations, the Bridges machine proceeded last week to set a strike-breaking dictatorship of shore-side outfits over the sections of maritime labor still within its control.

The union-busting resolutions which were rammed through the Federation convention were too raw to have been swallowed by the genuinely militant sea-going unions, the sailors, firemen, masters and mates, telegraphers and anti-Bridges longshoremen. For this reason, the opening sessions of the convention were devoted to unseating the Tacoma longshoremen, thus forcing all the unions bucking the Stalinist regime out of the Federation.

With their hands freed by the removal of all militant opposition, Bridges and his associates hastened to steamroller through the packed convention a series of resolutions which effectively transform the Federation into an air-tight Communist Party machine, to be used in smashing the Sailors Union of the Pacific and its seafaring allies.

Dictatorial Powers

Resolution 71, adopted without a murmur of protest from Bridges' yes-men, establishes complete control over all negotiations and contracts by a top committee with unlimited dictatorial powers. Militant job action is forestalled by an amendment to the constitution which deprives all component organizations of the right to strike. Thus, at one fell swoop, a situation has been established in maritime which surpasses even the rosiest dreams of Senator Copeland and the shipowners.

The all-powerful Joint Negotiating Committee provided for by the convention resolutions is not one whit different from the domineering executive board of the old International Seamen's Union (A.F.L.), a set-up under which, all control was wrested from the rank-and-file and turned over to a strike-breaking top committee. The only difference is that, in this case, dictatorial powers are given to a class-colaborationist Communist Party which is a hundred times more vicious and reactionary than the A.F.L. bureaucracy ever was.

Good Dose of Bridges

Maritime transport workers have already had a good dose of dictatorship à la Bridges. As recently as during the 1936-37 strike, the Maritime Federation refused to take a coastwide strike poll, and instead set up the infamous Joint Policy Committee which laid down the policy of "handling perishable cargo" and postponed settlement under favorable terms so that the strike could be used as a political football for Bridges and the C.P.

The new committee of rule-or-ruin dictators now has plenipotentiary powers to sabotage every militant action on the waterfront, to club every enemy of the Stalinist-C.I.O. machine, to bring the N.M.U. put to the Coast to take over S.U.P. hiring halls, to drive full steam ahead for government flunk boys and flunk hiring halls and com-

Cannot Endure Long
Once achieved, however, such a Federation cannot endure for long. Actually its councils become mere duplicates of the Stalinist C.I.O. councils in the port cities. Its press is a costly and unnecessary repetition of the C.I.O. *Herald*, the N.M.U. *Pilot*, and the C.P. *People's World*. As predicted in the *West Coast Firemen*, Bridges and his crew will find their "industrial union" with the cannery workers and boiler-makers too costly, and will turn to operating directly in the name

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2 Union Men Get Year In Kentucky Jail

Teamster Organizer Sent To Penitentiary Under Old Statute

LEXINGTON, Ky.—Two union men, one an American Federation of Labor organizer, were convicted of "confering and banding together to intimidate" and sentenced to one year each in the penitentiary by a Fayette Circuit Court jury last week. The jury, unable after several hours of deliberation to reach a verdict, was forced by the judge to bring in the guilty verdict.

The defendants, Frank Kwalick and Henry Brown, faced trial as the aftermath of a militant strike conducted last September by Teamsters' Local 779 against the E. L. Martin wholesale grocery company. The indictment and conviction is a brazen attempt by the authorities to prevent the recurrence of effective strikes in this open-shop town.

Eight More Indicted

Eight others were indicted on the same charge, and while one, John Everett, had the charges dismissed, the other seven risk a penitentiary sentence of from one to five years if apprehended. The statute under which the two men were convicted is one of those ancient relics on the law-books that the authorities find convenient to resurrect when workers organize and fight against the bosses.

Kwalick, a leading militant in the Teamsters' local here, was in charge of picketing the E. L. Martin warehouse during the strike last September, when Milton P. Sanchez, a Lexington commodities broker, came to the warehouse after 10 sacks of sugar. With the help of a worker brought with him, Sanchez proceeded to truck the sugar from the warehouse.

A group of pickets, headed by Kwalick, informed the broker that a strike was in progress and returned the sugar to the warehouse. No violence was used against either Sanchez or his helper, but the effectiveness of the picket line was maintained. For this "crime" indictments against the whole group were returned by the Grand Jury.

First Case Recorded

The *Wheel*, organ of Teamsters' Local 779, comments that one of the lawyers present at the trial stated that this was the first case on record in which the defendants were ever convicted on the charge of an intention which was never converted into an overt act.

The State Federation of Labor in Kentucky has promised full support to Teamsters' Local 779 in the fight to prevent the imprisonment of the two men, who are guilty of only one crime: helping workers to organize into unions capable of protecting the interests of the workers.

Union men throughout the State are determined to halt the use of laws dating back to Civil War days against militant strikers, and the sentencing of Kwalick and Brown is expected to arouse mass protests from the growing labor movement in the South.

SP Advances Phony UAW Peace Plan

End Of Factional War Proposed On Basis Of The Former 20-Point Program Whose Violation Caused Frankenstein Suspension

MARTIN NOT BATTLING WRECKERS

DETROIT, June 28—A new and ugly wrinkle has appeared on the face of the bitter factional fight in the auto workers union. This wrinkle, dubbed the "Peace Plan," has been contributed by Walter Reuther's Socialist Party.

The names of some 40 local union presidents have been signed to a letter addressed to all members of the International Executive Board. The letter puts forward the following program: (1) Bring peace to the union by uniting the warring groups on the basis of the 20-point program; (2) reinstate the five suspended officers; (3) stop the name-calling; (4) call in John L. Lewis; (5) constitute the presidents as a police power to punish peace-breakers at "the next convention or at a special convention, if necessary."

This is the greatest hoax thus far perpetrated on a membership which sincerely desires cessation of the faction struggle. In its main points, the so-called peace program of the Socialist Party is identical with the "war" program of the Communist Party: reinstate the suspended officers; summon Lewis to Detroit as super-arbitrator and call a special convention if necessary.

New Stalinist Move?

The Stalinists can well afford to take a back seat while the paladins of peace carry out their program. It would come as no surprise to us if the facts revealed that the peace program was worked out in joint caucus with the Stalinists. With the stigma of factionalism and disruption discrediting them at every turn, the Stalinist clique can send this Peace Group to the front with every expectation of better results.

Even if we granted a sincere desire for peace, this middle-of-the-road program would be no more effective than the doddering League of Nations. The nostrum of uniting the executive board on the basis of the 20-point program is brought forward as an all-healing solution. In reality, it is nothing but quack medicine. Are these people blind to the fact that the factional fight was already "solved" and "peace" established only two months ago—on the basis of that very 20-point program! Yet hardly three weeks later the war started all over again.

Malignant Work

The signers of the letter are fully aware of these circumstances. They know—or should know, as responsible union men—that no program but their own will satisfy the Stalinist clique, which is prepared to tear down and destroy anything and anybody in disagreement with them. That is what makes the peace program a malignant piece of work.

It contains not a mention so much as a word of the Stalinist activities in the union. No comment on the organization—

crippling drive to halt dues payments to the international union; or to set up a dual financial apparatus; or to destroy the W.P.A. auxiliary, etc., etc. Not a solitary word about all this!

On the other hand, the "peace, peace, there is no peace" group votes, meets, consults and agrees with the Stalinist crowd whenever it can get a hearing. It is no wonder that the names of John Anderson and Lloyd Jones, well-known Stalinists, are coupled with those of Emil Mazey and Walter Reuther, supposed socialists, on a committee to see John L. Lewis. Nor is it a wonder that the *Daily Worker*, official Stalinist organ, hails the "8-point program for unity."

Martin's Responsibility

Not the least responsible for the ease with which the Stalinist wolf has disguised himself with "socialist" sheep's clothing—and gotten away with it in the eyes of the membership—is Homer Martin himself. Martin has been fiddling with all sorts of ineffectual enterprises while the Stalinists have been setting fire to the union. With the exception of press statements, the Stalinists have met little or no resistance from the union president to their campaign to bulldoze and hoodwink the membership.

In local after local, the Stalinists have been staging their wild and merry circus. As far as large sections of the membership are concerned, the Stalinist lie is the only side of the faction fight they know. In rapid succession the big locals in Detroit—Dodge, Plymouth, Hudson, Chrysler, West Side—have adopted the Stalinist program. In no case has Martin carried the fight into the camp of the enemy.

Within the next day or two, charges against the suspended officers will be completed and published. Within two weeks it is reported the trial will be held. Under present conditions, the cry of "frame-up" and "persecution" is inevitable in the union ranks, however fair and impartial the trial may be and however lenient

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National Guard Stages Big Chicago War Demonstration

CHICAGO.—A gigantic military demonstration, replete with booming planes, power-diving, marching men and martial music, was staged in Chicago's Soldiers' Field last Saturday and Sunday by the National Guard in its annual Military Show.

Concrete evidence of the government's war preparations was presented by 5,000 national guardsmen operating all types of military equipment, from new light tanks to improved anti-aircraft guns.

The main feature of the demonstration, however, was not the exhibition of military equipment and efficiency, but the planned appeal to jingo patriotism which characterized the entire show.

A reproduction of the Battle of the Argonne, showing the taking of the German positions by dauntless American troops in a romantic setting of red searchlights, sky-rockets, and airplane flares, the unceasing speeches, and the pageant of armies playing up past American wars as romantic crusades, were enough to gladden the heart of any super-patriot.

The demonstration was a real rehearsal for M-Day, the day designed by the United States War Department as the first day of the coming war. Such military parades, pageants and holidays are staged to whip up a jingo spirit among the workers in preparation for leading them to the slaughter.

We Ask Once More:

IS NOAH LONDON ALIVE OR DEAD?

Although two weeks have passed since we demanded of the official communist press a statement about the case of Noah London, the American communist reported shot in the Soviet Union, there has not been a single word in either the *Daily Worker* or the *Morning Freiheit*.

Their silence can be interpreted only as an admission of crime, for if the killing of Noah London were an act of justice it would be acknowledged and defended by the Stalinist press.

More Comes to Light

Since our first notice in these columns, more details have come to light.

London, founder of the American communist party, prominent writer, speaker, educator and organizer, one of the editors of the Jewish communist daily, the *Freiheit*, most intimate collaborator and friend of M. J. Olgin, was employed by the New York Board of Transportation. He left it to work for the Soviet trading agency, Amtorg, which finally sent him to the Soviet Union as a qualified engineer.

Some three years ago, London, his wife and two other engineers were tried in Russia on the customary charge of "sabotage." Old-time, devoted communist that he was, this charge

was as absurd as are most of the others. The two engineers were, however, shot; London and his wife sent to Siberia as exiles. London's sister was deported from the Soviet Union.

Since that time, there has been no authentic word about Noah London, except for the recent report that he had been shot by the Kremlin butchers—another of their thousands of victims.

Family Refused Visa

Significant and alarming is the fact that efforts on the part of his family in New York to obtain a visa for entry into the Soviet Union in order to learn his whereabouts and his fate, have been denied by the Soviet authorities. The Stalinists have something to hide—and knowing their barbaric record, there is good reason to believe that what is being hidden is a crime.

Therefore we demand once more: What has happened to Noah London and why? If the actions of the Stalinist authorities with regard to London are above reproach, they should have no hesitation about making a public statement. Why are his former colleagues on the *Freiheit* as silent as the grave? And his former comrades of the *Daily Worker*; and of the C.P. Central Committee?

What monstrosity are they concealing?

Libel Suit Against Daily Worker Shifted To M'pls

MINNEAPOLIS.—Depositions in the libel case of General Drivers' Local 544 against the *Daily Worker*, arising from the campaign of slander launched by the Stalinists against the Minneapolis teamsters after the murder of Patrick J. Corcoran, union leader, last November, have unexpectedly resulted in an agreement by attorneys for both sides to have the case transferred from New York City to Minneapolis.

The libel suit was originally filed in New York because the publisher of the *Daily Worker* could not be served in Minnesota. It was therefore necessary to take the testimony of the Dunne brothers and Farrell Dobbs by deposition in Minneapolis. On June 23, the taking of testimony was commenced before a notary public in Minneapolis.

Vincent Dunne was the first witness and in his cross-examination the attorney for the *Daily Worker* went so far afield that Albert Goldman and Meyer J. Myer, representing Local 544, threatened to instruct the witness not to answer further questions.

During the controversy that arose, attorney Edward Kuntz, representing the *Daily Worker*, offered to accept service on behalf of the *Daily Worker* if a new suit were filed in Minneapolis. This was readily agreed to by the representatives of Local 544. An agreement in writing was drawn up to that effect.

It is expected that all necessary papers will be filed in Minneapolis within six weeks with the probability that the case will come up for trial within the next six months.

Concerted Union Drive Needed To Oust Hague

A. F. of L.-C.I.O. Feud Must End So That Labor May Act Unitedly To Smash Dictatorial Rule Of Would-be Hitler In New Jersey

By JAMES RALEIGH

In previous writings about Jersey it has been indicated that while the Democratic Party is the private property (sic) of Frank Hague, the Republican Party is simply a disorganized, spiritless and impotent group of political "opponents," carefully nurtured in disunion and debility by Hague's deals with its leaders. Nonetheless, the numerical strength of both these parties rests with the workers.

The problem is how to clarify political issues for the workers so they not remain divided, conveniently for Mr. Hague, within the framework of these old-line parties. But to achieve this requires first giving the workers a political understanding that their interests differ from Hague's as well as from those of the financial and industrial forces behind Hague.

Unions Are The Place

All fields for solidizing the workers eventually boil down to—the labor union. Here dissident elements, except for the easily-detected bosses' stooges, are generally absent and a clear-cut, class-conscious attitude of the worker can be crystallized. His concern in his economic organization can then be utilized to unite him politically with his brothers. Any effort, therefore, to effectively politicize labor must have a labor union base. This does not mean, however, that the unemployed and the unorganized cannot participate. On the contrary, they are most necessary—in fact, indispensable.

But first of all there must be a considerable autonomous labor nucleus. In Jersey City this does not exist. The A.F. of L. is bureaucratic and Hague-controlled and backs Hague in every anti-C.I.O. move. The C.I.O. itself is young, numerically weak and none too ably led. Consider, for example, the recent C.I.O. "drive to open up Jersey City," which was crudely bungled from start to finish, and the results of which in terms of organization of workers was directly proportionate to the crude tactics employed. Since the drive began, no appreciable achievements have been made, because from the very outset no preparatory groundwork was done prior to the campaign, the C.I.O. leaders naively believing they could "invade" Jersey City and take it by storm.

Publicity Stunts

Another blunder was to try merely to make the issue "spectacular," to "publicize it across the country." Although the leaders were cautioned against this tactic as tragic and useless, the publicity craze overwhelmed them and a battle was fought across the front pages of newspapers from Miami to Seattle, but the workers still are unorganized. The prevailing opinion now seems to be that Roosevelt's Department of Justice will do what no one else has done—make Hague "behave." How this will establish unions, advance workers, or help the unemployed is not even mentioned.

But these are not the only mistakes the C.I.O. leadership made. Admittedly checkmated in their endeavors to organize Jersey City labor, the leadership concluded that the real obstacle in their path was Frank Hague, in person, and that the solution to their problem lay in "coming to an agreement" with the Jersey dictator. They reasoned that Hague was being "injured" by the adverse "nation-wide" publicity which his suppressive acts aroused.

What they forgot to take into consideration was that Hague was not responsive to "outside" opinion of his actions as long as he maintained a semblance of support in Jersey City. At any rate, conferences were arranged between the C.I.O. and Hague representatives, Morris Ernst on one side and Senator John Milton on the other. And a tentative compromise was reached wherein

all adverse publicity was to be terminated by the C.I.O. and Hague was to provide a "Hyde Park" for free speech in Jersey City.

A Dangerous Deal

The harm of such a "deal" cannot be stressed too emphatically, for it would immediately have placed the C.I.O. "under obligation" to the local political boss. As soon as militant action was begun, this treaty would be ended. As a result, the C.I.O. would always be inclined toward moderation and concessions in order to preserve their inconsequential civil right. On the other hand, the right to continue unionization, with which Hague was to cease interfering, was only an imaginary concession.

For the C.I.O. already had this right and was actually exercising it, though modestly, throughout the recent disturbances. The error of the C.I.O. negotiators was in believing that if Hague granted them permission to organize, they could organize better. In fact, if they began to organize under Hague patronage, the trend thereafter would be to pacify him at all times and from that position, by short steps, they would soon be where the bureaucratic Hague-dictated A.F. of L. is today. A militant labor organization that comes on the scene crawling on its belly ends up only lying on its back.

How To Organize

The real reason for the people under this proposed pact was the establishment of a public place where free speech could be exercised without police interference. But while this democratic right is valuable for the public at large, it is of secondary value—from an organizing view—for labor. You cannot organize workers on a public thoroughfare or at a public meeting. Workers can be organized only in their shops. You cannot bring together in open mass meetings heterogeneous, unrelated workers and UNITE them, let alone ORGANIZE them. To organize, that is, to create a single functioning organ of workers, requires that they be united on common ground. The only common ground is their particular field of employment, their particular shop or factory or trade. From this base one can proceed to separate and dissimilar, though similarly organized, units of labor. But the beginning must be at the place of work.

Fortunately, before Hague had a chance to ratify this compromise, the deal was prematurely announced in the press. Hague immediately denied, first that any authorized negotiations were pending and second, that any concessions would be made to the "red" C.I.O. Thus, the C.I.O. "drive" is exactly where it was last November, with the workers still largely unorganized.

Perhaps recognition that the present nucleus for organizing labor politically was none too promising, caused Labor's Non-Partisan League to abandon its recent efforts to launch a labor party in New Jersey. After two conventions, one in December, the other in May, the matter seems now to be in a state of summer hibernation. If the C.I.O. and L.N.P.L. are at all aware of the obstacles and objectives in New Jersey, three things no doubt occur to them now. First, they must extend unionization, especially in Jersey City, by effective, persistent, not necessarily spectacular, audacious tactics—not futile, sporadic, grandstand, publicity-seeking stunts. Second, they must begin an education campaign within the A.F. of L. to teach its membership the reactionary role their leaders are now performing. Third, they must strive to unite the C.I.O. and the A.F. of L. so as to steal Hague's thunder, that he may no longer use the red-baiting, anti-Catholic scare to deceive the rank-and-file of the A.F. of L. and mislead the unemployed and the unorganized.

Bill Brown

A PROLETARIAN FIGHTER

By JAMES P. CANNON

(This is the first of two articles by Comrade Cannon on two outstanding leaders of the workers' and farmers' movement in the north-west whose deaths were reported in preceding issues of the Appeal.—Ed.)

Death struck twice with cruel perversity in recent days at the liberation movement of the oppressed. One cannot get accustomed to the thought of the Northwestern sector of the movement without Bill Brown, president of Local 544, and Rodney Salisbury, one-time Farmer-Labor sheriff of Sheridan County, Montana, and president of the Montana Farm Holiday Association. They were as indigenous to the country as the tough native grass. Both were men of unique and distinctive personality. They were rich in talents which they freely devoted to a cause bigger than themselves or any of us. They truly reflected and expressed the movement out of which they had grown, by which they had been shaped and upon which they, in turn, had placed their own personal stamp.

They Live On!

Now they are both dead. But I assert with confidence that their names and their deeds will live after them in the grateful and affectionate memory of their co-workers who numbered many thousands. More than that, their memory ought by all rights to be saluted in wider circles than those in which they lived and died, and passed on to our youth. It should be a source of inspiration to them. Such considerations alone prompt and will perhaps justify these lines, which otherwise would not be written. It is not easy to write about the dead, especially when the wound is fresh; I have always believed with Swinburne that "silence after grievous things is good."

From the time that William S. Brown went to work driving a one-horse wagon as a boy of 13, until his untimely and tragic death at the age of 41, he was continuously and unintermittently associated with the workers; more specifically, the drivers, and their trade unions. Flesh of their flesh and bone of their bone, he reacted sensitively to all that concerned them—their grievances, their advantages, their victories and defeats.

College of Hard Knocks

Lacking formal education, he compensated to a large extent for the deficiency with a first-class diploma from the college of hard knocks, and supplemented it with mother-wit and native shrewdness. When he attained to leadership in the big mass movement and had to match wits with the bosses and their slick and oily lawyers, he was able to hold his own. Without any schooling in the technique of public speaking, he revealed in the great struggles of the union a surprising articulateness, and became a commanding orator and master of the felicitous phrase. Nobody could lash the rapacious employers and their murderous cops with the bitter effectiveness of Bill, and none could stir the workers so deeply.

If there is such a thing as the "typical American," he was it—tough, hard-boiled, sophisticated, at bottom, deeply sentimental and a sucker for a hard-luck story. Like all Americans, he was an empiricist, learning as he went along and inclined to improvise answers to problems as they arose from day to day. At least, that's what he had been all his life up to the great strike of 1934. After that he stood at the head of a mass movement. He was involved more and more in big and complicated actions where rule-of-thumb practice was lost and helpless. Under the influence of his new environment, Bill was thrown more and more into the consideration of things from a broader standpoint. He assimilated the basic ideas of socialism and became inspired by its great ideal. That is the true explanation of his remarkable transformation from a more or less ordinary trade union official to a leader of militant mass actions. In this, I think, he pioneered on a road that hundreds and thousands of minor trade union officials in America are destined to follow.

An Assiduous Student

He became a party man and a fairly assiduous student of the theoretical teachings of our great masters. Few knew this; he didn't advertise it. The hard-boiled trade unionist remained to the last a bit shy about explaining this strange business of comprehensive theory and world-wide vision which was so far removed from trade unionism of the old school, its limited outlook and its humdrum routine. Nevertheless, it opened up a new window on the world for Bill, as he freely acknowledged in the close party circles, and greatly heightened his stature as a leader of the stormily developing mass movement.

This was all the more remarkable in view of his life-long background in the stagnant pool of old-fashioned trade unionism. Bill was President of General Drivers Union, Local No. 574 (now 544) continuously from 1921. It was a small union and he continued to work as a driver until 1932. During all those years, up until 1934, as with most unions of the same sort, nothing much ever happened. There were a few piddling contracts with small bosses. There was the routine business of keeping an office open and collecting dues and letting well-enough alone what is so characteristic of the old craft union school.

Bill had something in him that such an environment could not draw out. During all those years of that deadening routine, there wasn't much on the surface to distinguish him from the ordinary run-of-the-mill business agent.

But, as further developments amply proved, that was only the surface appearance. Big events and new conceptions were needed for

Bill to discover himself, and unfold his hidden talent and capacities for greater things. They came with the development of the crisis which shattered for all time the stability of capitalism and cleared the road for the militant mass movement of labor, which will finally put an end to its domination.

The crisis bore down with unbearable weight on the workers in the trucking industry, of which Minneapolis is the great northwestern center. The provincial Minnesota bosses, their greed multiplied by their ignorance, slashed wages and increased hours of work with reckless abandon. The truck drivers, unorganized for the most part, were goaded to desperation; only a spark was needed to touch off the explosion that would rock the country.

The entrance into this fully-ripened situation of a new group of men, and the working collaboration established between them and Bill Brown, supplied the spark. The "new men" were a group of coal-yard workers who are sometimes called "Trotskyites." These studious men of theory, who were also qualified mass workers—a rare enough phenomenon—came into the teamsters' union by way of an organization campaign in the coal-yards. It is to the eternal credit of Bill Brown that he opened the door of the union to this new development and received the new dynamic forces with open arms. The compact formed between them—one of the happiest and most fruitful ever recorded in the labor movement—endured to the end and flowered into political as well as trade union solidarity, not to speak of unshakable personal friendship.

Had Indispensable Qualities

Bill's rich experience in the trade union movement, his charming personality, oratorical ability and widespread popularity were an absolutely indispensable factor in the subsequent developments. He and the "new men" from the coal yards, working together, welded the new insurgent mass movement and the apparatus of the old drivers' union into one solid piece. The rest is history. They formed a combination that hasn't been beaten in a single engagement to this day.

In the great strikes of 1934—especially the July-August strike—Bill Brown came out of his shell and showed his real talent as a mass leader. Somewhat weak as an executive, and a poor office man (Bill wasn't gifted on these lines), he loomed up powerfully at moments of crisis and showed the heart of a lion in times of action and danger. He fulfilled the duties of union president best on the picket line; and if a recalcitrant scab had to be clipped, he wouldn't spare his own knuckles.

As the mass orator at critical moments in the strike, and at later fateful turning points in the life of the union, Bill was supreme. He articulated the indignation and the mass courage of the workers better than any other. In this field also he was pretty much of an improviser. I don't think he ever "prepared" a speech in his life, but he delivered some mighty fine ones; some almost perfect speeches for the occasion. Like the true orator, he sensed and "felt" his audience and let the inarticulate mass speak through him.

Virtues Outweighed Failings

All those who went together through those days of destiny, took a great personal liking to Bill. "The little guy," as he was sometimes called by his friends, who had such a big and strong heart, had a way of making people like him; one tended easily to minimize or overlook his faults, of which, by the way, he had his share. Bill was no plaster saint, but human, all too human.

His virtues outweighed his failings, and that's about the best that can be said of anybody. Bill Brown was a man who took sides and always stayed on the side he had taken. He hated the bosses as a bunch of greedy and cheating parasites; he was on the side of the underdog every time and his big heart was full of sympathy for suffering and struggling workers everywhere. He had a fierce hatred and contempt for policemen and deputies, and all hirelings of the bosses. He loved the workers, the union, the big headquarters with the big auditorium where he presided and spoke so often. His whole life revolved around it.

Herald of the Future

With all his importance and his fame as a labor leader, Bill was a carefree laughing fellow all the time. Everything seemed to sit lightly on his shoulders, even when in moments of desperate crisis in the union's battles he seemed for the moment to bear the whole weight himself. I never knew a man who loved life better than did Bill; never one who got more fun out of it even under the most adverse circumstances. That is why his death seems such a monstrous incongruity. He was a decidedly gregarious person. Companionship was the breath of life to him. He liked action all the time. He had a good time fighting and a good time celebrating when the fight, for the moment, was ended.

I recall Bill Brown as a herald of the happy future when social relations will be organized sanely and will be lighted up by human joy and laughter. He was a good soldier in the emancipation struggle of the toilers and put in his licks and his blows to hasten on the day of their liberation victory. Those who survive him and carry on the struggle which alone gives life hope and meaning will gratefully remember the man who bore the proud title of president of Local 544, the lion-hearted fighter and soft-hearted friend, Bill Brown.

(Next week's article will deal with Rodney Salisbury.—Ed.)

OMAHA COURT ARRESTS, VAGS UNION OFFICIAL

Police Seize Organizer In Office, Search His Quarters

OMAHA, Nebraska.—Arrested in the office of the union by which he is employed, Alfred Russell, well-known militant and paid organizer for Local 554, Omaha Teamsters union, was last week convicted of vagrancy and ordered to leave the city under a suspended sentence of 90 days in jail.

The arrest was made by plainclothes men, who took Russell to his home and made an illegal search of his possessions, seizing a number of personal letters, pictures and pamphlets found there. Russell was then held in jail for three days without charges being placed against him.

Goldman Excluded

Russell, who is now and for the past five months has been employed as organizer for Teamsters' Local 554 at a wage of \$30.00 weekly, was tried by a police magistrate on charges of vagrancy. Albert Goldman, Chicago labor attorney, appeared on behalf of Russell, but as he is not licensed to practice in Nebraska the magistrate, Judge Harry Wheeler, refused to hear Goldman.

Goldman asked the court to continue the case until Russell could obtain local legal counsel, but Wheeler ignored this request and found the defendant guilty of vagrancy. The sentence of 90 days, suspended provided the defendant leaves town immediately, is the established manner of getting rid of "undesirables," especially the unemployed and homeless.

Blow At Unionism

For Russell the sentence means giving up his job, and, more important to the court, abandoning the struggle to organize the teamsters and other workers in Omaha. One of the chief attractions of Nebraska to industrialists, according to the State Chamber of Commerce advertisements, is an ample supply of "docile" labor, and the vigorous organizing campaign of the Teamsters Union is frightening the bosses.

On the advice of Goldman, Russell is ignoring the court order to leave Omaha and is continuing his duties as organizer for Local 554. The case is being appealed by the union, with a local attorney, Dewey Hanson, representing Russell.

ANNOUNCEMENTS

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

NEW YORK

NEW YORK BOAT RIDE, Sunday July 3, to Hook Mountain. Organized by Italian I.W.W. members. Stagger leaves Pier 1, North River, 9 a. m. sharp. Return trip from Hook Mountain starts 6:30 p. m. Swimming, dancing, spaghetti and other Italian delights. Tickets may be had at any I.W.W. hall in N.Y.C. or by calling MAin 4-0291.

RUSSIAN BULLETIN. New issue, just out, features "The Death Agony of Capitalism and the Tasks of the Fourth International." Also articles on the Soviet Union. Read Leon Trotsky in the original. Subscription, \$1.00 for six months; single copies 20 cents from Rae Spiegel, c/o Socialist Appeal, 116 University Place, N. Y. C.

YIPSELS ATTENTION! Do you want a Convention? The dues response to date doesn't show it. Get your circle paid up by July 15 if you want proper representation.—Y.P.S.S.L. National Finance Committee.

EASTERN PENNSYLVANIA

GRAND PICNIC AND OUTING at Shoemaker's Farm, Perkasie, Pa., Sunday, July 17, 1938. Meet 10 a. m. at junction of Routes 313 and 563, Perkasie, Pa. R. D. 1. Tickets 15 cents. Auspices District Bureau, S.W.P., Eastern Pa.

CAMPS

CAMP SEVEN OAKS, Eaton-town, N. J. (Red Bank Station). Capacity 25, swimming pool, tennis court and other sports facilities, good food, comfortable housing. Daily \$2.75, weekly \$16.00. Fare 80 cents. Further information phone BRyant 9-7620 or Eaton-town 515.

LA NOCHE de la FIESTA

See Announcement NEXT WEEK

Guild Convention Shows Newsmen's Big Gains

But Broun, Re-elected President, Moves To Tie Membership To Imperialist War Chariot By Resolution On Collective Security

The fifth annual convention of the American Newspaper Guild, C.I.O., held recently in Toronto revealed significant organizational gains as the result of the industrial union policy adopted at last year's St. Louis convention. There were present 130 delegates, representing a total membership of 16,797 a 51 per cent increase over last year.

It was reported that 77 contracts were in effect with 50 locals of the guild, 40 of which had been signed in the past 12 months. Thirteen of these called for the Guild Shop, making a total of 22 Guild Shop contracts. The significance of such an advance can hardly be overestimated, especially when one remembers that the organization is one of white-collar workers.

Political Back-Sliding

Unfortunately, however, losses were also registered. Last year's convention reaffirmed the Guild's stand for a Labor Party without the slightest trace of People's Frontism or Democratic Frontism. Gunnar Mickelson, A.N.G. vice-president, made a speech in which he stated that "labor can never hope to come into a full share of the goodness of this country without having candidates of its own, responsible to labor alone."

This year, Jonathan Eddy, re-elected executive vice-president, spoke for "our government conducted in such a way as to hinder and not to help the cause of aggressor nations," barely touching on the question of independent political action. For him, as for Heywood Broun, unanimously re-elected president, this policy is merely a stepping stone to unity with a capitalist government which pretends willingness to fight reaction abroad. This was made abundantly clear in

the foreign policy resolution, the keynote of the entire convention. Whereas last year the Guild prominently featured its demand for a \$3,000,000,000 appropriation for W.P.A., this year first place was awarded the speeches by Roosevelt and Hull on "quarantining the aggressor" and "international cooperation." Backed up by an editorial in the convention issue of *The Guild Reporter* which demands that the "United States... act resolutely to make aggression impractical," the resolution calls, among other things, for an international peace policy based on Roosevelt's Chicago speech and for amending the Neutrality Act to define the aggressor. It was passed 100 5/6 against a heterogeneous minority of 40 1/6.

A Disastrous Idea

Thus the Guild, in spite of notable organizational advances has allowed itself to be snared by the anti-working class collective security program of Stalin-Broun, who apparently have sold the Guild the disastrous idea of giving up the class struggle on the war question in the false belief that they will be punishing "aggressors" and stopping fascism. The Guild membership is being committed to support of any war in which American imperialism engages, provided the imperialists declare—as, of course, they are already doing—that the aim of the war is the preservation of peace and democracy.

Members of the Guild must be warned that in any war embarked upon by American imperialism, regardless of the official justification, only the ruling class stands to gain. American labor, including the Guild, has nothing to gain. It stands only to lose, together with the workers of the "aggressor" nations.

Appeal Army

National Appeal Campaign: The drive for 10,000 circulation is on! Enthusiastic letters from all over the country indicate that a real campaign can be expected. Boston writes that the entire branch has been mobilized to participate in the work: "We have the Appeal on eight newsstands regularly and will send in names and addresses." From Reading, Penn. we have word that the comrades there are planning a party for July 3 to raise money for the paper.

One of the most enthusiastic responses is from our old friend Ruth Querio of Allentown, Penn.: "I am personally aiming at First Prize. I want it! I've challenged my branch to pit their entire strength against mine alone." Ruth has asked us to put aside copies of the prizes for her. And she's off to a head start already, with two subscriptions to her credit! The Allentown branch has held several lengthy discussions on how to best put over the campaign. Keep your eye on the Allentown comrades! We expect big things of them!

This is National Newsstand Week. Crews of comrades and friends are to be sent out to all newsstands in order to get the Appeal placed. Literature agents should see to it that this is done properly as suggested in the Appeal Army bulletin. And don't forget to send in immediately lists of the stands carrying the paper!

The sub campaign begins this week, too. It will last until Oct-ber 1 and the following prizes are at stake:

(a) First Prize: "America's 60 Families" by Lundberg and "History of the Russian Revolution" by Leon Trotsky.
(b) Second Prize: "U.S." by John Dos Passos and an autographed copy of "The Revolution Betrayed" by Leon Trotsky.
(c) Third Prize: One year's subscription to the Appeal and to the New International.
(d) Fourth Prize: Six Months' subscription to the Appeal and to the New International.

First prize winner must get a minimum of 24 subs during the contest.

Ruth Querio is in the lead! Who's challenging her?

Subs picked up this week. New York City's revival helped considerably. Here is the list:

MINNEAPOLIS	12
New York City	9
California	5
Washington, D. C.	4
New Mexico	2
New Jersey	2
Philadelphia	2
St. Paul	2
Connecticut	1
Cleveland	1
Toledo	1
Montana	1
Miscellaneous	1
TOTAL	43

On bundle orders, we welcome a new agent to the ranks: Pauline Thompson of Worcester, Mass., who starts with five.... And Ben Heubert of Saskatoon, Sask. has increased his order to seven.

The SOCIALIST APPEAL can now be obtained at any of the following newsstands:

NEW YORK CITY
MANHATTAN: Fourteenth St. at University Place, S. E.; at Broadway, S. E.; at Fourth Ave., S. W.; at Fourth Ave., N. E.; at Fourth Ave., S. E. (1 and 2); at Third Ave., S. W.; at Third Ave., N. W.; opp. Jefferson Theatre; at Second Ave., N. W.; at Sixth Ave., N. E.; Rand Book Store, 7 E. 15th St.; 12th St. and University Pl.; N. E.; Candy Store, 75 Greenwich Ave.

Forty-second St. at Fifth Ave., S. W.; at Sixth Ave., S. E.; at Sixth Ave., S. W.; at Seventh Ave., S. W.; opposite Sterns; 103 W. 44th St.; 46th St. and B'way, S. E.; Essex and Delancy Sts.; Bookstore at Grand and Attorney Sts.; Candy Store, S. E. 9th St. and Second Ave.; Biederman's Book Store, 12th St. and Second Ave.; Wigerson, 145th St. and St. Nicholas Ave.; 110th St. and Columbus Ave.

BRONX: Jerome Ave. and 170th St.; Jerome Ave. and 167th

St. opp. Loew's Theatre); Sorkin, 206th St. and Bainbridge Ave.; Jerome and Burnside Aves.; 160th St. and Prospect Ave.; Allerton Ave. Station; Freeman Ave. and Southern Boulevard; 174th St. and Boston Road.

BROOKLYN: Grand and Union Aves.; Havemeyer Avenue and South 4th St.; Marcy and Broadway; Pitkin and Douglas Aves.; Sutter and Pitkin Aves.

ALLENTOWN, PA.
R. Zettlemeyer, 637 Hamilton St. BOSTON, MASS.
Andelman's, Tremont St. (opp. Hotel Bradford)

CAMBRIDGE, MASS.
Felix's, Massachusetts Ave. at Harvard Square.

ROXBURY, MASS.
Friendly Variety, Warren St. (Grove Hall)

SAN FRANCISCO
MacDonald's Bookstore, 65 Sixth Street

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

Bob Minor And The Times A Revealing Commentary

We have always contended that under the slogan of "collective security," one gang of imperialists is preparing to justify its war against another gang of imperialists.

The Communist Party, most ardent advocate of the slogan, has contended that only by enforcing it can war be averted, peace maintained and the "fascist powers" kept in check. It has denounced us violently for declaring that "collective security," and "joint action of the democracies," are fancy terms for war. Not at all, said the Stalinists, for the joint economic pressure of the "democracies" will be enough to stop the "fascist aggressors" without resorting to war.

That "Frank Commercial Interest"

In commenting in our last issue on the sensational editorial in the *New York Times* of June 15, we emphasized the frank statement by this outstanding organ of American finance capital that its concept of "joint action of the democracies" meant an advance pledge to hurl the American masses into the coming war. With cynical candor, the *Times* acknowledged that "we are not ashamed of a frank commercial interest in desiring the continuation of the Open Door" (in China).

A week later, Robert Minor, in the *Daily Worker* of June 23, covered a third of a page with delicious praise for the *Times* editorial. Just as cool as ice he quotes the *Times*—"We shall be fully prepared, if war on a large scale envelops Europe, to choose the side of the democracies"—and has the brass to comment that "The *Times* editorial is an expression of a tremendous advance that has already been made in the turning of the American nation, as a nation, to a policy of peace."

Stalinists Favor Imperialist War

The commentary is revealing, more so than was perhaps intended by its author, who with his colleagues, referred up to yesterday to the *New York Times* as the "Tory organ." Now we know, by their own admission, what the Stalinists mean by "a policy of peace." In the language of the *Times*, extolled by Minor, they mean: "We shall be fully prepared, if war on a large scale envelops Europe, to choose the side of the democracies."

"Collective security" is a pledge to fight in the next imperialist war on the side of one gang of robbers. The Stalinists are merely recruiting agents for that war.

Progressive Painters Force A Close Election

(Continued from page 1)

some it seemed like a choice between Stalinist bureaucrats and board bureaucrats, and since the former appeared to be the underdogs in the case, a number of painters voted for them as an expression of protest.

In spite of this direct aid of the reactionary board—whether prearranged or not—the Stalinists just managed to squeeze through. Their victory remains a straight machine victory. The progressives, in spite of the smokescreen provided by the board and without any of the material advantages at its disposal that the machine naturally has, piled up more than 3,000 votes on their program.

That program, elaborated and expanded, is bound to increase the strength of the progressives in the future.

The secret ballot, the machine rotation system for the dispensation of jobs coming in through the union, the election of all paid officials, the setting up of a genuine housing program to clear the slums and provide the unemployed union painters with work—these progressive demands struck a tremendous echo of approval among the painters that voted last Saturday. If, within the short six weeks the progressives worked out this program and began to organize around it, it could rally 3,000 painters then this means that persistent organization and patient agitation for such a program can assure the progressives of victory in the days to come.

The Fight Goes On

In the locals, in the progressive opposition clubs, on every issue that confronts the union in the near future—the progressives will have to continue to draw the membership around their program. In developing and in spreading it, they will have to make clear to every member that they have nothing in common with the reactionary general executive board or any of its supporters in New York.

The New York painters have proved by this election that, although they are fed up with Stalinism, they do not want any return to old union methods—to the methods of the board. What they will rally to, what they will endorse and support, is a progressive group with a militant program and a clean banner. They will not only rally to such a militant, progressive banner but will strive for its success. It is up to the progressives not to disappoint their hopes. It is up to the progressives to build for the future, to build on the firm foundations of program and policy. The election results are only an indication of the victory to come. The program is an assurance of it.

July New International Is Finest Issue Yet Published

The July issue of *The New International* is now on sale. With its variety and quality of articles, this issue is the best-rounded so far published. In addition, new and important features have been added. Dwight MacDonald, formerly of *Fortune* magazine and now of the *Partisan Review*, begins a new monthly feature, the "column about columns" entitled "They, The People," certain to be of great interest.

A syndicalist militant gives a graphic eye-witness account of the treacherous role of the Popular Front in the struggle against the Fascists in Spain in a timely and significant article, "The Betrayal in Spain."

Leon Trotsky discusses tactics in the struggle against imperial-

ist war in his article, "Learn To Think," and Max Shachtman reviews the recent convention of the successors to the Daughters of the American Revolution—the Communist Party.

The intellectuals and fascism is a subject dealt with in James Burnham's article, "Fascism's Dress Clothes." The archives section this month is of exceptional interest, with a reprint of a speech of L. D. Trotsky on the question of the united front and the trade unions.

The subscription rate is \$2.00 per year and single copies are 20 cents. For copies and information concerning the magazine, address *The New International*, 116 University Place, New York City.

Cleveland Workless In A Desperate Plight

CLEVELAND.—Food distribution centers and relief offices in this city were crowded again by desperate women and children when relief was cut off for the second time in a few weeks, due to an exhaustion of funds.

While the unemployed turned their eyes in vain toward the State Legislature, where a miserly emergency appropriation has been tied up by a challenge of its legality, the City Relief Commissioner declared his belief that "we are coming closer and closer to a show-down."

Although the Legislature has been in mock "special session" for upwards of five weeks for the sole purpose of meeting the relief crisis, only a \$1,500,000 "stop-gap" measure has thus far been passed, and not a penny of that sum has yet been released.

The state-wide crisis has arisen as a result of the Legislature's failure to enact a program at the beginning of the year. In consequence of this "oversight," Cleveland's relief funds were exhausted on April 30, when the last regular two-week food orders were mailed.

Akron Labor Defense Hit By Stalinist

(Continued from page 2)

get the lessons of the Goodyear strikes; and substitute class collaboration for the building of strong, progressive unions.

Fearful of alienating the labor movement, Keller is forced to praise some of the actions during the strike, namely the radio publicity, the frequent strategy board meetings and the calling of a special Goodyear meeting.

These actions, he calls "non-Trotskyite" policies when, as a matter of fact, these policies were adopted unanimously by the Defense Committee, which Keller claims was dominated by the "Trotskyites."

Record of Militants

After declaring the Trotskyites were responsible for all actions leading to the settlement, and thereby confessing the weaknesses of the Stalinists, Keller tries to save face by claiming the Trotskyites "were badly whipped."

Unfortunately for Keller's position, Akron militants know that the so-called Trotskyites pressed hard for A.F.L.-C.I.O. unity for a favorable settlement of the strike; and that they were extremely active in helping the Akron labor movement to achieve these progressive aims.

It is highly significant that the Keller article has not yet been distributed in Akron, because the C.P. fears that the openly reactionary policies expressed in the *Midwest Daily Record* would further expose them.

Meanwhile, the Akron labor movement is warned and prepared against further attacks on its militancy under the guise of attacks on "Trotskyism."

Coast Federation Is Being Primed For Blacklegging

(Continued from page 1)

of the C.I.O. and the I.L.W.U. The Federation has been split and captured only in order to dismantle it completely.

Meanwhile, the voting which has occurred to date in the S.U.P. indicates an overwhelming sentiment among the sailors for affiliation to the A.F. of L. Out of 3,038 votes thus far cast, 2,087 are for affiliation, 918 against, and 33 void. The voting procedure has been strikingly democratic. The voting period was extended from four to six weeks to enable ships' crews to cast their ballots.

The returns are impressive, considering the fact that the bulk of the S.U.P.'s 8,000 membership is at sea. They indicate that the sailors are determined to fight in the September 30 show-down, and that they are ready to unite with the teamsters, longshoremen and other maritime unions on a militant program to defend the closed shop, union conditions and their stand against all forms of government control.

Virginia Workers Vote Strike To Force Pact

ETTRICK, Va.—A six-months' controversy between the American Hardware Company and the Luggage Workers Union is near a climax as workers laid plans for a strike to force a contract settlement, pending since last December when the original pact expired.

Power to call out the 1,200 workers in the factory was voted to the union's executive committee some time ago and strike sentiment is growing rapidly as the company refuses to concede the demands of the union. The luggage workers constitute the largest organized group in this area, only recently touched by labor's organizational drive.

At the insistence of Murray Baron, international representative of the union, a Federal labor conciliator is due to arrive and attempt to avert the strike by participation in parleys between the company and the union. Local union spokesmen, however, stated that plans for the strike

will be carried out despite Federal intervention.

Optical Men Organize

Another union, organized in recent months, is the Optical Workers Union, which this week is voting under supervision of the National Labor Relations Board to determine the collective bargaining agency for the workers of the Timus Optical Company. Workers of the production and shipping department will participate in the balloting.

The company has carried on a bitter campaign against the workers and numerous men have been discharged for union activity. A recent investigation by an agent of the N.L.R.B. resulted in the investigator recommending to the board that the company be compelled to reinstate four union members and that the company be instructed to desist from anti-union activities. The N.L.R.B. has not yet acted on the investigator's report.

Drive For Fund To Aid Revolutionists Gathers Momentum In Country

The campaign of the American Fund for Political Prisoners and Refugees is getting under way fast in many parts of the country. Following New York, local committees are being set up in Philadelphia and Newark. Friends in Detroit are planning to hold a meeting to organize activities in the auto area. Other cities have written for information before launching their local campaign.

Since its formation two weeks ago, several new cases requiring assistance have come to its attention, the committee of the American Fund reports.

The Need Is Urgent

Several Austrian revolutionists hiding from the Nazi persecutors in that country require money to enable them to go to other lands. One Austrian revolutionist who was freed from jail by the Schusnigg amnesty before the Nazi occupation of Austria, is living

under difficulties in another country. This comrade is suffering from a serious lung disease. Funds are required both to give him medical care and enable him to travel to another country.

A well-known Polish revolutionist, formerly a member of the Executive Committee of the Communist International, expelled from Poland and several other countries for revolutionary activity, and now living in Europe illegally with his wife and baby, has written asking for aid.

A folder giving detailed information on the activities of the American Fund and describing what can be done with each dollar you are able to give, was being prepared this week. Copies can be obtained from the office of the American Fund for Political Prisoners and Refugees, Room 1609, 100 Fifth Avenue, New York City.

The Most Persecuted People In Europe

The Revolutionary Refugees from Fascism

Appeal To you For Aid

The American Fund for Political Prisoners and Refugees has been organized to assist the revolutionary refugees from fascist countries who are barred from citizenship and denied the right to work by the "democratic" countries of Europe.

Their main hope now rests with their friends and sympathizers in the United States. We must come to their rescue. Your contribution will lighten the load of these fighters for socialism and give them the material aid and moral support to carry on. Please respond quickly and generously.

George Novack, Secretary,
American Fund for Political Prisoners
and Refugees, 100 Fifth Ave., N. Y. C.

I am enclosing to help with your work.

Name
Address

ON GUARD AGAINST SPY SCARES!

AN EDITORIAL

The entire jingo press, from the *Daily Worker* and Hearst at the yellowest extreme to the liberal and isolationist sheets at the other, have snatched up the Big Spy Scare like a pack of snarling, starving hounds at their first whiff of fresh blood.

The meaning of this spy scare stands out on its face. If it is so gross that even the sober bourgeois press has had to admit it.

The crimes charged are of infinite triviality, from any point of view, including the Army's and Navy's. Only four of the nineteen indicted are in this country; the rest are all in Germany and can be called neither as defendants nor as witnesses; they can be neither questioned nor examined. As the *Times* pointed out, inclusion of the fifteen non-residents shows that the indictment is intended not as a criminal prosecution, but "as a moral indictment of the German nation."

The indictment, that is to say, is a

major step in the lifting up of a war psychosis.

But much more ominously, hard on the heels of the indictment have come howls for deportation of aliens, huge funds for the intelligence services, campaigns against "subversive elements." And the chief war-monger, Roosevelt, joins the pack with a cry for more millions and more "vigilance" in the search for "enemies within."

Experience teaches. The full brunt of these funds and campaigns and searches will be borne, not by the foreign agents, but by the militant workers and revolutionists who oppose the war plans of American imperialism.

On guard, then! Eyes fixed on the main enemy: not the small handful of adventurers in the pay of foreign powers, but "our own" imperialism, "our own" bourgeoisie, which uses spies and spy scares as it uses every other device, to secure its own power and privilege and to strengthen its yoke on the backs of the masses.

Russian - Speaking Comrades Form Club

NEW YORK—Plans for the formation of a club to be known as the "Friends of the Bulletin of the Opposition (Bolshevik - Leninists)" were laid by a group of Russian-speaking comrades and sympathizers meeting here last Tuesday.

Members of the club will participate in cultural and social activities and will receive information and correspondence from Oppositionists living in Europe. The group is expected to be organized on a national scale and clubs are being formed now in Chicago and California.

The first activity of the New York group will be to arrange a lecture in Russian, to be followed by a "vechirinka." Announcement of the date will be made later.

All Russian-speaking persons interested in such a club, both comrades and sympathizers, are urged to communicate with Rae Spiegel, 5 Washington Square North, N.Y.C.

S.P. ADVANCES PHONY U.A.W. PEACE PLAN

(Continued from page 1)

the verdict. The fact is that Martin has made no effort to convince the membership of the justice of his position or to expose the heinous role of the Stalinists where it would really count—in the local union meetings!

Split Menaces Union

Unless Martin veers in his course immediately, the danger of split immediately after the trial is a menacing possibility. Against this danger Martin will have no other course than further autocratic actions. Every step in this direction will drive him deeper and deeper into rule by fiat alone, until he reaches the realm of John L. Lewis, where lifting charters and suspending whole batches of members is no more important than flicking a fly from one's arm. This is the road to disaster.

The Stalinists cannot be fought with the weapons of bureaucracy. Indeed, the very idea of using a bureaucratic stick on the worst proponents of bureaucratic rule—the Communist party and its stooges—is so ridiculous and stupid as to make no sense whatever. But if Martin persists in his present course, there will be no other alternative but this impossible position. At that moment, he will have to reckon on the opposition of every progressive worker and progressive group in the union. From that time on, he himself leaves the camp of progressive unionism.

Such a solution of the factional fight is both wrong and unnecessary. The "Peace Group," tied to the apron strings of the Stalinists, talks about safeguarding the democratic rights of the rank-and-file. This is the sheerest hypocrisy, as we have explained in article after article.

The Stalinists are vulnerable in a hundred spots. They come into this fight with dirty hands. But the membership is ignorant of the truth. They must be told the whole story. There is no other way. When this is done, the tide in the union will turn. The record of Stalinist activities—of the violation of the 20-point program—stinks to high heaven.

Soviet Economy Lags As Purge Intensified

Denny Succeeds Duranty As Cover-Up Man For Stalin; But Facts Show Bureaucracy Is Digging Grave Of Workers' Power

By JOHN G. WRIGHT

At the beginning of May we wrote that "judging from the past procedure, it can be stated with virtual certainty that the present wave of arrests will reach its crest early in June, in the days immediately preceding the elections, and that shortly after the elections the next trials will be staged." (*Socialist Appeal*, May 7, 1938.)

The first part of this forecast has been completely confirmed by recent dispatches from Moscow. Kossior and Chubar, two of Molotov's deputies and yesterday pillars of Stalinism, have been "missing" for weeks. The secretaries of party organizations in the Ukraine, Kazakhstan, Kirghizia, and Bashkiria have been removed.

Sukhomlin Out

Sukhomlin, former member of the Ukrainian Political Bureau, has been removed from his post as vice-chairman of the Ukrainian Council of People's Commissars. Sukhomlin's downfall leaves only one member still remaining of the 13 who composed the Ukrainian Political Bureau at the beginning of the latest purge.

The purge has been extended to lower officials in Biro-Bidjan. Harold Denny, in reporting the latest purge in the Ukraine, cites the arrest of 10 important party officials and comments as follows: "The fact that confessions have been obtained indicates a trial will be held or that a secret one has been held." (*N. Y. Times*, June 20.) On June 21, the *Times* carried a dispatch concerning "an intensive purge in the political ranks of the army" which is being directed by Mekhlis, Stalin's former private secretary. These and many other additional facts are indubitable proof that the current purge is as widespread and intensive as the preceding ones.

Everlasting Purge

To have forecast this latest development required no particular prophetic gifts, but rather an understanding of the inextricable position in which the Stalinist clique is situated, and the mechanics whereby it has thus far maintained itself in power. In the face of growing internal and external difficulties it has and can have only one formula: Purge, purge and re-purge—with the periodic "elections" serving as a cover for the bloodbaths. The only difference between the past and present purges is that the current one has received far less publicity both in the Soviet and foreign press.

We have already pointed out on several occasions the intimate connection between the crisis in Soviet economy and the purges. Is the economic crisis one of the causes of the current purge?

Only the other day Harold Denny broke a rather prolonged period of silence to report "progress" and "gains" in Soviet economy. (*N. Y. Times*, June 5.) Denny, who has apparently supplanted Duranty (so mysteriously silent) as foreign press agent for Stalin's "victories," centered his extremely optimistic dispatch on the alleged fact that "industry as a whole has been increasing production from month to month this year after a poor start in January."

Duranty Style

Denny wrote this dispatch in the familiar Duranty manner, arraying statistics, citing "average increases," indicating "further progress" and so on, with a few evasive comments on past difficulties, calculated to cover the report with an air of objectivity. According to Denny (and the official Stalinist press which Denny echoes), the current purge is taking place against the background of economic recovery.

But from Denny's own dispatch

we learn that at the beginning of the year Soviet industries were disorganized and the state planning apparatus had broken down. Further on, Denny gave another inkling as to the real extent of the crisis: "... just when the second Five-Year-Plan was drawing to a close, no third Five-Year-Plan was announced." The reason? "Trotskyist - Bukharinist wreckers," of course! After thus glibly linking up the "exposure" of the "wreckers" with the unprecedented failure to even announce a new plan, Denny stated the following: "The disorganization of industry was one cause of the purge that took such toll of industrial executives last year. The purge itself caused further disorganization by the removal of experienced executives and technicians and the discouragement of initiative among those remaining."

What We Learn

And so, we learn: (1) that Soviet industries were "disorganized" not only at the beginning of this year but throughout all of last year; (2) that this critical condition of industry was one of the causes of the purge (and of the Moscow frame-ups); (3) that in the process of this purge the bulk of the administration staff was removed; (4) that this "removal of experienced executives and technicians" only acted to aggravate further the breakdown of industry.

What then caused the alleged miraculous improvement? Denny assures us that "new executives" were now mastering their jobs. But he himself is obliged to list grave "lapses" in such branches of industry as "coal, copper, petroleum and the like." He likewise reports a lag in the cement industry. "The same is true of timber." This "lag" is holding up construction "both of industrial plants and dwellings." Denny also comments on a shortage of paper supply and textiles. Yet, to believe Denny and the Stalinist press, industry as a whole has nevertheless been increasing its production.

Unfounded Optimism

There is no ground whatever for the official optimism which Denny has dished up in his dispatch. Apart from the purge itself, those official statistics that are still issued by Stalinist authorities (reports of average daily production in industry have been suspended for months) give the lie to assurances that Soviet industry is being pulled out of the rut. Far from increasing, the production of steel, iron and rolled products has been stagnating. The figures for May and June even indicate a serious decline. We cite the figures for the coal industry. Since the beginning of the year the daily average (in thousands of tons) has been as follows:

	Sov. Union	Don Basin
January	373.5	227.0
February	365.2	225.8
March	355.4	224.4
April	349.8	213.6
May (first part)....	326.6	203.3

The surprising thing is not that the crisis in Soviet economy is still raging, but that Soviet economic life has not been more drastically affected. How long could industry in any capitalist country have functioned after "removal" of its staff of experienced executives and technicians?

What, then, has thus far prevented a complete collapse in the Soviet Union? There is only one answer. It has been prevented by the colossal force that is lodged in the nationalized means of production, the real foundation that Stalinism has been undermining all these years. But how long can the debacle be averted? How long will the blood-baths and the reign of terror continue to maintain Stalinism in power?

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Lovestone's Travels

The Lovestone group, now called officially the Independent Communist Labor League, has covered much rough ground during the past year and a half. This week-end the group meets in national convention, in order, presumably, to sum up for itself the results of its travels.

For eight years the Lovestoneites functioned as a faction of the Communist International, acting within the labor movement as the unrecognized, unrewarded, and unhonored attorneys of the hangman of the Kremlin.

For eight years, standing for the "reform" of the Communist International, the Lovestoneites were the most ardent defenders of the "main line" of the policies which were strangling the Russian and the international revolution.

For eight years they preached that "socialism in one country" was entirely correct—for Russia and for eight years they out-Stalinized the very Stalinists in the slanders and denunciation which they poured forth against the Trotskyists, against the revolutionary opposition.

Today they proclaim the hopeless bankruptcy of the Communist International and their own final break therefrom. They call for the creation of a new Marxist party of the workers.

Such a change is of course progressive. Whatever the motivation, whatever the reasons given for it, whatever the past, any such break—however inadequate or halting—from the poisonous orbit of Stalinism is so much to the good.

But, in every case, it is necessary also to understand the reason and causes, and the precise nature and implications of the given break.

The Lovestoneite leadership clung desperately to their past policy until the mighty waves of engulfing historical events smashed that policy to fragments. Even in the face of the trial of Zinoviev-Kamenev they continued, and as the Kremlin's unofficial attorneys they elaborated, their own foul lawyer's briefs to justify the massacre of the founders of the Revolution. Yes, even in the first period following the trial of Radek-Piatkov they continued this.

It was not until the enormity of Stalin's crimes and the work of the Commission of Inquiry had alienated from the Kremlin and its chief assassin the opinion of virtually the entirety of civilized mankind, including the overwhelming bulk of the militants among the Lovestoneite membership, that the Lovestoneite leadership began to seek a way out from the filth which they had piled around themselves.

To the militants in the membership that turn, however belated, meant and still means a march forward into the clear air of the road toward the new revolutionary party and the new revolutionary international.

To the leadership the turn meant and still means a frantic search for some more plausible substitute which will continue to give them an excuse for continuing "independent" clique existence and those "independent" slick maneuvers which Lovestone and Herberg identify with revolutionary politics.

Lovestone and Herberg have found their substitute just in time, and are ready to drop it, wrapped and ribboned, in the lap of their convention.

In place of the Comintern, they have, as their delicious surprise, the London Bureau! To make up for the loss of "so-

cialism in one country," they offer, in crisp bright ideological cellophane, the theory of American exceptionalism!

There are two main reporters at the convention: Lovestone on the international question, presenting the line of the February Congress of the London Bureau; Herberg on the national question, with the point of view summarized in his article in the June 25 issue of *Workers Age*.

Lovestone would build the new International by uniting with the stale and impotent centrists of the London Bureau, who can teach him from many years' experience how to be "against both the Second and Third Internationals" and yet sabotage and block any real move toward the new international; those anti-Popular Frontists who join the Popular Front whenever they are let in; those anti-Stalinists who cover up Stalin's crimes and cannot, at their congress, even put to a vote a resolution on the Soviet Union; those anti-imperialists who, like Pivert, take posts in the imperialist government until they are thrown out on their ears.

But any other kind of internationalism from Lovestone would prove too awkward for Herberg. For the real meaning of Lovestone internationalism comes out with full clarity in Herberg's article in *Worker's Age*.

After going to all the trouble and expense of sending a delegate to the congress, you would think out of mere politeness Herberg would have made some reference to it. But do not be deceived: Lovestone-Herberg internationalism is for holidays and European junkets; it is not meant seriously in the "maneuvers" of "realistic" politics on one's own home ground.

Not once is internationalism or any international perspective even so much as mentioned by Herberg. The whole article is a polemic in the old, old style, against looking "abroad for inspiration," against "mechanically translating" European approaches into American terms. For, you see, America is different. The European "isms" (and doubtless wars and crises also, for this is implied by the other) don't take on in America.

Not merely our tactics, but "our program, our strategic course, our policies... must be drawn"—not from where revolutionists find them, in the experience of the international working class, but where any good patriot finds them—"from our own social soil, from a systematic study of the conditions of the American class struggle" ("in the light of Marxism," piously adds Herberg, though it is hard to see where Marxism comes in when it yields neither program nor strategic course, nor policies nor tactics).

And Herberg goes on to argue that the role of the group must be to immerse itself in the labor movement "as it is," not "to remake the labor movement in our own image"... "we are part of the labor movement, an organic and inseparable part"... In such words, in their given context, does Herberg abandon the idea of the revolutionary vanguard, and provide the theoretical prop for a rank and flexible opportunism, a systematic exploitation of the shifting moods of the labor movement, which he hopes will be enough basis on which to keep his group alive.

There is no crime in change; rather it is a crime not to change when events and the interests of the working class demand it. But it is a crime also, in revolutionary politics, not to change cleanly, and to make the change only a new device for old deceptions.

The militant workers in the Lovestone group want a new revolutionary party and a new revolutionary international. But in the policy proposed to their convention by Lovestone and Herberg, that wish comes up against the blind and insurmountable wall of the London Bureau and American exceptionalism. If Lovestone and Herberg trap their entire organization along that road, it is as thoroughly doomed as if the last two years had never been. If the members are to translate their wish into reality, they must break firmly from that road onto the broad highway of genuine revolutionary internationalism. Whether or not they, or some of them, will do this, in actuality, the one question before their convention.

"We Communists Disdain To Conceal Our Aims"



Unity Against The Union Wreckers!

The reactionary role played in the American labor movement by the Stalinist union-wreckers has been dealt with on more than one occasion in these columns. Like a cancer eating away at the vitals of a healthy organism, the Stalinist machine has been bent for years on a rule-or-ruin policy in the trade unions, calculated to capture and use them as part of the war machine of the Kremlin bureaucracy and American imperialism.

The Stalinists have registered unmistakable successes in their work. One union after another came under their control or at least their decisive influence; and where they did not dominate directly, they prevailed through stooges and innocents or in alliance with some of the most corrupt and reactionary elements in the labor movement.

Opposition Is Growing

In recent times, however, there has been a growing movement of opposition to Stalinist control, expressing the horror and indignation of the healthy and progressive rank-and-file at the broad trail of misdeeds which the Communist Party agents have hacked through the trade unions they penetrated. And especially where this rank-and-file movement has proceeded intelligently and not allowed itself to be lured into the trap of red-baiting, or to be used by forces just as black as the Stalinists, it has recorded gratifying progress. If it has not always been able to unhorse the Stalinist bureaucrats, it has not failed to be a painful thorn in their sides and to give promise of the resurgent left wing movement that will yet purge the American trade unions of its poisons and maladies.

A few instances will suffice to show the trend.

In the marine transport industry, the Stalinists, headed by Harry Bridges of the longshoremen, whom Lewis appointed boss of the West Coast C.I.O., were having their own way for quite some time, without encountering serious opposition. Now they have not only ended by getting into head-on collision with the A.F. of L., and with the International Ladies Garment Workers Union (which is part of the C.I.O.), but have met with a stiff and conscious opposition from the ranks of the marine workers themselves.

Movement On Coast

The Sailors Union of the Pacific, speaking through its paper, the West Coast Sailors, and the left-wing militants of the Marine Firemen's union, through their paper, West Coast Firemen, have conducted a running fight which is so effective that the overwhelming majority has turned against the Stalinist gang in

these two unions, on the West Coast. To a lesser, but growing extent, this movement is finding roots in the other marine transport unions in the West and around the Gulf, and has even established substantial contacts with militants among the longshoremen who have had their bellyful of Bridges and his cohorts.

Nor is everything as rosy as it once was for the Stalinists on the Atlantic seaboard. Up to recently, Curran, lord high commissioner of the National Maritime Union, who, if he is not a C.P. member, acts just like one, has, together with his Stalinist aides, been undisputed master of the situation, that is, if we omit from consideration the mossbacked Ryan bureaucracy among the longshoremen, which the militants have been combatting for years.

Now, however, the Stalinist crew is facing a serious rank-and-file opposition in the N.M.U., which put up a complete slate in the union elections for all offices except that occupied by Curran himself. Its paper, The Rank-and-File Pilot, has had marked success among the members. More than that, the New York local of the N.M.U., previously dominated by the Stalinists and their 13th Street sailors, is beginning to feel the presence and influence of the opposition, which systematically provoked riots have thus far failed to crush.

Clarity Is Needed

Unfortunately, the Pilot, like the movement it speaks for, does not have the clarity of mind and purpose that characterizes the West Coast Firemen, for example, and this fact militates against the best interests of the struggle against the Stalinists and the future of the movement itself. Mingled with honest militant and progressive elements are not only conservatives, but confusionists who often do more harm than good.

A rank-and-file progressive, anti-Stalinist movement cannot make real headway and serve the cause of unity and militancy, by protesting its own "Americanism"—that can safely be left to the Browderian patriots—or by confusing the Stalinists with "Reds"—which they are not—or by condemning working class political action just because the Stalinist version of labor politics is a monstrous abomination. This defect, by the way, is often to be seen in the material published by the organ of the S.U.P. Understandable though syndicalist and anti-political prejudices may be as a working class reaction to the stench of reactionary Stalinist politics, the former is not a valid substitute for the latter, and can only end by doing irre-

parable injury to the progressive forces.

Among the Painters

Progress against Stalinist union-wrecking is also to be noted among the painters of New York, where, in District Council 9 of the Painters' Union, the Weinstock machine was swept into office two years ago on the wave of protest against Zausnerism. The record of the Weinstock machine, which promptly allied itself with most of the "ousted" Zausner gang leaders, has been dealt with adequately in these columns.

The revolt of the rank-and-file against Stalinist mismanagement, at first spontaneous, was given necessary organizational form and consciousness mainly through the medium of an excellent four-page tabloid paper, the Progressive Painter, a model in many respects of a fighting union journal. By means of it, the progressives polled 46 per cent of the vote in the elections, which makes the narrow victory obtained by the Stalinist machine something they cannot afford to be proud of.

Which brings us to a decisive point. Wherever the Stalinists operate, they work as an organized and disciplined machine, with vast resources at their disposal. That even this handicap can be overcome in time by the rank-and-file and the progressive movements, is shown by the vote in the painters union, where, with a very recently organized group and little funds at their disposal, the rank-and-filers were able to get more than 3,000 votes for candidate Stevens and missed victory by only 600 votes.

A Lesson To Learn

But to overcome the handicap, the left wing, progressive and rank-and-file movements everywhere have a lesson to learn and, if you please, a leaf to tear out of the Stalinist book: Organization and a press! A progressive group that forms on the eve of an election and disperses after the vote is counted, which relies on mouth-to-mouth agitation alone, cannot get very far. The militant firemen on the West Coast proceeded differently. They brought forth an excellent tabloid to the Stalinist lie-machine: a fighting paper, issued regularly, and devoted to the simple idea that telling the truth, systematically and vigorously, will finally break the domination even of the powerful Stalinist machine.

In the old days, the communists set the pace for organizing and coordinating the efforts of the left and progressive movement in the trade unions, and giving them systematic, centralized and effective expression through regularly published papers. Nowadays, the C.P. is the vanguard and prop of bureaucracy and reaction in the unions,

Trotsky on Lovestone

No, It Is Not The Same!

The Workers Age of June 11 carries an article in defense of Lovestone and Company's long years of subservience to the Thermidorian bureaucracy. This article proves once again that these people are incorrigible.

In my study on morals (published in the June, 1938, issue of the New International—Ed.), I pointed out the criminal attitude of Brandler and Lovestone toward the Moscow trials. Lovestone's answer to this is: "Yes, we erred, but Trotsky, too, erred with regard to the trial of the Mensheviks in 1931. Where is the difference?"

The Difference Explained

We will explain briefly the difference to these gentlemen.

The Mensheviks are a conservative, petty-bourgeois party, tied up with imperialism. In the October Revolution they united with the bourgeoisie against the proletariat. During the Civil War, the right wing of the Mensheviks (Maisky, Trotsky and many others) stood on the side of the imperialists—some even with weapons in hand.

The Menshevik emigres in Paris consider Leon Blum, the clerk of the trusts, the executioner of colonial peoples, as their friend and leader. Under these circumstances, different forms of a bloc of Russian Mensheviks, especially of their individual representatives and groups, with imperialists, are politically entirely possible, both at present and in the future, just as they were possible in the past.

Trial of Mensheviks

The defendants in the trial of the Mensheviks in 1931 were little-known or completely unknown people, whose political past did not offer any guarantee and whose political views at the time of the trial remained entirely unknown.

If, in view of the stated circumstances, I admitted the possibility that these or other Mensheviks, or former Mensheviks, were really involved in imperialist intrigues and combinations, I did not at all, however, come out as the defender of the Stalinist bureaucracy and of Stalinist justice. On the contrary, I continued in irreconcilable struggle against the Moscow oligarchy. The case was—with Mr. Lovestone's permission—somewhat different in the trials against the "Trotskyists." By its entire past, this grouping had shown that it was little inclined to friendship with the bourgeoisie and with imperialism.

Lovestone Knew the Truth

The literature of the "Trotskyists" has been and still is accessible to all. Zinoviev, Kamenev—were figures of international magnitude. I believe Lovestone knew them personally sufficiently well. The accusation against them was politically and psychologically preposterous.

The trials against the "Trotskyists" took place five years after the trial of the Mensheviks. During those five years, our literature succeeded in completely unmasking the Thermidorian bureaucracy with its methods of frame-up and amalgam.

Not to know and to see all this was possible only to those who did not want to know and see. Precisely in this category belong Brandler, Lovestone and their friends. They did not believe for a single moment that Trotsky,

the servitor of the old-line fakery (and their younger emulators!) in beating down any progressive opposition that appears.

For Unity Of Effort

The American labor unions, the C. I. O., particularly, contain thousands of militants, progressives, class-conscious workers—men and women who are for democratically-controlled unions, for class struggle policies, against bureaucracy and class collaboration. At present, their efforts are largely futile. United, centralized, given voice and direction, they would be a tremendous power. What has been done in a few unions shows what can be done in all of them, provided the progressives everywhere act with unity and determination.

It is high time the rank-and-file militants came together, first in their respective unions and then nationally, to constitute themselves a fighting bloc in the trade union movement of this country. It is high time that they started a counter-offensive against the union-wreckers. Unless the Stalinists and their allies are balked in time, they will not stop until the labor movement lies prostrated and ruined at their feet.

Action—speedy, unified, resolute—is the need of the hour.

Zinoviev, Kamenev, Smirnov, Radek, Piatkov and the others were counter-revolutionary terrorists, allies of the fascists, etc.

Good-For-Nothing

Lovestone and Company are good for nothing as Marxists, but no-one considers them idiots. They knew very well that they were confronted with a gigantic frame-up. But since in their petty-bourgeois, cowardly and conservative policy they had firmly bound their reputation with that of the Thermidorian bureaucracy, they made an attempt to follow it to the very end, in the hope that Stalin would succeed in his violation of public opinion. In their hearts they hoped that for this service the Kremlin would finally "recognize" them and call them to "office." Only when they saw that the Moscow super-falsifier had failed ignominiously did they step aside and recognize in a half-voice their "slight" mistake.

In France, at the end of the last century, a Jewish officer, Dreyfus, was accused of espionage. Dreyfus was a figure unknown to anyone. One could be thoroughly sincere, a democrat, a socialist, an opponent of anti-Semitism, etc., and still admit the possibility that Dreyfus might really be a spy: such cases are not at all infrequent among officers. But it is quite another thing to come out in defense of the French general staff, and of all kinds of reactionary scoundrels, and to take part in the anti-semitic newspaper campaign.

Mistakes and Mistakes

Between these two "mistakes" there is some difference, gentlemen of the Workers Age! One mistake has an episodic character; the other flows organically from a policy shot through and through with rottenness.

I am not writing this for Lovestone and his clique. These people are hopeless. For 15 years they were only shadows of different groups in the Soviet bureaucracy. Lovestone was a Zinovievite with Zinoviev, a Bukharinite with Bukharin, a Stalinist with Stalin. For 15 years he repeated all the slanders and falsifications against the so-called "Trotskyists." His fraternization with Vyshinsky and Yagoda in 1936 was a natural link in this shameful chain. Lovestone cannot be re-educated. But in the ranks of the so-called Lovestoneites there are undoubtedly entirely sincere people who are being systematically misled. For them, I write these lines.

LEON TROTSKY.

Coyoacan, D. F.
June 18, 1938.

Some 1,400 workers of the Long Island Lighting Company, members of six locals of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, A.F.L., have won a contract recognizing the union as sole collective bargaining agency for mechanical employees and providing for uniform sick benefits, a five per cent wage increase for those earning less than 60 cents an hour, and a six-months' limitation on probationary periods.

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Some workers of the Eagle Pencil Company, 710 East 14 Street, New York City, are on strike against a 10 per cent wage cut. Six professional strike-breakers, who had incited serious riots, were arrested last week. The workers are members of Local 1224 of the United Electric, Radio and Machine Workers Union, C.I.O.

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AT YOUR NEWSSTAND

HOW TO FIGHT WAR

Isolation
Collective Security
Relentless Class Struggle
by
JAMES BURNHAM
16 pp. 3c
Socialist Workers Party
116 University Place
New York City

Workers of the business department of the Pittsburgh Press (Scripps) and the Pittsburgh Sun-Telegraph (Hearst), members of the Newspaper and News Distributors Office Workers Union, Local 2134L, A.F.L., have after a short strike obtained a contract providing for pay increases, paid vacation and sick leave. Closed shop was not obtained.

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